



STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRACY

**A study on discretion
in the waste sector**

**How discretion is
determined by
management and
how this process is
influenced by the
street-level bureaucrat**

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Preface

With pleasure, I hereby present my master thesis research on street-level bureaucracy and discretion. This process of writing and completing a thesis was the last hurdle I had to take to complete the master of Urban and Cultural Geography and my study at the Radboud University. The process of overcoming this hurdle took many steps, which turned out to be many teachable moments. Writing the master thesis required all the knowledge gained over the past study years and even more. The process of preparing the research, doing the research and writing down the thesis was a difficult but life-enriching enterprise. Luckily, I did not have to experience this process utterly alone and I would like to thank the people who helped me overcome the hurdle named graduation.

First of all, I want to thank Koen Vrielink and Lentekracht for giving me the chance and trust to prove myself as an intern and employee at Lentekracht, working as a waste coach and supporting several projects. During this period of over a year, I learned a lot about the working field, get to know and work with many people and was challenged to think 'outside of the box' and improve my way of thinking and working. I want to emphasize my gratitude towards Koen for the constructive feedback on my work for over the past year and a half. I also would like to thank the DAR for the guidance during the waste coach projects and giving me the opportunity to explore the world of waste management.

Furthermore, I like to thank Henk-Jan Kooij for helping till April to give shape to my thesis and guiding me through different theories and scientific views. Henk-Jan being very critical on my writings and substantiations of research choices, resulted in an improvement of my thesis and academic level of writing. A process of improvement on which I now look back on with great pride and turned out to be one of the most teachable moments of my 'academic career'. I would also give thanks to Huib Ernste for guiding me through the second part of my thesis and helping me finishing this product. Prof. dr. H. Ernste gave counsel on the finishing touches and graded my master thesis.

This research wouldn't be possible without the contributions of the interview respondents. Much appreciation goes out to the waste coaches and managers of the DAR, Brabants Afval Team Tilburg, Municipality of Veenendaal, Municipality of Arnhem and Twente Milieu, who made time for an interview and provide me with the much-needed data.

Going through the different phases of writing a thesis was a journey with ups and downs. For helping me on this journey I would like to thank my family and friends for the support and study association Mundus for the much-needed recreation and coffee. At last, and certainly not least, I am most grateful for Myriam Peters, her unconditional aid and by motivating me throughout the whole process.

Summary

The theory of street-level bureaucracy is based on the civil servants at the end of the policy chain. Street-level bureaucrats are the employees who implement policy at street level and by doing so, are in direct contact with the general public. The civil servant needs to exercise discretion to implement the policy on street level. Policy written down by the policymaker working in an office is not always directly feasible on the street and this is why a street-level bureaucrat uses discretion to adjust policy to make it correspond with the situation on the street. Discretion can be seen as the freedom or power of a street-level bureaucrat has to make a choice among possible courses of action. The degree of discretion a bureaucrat has influenced to what extent he or she can implement a policy to his or her own judgment. This degree of discretion is determined by the management of the street-level bureaucrat in order to keep control over the implementation process.

This research is aimed at gaining insight into the determination process of the degree of discretion, by studying waste coach projects and the factors that influence the motive of managers to determine a certain degree of discretion. The research objective is aimed at the knowledge gap in the theory of discretion. Previous studies on discretion shown the importance of why the use of discretion occurs and is needed on the street, how it is used by street-level bureaucrats and thus mainly focused on the effects of discretion. These studies left us with the question of how the process of determining discretion by the managers and which factors influence this decision, hence the main research question of this research:

'How does management determine the degree of discretion, what is the influence of the waste coach on this process and how is the waste coach influenced by the given degree of discretion?'

To answer the main question data was collected through interviews, observations, literature research, desk research and working as a waste coach in Nijmegen. Five waste coach projects were selected as a main data source for the comparative case study; Nijmegen, Arnhem, Tilburg, Veenendaal, and Twente. Waste coaches are civil servants working in the waste sector as a social approach to inform citizens on waste policy and control and improve the waste behavior of citizens. Interviews were held with the managers to hear their story of their process of determining the degree of discretion for the waste coaches. The coaches were also interviewed to find out how they are influenced by the degree of discretion and what their role is in the determination process.

From empirical data and the literature, the following factors prove to be the most influential on the process of determining the degree of discretion by the management:

- The background of the waste coach
- The professionalism of the waste coach
- The corporate or managerial culture
- The way control instrument influences the actual discretion and experienced discretion

The background of the waste coaches varied per project and with the degree of discretion. Coaches who had a background in the waste sector or a sector where good communicative skills were needed received a relatively high degree of discretion. Projects with relatively inexperienced coaches or projects with a great variety between the background of the coaches were characterized by a low degree of discretion and more control from the management.

The factor professionalism and its influence on discretion mainly became visible in the shape of work ethos, experience, interest and taking initiative. Good performance of the coaches was, after evaluation, awarded with a higher degree of discretion and the confidence of the manager. Coaches gain more working experience over time, which led to more own initiative and taking up more responsibility.

The corporate culture is a decisive factor in the determination process of discretion. Projects following domination discourse are characterized by a strong hierarchy, top-down approach in task determination and a low degree of discretion. The discursive discourse followed in other projects have a more co-managerial style of determining tasks, leaves more room for communication and coaches to have a higher degree of discretion.

Control instruments were used to contain the degree of discretion in place. The number of instruments used have a negative effect on the degree of discretion and have a panoptical influence on the waste coach. Because of the control instruments and having to report the taken actions, coaches felt less urge to use his or her discretionary power and therefore not be accountable for a possible wrong action.

Furthermore, the degree of discretion has an effect on the extent to which a coach can influence how tasks are performed and the policy is implemented and communicated towards citizens. A higher degree of discretion led to more initiative from the coaches, made them adjust their own function in a progressive way and made the approach and work change over time in accordance to the need of the citizens and current problems they faced on the street.

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1. Introduction

Michael Lipsky is seen as the founder of the street level bureaucracy theory with his paper: *'Toward a theory of street-level bureaucracy'* written in 1969 and his book: *'Street-level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services'* released in 1980. The theory is based on civil servants who work at the end of the policy chain, implementing policy at street level and by doing so, are in direct contact with the general public. (Cooper & Sornalingam & O'Donnell, 2015; Erasmus, 2015; Evans, 2006; Hupe & Hill, 2007; Kørnøv & Zhang & Christensen, 2014; Tummers & Bekkers, 2012; Sevä, 2015; Zang, 2016). To capture the role that bureaucrats play at the end of the policy chain, important lessons can be drawn from Lipsky's work (Sevä, 2015, p. 2). Examples of street-level bureaucrat's profession are; teachers, police officers, social workers, health care workers and others who work in direct contact with citizens while having to implement public policy. The essence of street-level bureaucracies is that they require people to make decisions about other people. Street-level bureaucrats have discretion because the nature of service provision calls for human judgment that cannot be programmed and for which machines cannot substitute (Lipsky, 2010).

The essence of street-level bureaucracy has not changed over the years and has been, and still is, the topic for different scientific studies. The term 'street-level bureaucracy' has been incorporated into the language of organizational and policy research and has become a subject of broad scholarly interest and studies on policy implementation (Brodkin, 2012, p. 940). Lipsky turned the study of organizations around by placing frontline workers' discretion, judgments and power at the center of research on the administrative state and policy implementation (Zang, 2016, p.4). Lipsky's view argues that policy stays abstract until it is realized when delivered to citizens by street-level bureaucrats, which became an inspiration for research on policy implementation, the role of discretion and front-line workers.

The street-level bureaucrat remakes policy in order to translate the policy as written to the policy as performed on the street. The freedom to adjust policy to correspond with the situation on the street is called discretion. Discretion is exercised when the effective limits on a public official's power leave him free to make a choice among possible courses of action (Davis, in Buvik, 2014, p. 3). The degree of discretion is limited by the management, top down, of the street level bureaucrat. Discretion is as a hole in a doughnut, it does not exist except as an area left open by a surrounding belt of restriction (Dworkin, 1978). The bigger the 'hole', the more freedom is left open by the management for a street-level bureaucrat to implement policy at own discretion.

The implementation and role of discretion of frontline welfare workers have been studied extensively in the US, but in Europe this type of research is scarce (Van Berkel & Van der Aa & Van Gestel, 2008, p.4). Evans (2010) and Tummers and Bekkers (2012) are European examples of research on street-level bureaucracy and the effects of discretion in welfare and healthcare institutions. Discretion is used by the front-line workers in these sectors to cope with their workload and influences the way a policy is being implemented on 'street level';

“Policymakers and economists might wish it were otherwise, but it seems clear that in the implementation of policy programs there remains an irreducible extent to which worker discretion cannot be eradicated” (Lipsky in Hupe, 2013, p. 2).

The discrepancy between policies as intended or made and performed on the street is a field of study in which street-level bureaucracy can act as a guiding theory. The street-level theory offers a different perspective. It recognized that discretion is necessary to work with policy and involves judgment and responsiveness to individual circumstances (Brodkin, 2012).

Studies on how policies are being implemented by environmental street-level bureaucrats shown the different perspective of the 'street level' and which factors, e.g. education and policy beliefs, influenced the implementation of the policy and how discretion was used (Kørnø & Zhang & Christensen, 2014; Sevä, 2015). How discretion is being practiced by police officers was studied on street level by Buvik (2014) and Maynard-Moody and Muscheno (2012). Their research on the police officers and their perception of discretion, rules and practicing of policies made by politicians, gave an interesting insight into how their pursuit of policy is influenced by the everyday working context. Police officers are aware of the policy and laws, but the working pressure and variety of the job made it impossible to perform policies as written (Buvik, 2014; Maynard-Moody and Muscheno, 2012). Tummers and Bekkers (2012) state as well that top-down policies do not always correspond to the specific situation or context of the involved street-level bureaucrat and citizen. The degree of discretion a healthcare worker has influenced the willingness to implement a policy and reduces resistance according to Tummers and Bekkers (2012). One of the reasons these professions receive a fairly high degree of discretion and freedom is because of their professional training and education (Evans, 2006; Tummers & Bekkers, 2012. p. 17).

Discretion is thus an important aspect of street-level bureaucracy but varies per profession, because of different working environments, policies, corporate cultures and simply exercising different activities. Still, the degree of discretion gained and experienced by a street-level bureaucrat is being constrained by management in some way. Street-level bureaucrats and managers work with one another and often must compromise to achieve their different goals as best they can (Evans,

2016, p.15). The differences in priorities due different working environments and judgment on complying with policy and reaching goals which can result in a different view of how much discretion is needed according to the street level bureaucrat and is given by the manager. Compromises must be made in terms of the degree of discretion a street-level bureaucrat gains. Evans critically reviewed all of Lipsky's work on street-level bureaucracy and discretion. Evans made use of Lipsky's work, and of other authors, to create a complete image of the street level bureaucracy theory and discretion. However, he concludes that; the nature of discretion that is available to different street-level bureaucrats raises questions and is an area of the street level bureaucracy theory which requires further investigation (Evans, 2006, 2010, 2011, 2016). The role of managers, and factors influencing managers, within the process of determining the degree of discretion a street-level bureaucrat has is one area which needs further exploration according to Evans (2010). Another still not fully explored field is the role of professionalism of a street-level bureaucrat as a factor influencing the nature of discretion (Evans, 2010, p. 27). Sevä (2015, p.46) agrees on the need for more research on the role of managers and factors influencing the process of discretion determination in order to fully understand the relationship between the autonomy and discretion of street-level bureaucrats and management settings.

This research will give answer to this need for more research on the determination process of discretion and the role of the manager and influence of the street-level bureaucrat. This research will show the nature of discretion, how management determines the degree of discretion and which factors influence, are important, in determining the degree of discretion. Does the focus lie on the background of a person, for example on age, gender, previous work, and origin? What role does professionalism of the street level bureaucrat play in determining the degree of discretion? And what effect does the corporate culture within the company has on the decision by management on determining the degree of discretion?

In order to further explore this area of street-level bureaucracy and give an answer to this missing perspective of the theory, this study will investigate the nature of discretion of waste coaches. Different waste coach projects will be researched in the form of a comparative case study. A comparative case study is used to explore differences and similarities between the projects and their substantiation for the degree of discretion and factors influencing this degree. Waste coaches are street-level bureaucrats working in the field of waste management. The waste coach lends itself as an interesting research object to study how the degree of discretion is determined by their managers because it is a relatively new concept, with a lot of variety in approaches between projects but aimed at the same end goal of improving the waste behavior of citizens and better recycling rates. The waste coach approach is being deployed on the base of trial and error instead of clear arguments

(Schuurman, personal communication, 15-03-2017). There is no proven good or bad approach yet in creating a waste coach project. This leaves a blank page for managers to determine the waste coach approach and the degree of discretion. And also, a blank page to research the nature of discretion in a pure form, because managers are not biased in their decisions by other researches or experiences. Waste coach approach policies are made on a municipal level which results in differences in personnel; background, education, work experience, current or last occupation, and age, but also in the approach itself; policy-wise, goals, work method, and resources. Waste coaches are deployed by different waste companies with different corporate cultures, which can also have an impact on how the surrounding belt of restriction is determined. Does a younger person or student as a waste coach gain the same amount of discretion as an older person or someone who already has experience in the waste business or in other niches? And does the degree of discretion changes over time, for example when someone has the right work attitude, works more hours than other waste coaches and shows good work results. The corporate culture could also be of influence on the discretion given by management, how do different corporate discourses influence the process of determining the amount of discretion? These differences in the experience and background of personnel make it an interesting research object to explore the missing scientific information on the nature of discretion and the influence of professionalism has on creating discretionary boundaries by managers and street-level bureaucrats.

By analyzing the factors on which management determines the degree of discretion and how the 'characteristics' waste coach, as a street-level bureaucrat, influences this process, this research will add to the literature of street-level bureaucracy, street-level policy implementation and the nature of discretion. When we have this information, managers and street-level bureaucrats can understand the choices being made in the field of determining the degree of discretion. Studies on discretion show that a certain amount of discretion is being appreciated by the street level bureaucrat and contributes to a better policy implementation on the street. Considering the positive effects of discretion and when knowing the nature of discretion, managers or a company can decide to change their corporate structure or culture or could select other persons or personnel to fit the company's profile.

2. Research questions, objective and relevance

2.1 Research questions and objective

There is a lack of understanding of the process of determining discretion, as shown in the introduction above. More research is needed on this subject to get a deeper understanding of this process of street-level discretion. Therefore, the main objective of this research is:

To gain insight in the determination process of the degree of discretion and the factors influencing this process, by studying waste coach projects and the factors that influence the motive of managers to determine a certain degree of discretion.

To achieve the objective of this research, the following main research question must be answered:

How does management determine the degree of discretion, what is the influence of the waste coach on this process and how is the waste coach influenced by the given degree of discretion?

This question covers three aspects of discretion, namely: the determination process by the manager, how this process is influenced by the street-level bureaucrat and how the street-level work of the coach is influenced by the certain degree of discretion. By answering this question a better understanding will be gained on the relation between these three aspects and more insight will be gained on the determination process of discretion. To answer the main question and achieve the research objective the following steps, in the form of sub questions, must be taken:

The first step to be taken is to specify how discretion is being established by managers or policymakers. This will be done by answering the following sub question:

How is discretion determined in other fields of study and how is this related to waste management and waste coach approaches?

Thereafter the relation between discretion and the work of a street-level bureaucrat will be examined by looking into the following questions:

To what extent is a street-level bureaucrat influenced by the degree of discretion? And: How does a waste coach use discretion to implement a policy?

Then, the interplay between the manager and the street-level bureaucrat is examined by answering the following questions:

To what extent is the manager influenced by the background of the waste coach in determining the belt of restrictions?

What is the influence of the corporate culture on how the degree of discretion is being determined?

What are other reasons for a manager to reconsider the current degree of discretion?

2.2 Scientific relevance and societal relevance

The scientific and practical relevance of this research has been briefly discussed in the introduction of this thesis. In this chapter, an elaboration will be given on the scientific and practical problems and the relevance of this research will be discussed.

There are four ways in which this research contributes to the scientific community. First, it provides additional insights in the determination process of discretion, by focusing on management decision-making and the influence of the street-level bureaucrat on this decision-making process. Second, this research contributes to the theory of discretion, because it focuses on the waste coach. Previous research has not yet linked discretion to the waste coach as a street-level bureaucrat. Third, focusing on the waste coach is a valuable research perspective because of the newness of the profession. Since there is no general framework for the deployment of the coaches, working methods and degree of discretion for the different projects, researching this profession can provide extra insights in the origin and effects of discretion. Fourth, the research method used in this research is unique in street-level bureaucrat studies, and enables the researcher to get a deeper understanding of the street-level bureaucrat. The researcher worked as a waste coach and became a street-level bureaucrat, which gave the opportunity to experience discretion and the determination process in person, instead of studying this concept from the sideline.

Other studies have studied the importance of street-level bureaucrats having a certain degree of discretion, the reasons why discretion occurs on street-level and the factors presumably influencing discretion (Buvik, 2014; Evans, 2006; Evans, 2010; Maynard-Moody & Muscheno, 2012; Sevä, 2015; Tummers & Bekkers, 2012). These studies have, however, not studied the determination process of this discretion by the management. Also, these studies have not looked at the influence of a street-level bureaucrat on this decision. This scientific knowledge gap is one of the reasons for doing this research on the determination process of discretion. Researching this determination process and the influence of discretion of the waste coach will be a relevant addition to the theory of discretion and street-level bureaucracy. Where previously mentioned researches mainly focused on the effects of, the need for, and the use of discretion itself, this research focuses on how the degree of discretion came in to being and what the motives were to settle this degree of discretion. This information can be used in further research on street-level bureaucrats to create a foundation for the motives behind the determination process of discretion.

The use of discretion and the street-level bureaucracy theory has not been studied and proved in the waste sector. This research will prove the use of a certain degree of discretion in the work of waste coaches and how this discretion is being constrained and determined by their

managers. The waste coach was still a missing profession in the already rich variety of studied street-level professions and also a stranger in the midst of the already studied professions. Street-level professions which were studied all have in common that they have enjoyed a vocational education; psychologist (Tummers & Bekkers, 2012), police officers (Buvik, 2014), social workers (Evans, 2010) and environmental workers (Sevä, 2015). The waste coach, on the other hand, is a profession characterized by a great variety between the background, education and demographics between the coaches in the different projects. The waste coach stands in contrast to previous studied professions where the manager can rely on a certain shared training and level of the employees to base the degree of discretion on, police officers nationwide have the same education and training for example. Waste coach do not enjoy a vocational education and the decision on the degree of discretion has to be based on other factors.

Another additional fact is that the profession of waste coach is relatively new, the first project started in 2014, and since then many more municipalities started a waste coach project with one or more coaches. This newness is accompanied by not having a general framework for the deployment of the coaches, working methods and degree of discretion for the different projects. Not having this framework has led to a trial and error approach by the managers in the different municipalities, in the search for the right method. Doing research on discretion in the waste sector and the profession of waste coach can be a valuable research perspective because of the newness of the profession, variety of waste coaches and relatively less biased managers in determining the degree of discretion. The waste coach projects are, in a way, a blank page to study the theory of discretion, street-level bureaucrat theory and to study the origin of the degree of discretion.

Another advantage of doing research on waste coaches is the opportunity to do participating research and experience the use and determination process of discretion in person. The researcher has, for this research, applied for the job of waste coach and worked as a waste coach in Nijmegen for several months. For many other street-level professions a certain background or education is needed to be eligible to apply for the job. In the case of the waste coach project in Nijmegen, a vocational training or vocational background was not needed and the researcher was able to work as a waste coach there. In other studies on discretion, mentioned above, relied on stories of their respondents and observations from a certain distance. In addition to interview results from respondents, observations and such, the researcher can also use own experiences and collected data from working as a waste coach to substantiate the analysis and the study. This is a unique viewpoint in studying the determination process of discretion and experiencing the theory of street-level bureaucracy in person.

The societal relevance of this research will be discussed now. First, the need for a clear framework or overview of possibilities for waste coach approaches will be discussed. The results and data from this research can be used to create such a framework. Second, the relevance for policymakers and managers is elaborated concerning the improvement of their understanding of discretion and street-level bureaucracy to be used in future projects. At last, this information in this research can be used to improve the waste coach approach which can lead to better waste recycling, waste behavior of citizens and ultimately a better environment.

The newness of the coaching approach in the waste sector and the trial and error method of creating a right approach has led to many different waste coach approaches in the different municipalities. The lack of a clear framework and overview of possibilities, or in other words lack of knowledge, could lead to suboptimal use of the waste coach approach. This research studies five cases of waste coach approaches. The overview created from the data from these cases can act as a guideline towards a general framework for waste coach projects. The knowledge from this research can be used by managers and policymakers as an extra tool to improve their waste coach project and give clarity to the determination process of discretion. Examples, given in this research, of how other municipalities have designed the project can be used to reevaluate their own ideas and waste coach approach.

Policymakers and managers can use the information from this research to improve their waste coach project, their understanding on discretion and street-level bureaucracy to use in other projects or waste management. Optimizing the waste coach approach and the use of discretion in waste management has positive effects on waste separation and waste recycling, which thereupon has a positive effect on the environment and the sustainable character of the municipality. Besides the positive effects on the environment, better waste recycling leads to more waste revenue as the quality of sold waste has improved. Improving the waste coach approach can also have the effect that citizens deal with waste problems in a better way, less littering for example, which lead to less costs in euro's and the deployment of personnel for cleaning the public space. Succinctly, this research can help policymakers and managers to improve, among other things, their waste coach project, and by doing so preserving precious time, money and the environment.

2.3 Research outline

The previous chapter described the research -problem, -goal and -questions. In the following chapters, the research problem will be solved, the research questions will be answered and by doing so, the research goal will be reached.

In chapter 3, theoretical framework, the theories of street-level bureaucracy and discretion will be further elaborated. The theoretical elaboration of street-level bureaucracy and discretion will give more insight into and conceptualize the nature of discretion. The lens through which the process of discretion determination will be researched is constructed in this chapter. Subsequently, the conceptual model is drawn up based on the theoretical framework and the expected relations between different concepts from the street level bureaucracy theory in chapter 4.

The next chapter, chapter 5, describes different methodologies which can be used for this research. The choice for a qualitative approach is substantiated. Thereafter possible methods used in qualitative research are described and the method that was used in this research explained. Next, the data analysis strategy and the potential limitations and dilemmas of the chosen method will be discussed. The chapter ends with the case selection where the chosen cases will be introduced.

In chapter 6, the results of this research will be drawn up in the analysis. The data gained from interviews, desk research, observations and participatory research will be analyzed divided into different chapters based on the concepts from the conceptual model.

The last part of this thesis consists out of the conclusion, the discussion and the recommendations which can be done on the basis of this research.

3. Theoretical framework

In this chapter, an in-depth description of the theories used in this thesis will be given. Street level bureaucracy will be discussed first, in order to give background in where the theory originates from and how street-level bureaucrats work. Second, discretion will be discussed. Discretion is a key concept in the theory of street-level bureaucracy and the main subject of this thesis. This chapter will give more insight into the nature of discretion and how it is described in other researches.

3.1 Street-level bureaucracy

Street level research was first initiated in the 1960's when researchers became more interested in the implementation of policy and why certain policies had failed. At first, scholars were not interested in what happened at the end of the policy chain. Scholars were interested in measuring the impact of the government on people. However, one of the most important areas where government meets people was least studied (Lipsky, 1969). Lipsky stresses the importance of place when studying policy implementation and in particular the place where clients and government officials interact. This point of interaction between people and civil servant and translation of policy became the center of attention for Lipsky. Street level research took a major step forward with Michael Lipsky's seminal book '*Street-level bureaucracy*' in 1980 (Brodkins, 2016). In this book, Lipsky described the framework of the aspects and characteristics of street-level bureaucrats. Characteristics to which a civil servant must comply in order to be seen as a street-level bureaucrat are; regular and direct contact with citizens, having extensive independence or discretion in their work and the potential impact on citizens is fairly extensive (Erasmus, 2015; Lipsky, 1969, 2010). Three conditions or aspects which a street-level bureaucrat encounters in his work are 1) the relative unavailability of resources, 2) ambiguous, contradictory and in some ways unattainable role expectations and 3) the certain existence of clear physical and/or psychological threat (Lipsky, 1969, 2010). These characteristics are remarkably generative and can be used in researches in various areas of public service (Brodkin, 2012). The theory of street-level bureaucracy is an angle of approach in explaining and studying the working methods of front-line workers in public services and how they overcome systematic and practical dilemmas during their work (Cooper & Sornalingam & O'Donnell, 2015).

The relative unavailability of resources comes forward in for example a study by Buvik (2014), where police officers simply don't have the time to react to all violations of the law. Police officers use their discretion to assess the situation and choose not to act on certain, not severe enough, violations to stay available to react on other situations. The lack of resources, mainly time or

mandate, results in many cases in making routine and simplifications in their job to reduce complexity, gain control and gain time per case (Erasmus, 2015).

The second condition is also visible in the work of police-officers, whereas they perform many roles in society. The contradictory or unattainable role is a factor which arises from, among other things, the contradiction between expectations from management, or policymakers, for bureaucrats to follow the policy and the expectations of citizens, or specific situations on the street. Their roles are dichotomized; management requires them to follow a “rigid” script emphasizing organizational policies and goals, yet simultaneously, they are expected to be compassionate treating each client on a case-by-case basis (Lipsky, 2010). This condition is applicable for all street-level bureaucracy professions.

The third condition of the existence of physical or psychological threat and the challenging of the authority a bureaucrat has happens often in the work of a street-level bureaucrat (Lipsky, 1969). Where physical threat is more common in the work of a police officer, other street-level bureaucrats could also encounter physical threat. Teachers, ambulance staff, doctors might have less ‘chance’ as a police officer to encounter physical abuse, but they can experience the threat. Psychological threat and challenging of the authority of a bureaucrat are more common. Difficulties with the clientele, because of the contradictory role expectations for example, or the work pressure or difficult decisions might lead to a burn-out or other forms of psychological threat. Lipsky (1969) gives the example of a teacher who can’t control the class of children as a threat to ones’ authority. Vague policies or problems with policy implementation a bureaucrat experiences could also lead to a threat to authority when clients or management begin to doubt the work methods of the bureaucrat.

The nature of their work and the conditions in which they operate shape the behavior of the street level bureaucrat (Erasmus, 2015). The degree in which these conditions come forth has an influence on the work of the street level bureaucrat and thus influences the dissemination of policy. Street-level bureaucrats can use discretion to cope with these working conditions, which can result in contradictions in policy as written and policy as performed. Lack of resources, contradictory roles, threats to a bureaucrat and reacting to a specific situation are reasons why ‘street-policy’ differs from the policy as written. Rather than formal laws and policy statutes it is the decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish, and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures (that) effectively become the public policies they carry out (Lipsky, in Hupe & Hill, 2007, p. 280). This part of the street level theory, how ‘street-level implementation’ works, was researched by Sevä (2015) by analyzing the factors influencing street-level bureaucrats’ actions and decisions. The official environmental policy was made to be executed by environmental officials and

their counterparts in the technical sector, but factors as; policy understanding, resources and policy core beliefs, influenced how the policy was implemented. Environmental officials with more positive policy core beliefs and policy understanding were more prone to implement policy measurement than other officials.

The success of a policy is dependent on the resources a street-level bureaucrat receives, but how the resources are being used is just as important while the demand of clients will always outstrip supply (Brodkin, 2012; Cooper & Sornalingam & O'Donnell 2015). The more resources there are available, the more choice there is to specify the given resources and thus influences the discretionary power of a street-level bureaucrat. Discretion is needed for a street-level bureaucrat to implement the resources in the right way and implement the policy on the street.

3.2 Discretion

The conditions and characteristics under which a street-level bureaucrat's works give rise to the need for discretion. On the one hand, the work of the street level bureaucrat is highly scripted to achieve policy objectives. On the other hand, the counterpart of policy as written is policy as performed because the work requires improvisation and responsiveness to the individual case (Lipsky, 2010, p. xii). Lipsky describes this as the gap between policy as written and policy as performed (2010, xvii). This gap became possible through the use of discretion by street-level bureaucrats. However closely controlled and supervised, the essence of all work is that it involves some degree of discretion. Wherever work is delegated, the delegating person loses some control (Hupe & Hill, 2007, p. 281).

Street-level bureaucrats have considerable discretion in determining the nature, amount, and quality of benefits and sanctions provided by their agencies (Lipsky, 2010, p.13). The definition of discretion made by Davis is often quoted;

"A public officer has discretion wherever the effective limits on his power leave him free to make a choice among possible courses of action and inaction" (Hupe, 2013, p. 432).

Tummers and Bekkers (2012) agree with Davis's definition and speak of discretion as; when implementing public policies, street-level bureaucrats have a certain degree of freedom in their work. Discretion as a term often figures as a more or less broadly defined label under which aspects of bureaucratic practice at the street level get attention (Hupe, 2013). Discretion and the need for freedom in the work of a street-level bureaucrat occurs partly because of; performance tends to be difficult to measure, goal expectations tend to be ambiguous, resources are inadequate to perform tasks, clients are typically non-voluntary, and the demand for services tends to exceed supply (Lipsky; Maynard-Moody and Portillo; Vedung; in Zang, 2016, p.5). In the case of policy implementation

discretion occurs because of constraints which street-level bureaucrats face when implementing a policy. Hupe and Buffat (2014) describe three constraints which influence the need for discretion, namely; formal rules which stem from public administration, professional norms or occupational guidelines and expectations from society. A certain degree of discretion improves the willingness of a street-level bureaucrat, but it is not desirable that a street-level bureaucrat can go 'rogue' (Tummers and Bekkers, 2012).

The choice of action and inaction, based on the degree of discretion a public officer has, is decided on several concepts shown in the model below (Figure 1). Whereas management, the policy as written and formal laws expect the policy being implemented as written, there are factors which influence the discretion of a public officer and how a policy is carried out on the street.

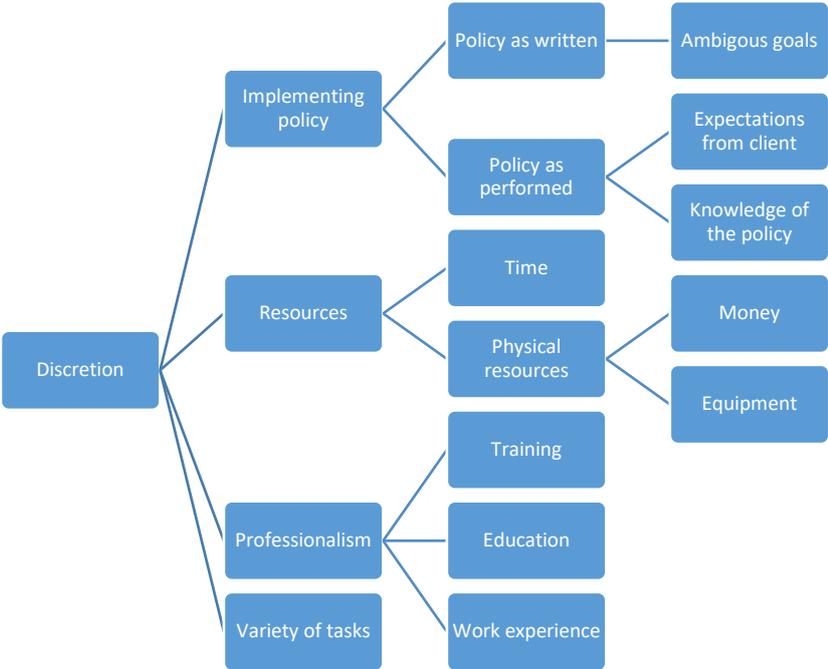


Figure 1. Factors influencing discretion.

The influence of these factors on discretion is for example visible in research done by Sevä (2015) and Buvik (2014). Research by Sevä showed that how an environmental policy was implemented by public officers was influenced by the knowledge of the policy, resources given and the education of the public officers. While in Buvik’s research, police officers should by law arrest or fine violators of the law, but they were constrained by mainly a lack of resources, mainly time or manpower.

Following the definition of discretion made by Davis (1969) and the metaphorical ‘doughnut’ of Dworkin (1978), discretion is limited by a belt of restrictions created by the management of the public officer. Public officers don’t have unlimited discretion and are expected to stay in line of the

policy and formal rules of the authority they work for. The call to control discretion is consistent with the traditional view of management (Carrington, 2005). Reasons or factors of why management wants to control the degree and use of discretion of employees given in the literature on discretion are shown in the model in figure 2 (Carrington, 2005; Evans, 2010).

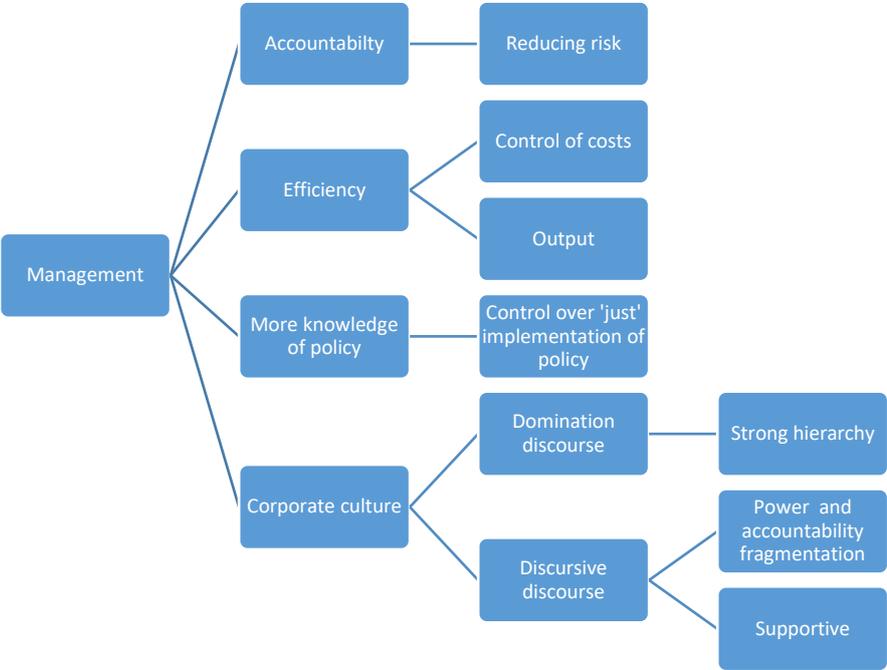


Figure 2. Possible factors influencing the determination process of discretion.

Lipsky’s analysis of discretion at street-level emphasizes a dual process of control and resistance—managers striving to control and getting the job done, and street-level practitioners seeking to resist (Evans, 2010). The factors shown in figure 2 are indeed more concerned in getting the job done, especially when management is accountable for an efficient course of events in getting the job done. Managers are responsible for the street level bureaucrats in getting the job done within the budget and time, which influences their grip on efficiency. Managers ought to have more knowledge of a policy, also their opinion on the policy can differ from the opinion of the street level bureaucrat (Evans, 2010; Lipsky, 2010). The background of the street level bureaucrat can influence how a manager estimates the ability of the bureaucrat to judge situations right. Age, gender, education, work resume, and origin are very likely influential factors on how a manager determines discretion for a street-level bureaucrat, but it is not known how they are of influence. Someone with a low education or less experience can lead to the decision of a manager to have more control over the implementation process of the policy and thus less discretion for a street-level bureaucrat. While a street-level bureaucrat feels the need for more discretion in adjusting the policy to street level, a manager is able to refuse this discretion and creating a discrepancy between the policy as written and performed on the street. At first, this could be a problem for the street level bureaucrat, but this

situation could change by proofing to be a professional asset for the company and project. Higher approval by management because of improving professionalism by the street level bureaucrat might lead to a higher degree of discretion.

Hierarchy within the company and the 'distances between the ranks' give rise to two views of managerialism in the literature (Evans, 2006, 2010, 2011). The domination discourse on managerialism focuses on strong hierarchy, control and increased power of managers within the process of policy implementation. The discursive discourse of managerialism is still characterized by hierarchy but gives more room for professional concerns and considerations of the street level bureaucrat. The corporate culture could have a decisive impact on how the degree of discretion is being determined, a more discursive discourse within a company has more room for own contribution, where a domination discourse leads to holding on to the policy as written with less room for discretion.

4. Conceptual Model

The conceptual model shows the relationship between the waste coach, management and the degree of discretion. Management decides the degree of discretion a waste coach has, but this decision is also influenced by the background and actions of the waste coach. The degree of discretion a waste coach has, has an influence on his or her work and on how policy is implemented by a waste coach.

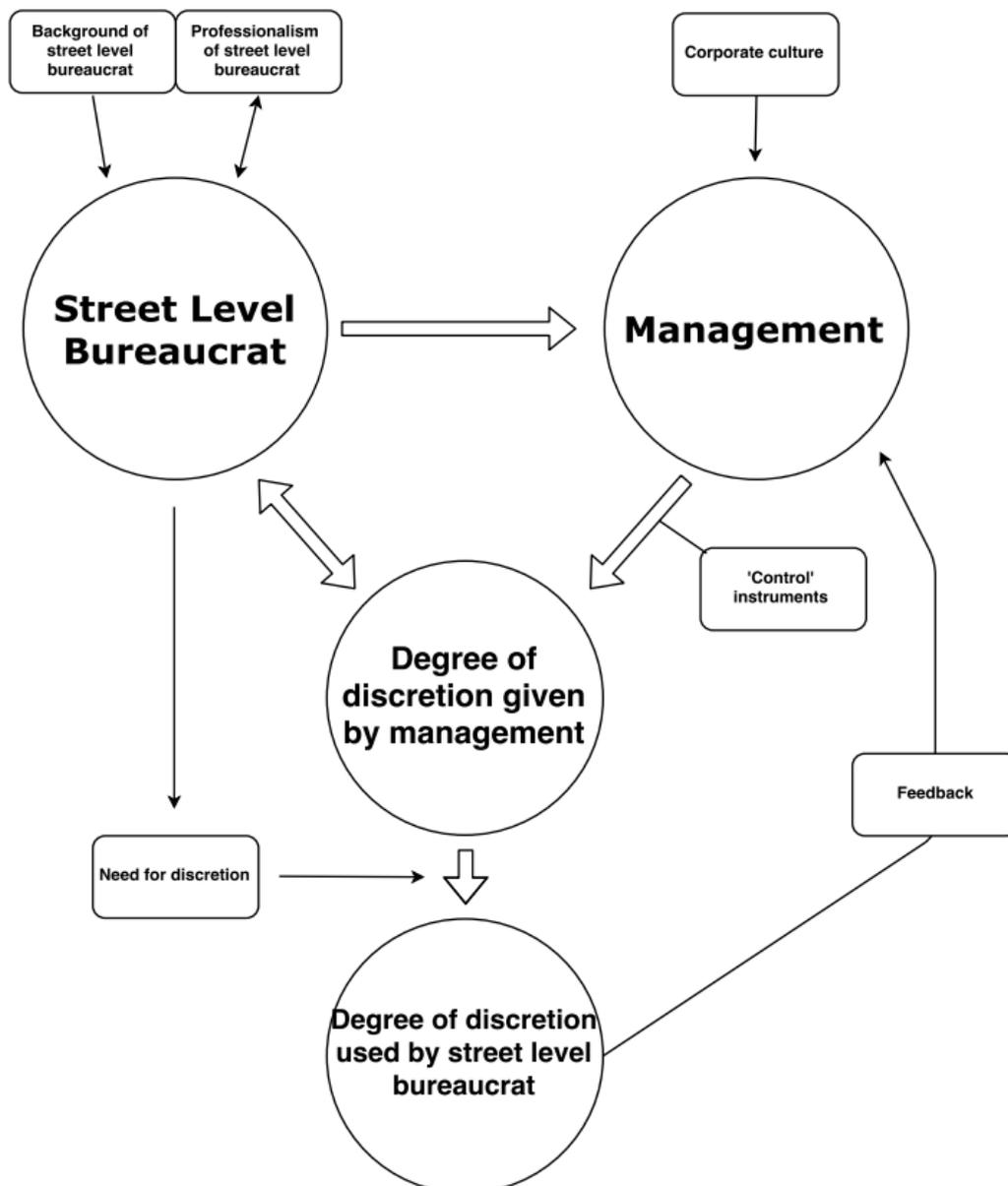


Figure 3. Conceptual model.

4.1 Expectations from theory

The conceptual model above shows the expected relations between concepts from the theory of street-level bureaucracy and discretion. The background and professionalism of a street-level bureaucrat influence how management decides on the degree of discretion a street-level bureaucrat receives. Past work experience (background) and how a waste coach performs his or her current job (professionalism), for example, are expected to have an influence on how the skills of a waste coach are estimated by management and how much discretion a waste coach receives. The corporate culture in which the managers resides is expected to influence the determination process of discretion in a positive way if the corporate culture follows a discursive discourse, supportive and power fragmentation, and has a negative influence on the determination process of discretion if the company follows a domination discourse, which is more hierarchical and has less room for policy adjustments.

Management can check or control the work of a waste coach with various 'instruments' as mandatory meetings before and after working in the field, daily reports, mandatory photographing problems and performance appraisals for example. The control system can keep the given degree of discretion intact and keep the waste coach from going 'rogue', too much control is expected to lead towards a bad working environment for an employee. If a waste coach experiences not enough discretion a need for discretion arises and could result in the taking of more discretion than given by management. Final expectations are in line with Tummers and Bekkers (2012), waste coaches who experience more discretion and trust, less control, which has a positive effect on the working environment which results in better outcomes of the project.

5. Research Methodology

This chapter describes the choices made in creating a fitting strategy for the research methodology. The chosen method is aimed at getting a deeper understanding of the process of determining discretion and aimed at getting the best results from doing the research. First, the choice for a qualitative research will be discussed and why quantitative research is not suited for this research. Secondly, the five most used qualitative methods will be discussed. Then the methodology of grounded theory and case study used in this research will be addressed and furtherly explained. At last the case selection is explained and the cases are being elaborated further.

5.1 Qualitative versus Quantitative

First, an example of a quantitative research on discretion, Tummers and Bekkers (2012) used a quantitative method in their research on the importance of experienced discretion for a psychologist to increase their willingness to help their patients. Tummers and Bekkers did a survey among 5600 psychologists from which 1317 people responded. The survey consisted of several closed questions and open questions where people could express their opinion on the matter of how they experience discretion. In their research, they tried to test the theory of discretion and policy implementation and create statistical generalization (Tummers & Bekkers, 2012, p.4).

“Quantitative researchers seek explanations and predictions that will generate to other persons and places. The intent is to establish, confirm, or validate relationships and to develop generalizations that contribute to theory” (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001, p. 102).

Many types of research on the subject of street-level bureaucracy however, as well as this research, choose a more qualitative method to unravel the story of their research object. This research is aimed at creating a deeper understanding of the process of determining the degree of discretion. In order to reach this goal, an in-depth qualitative research is the most useful to gain detailed information from the perspective of the waste coach and their managers. Qualitative research allows to represent the perspective of the people, covers the contextual conditions of within which people live, contributes to insights of concepts that may help to explain human social behavior and strives to use multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone (Yin, 2011).

The qualitative case study research by Sevä (2015) on street level bureaucrats in environmental management created a holistic view of factors which influence the decision making of street-level bureaucrats;

“By studying this process in different empirical settings, differences and similarities in street-level bureaucrats’ implementing behavior can be distinguished and analyzed in relation to the explanatory factors presented in the theoretical framework” (Sevä, 2015, p.19-20).

Evans (2016) conducted a qualitative case study on mental health teams, street-level bureaucrats in healthcare. Evans conducted an even number of interviews between two mental health teams, where he tried to elicit stories about their work from which he could analyze the use of discretion, the relationship between practitioners and their managers. Buvik (2014) even went deeper into the story of street-level bureaucrats and discretion by conducting fieldwork. Buvik obtained data on police officers and how they used discretion by joining officers on nights of patrolling and observing her ‘research objects’ while being on duty. These moments ‘backstage’ was important to gain insight into the officer’s values and beliefs, and how they made sense of different situations (Buvik, 2014, p.8).

Using quantitative methods thus has the option to elicit a story or opinions on for example how the degree of discretion makes people feel or how they respond to the situation, by asking open survey questions. However, as a researcher, it does not give the option to immediately respond and ask a follow-up question to clarify or extend the data on the matter. In my opinion, this is a great disadvantage of quantitative research in collecting data for a deeper understanding of how discretion is experienced and determined by bureaucrats and their management. The data from conducting interviews instead of surveys gives the opportunity to create a storyline based on the theoretical framework and the experiences, with substantiation, of the street level bureaucrats and their managers. Interviews are necessary in order to understand how actors perceive the world (Sevä, 2015, p.23). In other words;

“Qualitative research is also described as an unfolding model that occurs in a natural setting that enables the researcher to develop a level of detail from high involvement in the actual experiences” (Creswell, 1994, in Williams, 2007, p.67).

5.2 Methods in qualitative research

According to Creswell (2007) people who undertake qualitative studies have a baffling number of choices of approaches. Creswell selected five methods, from this array of methods, which are the most used methods in social, behavioral and healthcare studies. The five frequently used methods that will be discussed, in this order, are narrative research, ethnography, phenomenology, grounded theory, and case study (Creswell, 2007, p. 9).

The narrative research is aimed at capturing the detailed stories or life experiences of a single life or the lives of a small number of individuals focused on a certain research problem (Creswell, 2007, p.55). The researcher 'intense fully' follows a few individuals, collects data from their daily lives and then collects information, as context, about the events and stories the individual's experience. The narrative approach feels like creating a biographical novel aimed at solving a certain research problem. The extensive collaboration with the participants makes it a challenging method to use in a research (Creswell, 2007, p.57). The narrative research doesn't fit the profile of this research because this research is not aimed at creating just one story but tries to compare several projects to unravel how discretion is being determined in different cases.

Secondly, *"ethnography is a qualitative design in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group"* (Harris, 1968, in Creswell, 2007, p.68). People working in waste management could be seen as an ethnographic group, but this research is not aimed at studying the meaning of the behavior, the language, and the interaction among members of the culture-sharing group (Creswell, 2007).

Thirdly, the phenomenological method aims to describe, understand and interpret the meanings of experiences of human life (Bloor & Wood, 2006). The experiences of human life revolve around a certain phenomenon which is the subject of research for a phenomenologist. Discretion could act as a phenomenon to be studied in this research since how discretion is being experienced by the street level bureaucrat can be an interesting fact in how this influences the determination of the degree of discretion. However, this is not in line with the main goal of this research, while this research is not directly aimed at how people experience discretion but on how this degree of discretion is constructed.

Fourthly, the grounded theory method is aimed at generating or discovering a new theory or additional theory to already existing theory by a number of processes operating in concert (Bloor & Wood, 2006; Creswell, 2007). The grounded theory approach is a good research design when a theory or the literature incomplete and cannot explain a certain process, which is the case in this

research. The existing literature on street-level bureaucracy and discretion doesn't describe the determination process of discretion by managers and the influence of street-level bureaucrats. Using the grounded theory approach gives this research the opportunity to add theory to the incomplete street-level bureaucrat theory. The grounded theory helps in creating a framework to explain how people influence the process of determining the degree of discretion. This framework consists of multiple codes of data which flow from interview transcripts and categorizing these interview results (Bloor & Wood, 2006). The process of coding can be seen as an inductive or cyclical process, while the researcher needs to reevaluate the chosen codes. During the process of coding, axial coding and selective coding, the researcher creates a theory which emerges with help from the process of memoing, which happens alongside the coding process (Creswell, 2007, p.67). Within the grounded theory approach there are two 'paths' to follow namely: the discovery of grounded theory by Glaser and Strauss (1967), where theory is already there and needs to be uncovered by the researcher, and the social constructionist version of Charmaz (2005), where categories and theories are constructed by the researcher through an interaction with the data (Willig, 2013, p.77).

At last the case study design is elaborated. Thus, case study research involves the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (Creswell, 2007, p.74). Case studies are aimed at exploring a certain phenomenon through analyzing a limited number of events or conditions and uncover their relationships (Zainal, 2007). However, critics say that the case study is seen not as a methodology but simply a choice of what is to be studied (Stake, 2005, in Creswell, 2007). A case study characterizes itself by extensive data collection through interviews, observations, documents, literature reviews, audiovisual material and other sources of information at hand, in order to create comprehensive analysis. When several cases are selected, each case will be described individually first, issues will be identified per case, the next step is to look for common themes which transcend the cases (Yin, 2003). These common themes can be compared between cases and end in a broad interpretation of what lessons can be learned from studying the cases.

5.3 Research strategy used in this research

By comparing the different approaches, the choice for a research strategy was made: the combination of the grounded theory approach and the case study approach. This choice will be further elaborated below. As shown in the introduction there is still missing literature on the determination process of discretion and in order to accomplish the research goal and answer the main research question additional theory on discretion must be created. Data to generate new theory on discretion comes from several cases, the cases which will be explored are several waste coach projects in the Netherlands. Waste coach projects are a bounded system where the waste coach and the management experience the phenomenon of discretion under different conditions.

The grounded theory and the case study have in common that both approaches need extensive data collection through different data sources and similar interaction with the data. The collection of data has taken place in the form of semi-structured interviews, literature and document reviews, observation, audiovisual material and partly participatory research. The selection process of the cases started with an internet research, literature and document review, in order to select the cases which proved the most promising to provide the best data. When selected, waste coaches and their management per case were invited for a conversation in the form of a semi-structured interview. Semi-structured interviews gave the opportunity to keep the conversation in line with the chosen subject, but also create room to gain an in-depth understanding of a person's thought process (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). The interviews were conducted face-to-face at a location chosen by the interviewee, which led to having the interview at a place where the respondent, and interviewer, felt at ease. This led to more comfortable conversations, in which the respondent felt free to answer all the questions and the interviewer could read the respondent interpret these answers better. While visiting the waste coach projects and interview locations observations were held and experiences were written down. Most of the data came from the interviews, but the whole visit including observations and experiences was used as data and thus were noted and used during the analyzation process.

Putting the interviewee at ease is one aspect which is important to let the interviewee develop material according to Wagenaar (2011). The interviews were conducted according to the methods Wagenaar describes in his book 'Meaning in action' (2011). The interview guide gave some structure to the interview but left enough room for surprising questions and answers, both for the interviewee and interviewer. The participant was asked to describe a certain situation and the researcher can ask follow-up questions to keep the conversation in line with the subject and to clarify certain aspects, but it proved to be important to allow the respondent full freedom to explore his world in his own manner (Wagenaar, 2011, p.259). Waste coaches and managers were, for example,

asked how their last meeting went and what was discussed, or how their day on the street was, or why they had chosen for a waste coach project. The rest of the questions can be found in the interview guides, which has been added to the appendix, chapter 12.2 and 12.3, on page 70-72. Not all the questions from the interview guide were asked, but variations on these questions were used to keep the interview going well. During and directly after the interview memos were noted down concerning conspicuous or striking events; certain important answers, or way of pronunciation, first impressions and provisional conclusions after the conversation. These memos and how they were used during transcribing, coding and analyzing which will be discussed below in chapter 5.5.

Apart from conducting interviews, literature review and observations while visiting the waste coach projects, participatory research was done. To experience the work of a waste coach and the feeling of being a street-level bureaucrat working for governmental policy, the researcher chooses to work as a waste coach in Nijmegen. The participatory research was done in the neighborhood of Bottendaal in Nijmegen, while working with a team of waste coaches for the waste company Dar, Lentekracht and the municipality of Nijmegen. Working as a waste coach made it possible to attend several workshops on waste coaching from the Dutch Association of Cleaning Services (NVRD) and the program From Waste to Resources (VANG). It also gave the opportunity to get familiar with other waste coaches, other waste coach projects and as an entry point to arrange interviews with other waste coaches and managers. Considering the analysis, during the time as a waste coach the theory of street-level bureaucracy was put to practice and these experiences gave more background expertise and foundation to the analysis.

5.4 Case selection

The cases, waste coach projects, which are central to this research were chosen based on project goals, project methods, deployed personnel, employer and duration of the project. In this chapter the cases will be introduced. At the end of this chapter an overview will be given of all the cases, a few characteristics and people who were interviewed. For this research the following four cities and one region with waste coach projects were chosen:

- Nijmegen
- Arnhem
- Tilburg
- Veenendaal
- Twente

Nijmegen

The municipality of Nijmegen started the program of 'Nijmegen schoon, heel gewoon' last year with the waste coach project in Bottendaal, Nijmegen. The waste coach project is executed by the waste company Dar together with the company Lentekracht. The neighborhood of Bottendaal was chosen to be the first waste coach project and functioned as a pilot project for other waste coach projects to come. The goal of the project was to improve the overall waste situation in the neighborhood. The idea was that the waste coaches started a community of citizens from the bottom-up, who then can identify and tackle waste problems. The waste coaches executed certain interventions, with citizens, which should improve the waste situation in Bottendaal.

The team of waste coaches, consisting out of five to six students and one person from social security benefit, was guided and managed directly by Lentekracht and indirectly by the Dar. The waste coaches have thus no background in waste management but did have an interest in waste management and behavioral change. The coaches were mainly hired on the basis of their communicative skills and the students were deployed part-time as an intern or sideline job. The municipality of Nijmegen and Dar are responsible for the budget of the project, but daily management is done by the manager of Lentekracht. The project started in March 2017 and lasted for approximately six months.

Arnhem

Arnhem was the first city who employed waste coaches in 2014 and are deployed to help citizens with the new waste collection systems and rules. The waste coaches are selected by CWI, center for work and income and are people with a distance to the job market. The deployment of waste coaches has a twofold goal: better information about reversed collection and helping people, with a distance to the job market, getting steady work (Gemeente Arnhem, n.d.) There are twelve waste coaches in Arnhem under the supervision of two special work supervisors. The tasks of the waste coaches differ from controlling and supervising container locations, controlling and talking to citizens about waste, obtaining information on violators and giving this information to municipal enforcers and in particular having conversations with residents about waste.

This project is characterized by employing people with a distance to the labor market, people with a social assistance benefit, as waste coaches and give them working rhythm and training concerning finding a new job. The idea is that the coaches find a new job in six to nine months, and then a new group of coaches is being deployed after a training program. The team thus changes regularly and this also results in teams with a great variety in background and professionalism.

Tilburg

Tilburg has a waste coach project, called waste inspectors, since 2016. Tilburg, a city with more than 200.000 inhabitants has a high amount, 178kg, of residual waste per inhabitant. The waste coaches are in service of BAT (Brabants Afval Team). Waste coaches were deployed to lower the amount of residual waste and improve waste separation. The waste coaches in Tilburg or 'bin police', as they are called by citizens, monitor bins of citizens and are allowed to give people a fine if they don't comply with the waste rules. This system caused a lot of noise and displeasure among citizens. The waste inspectors also give advice on how to separate waste and try to make it easier and better to understand for citizens. (Ambachtsheer, 2017; Gemeente Tilburg, n.d.; Vermeer, 2015).

The original idea was that coaches were hired from within BAT, intern job offer, but the function was not popular enough and this lead to hiring people from an employment agency. Two of the coaches had a background in waste management and the other two received a training. The project started in 2015 and is still up and running.

Veenendaal

The ACV, 'AfvalCombinatie de Vallei', operates in the region of Wageningen, Veenendaal and surrounding towns. Instead of waste coaches, the ACV employs 'clean neighborhood coaches'. The goal of the waste coach project is to improve the waste behavior of citizens. At this moment, the recycling rate of the region is 59% average and has to be 75% in 2020, with much reduction in residual waste. The waste coach acts as a personal approach to help people with their questions about waste disposal. Furthermore, they have a controlling function and report waste violation to the enforcer (ACV, 2016). At first, the goal of the project was to inform people about the new waste collection system and waste policies, but nowadays the tasks are more diverse. The two full-time waste coaches had no experience in waste management and were mainly hired on their social skills. The waste coaches are being managed by the municipal office in Veenendaal, but are officially employed by the waste company ACV-group.

Twente Milieu

The waste organization Twente Milieu has several waste coaches employed, who already had another function within the company. Some of the waste coaches already worked at Twente Milieu for years and are well experienced in waste management, however, the waste coach approach was a new challenge. Two waste coaches work full time and the others work infrequent hours, but still every week. The waste coaches were deployed to smoothen the transition to a new waste collection system. Nowadays, the waste coaches are being deployed to help people with their uncertainties about waste disposal and separation. The waste coaches can answer the questions online via mail or on the street or come by your house to have a conversation about waste. Like the waste coach projects in Nijmegen, the intention of the project is positive and not aimed at fining people for example. The goal of Almelo is to be residual waste free in 2030, which is a progressive but hard to reach the goal as Almelo still has an average of 187 kg residual waste per citizens. Almelo has one of the highest amounts of residual waste in the region of Twente (Tubantia, 2016; Twente Milieu, n.d.).

5.4.1 Overview cases and interviews

The five cases, within short the characteristics, in order of when the cases were visited. The interviews were planned either directly with the coach and manager or through their manager or general communication email. In total ten interviews were conducted and during these ten interviews, twelve people were spoken.

City/region	Management	Characteristic of coach	Interviews
Arnhem	Municipality	A team of 6 – 18 coaches from social security benefit	On 12 February 2018 - Interview 1 was with a manager - Interview 2 was with a waste coach
Nijmegen	DAR & Lentekracht & Municipality	Several students & one person from social security benefit, chosen on communicative skills	On 14 February 2018 - Interview 3 was with a waste coach - Interview 4 was with a manager
Twente	Twente Milieu & Municipalities in Twente	Two full-time coaches and several part-time coaches from Twente Milieu with interest in communicating with citizens	27 February 2018 - Interview 5 was with both the manager and a waste coach
Tilburg	BAT & Municipality	Two coaches from BAT & two from an employment agency	On 7 March 2018 - Interview 6 was with two managers, one from BAT and one from the municipality. - Interview 7 was with a waste coach - Interview 8 was with a waste coach
Veenendaal	Municipality	Two former unemployed hired on communicative skills, discipline, and affinity with waste management	On 8 March 2018 - Interview 9 was with a waste coach - Interview 10 was with the manager

Table 1. Overview cases and interviews.

5.5 Analyzing the data

The data which was acquired during this research was analyzed to find certain themes or common features which transcends the cases to uncover what there is to be learned from the cases. Following the grounded theory approach has a lot of influence on the analyzing procedure;

“Grounded theory provides a procedure for developing categories of information (open coding), interconnecting the categories (axial coding), building a “story” that connects the categories (selective coding), and ending with a discursive set of theoretical propositions” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, in Creswell, 2007, p.160).

The interviews were recorded, these recordings were transcribed and written down in word documents. The recordings were transcribed as soon as possible after the interview, while the memory of the interview itself was still fresh. During the process of transcribing the interview data, the interview was partly ‘relived’, with the help of memos from the interview, which was helpful for the coding process and to become even more familiar with the data.

Thereafter, the transcript documents were uploaded in Atlas Ti. and the data was further explored in order to develop categories and an oversight in the bulk of data and useful information was coded. This process of open coding requires an open view in recognizing certain themes and breaking apart the raw data in ‘chunks’ of codes (Creswell, 2007). Because all of the interviews were focused on the same subject similarities between the categories and transcript data were easily found. The results from the open coding process were then evaluated to prepare for the axial coding process. Axial coding combines the categories found during the open coding process and give meaning to the themes that were found. During both the open and axial coding processes memos were written down in relation to the theory and to prepare the data for the analysis. The story that flows from this axial coding and memos is a combination of the themes and events and why they happened and what the consequences were of this certain event (Creswell, 2007; Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007; Wagenaar, 2011). The codes, memos, and examples of how the coding process took place can be found in the appendix, chapter 11.

Especially the time spend coding, axial coding and rereading the interview data when using Atlas Ti. turned out to be of utter importance in writing the analysis chapter. Using this strategy made it possible, and necessary in order to create good codes, to look at the data from different viewpoints and from different levels of abstraction. A deeper understanding of the answers, given during the interviews, was gained and different concepts and themes could be translated towards a story including cause and effect argumentation. This process, in this sequence, leads to discovering different aspects of how discretion is determined and how it influences the work of the street level

bureaucrat. The results of using this research method are to be seen in the analysis of this research, which is built up according to concepts found during the coding process.

5.5 Side note on grounded theory method

However, an important side note has to be made concerning the use of the grounded theory in this research. Charmaz (2006, p. 2 & 3) describes the grounded theory method as:

'A method consisting out of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories 'grounded' in the data themselves. The research process will bring surprises, spark ideas, and hone your analytic skills.'

In this research, the grounded theory method was used by the researcher to collect data constructed through observations, interactions, and materials during the time working as a waste coach. As grounded theorist starts with data (Charmaz, 2006, p. 3), this data was first analyzed to spark ideas and interests towards a research direction. After consulting with the thesis supervisor and discussing the first data, emerged questions and research interests turned out that these ideas matched the street-level bureaucracy theory of Lipsky. This led to the choice to not re-invent the wheel and make use of the theory of street-level bureaucracy and expand it by adding missing information on how and why discretion is determined by management and influenced by the street-level bureaucrat in a new profession namely: waste coaches. From this moment on, the researcher had a theoretical focus point which had effects on the way of using the grounded theory for analyzing the data.

As explained above in chapter 5.5, the method of grounded theory was used to analyze the data. However, the method was not followed conforming to the description of Glaser and Strauss (1967). The process of open coding was important to pinpoint the more interesting quotes and aspects or properties of the researched phenomenon. Intensively reading the interview data from different viewpoints made it possible to gain more in-depth knowledge of the data and phenomenon. In the process of axial-coding, a deviation from the method was taken. Instead of creating an axial-coding paradigm and coding families, the findings were directly translated to memos and text for the analysis chapter. The method was thus used in a limited way and instead of a focus on the axial and selective coding process, this process took place in writing and rewriting the analysis chapter. While re-reading the interview data and writing the analysis, the process of axial and selective coding took place but not according to the traditional grounded theory method, but during the writing process. This has the consequence that no separate documents or Atlas Ti Documents were made of this process.

The method of grounded theory was thus not followed how it was described by Charmaz (2006) and Glaser and Strauss (1967). But to repeat Charmaz's statement from above, the methods

of grounded theory are guidelines which can be interpreted flexible. The guidelines offered the researcher a set of general principles and heuristic devices rather than formulaic rules (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). The method was used to keep seeing the data in fresh ways and explore the data in order to create an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon. The chosen approach to analyze the data, with help from the grounded theory method, by laying connections while writing memos and the first version of the analysis proved to be successful enough. The connections and interaction which otherwise would be made using the traditional axial coding process were made as well with the use of the more flexible approach.

5.6 Potential limitations and dilemma's

Choosing a certain strategy comes with certain advantages and disadvantages while conducting research. Combining a case study approach with grounded theory gives the opportunity to intensively study waste coach projects and collect a lot of data via different ways of data collection in order to conceptualize the data into a new grounded theory. The biggest limitation of this research, however, is time, studying a case intensively and the process of using this data to generate a new theory is time-consuming and exhaustive. The study of a certain phenomenon, waste coach project, and discretion has the disadvantage that data cannot necessarily be generalized to a wider public (Hussein et al., 2014). In order to tackle this methodological problem, the researcher is selective in studying cases, enough to create a complete view of the phenomenon but also time technical feasible. The issue of generalization is less frequently discussed in qualitative research because the main goal is to provide a rich and contextualized understanding of the human experience, grounded theory even allows a unique opportunity to extrapolate findings that further explain these experiences (Hussein et al., 2014, p.8).

The ethical dilemma, which arises from semi-structured interviews with managers and waste coaches who will be asked questions about their work and thus about their supervisor or employee's, is solved by conducting the interviews anonymous, the given information is handled confidentially and will be written down anonymously.

6. Analysis

In the following chapter, the results of the empirical research and data analysis will be presented and discussed according to several themes. The themes are based on the literature on street level bureaucracy, the interview guide, the different cases and the findings from the interviews.

First, the choice of why deploying a waste coach fits the waste policy of municipalities will be discussed. Second, the question of what makes a waste coach a street-level bureaucrat will be answered. Thirdly, the sub question: *'How is discretion managed in other fields of study and how is this related to waste management and waste coach approaches?'* is answered. Data from the literature study on how discretion is being determined in other fields of employment will be presented. Also, it is critically discussed how this is related to waste management and the waste coach approaches. The fourth part of the analysis will look at the concepts from the conceptual model and at the sub questions concerning the interplay between the manager and street-level bureaucrat: first, the management of the coaches will be discussed and the corporate culture and then the concepts of background and professionalism of the waste coach will be discussed. Next the sub-questions: *'To what extent is a street-level bureaucrat influenced by the degree of discretion?'* and: *'How does a waste coach uses discretion to implement a policy?'* will be discussed in 6.6.3. The analysis ends with a chapter on the control instruments that can be used by management and their effects on discretion. Every chapter ends with a short conclusion.

6.1 Why a waste coach?

Why municipalities or waste company choose for a waste coach approach was one of the first questions asked during the interviews. Why was there a need for human intervention, while many new technical interventions were already deployed to increase the recycling rate and improve the quality of returned waste?

First, some background in the waste management in the Netherlands. The collection of separated household waste and subsequently recycling the waste is the responsibility of municipalities in the Netherlands. In 2014 Secretary of State, Wilma Mansveld, Department of Infrastructure and Environment, implemented a new waste policy which puts pressure on the municipalities. The new waste policy, 'From waste to resources' (Van afval naar grondstof), has the ambitious goal of a national recycling rate of 75% of household waste in 2020. The recycling rate was 50% in 2014 and the amount of residual waste was 250 kilos per person per year, which has to go down to 100 kg p.p.p.y in 2020. These ambitious goals have caused that waste companies are rethinking and improving their way of waste collection. New ways of waste collection are being introduced, for example: reversed collection (citizens must bring their waste to big undergrounds containers), PMD bags (Plastic, Metal, Drink carton bags which are free of charge), better service or

adjusted waste collections moment, free GFT and paper waste collection and the polluter pays (the municipality only charges money for residual waste collection).

The use of new technical interventions in waste collection is a necessary step to reach the goal of 75% recycling rate. However, to reach this goal, the technical interventions need to be used right by the citizens. As the manager, respondent, from Nijmegen, says:

“What we saw is that Nijmegen, through a variety of technical interventions, is doing well in terms of waste separation and kilograms of residual waste per person. But at the same time we saw that on a smaller scale, neighborhood or street level, the technical interventions are not always being used in the right way, which forms a bottleneck for better waste recycling “– Interview 4.

In the other cases, where interviews were conducted, they were also experiencing the problem that some citizens don't understand or don't want to understand the new ways of waste collection and information on the new waste policies. The usual communication channels; letters, signs, messages on social media and the website, turn out to be not sufficient enough to make the changes clear to citizens. To make people understand these changes human communication is needed, according to the respondent from Nijmegen:

“The idea is to place a person, the waste coach, between the technical interventions or policy and the citizens. A person which enter the conversation with citizens about their knowledge about waste and to discover the bottlenecks citizens experience, in order to reduce the gap between citizens and waste policy” – Interview 4.

This idea, or the concept of a waste coach, was first initiated in the municipality of Arnhem in 2014. Like in other municipalities, the idea in Arnhem was to employ a waste coach as a personal communication to help citizens with or inform citizens on the new waste policies and adjust their behavior where is needed. Since the waste coach approach was initiated other cities started to follow and jumped on the bandwagon of personal communication in waste management as the manager in Twente also reacted;

“The two things came together at once; Twente Milieu developed the concept of a waste coach and the question for a more personal communication approach towards citizens came from the municipalities” – Interview 5.

While the idea of deploying the waste coach as a means of communication is similar in different municipalities, the approaches are differently conceptualized per municipality. Each case

studied in this research are characterized by a difference in the background of personnel, work method, side policy goals, employer and project approach.

6.2 What makes a waste coach a street-level bureaucrat?

Street level bureaucracy is a concept coined by Michael Lipsky in 1969. The governments, municipalities, or waste companies write down and decide on policies, but the civil servants on the street are the bridge between government officials and the citizen (Lipsky, 1969). In the end, it is up to the civil servant to implement the policy, make it clear for citizens and control citizens on their behavior. To comply as a street-level bureaucrat a waste coach must have the following characteristics; regular and direct contact with citizens, have extensive independence or discretion in their work and the potential impact on citizens is fairly extensive (Lipsky, 1969, 1980).

From own experience and from the interviews with waste coaches has proven that the coaches have regular contact with citizens and spend the majority of their time on the street during their workday. During their workday, a coach has to perform certain tasks given by their manager but have fair independence in how to perform these tasks, however, the amount of discretion is different per project and municipality. The way a waste coach can have an impact on citizens is different per project as well. Waste coaches can impact citizens by giving them warnings and a potential fine as in Tilburg, but monitoring or checking offenders happens in other cities as well, as a waste coach from Veenendaal says;

“We were on the street a lot, so we sort off became the eyes and ears of the street. The information we gathered is then played through to the appropriate authority” – Interview 10.

In most of the occasions, a waste coach can have a positive impact on citizens by giving them the information on waste policies, help them with problems concerning waste and can perform as the link between the citizen and the government.

According to Lipsky a street-level bureaucrat encounters three conditions or aspects in their work; 1) the relative unavailability of resources, 2) ambiguous, contradictory and in some ways unattainable role expectations and 3) the certain existence of clear physical and/or psychological threat (Lipsky, 1969, 1980). As a street level bureaucrat, a waste coach does encounter these conditions in their workday. The unavailability of resources is mainly visible in the case of time and the budget of the project, as a waste coach from Nijmegen told me;

“I would have liked more time for conversations with residents, while these conversations could help citizens with their problems and give valuable information for our project” – Interview 3.

The budget for a project mainly depends on the municipality who is or the client of a project or the biggest shareholder of a waste company and thus an investor in the company. The budgets per waste coach project can be completely different, even if the waste coaches are deployed by the same waste company;

“It depends on the service agreement we have with a municipality. The municipality of Enschede wants the service of a waste coach for 40 hours and the municipality of Almelo only wants a waste coach for 8 hours in the week and they finance the project according to these hours. If we work for more hours, then the costs are for us” – Interview 5.

The role expectations of citizens or the management have on the role a waste coach can be contradictory or unattainable. Citizens sometimes expect that a coach can solve all of their problems, concerning waste policy but also other random problems. In many occasions, a waste coach can help or assist a citizen with their problem, but it is up to the citizen to handle this information right and solve their problem themselves. The management, municipality or waste company, sets certain policy goals in which the waste coach can play a role. These goals are sometimes too ambitious for a waste coach to reach with the given resources, which could lead to an unattainable expectation.

Being the spokesman of the government and policy change, a waste coach can encounter the existence of physical or psychological threat. Resistance can occur when a new waste policy is implemented, and people get the feeling they are limited in their freedom (reactance), or people are skeptic about the content of the new policy (D&B, 2017, p. 20). The resistance to the new policy or governmental meddling can be aimed at the waste coach in the form of physical or psychological threat. In Tilburg, the policy change was accompanied by resistance from some citizens. In some neighborhoods, the waste coaches had to go on their route with the neighborhood agent, keep close to the garbage truck and loaders to ensure their safety while checking the waste bins of citizens (Personal communication, 07-03-2018). The project in Arnhem once made national news because a waste coach was shot with an air-gun, which resulted in minor injury (Aalbers & van der Vegt, 2017). These examples are luckily rare, but there is a certain existence of potential threat for a waste coach during their workday.

6.3 Discussion on discretion in other studies versus the waste coach

The waste coach is a profession within civil service which meets the framework of a street-level bureaucrat set by Michael Lipsky, as shown in the last chapter. As a street level bureaucrat, a certain degree of discretion is needed in order to translate written policy to specific situations on the street. A literature study was conducted on discretion to understand the determination of discretion in other professions, before looking at the determination process of the discretion a waste coach gains from their manager. Studying other researches on street level bureaucrat professions is needed to create a framework or lens for studying the waste coach, being a new addition to the street level bureaucrat professions and being a concept on which almost none scientific research is done. The theoretical framework of this research gave a general view on discretion, this chapter deals with the determination of discretion in specific professions.

Research by Tummers and Bekkers (2012), previously cited in the theoretical framework, focuses on health care workers who have to work with a new healthcare system, Diagnosis Related Groups. This top-down policy is aimed at a more regulated and more efficient health care, less time for patients but more effective, thus better use of resources. The increase of top-down regulation and standardization of healthcare work has a decreasing effect on the amount of experienced discretion and leaves less room for the use of discretion in specific cases of patients. Interesting results from this research are that in some cases this decrease of given discretion is experienced otherwise;

“Street-level bureaucrats may experience different levels of discretion, for instance, because some have more knowledge on (loopholes) in the rules, the way the policy is operationalized in the specific organization and personality of the street-level bureaucrat” (Tummers & Bekkers, 2012, p. 9).

More rules and control over the work of a street-level bureaucrat does not always lead to less discretion for the bureaucrat. It is possible that more control can lead to blatantly ignoring the rules by a street-level bureaucrat, the fact that it is unrealistic for someone to know all the rules and regulations of an agency and that some rules can lead to unworkable situations or rules being inappropriately applied (Carrington, 2005, p.10).

Another profession that is bounded by rules which give a rise to discretion is police work. Police officers need to take account of many policies, laws, and rules during a workday which can lead to unworkable situations. A research by Buvik (2014) shows that police officers have to make choices which situation is most urgent and worth of their time and which situations can be overseen.

Officers are given this degree of discretion to make these decisions, but it is kept in bounds by guidelines as Davis points out in Bronitt and Stenning (2011, p. 321);

“The discretion allowed to officials is typically structured or “fettered” by policies or guidelines designed to ensure the acceptable exercises of discretion by distinguishing between criteria and principles for its exercise which are acceptable from those which are not.”

These policies, guidelines, and rules are taught during the education period of officers or during training later on. Education or training is a way to control or determine discretion of officers. How well someone is educated or trained in his or her profession has an influence on how well someone understands the rules and guidelines and how well someone is able to follow these rules.

The managers who decide on the degree of discretion do have the benefit that, in most of the street level bureaucrat professions, have the same background in education or vocational training. Police officers, health workers, teachers, social workers etc., all have their own vocational education in which the most important guidelines, rules, and knowledge is taught to the workers. Workers who don't know or ignore general rules within their profession can lead to legitimized punishment by their management.

How management reacts to the actions of a street-level bureaucrat is also depended on the corporate culture of the authority. Evans (2010) spoke of domination discourse and a discursive discourse which management can follow in social work. The domination discourse is characterized by strong hierarchy and increased control and power for managers, which leaves less room for freedom or discretion by street-level bureaucrats. Following the discursive discourse leaves more room for freedom, own contribution by the street-level bureaucrat and consultation between the ranks. The hierarchy stays intact in the discursive discourse, but responsibilities are more shared.

Similar to this view on managerialism of Evans (2010) is how managerialism is described by Sevä and Jagers (2013), where they speak of the Weberian style of management and co-management style in environmental management by the government. The Weberian style is similar to the domination discourse, while the freedom of action for street-level bureaucrats is highly restricted by the managers who make and decide on rules, directive, and policy. The Weberian approach is characterized by a top-down approach of policy-making and implementation (Sevä & Jagers, 2013, p. 1063). The co-management style leaves more freedom for the street-level bureaucrat to act and interact with citizens at its own discretion. The co-management style makes different layers within the government must co-operate and are more dependent on each other, the street-level bureaucrat carries more responsibility for the success of the policy. This style of management required some rethinking of the classic top-down way of governing;

“In order to persuade bureaucrats to cooperate with other societal actors, governments have changed their forms of steering when implementing public policy, from direct interventional means (hard law) to less direct instruments (soft law), such as framework legislation, management by objectives, performance evaluation, financial incentives, and network management.” (Sevä & Jagers, 2013, p. 1063).

Performance evaluation is one example which can influence the degree of experienced, and given discretion. Research on police performance in the Netherlands on neighborhood agents (‘Wijkagenten’), has shown that performance measures enable closer supervision by management, which ultimately results in less autonomy and feelings of restricted discretion for the individual involved (Kuin, 2012, p. 43).

Within waste management the concepts which have an influence on discretion, mentioned above, are also applicable for the waste coach, but with some differences. The waste coach, being the person who represents the waste policy on the street or part of the executive body of the waste company, is in the more lower part of the hierarchy structure. The discourse which the waste company follows and the hierarchy between the waste company, the municipality and the direct manager of the waste coach has its effects on the work of a waste coach and the degree of discretion a waste coach experiences. The hierarchy between the different actors who are responsible for making the policy and executing the policy is important for who gives the orders, who is responsible and who takes responsibilities. The person who is responsible for making the policy and giving the orders is also the one who, for a big part, creates the framework or structure of work activities of the waste coach.

Differences that stands out when comparing discretion within waste coach projects and other professions is the fact that the profession of waste coach is relatively new, there is no general framework or policy for each project (every city has a different approach), the background of the waste coaches is different, and they did not have the same vocational education or have the same characteristics. Whereas the national waste policy goal is similar in the whole of Netherlands namely; better waste recycling and separation among citizens according to the from waste to resources policy (Van afval naar grondstof), the policy approach is different at the municipal level. The waste policy on municipal level differs in the field of means, budget, approach, way of waste collection and necessity to reach the national goals. When using the example of policing, the law is the same in the whole of the nation to live up to by citizen and policemen, the waste policy can differ per city and municipalities within one region.

6.4 Management

The management is responsible for the success of the waste coach approach and waste policy. Within waste coach projects a distinction must be made between the direct manager of the coaches, those involved in the waste company and those involved from the municipality. This distinction must be made because all these professional parties play a different role in the project, have different responsibilities and perceive different goals. It does depend on the project who is responsible for tightening the belt of discretion for the waste coaches and the underlying factors or reasons for this decision.

In this chapter, the managerial layers of the different cities and projects will be discussed and compared. The empirical results, gained from the interviews, will be used to lay bare the managerial structure, corporate culture, in what way the management decides and how management communicates with the coaches and between the managerial layers. Differences between the projects will show how these different concepts have their influence on the project and how discretion is being determined for the waste coach.

Municipalities were involved in all the visited cases, this is due to the fact that municipalities are responsible for the waste policy in the city and because they are, most of the times, only shareholder of the waste company who collects the waste in the municipality. Being the shareholder of the waste company also means that the budget of waste companies is largely dependent on the finances provided by the municipality. The extent to which the municipality sees a waste coach as added value for their policy may also be reflected in the budget for the projects. This financial dependence has a big influence on how the waste coach projects are designed. As the managers from Tilburg, Nijmegen and Twente Milieu said:

“The one who pays is the one who determines in the end” – Interview 4, 5 and 6.

That the wishes of the municipalities, and the associated budget, has its influence on the waste coach projects is mainly visible in the length of the project and for how many hours a coach is deployed. For example, in Tilburg, there are four waste coaches who work 40 hours a week each, four full-time jobs in a project that runs for over two years now. The project in Veenendaal also runs for two years now but has room for two waste coaches who work 32 hours a week each. In Nijmegen however, the team mainly consists of students working as a waste coach as a side-job or internship and one permanent waste coach who works a minimum of ten hours a week. The projects in Nijmegen are also of shorter duration, the project in Bottendaal was for six months and Druten and Beuningen lasted for three months. The length of someone's working time and worked hours has an

influence on the experience a coach gains. The coach gets more knowledge of the waste policy and tricks or routine to make their job more efficient over time.

The involvement of municipalities does not mean that they are the direct manager of the waste coach, at least in the cases of Nijmegen, Tilburg and Twente Milieu. The project in Arnhem, however, is a project set up by the municipality, with no involvement of a waste company. The municipality of Veenendaal hires the waste coaches from the waste company ACV, but the coaches are being managed from the municipal office. This distribution of responsibilities and management has an effect on the speed on deciding on new initiatives or decisions which needs approval from above. Where in Veenendaal and Arnhem decisions or initiatives can be directly communicated to someone of the municipality but doing this in Nijmegen requires an extra step in getting the message to the municipality through the manager of Lentekracht or the DAR. Getting the message across is dependent on the hierarchy within the organization.

The communication and hierarchy between the managerial layers and the waste coach is one important aspect of how the degree of discretion comes forward. At Twente Milieu and Veenendaal the waste coach and manager were very positive about the 'short lines' of communication between the layers:

“Some problems can’t wait and then the short lines of communication are very useful. I can enter the office of my manager anytime, give them a call and I even have the number of the responsible municipal official. This way, the question and problem quickly go up the administrative ladder which makes it possible to take decisions faster” – Interview 5, 9, 10.

Hierarchy, in particular, strong hierarchy, can have its negative effects on the work and initiatives of a waste coach showed from the conversations with waste coaches from Nijmegen and Arnhem. One example from Nijmegen is that the waste coach had an initiative and communicated this to the manager, but the initiative never came up the administrative ladder and no feedback on the initiative was received. The waste coach in Arnhem experienced a similar situation:

“We come up with ideas sometimes to improve the waste coach approach and communicate these ideas to our supervisor. The supervisor, unfortunately, has to answer to his boss and that boss to his boss... it takes to many steps before the idea reaches the policymaker. So, we can come up with ideas, but it’s the question if someone really does something with them”- Interview 2.

The concept of hierarchy brings us to the corporate culture of the management layers. The corporate culture is seen as a concept which has a great influence on the work of a street-level bureaucrat (Evans, 2010, Sevä & Jagers, 2013). The example given above from Nijmegen and Arnhem leans towards a domination discourse, where there are a strong hierarchy and control kept by the management. New initiatives by the waste coach can lead towards a diversion instead of reaching the goals set by the management. Having a clear and relatively small job package can also be a sign of a domination discourse because this is easier to control than a job package with a lot of variety of tasks. The variety of tasks in Tilburg is relatively little, the main task of the waste coaches is to check waste bins of citizens if the waste is separated the right way. The policy and project are devised by a municipal official and carried out by BAT (Brabants Afval Team). Tilburg is a good example of a domination discourse, where the waste coaches focus on one job which was decided by the management. Management keeps control over the project, takes full responsibility and does not divert from the policy as written down. The management wants to keep control over the just implementation of the policy, which has its negative effects on the degree of discretion, but it does make it possible to reach the policy goals in an effective way. Keeping the tasks and discretion of waste coaches limited to checking waste bins did improve the waste separation by 10-15% in two years' time.

The situation in Arnhem is slightly different, where the policy is set top-down by the municipality, but the coaches have more tasks to perform and have more responsibility. When the coaches are on the street, independence is expected in performing the tasks right and informing other departments of their finds on the street. This situation is also comparable to Nijmegen, where the municipality and DAR decide on the waste coach projects and goals, but Lentekracht and the waste coaches do have a say in the matter. The municipality and Dar decide on the broad lines of the project and Lentekracht and the waste coaches decide on the daily activities. The management of Nijmegen balances between the domination and discursive discourse, which leaves more room for co-management and responsibilities for the coach. Where Nijmegen leans more towards the discursive discourse and Arnhem more towards the domination discourse, while in Nijmegen the waste coach has more responsibilities for the success of the policy.

Veenendaal and Twente milieu lean even further towards the discursive discourse. The waste policy self is again drawn up by the municipality, but how the waste coach project is organized is for a large part the responsibility of the waste coach. The communication between the different managerial layers is well organized, the organization has less of a top-down approach in policy implementation and takes decisions or initiatives from the bottom up more seriously. The short lines

of communication and informal work relationship were things that stood out, which indicates a more co-managerial style or discursive discourse.

Conclusion

The hierarchy within waste management is characterized by the municipality who is, usually, the shareholder or financier of the waste company or waste coach project. This makes the municipality the designer and decider on the waste policy and the waste companies or the direct management of the waste coach project the executors of the waste policy. The co-management style of Veenendaal and Twente Milieu results in short lines of communication and a more informal working relation between waste coach and management layers from the municipality and waste company. This situation has positive effects on the degree of discretion, while the management is more inclined to leave matters to the waste coach. The domination discourse of Tilburg leads to strong hierarchy, fixed tasks and leads to a low degree of discretion for the coaches. Arnhem and Nijmegen sit between the discursive or co-managerial style and the domination discourse, which is translated into a strong presence of the municipality but also leaves room for discretion and some initiatives from the waste coach.

6.6 The waste coach

There are several concepts or events whereby the waste coach has an influence on the determination process of the degree of discretion he or she gains from the management. The background is one important factor, where previous or current occupation, age, educational level and gender play a role. The professionalism of the coach is based on how someone performs as a waste coach, does someone receive more discretion if they do their job right and show initiative or is this not taken into account here. There are also examples of waste coaches who take discretion or decisions which not, necessarily, fall under their jurisdiction, these events influence the opinion of management on the coach. Furthermore, the feeling of appraisal or opinion people, citizens or management, have on the waste coach is also a factor which needs to be taken into account. These are the concepts and events that will be discussed in this chapter.

6.6.1 Background

The field of waste coaches is one which exists out of people with a large variety of background. Every project that was visited had a different approach in who was hired and what the criteria were. Because of these differences, the cases will be discussed separately, in contrast to the last chapter, to conclude with the most striking empirical outcomes.

Arnhem was the first city that was visited, and this project characterizes itself with a large number of waste coaches from the unemployment assistance/benefit. The three requirements which were set are that the applicant is 'between jobs', speak the Dutch language and are in good shape, because of the physical aspect of the job. These criteria result in a team with a variety of age, educational background, gender and past work experience. This diversity and continual change of people ensures an interesting dynamic every time. The manager sees, in his project, no extra added value or big differences between people with high education or people with low education:

"In my experience, people with high education are maybe smart and creative, but they can be socially less skilled. Someone with a lower education might come up with less creative ideas, but just does his or her work"- Interview 1.

The challenges of working with people from the unemployment assistance are that you don't know from the start if people are damaged mentally from their past work experience or potentially have other problems like debt or people who like to revolt against society or 'the system'. To filter out these problems and most important filter out the 'stirrers' (*oproerkrainers*), the waste coaches start with a trial period of three months, including self-reflection workshops, work progression conversations and simply to give people trust again in an employer and society. In these months a lot

of mistakes are accepted, as learning points, taking account peoples background, unless people really mess things up really bad and then they are asked to quit the program.

Because of the diversity of people and uncertainty of how people will behave as a waste coach and on the street the degree of discretion is kept low, especially in the first months. The people with a good background and a good working attitude will float upwards and these people will receive extra tasks, if they want, to keep the job challenging and interesting.

In Nijmegen, the waste coaches are hired by Lentekracht, a company who employs interns and students as well as a person who was in the unemployment benefit. The background of the students is largely similar; relatively young people, studying at the Radboud university or HAN, communicative, working as a waste coach as an intern or as a side job. The criteria for the waste coaches are that they have an affinity with waste management and sustainability, well communicative in the Dutch language and good at switching between policy, wishes of citizens, work, and own opinion or in other words that they can make a good estimation of the situation at hand. The manager of Lentekracht sees students as a real asset to their projects:

“The advantage of students is that they are not yet confined in the waste branch, which gives them an open and independent view on waste problems in the neighborhood. At the same time, they relatively take in information fast and come across approachable to citizens” – Interview 3.

The background of the waste coaches and the nature of the project resulted in a relatively high degree of discretion in the start of the project. This is due to the method how Lentekracht works and the project being a pilot, how the approach should go and what the problems were in Bottendaal still had to be explored. When the problems became clear and solutions had to be brought up, the lack of experience with waste policy and the municipal law had a more negative influence on the degree of discretion. The ideas and initiatives of the waste coaches were hard to implement because they did not fit the policy or were unlawful or too ambitious.

At Twente Milieu the waste coaches come from within the company, they still have or had a different function at Twente Milieu. Communication skill is again one of the most important criteria for the applicant, talking to citizens and explaining the policy to them for example. The vacancy of waste coach was internally set out and people ‘from practice’, garbage men or pest control or field service, could apply if they think the job suited them. Employing people with working experience at the company and within the working field has the advantage that they are already familiar with the working field and municipalities. This is also an advantage for the management because they know

the quality of the waste coach and they can trust on a certain level of knowledge which the coach should have. As the coach emphasizes:

“We already have the most foreknowledge about the way of waste collection and waste policy, so we can easily convey this message to citizens. We are therefore expected to communicate this message well and to enjoy spreading the policy” – Interview 5.

The confidence in the coach’s expertise resulted in a higher degree of discretion, but also in a higher degree of responsibility for the coach. The background at Twente Milieu makes it easier for the waste coach for them to get idea suggestions, initiatives, pressing matters or a simple message to the right person at the company and municipality because they already have connections there. Still, this higher degree of discretion also comes with a higher degree of expectations from management. The manager said that they take this job very seriously and that the coaches should behave accordingly.

In Tilburg, at BAT (*‘Brabants Afval Team’*), the approach was to employ people from within the company as waste coach, but BAT was unfortunately forced to hire people from the employment office as well. The group of waste coaches consists of 3 men and 1 women, two from BAT and two from the employment office. The background of the coaches is thus diverse, where two people were already familiar with waste management and waste policy and the other two did have an affinity with this but had to learn more on the job. The function was created for people over 40 years old, for employee’s who are actually too old to work as a loader, chauffeur or garbage men. This could potentially result in the same situation as at Twente Milieu, but the function of waste coach in Tilburg isn’t popular and the approach is very different. The background of the four coaches is now diverse in a way that one coach is from the administrative department of BAT, one coach was garbage men and two are from the employment agency. The two coaches who already worked at BAT had the responsibility to train the new coaches in the beginning and introduce them to waste management. However, because of how the project is set up, the background of the waste coaches has no to just a little effect on the degree of discretion.

In the case of Veenendaal, the choice was made to focus on people with communicative skills, which was the criteria of utmost importance, affinity with waste and with a good working discipline. The waste coaches have these three criteria in common, but their background is otherwise different. One waste coach has an educational background in teacher training and worked in healthcare and the other waste coach has a background in the hospitality industry and retail. The vacancy was set out in the municipality of Veenendaal and Wageningen and anyone could react. This gave the management the opportunity to choose the best fit for the vacancy, which were the current coaches (side note: one coach got another job within the municipality and a new coach was hired

according to the same conditions). During the application procedure, the coaches had shown that they had the right capabilities. The coaches were responsible for giving substance to their own function because it was a new profession and project even for the municipality. The manager responded as follows on this matter:

“We hired people who had the right competencies for the job. We looked for people who could largely work independent, thus have a good work ethos, input and have the capacity and see the challenge in improving and expanding their own function” – Interview 9.

The approach in Veenendaal lends itself well, in combination with the right application procedure and thus coaches with the right background, for a higher degree of discretion. The coaches received a certain degree of discretion to give substance to their own function and workday, also due to their background.

Conclusion

The background of the street level bureaucrat is indeed one factor that is important in determining the degree of discretion. The amount of discretion also depends on the kind of project, but there are differences to be seen which can be traced back to the background of the waste coach. The waste coaches with a history in waste management are to be trusted to know the waste policy and that they can convey this message right. In Veenendaal they hired two full-time professionals specifically for the job to communicate with citizens, this also had a positive effect on the degree of discretion. Having the right background for the job gave them the opportunity to largely give shape to their function and tasks. The project in Tilburg revolves around one main task, namely checking bins, they hired people who were fit to do this job. Mainly because of the project, but also partly of their background they don't expect and want more initiative from the coaches, which results in a strict degree of discretion. The case of Arnhem differs from the rest because anyone who is unemployed can apply for the job. The diversity in the background between people resulted in a relatively low degree of discretion, because it is not known by the management what the level is of the new group of waste coaches, as this changes every few months. The project in Nijmegen, being a pilot, and the fact that the students are 'not yet confined' within the world waste management and waste policy makes their ideas interesting for the DAR and Nijmegen. The management is open for the ideas of the waste coaches because they are looking for a different view or take on waste management. Still, the degree of discretion is relatively limited because of their inexperience, for example, lack of knowledge of the law and ideas which doesn't fit the waste policy. Furthermore, variation in discretion due to demographic characteristics were not found in the different cases. The racial/ethnic background and gender of a waste coach did not play a role in determining the degree of discretion by the management.

6.6.2 Professionalism

The professionalism of a waste coach is based on several factors like work ethos, work attitude, taking initiative and work results. How well someone perform on their job or the kind of job someone performs can also be of influence on the opinion citizens or management have about the coach or vice versa. When someone gains more expertise and book results, this can result in a higher degree of discretion given by management or taken by the coach. In this chapter different examples are given and discussed which create an image of how professionalism influences the degree of discretion for waste coaches.

During the interviews, subtle questions were asked about how the waste coach performed and questions about training, initiatives, works results and how these factors influenced the view on the coach. The answers have shown that the differences between the waste coaches, and the experience they have, do have an effect on how they are treated by their managers and the degree of responsibility a coach gains or takes. In Arnhem, for example, there are level differences in term of educational and work background between the coaches and after the initial phase and first evaluation conversations of each project it became clear which coach was more capable to receive more responsibility and tasks, as the manager said:

“There is a lot of difference in level between the coaches and after a while, you can see some people who stand out who can perform better than the other. We also give these coaches additional tasks to keep the job interesting for them” – Interview 1.

The coach from Arnhem had a similar opinion that when they are familiar with the job they don't necessarily gain more responsibility, but they take more responsibility and show more initiative.

“When working on the street you won't call for permission every time anymore, you know what to do by now and take initiative. But you still have to keep the right order and guidelines in account”- Interview 2.

Another example of the coaches getting more experienced and taking initiative, taking more discretion not necessarily given by the manager, is that they sometimes choose to go work in another neighborhood instead of the one which was instructed during the morning meeting. The coaches get familiar with the neighborhoods over time and know which one needs extra attention and in which one relatively not a lot of work can be done. This decision is not always appreciated by the management, but the coaches can substantiate their choice.

While at Twente Milieu all the coaches have a similar background, working at waste management, the differences became visible relatively soon. Twente Milieu invested in the coaches

by giving them communication skill training and an introduction to the work of waste coaches. After evaluating the performance of the coaches, it became visible who were the 'pioneers' and who acted more as followers who won't take too much initiative.

"There are some guys who just want to stand around at a square, keep it clean and talk to some citizens. And there are some who attend more meetings with the municipality and municipal board, give presentations and simply take more initiative. This difference is due to the kind of people we work with, some are more interested and have more fun in their job as waste coach" - Interview 5.

This also resulted in some waste coaches working only one day a week, some three days and one full-time coach, partly due to the available working hours and partly due to their interest or work ethos towards being a waste coach. One employee is very happy with his job as a pest controller but sees two days of waste coaching a nice addition to his work and doesn't want to give up pest control. While others get more satisfaction out of the combination of three days of field service or garbage men and two days of waste coaching, which is fine according to the manager.

"We see waste coaching as a serious job which you perform with full dedication, even if you only do it once a week. When this is not the case we're going to have a serious conversation with the coach"- Interview 5.

Having more interest in the job of waste coach and prove your competence to management can lead to more working hours, when available. Performing well, and thus showing professionalism, has a positive effect on discretion because the management can trust a waste coach with more tasks and responsibility. In the case of Veenendaal this effect is also visible, where the coaches were hired on certain competencies of communication skills, work ethos and discipline, as the manager said:

"The coaches had to give shape to their own function for a bigger part and they had the right background to do so. They did a good job in filling in their function and delivered results, which resulted in a kind of trust that I could leave them to do their own thing and I do mine" – Interview 9.

The coaches were thus hired due to their competences and performed well, which resulted in a higher degree of discretion for the coaches in the case of Veenendaal. But still, they had to earn the trust of the management, therefore a certain level of professionalism is needed to gain a higher degree of discretion.

Conclusion

The information gained from the interviews proved that there is a correlation between the level of professionalism and the degree of discretion. Coaches who perform well and have shown to be capable to bear extra responsibility are 'rewarded' with extra tasks and trust. When getting more familiar with the job, coaches also take more responsibility or implement a certain routine to make their workday go smoother. The managers furthermore do evaluate the behavior and work of a coach and will confront coaches when they are not functioning properly or as agreed upon.

6.6.3 Discretion and its effect on the waste coach

In this chapter the sub-questions: *'To what extent is a street-level bureaucrat influenced by the degree of discretion?' and: 'How does a waste coach use discretion to implement a policy?'* are discussed. The degree of discretion a coach has is of influence on for example the task determination process or how a coach can act in certain situations. The degree of discretion is determined in different ways and at different levels as the previous chapters have shown. In this chapter a more in-depth description will be given on how this degree of discretion is being used in reaching the policy and project goals and examples will be given of situations in which the use of discretion can be visualized.

During the project in Nijmegen, the coaches were given a relatively high degree of discretion. The project was a pilot too, among other things, find out how the waste coach approach could be improved and become an asset for the waste policy of the DAR and the municipality of Nijmegen. This resulted in the coaches having the space to try out certain interventions, coming up with new ideas, being on the street a lot, talking to citizens to map waste problems in the neighborhood and come up with solutions for these problems together with citizens. During a workday, the coach acted as a kind of mediator between on the one side the municipal policy and the DAR and on the other side the citizens. Comments on or problems with the policy were fed back to the management and the policy was explained to the citizens. The coach had the freedom to explain the policy to citizens and come up with a solution at that moment with the citizens in question. Another task was to manage a working group focused on a certain waste problem consisting of a number of residents. Together with the citizens, the waste coach was given the discretion to come up with interventions and these were presented to the management. Some of the interventions were executed according to the manager:

"In Bottendaal we have, together with citizens, 'pimped' a certain amount of waste bins by making them bright blue and more visible, two GFT containers became art pieces trough graffiti art in order to find out what this does with the polluting of the containers and a coach

was responsible for moving waste bins to a more suitable location to reduce littering there. These are examples of things that would not have happened without the deployment of waste coaches” – Interview 4.

On the other hand, some interventions did not take place due to either not legal or financial feasibility. This was also the point where the discretion of the coaches ended. The waste coach could not take decisions which involved spending budget, legal approval or fall under the liability of people higher up the hierarchical ladder, without consenting and with the approval of the management. The degree of discretion and the project being a pilot let the waste coaches discover the opportunities and let them think out of the box, which resulted in some original initiatives that were executed and some that proved to be not feasible.

The process of trial and error, what also happened in Nijmegen, is a familiar event in waste coach approaches. There is no handbook or proven method yet, this leads to different cities reinventing the wheel over again. The first waste coach project was in Arnhem in 2014, one of the first waste coaches there is now the manager of the current project. In 2014 he ‘invented the wheel’ and had a certain freedom in giving form to the waste coach approach in Arnhem. The tasks, resources, working hours, the design of the team and ways of documenting the work used today originates from the 2014 period. Since the waste coach approach was given form, the amount of discretion was set as well, tasks were fixed and less room for initiative was left. This relatively low degree of discretion and how the project is set up has an impact on how the waste coaches experience their work today, as the waste coach said:

“We can come up with ideas, but if someone listens to them... that is one disadvantage or something that strikes us. The opinion some people have from the municipal office on the project and us as unemployed is not always positive and that stigma does something to a person. I am happy that I have the opportunity to work again and to prove myself, but sometimes you have the idea that the work of a waste coach is not appreciated enough” – Interview 1.

This is one example of how discretion and the trust and responsibility that comes with a certain degree of discretion can influence the work of a street-level bureaucrat. As the research by Tummers and Bekkers (2012) had shown that discretion is important for the willingness to implement a certain policy and client meaningfulness, this can also be seen in the case of waste coaches. The case of Arnhem shows the negative effects of low discretion can have. These negative effects are also visible in Tilburg where the project has the focus on one main task, checking waste bins of citizens, which resulted in a low degree of discretion. The waste coaches have no room to come up with initiatives

and give their own spin to the project or task. The opinion of citizens on the project is also very negative and these negative reviews almost resulted in the municipality to shut down the project. The negative view on the job also had the result that the function of waste coach is not that popular at BAT and waste coaches had to be hired through an employment agency instead of BAT internally. The management is trying to improve the opinion on the coaches by giving them more discretion in the form of also giving feedback to citizens in person instead of only giving yellow, orange or red tickets to people. The degree of discretion and corporate culture leaves no room for deriving of the given task and not much room for own initiative.

The opposite example is Veenendaal where the coaches have relative high discretion and freedom to give their own job shape. As the waste coach approach is new for the manager as well and because they hired coaches with a good background for the job, the coaches have the opportunity to come up with initiatives, try them out, perform several tasks and link the results back to the management. In contrast to Arnhem and Nijmegen, the coaches in Veenendaal work for a longer time and the coach who was interviewed worked there for three years already. The length of the project made it possible to expand the range of tasks and responsibilities. One example of the expanding range of tasks is the creation or improvement of the educational program for kids to teach them how to handle waste problems and teach them the basics of the waste policy. When some goals are attained, or tasks are completed, then new initiatives are tried and new tasks arise. Giving the coaches extra responsibility is also due to the work ethos and good results that were delivered. The high degree of discretion the coaches have in Veenendaal a form of trust from the management towards the coaches, they entrust them with a certain shared responsibility. The coaches saw the challenge in this responsibility of setting up a successful waste coach approach. As the degree of discretion is relatively high, the willingness to implement a certain policy is higher as well in this case.

At Twente Milieu the degree of discretion is relatively high as well, but the coaches here deal with this differently. The coaches who are permanently employed as waste coach take up extra responsibility and tasks, while some others like to stand at a waste square and keep this clean. This difference in acting upon the given degree of discretion can be lead back to the professionalism or work ethos of the coaches. This shows that the degree of discretion alone is not the only factor that has an influence on the work of a waste coach, it is also important how they utilize this degree of discretion.

Conclusion

The degree of discretion influences the work of a waste coach in several ways. The nature of the project, the background of the coaches and the corporate culture influence the degree of discretion. The cases with a relatively higher degree of discretion showed more initiative from the coaches, coaches having the possibility to give shape to their own function and the project and a greater variety of tasks. Interesting to see is that the degree of discretion can also be seen as a token of appreciation. Where in Veenendaal the waste coach was very enthusiastic about the responsibility they have and the tasks they must do, the coach in Arnhem experienced the opposite due to the idea that their initiatives are possibly not taken seriously. The effects of the degree of discretion are mainly visible in how the coaches can give their own spin in reaching policy goals and implementing waste policies. A higher degree of discretion generally leads to more own initiative and more responsibility for a variety of tasks. This does not mean that one approach is better than the other, but it does mean that different strategies are used in implementing the policy and reaching its goals.

6.7 Control instruments

Managers have certain control instruments to keep control over the comings and goings of the waste coaches and to prevent the coaches to go 'rogue' as Tummers and Bekkers (2012) put it. The kind of and number of control instruments have an effect on the degree of discretion and the freedom a waste coach experiences. In this chapter, the control instruments used in the waste coach projects will be discussed and their effects on the degree of discretion elaborated.

The meetings waste coaches have with their managers look seemingly innocent at first but are also a way of control. Managers decide to have meetings daily, weekly or regularly to stay up to date with the actions of the coach, to give them tasks or to inform them about changes in the policy or project. In Arnhem, for example, the coaches always start and end their days at the municipal office. In the morning they receive tasks, talk about experienced events and hear in which neighborhood they're going to work that day. After the day's work, there is a debriefing at the municipal office where the workday is evaluated and experiences are shared. The situation in Tilburg is similar to that of Arnhem. The fixed working hours that comes with this, oblige the coaches to arrive on time and work the desired hours. This is at the expense of some freedom of choice, but fixed hours are not extraordinary in the working field. In Nijmegen, there were weekly meetings where experiences were shared and new tasks were given, less obligatory meetings can give the feeling of less control or more freedom for a waste coach.

However, at Twente Milieu and Veenendaal there were less regular meetings, but the coaches said in the interviews that they come by the office of their manager almost daily to give them a heads up, share ideas, or address pressing matters. This was also the case in Nijmegen, some things couldn't wait till the next meeting but needed approval or advise from upper hand. So also at these projects, the coaches feel the urge or necessity to inform their manager, instead of taking matters in their own hand. The waste coaches are low on the bureaucratic ladder, which means that they are dependent on their management or the political/executive power of the manager to solve certain problems and execute initiatives. The waste coach did not receive the means, the mandate, to solve undertake these actions themselves, and this restriction is a way to tighten the belt of discretion. Where in Arnhem and Tilburg, because of the regular meetings, the discretion is relatively low because almost all actions are discussed before and after a day's work. The experienced discretion in Veenendaal and Twente Milieu is also kept inbound, which is visible in the daily unofficial meetings the coaches have with their manager.

Further control instruments are the logbook, photographs, appraisal interview or assessment form. In all cases, a logbook was kept, where the daily events were written down. In Nijmegen the logbook was used to determine tasks and sometimes to routinize some actions;

“Some situations kept coming back in the logbook, so we decided to create a standard action for these problems. The waste coach was free to act in a certain matter in these situations without consulting the manager first. But when in doubt, then link this back to the management and report it in the logbook” – Interview 4.

The logbook and photographs are instruments for the manager to have an image of the street and the work of the waste coach. In Tilburg photographs are used as evidence when a waste coach registers a waste bin, every registration comes with a photograph of the violation. In Nijmegen and Arnhem photographs are also used to register noted violations or actions taken by the coach. In Arnhem, the progress and actions of a waste coach are also evaluated during an appraisal interview, which takes place every three months. The behavior of the waste coach is evaluated and adjusted when needed or tips are given to improve their work method, this is done to help the waste coach in finding a new job and improve their overall working experience or method which is part of the waste coach program.

The control instruments used by the managers to keep track of or direct the waste coach's actions can be seen as a panoptical system. The idea of being controlled or being watched, in the form of logbooks, photographs, and meetings, keeps a degree of discretion intact. Projects with a more regular and structured control, as the daily meetings, have a direct influence on discretion because the actions and tasks are structured and leave less room for own initiative. Whereas the projects with fewer control instruments are still influenced by this panoptical idea of being watched as the coach from Twente told:

“The people from the municipality and enforcement know us, so when you do something which isn't right, they will know it. You are as free as a bird, but you know what you can and cannot do” – Interview 5.

7. Conclusion

The goal of this research is to gain insight in how discretion was determined by the management of street-level bureaucrats and what the influence of the street level bureaucrats is on this determination process. This research has drawn inspiration from Michael Lipsky's work on street level bureaucrats and other researchers on street-level bureaucracy and discretion. The literature on street-level bureaucracy and discretion was still missing elements which add clarity to the theory of street-level bureaucracy according to Evans (2010). This research focused on adding this missing information to the theory and make it more complete. By conducting empirical research on several waste coach approaches in the Netherlands, a new addition to the already rich group of street-level bureaucrats, data were collected concerning the determination process of discretion. The data collection was done through the use of interviews, desk research, participatory research, and observations. This data was analyzed in the previous chapters based on concepts from the theory on discretion and the sub-questions which support the main research question.

First of all, the choice of waste coach projects as research object has led to an interesting viewpoint on the determination process of discretion. Waste coach as a profession is relatively new, the first project was in 2014, and there is no common framework yet on a national level. For each project and manager, the waste coach is a new approach in the waste industry, which leads to a lot of trial and error practices. Another difference, and challenge for managers is the fact that in every project the coaches have a different educational and work-related background and work with different waste policies. Where, for example, police officers all had the same vocational education, training and follow for a large part the same rules and guidelines, which is not the case for waste coach approaches. Waste coach approaches are still in their 'infancy' and there is not yet a status quo in determining a general degree of discretion for the coaches.

The 'newness' of the profession and the differences in background, project goals, and professionalism of the waste coaches make it a challenge for managers to determine the right degree of discretion. This resulted in different degrees of discretion between the projects for which the managers had different reasons to determine it this way. In this conclusion, the important findings and factors from the analysis will be highlighted and an answer will be given to the main research question:

How does management determine the degree of discretion, what is the influence of the waste coach on this process and how is the waste coach influenced by the given degree of discretion?

From empirical data and the literature, the following factors prove to be the most influential on the process of determining the degree of discretion by the management:

- The background of the waste coach
- The professionalism of the waste coach
- The corporate or managerial culture
- The way control instrument influences the actual discretion and experienced discretion

The backgrounds of the waste coaches varied per project and with it the degree of discretion. Coaches who already had a background in the waste industry, and therefore had more knowledge of the waste policy, received relative high degree of discretion, but this also raised the bar of management's expectations. In Veenendaal the coaches were specifically hired to work largely independent and shape the project, they were hired based on their background and communicative skills. The fact that the manager knew the credentials of the coaches and the coaches having the right professional background had an influence on the high level of discretion the coaches gained. In Arnhem, the opposite takes place, the team of coaches changes every six to nine months and this means for the management that they don't know in advance what the background and level of the next group of coaches will be. This uncertainty of almost any unemployed person can apply for the job, thus varying from highly educated or experienced to low educated and almost no work experience, made the management decide on a fixed degree of discretion which is relatively low. In Nijmegen, the project was a pilot, so there was room for experimenting with initiatives. However, the inexperience of the coaches concerning waste policy and most of the coaches being a student and relatively young had that the decisions on execution of initiatives and a bit more radical decisions were done by the management.

The factor professionalism and its influence on discretion mainly became visible in the shape of work ethos, experience, interest and taking initiative. In Arnhem and at Twente Milieu the work of the waste coaches was evaluated and the coaches who performed better had more interest in the job and showed to have more potential gained extra tasks and/or responsibility. The waste coaches in Veenendaal were hired based on, among other things, their professionalism and for example, being disciplined. According to their manager they proved themselves over time and delivered the wished results, this was awarded with the confidence that they could work independently, which can be translated to a higher degree of discretion. Also, when the coaches get more familiar and experienced with their job they will also take more responsibility and discretion. Waste coaches taking up more tasks or use their discretionary power to perform tasks which in principle have not

been approved by the management. However, the degree of discretion did not vary much from what they gained on the basis of their background and at the start of the project.

Furthermore, the differences this research has shown between the determination of the degree of discretion based on the background of the street-level bureaucrat generates interesting food for thought. Other researches on street-level bureaucrats focused on certain professions and professionals who enjoyed the same vocational education and thus have a more similar background (Evans, 2006; Sevä, 2015; Buvik, 2014; Tummers & Bekkers, 2012). Waste coaches did not enjoy the same vocational education which influences the decision of managers on the degree of discretion of the coaches. In other professions, the professionalism of the employee's is more influential on the degree of discretion used by the bureaucrat and gained by management (Evans, 2010; Tummers & Bekkers). While in the case of the waste coaches the background of the coaches was more influential on the set degree of discretion and the performance during the job, professionalism, was of less influence.

The measured effects of the corporate culture were in line with the view of managerialism described by Evans (2010), Sevä and Jagers (2013). The discursive discourse or co-managerial style seen in Veenendaal and at Twente Milieu gave room for a higher degree of discretion. The short lines of communication between the coach and the managerial layers allowed more input from the coach. The stronger hierarchy in the other projects, especially the distance between the coach and the deciding party in the municipality, had a negative effect on the execution of initiatives or ideas of the coach. The projects Arnhem and Tilburg were characterized by a domination discourse which resulted in a top-down approach in task determination and a low degree of discretion. Furthermore, it stood out that the municipalities decided on the budget and in all cases the phenomenon of *'the one who pays is the one who ultimately determines'* occurred.

Where the results of the research of Sevä and Jagers (2013) did not meet their expectations regarding the Weberian or dominant management and the co-managerial or discursive discourse, these differences were found in this research on waste coaches. The results of Sevä and Jagers pointed out that there were only slight differences between the degree of discretion between the two styles of managerial culture, which made them doubt the utility of co-managerial ideals in street-level environmental work. This research on waste coaches showed the utility of the co-managerial view on street-level bureaucrats and use of discretion, which contradicts their doubt on the worthwhileness of the co-management ideals.

Control instruments have a panoptical influence on the waste coach. Instruments as logbooks, photographing of actions, meetings have a negative effect on the degree of discretion. When the management is well informed of the comings and goings of the waste coach, the coach feels less urge to use his or her discretionary power for something they should ask permission for. Even in the cases where a high degree of discretion is given to waste coaches, they still feel the responsibility to justify their action and talk about their actions with their manager. Meetings are also one effective control instrument to delegate tasks and evaluate the actions of a waste coach. The kind and amount of control instruments used have an influence on how the degree of discretion and how a coach experiences the given discretion. Interesting was that the projects with a more dominant corporate culture also made more use of control instruments. In Tilburg and Arnhem daily meetings were held before and after the shift and they made more compulsory use of photographs and the logbook. While at Twente Milieu, following a more discursive discourse, the logbook was not used anymore after it became clear that the information was not used anyway.

The factors described above provide the answers to the sub-questions concerning the interplay between the manager and the waste coaches and the other factors influencing how the management determine the degree of discretion. The given degree of discretion has an influence on the work of the waste coach. How the work of the waste coach was affected was discussed in chapter 6.6.3 by answering the sub-questions; *To what extent is a street-level bureaucrat influenced by the degree of discretion?* And: *How does a waste coach use discretion to implement a policy?* The main findings will be discussed forthwith.

The most striking effect was that projects with a higher degree of discretion showed more initiatives from the coaches. The waste coaches came up with more initiatives to improve their working method, the management reacted positive on these plans and the waste coach approach was improved. This made it possible for the waste coaches to shape their own function, define their own tasks, and have more of an impact on the project. The willingness to implement the policy was also more positive at projects with a higher degree of discretion, the coaches showed more enthusiasm about their task and work. The trust that management places in the coaches come with more discretion which can be seen as a liability, but also as a token of appreciation in the work of the coach. The projects where discretion is kept strict leaves less room for the coaches to have an impact on the performed tasks and project, this can result in a limited task package. The degree of discretion has an effect on the extent to which a coach can influence how tasks are performed and the policy is implemented and communicated towards citizens.

The goal of this research was to gain more insight into the determination process and effects of discretion for street-level bureaucrats. By interviewing and analyzing the data gained on waste coaches and their managers the following conclusions can be made:

- Managers determine the degree of discretion mainly on the background of the waste coaches. The people who are hired, and thus the background of the personnel, depends on the goals of the project and the available budget.
- The corporate culture has considerable influence on the degree of discretion. A more discursive discourse leaves more room for discretion and more room for initiatives by the coaches, while a domination discourse has a negative effect on the given discretion. The cases following a domination discourse also made more use of control instruments. The use of control instruments has a panoptical influence on the waste coaches and this has a negative effect on the experienced and absolute degree of discretion.
- The professionalism shown by the coaches can influence the determination process of discretion and good performance is usually rewarded with more discretion. The effect of professionalism is however subordinate to the corporate culture, while this effect is less in cases with a domination discourse.
- The reaction of the manager towards a waste coach using his or her discretion has influence on the work of a waste coach. Positive reactions by the management towards initiatives and ideas have a positive effect on the willingness to implement a policy and can be seen as a token of appreciation towards the waste coach.

8. Discussion

This research has given an insight into the determination process of discretion for waste coaches. Several factors proved to have an influence on the decision made by the management on this degree of discretion. In particular, the corporate culture, control instruments and background of the waste coach had an influence on the determination process. In this chapter, a reflection on this research will be given; on the chosen methodology, how the chosen theory was used, and the extent to which the results were in line with the beforehand expected results.

In this study, there has been made use of qualitative methods. The methods of grounded theory and the case study were used, and data was gained through interviews, desk research, observations and partly participatory research. The triangulation in this research made it possible to create an integral description of how discretion was determined and experienced. Visiting waste coach projects and having interviews or conversations with both the manager and one or two waste coaches gave a good insight into the waste coach projects and how the approach was established. There are, however, also some limitations in the choice of waste coach projects as a research object. The fact that there was no scientific research done on waste coaches, apart from one research by my colleague, made it an interesting and untouched phenomenon but might have had a negative effect on the validation of this research. Especially the managers spoke very positive about their projects and might not give the whole story because this research can act as a possible publicity for their research. However, the researcher tried to give the most neutral and scientifically view as possible in this research but still depended on the data from the interviews.

The street-level bureaucracy theory and theory on discretion chosen in this research proved to be a good angle of approach. As Brodtkin (2012) and Cooper et al. (2015) remarked in their research on street level bureaucracy, is that the theory is remarkably generative and can be used in various ways when studying the working methods of front-line workers. The generative character of the theory made it easily applicable to waste coach projects and similarities were seen between how, among others, Michael Lipsky describes street-level bureaucrats and how this applies to waste coaches. Before the interviews and analysis took place in this research, extensive literature research was done and a variety of studies on street level bureaucracy were read and these different perspectives lead to an own impression of the theory shown in the analysis. By doing so, a diversion was made in the jargon of the theory and instead of focusing only on courses of action or inaction taken, more factors were taken in account to measure or give form to the degree of discretion; taking initiative or coming up with ideas, shaping their own function, and communication. The researcher is of the opinion that adding these factors to the theory of discretion and measuring the degree of discretion was important to broaden out the theory to make it applicable for new

professions and professions that are not necessarily part of the traditional professions described by Lipsky.

One big difference with previous studies on street-level bureaucracy and this one is that the researcher was able to work as a waste coach and experience the effects and determination process of discretion personally. One of the previous researchers on discretion who came closest to experiencing discretion was Buvik (2014) where she joined police officers during their shift, as a 'backseat researcher'. By working as a waste coach, this research is very innovative, and this can be seen as a strength of this research. The method of this research was, however, not predominantly aimed at this participatory research and in hindsight, more focus on this method could also have resulted in interesting outcomes but also a totally different research.

The expectations of this research on how the different concepts from the literature study are related were partly in line with the outcomes of this research. After reading the literature on discretion, expectations were set, in particular, on the influence of the waste coach on the determination process of discretion. The background of the waste coach was of influence on the determination process of the manager of discretion. The people who were hired and their background did have an influence on the decision made by their manager, while people with a background in waste management or a profession with the need for high communicative skills gained more discretion than others. When the background of the coaches was not sure, the discretion was kept on a certain relatively low level. The influence of professional performance had less influence, while the degree of discretion is set for the largest part is set at the start of the project. The influence of professionalism was subordinate to the corporate culture that prevails in the waste company. Corporate culture was expected to have an impact at the beginning of this research but was one of the main influencers on the determination process of discretion. Furthermore, the effect of the control instruments was, according to expectations, to maintain the degree of discretion. Instead of maintaining the degree it has a negative influence on the degree of discretion. Managers who decide on having more control instruments also impact the degree of discretion and is part of the determination process.

Concluding, this qualitative research described the determination process of discretion in high detail based on the actual experiences of the managers and coaches. By doing so, a deeper insight was gained on this process and its effects and new information was gained on discretion as an addition to the existing theories and studies.

9. Recommendations

This research gave a better understanding of and new insight into the determination process of discretion and its effects. Based on the outcomes of this research, the conclusion, and the discussion recommendations can be done for further research and practical recommendations, which will be discussed in this chapter.

The participatory research done in this study was focused on providing background information, get familiar with the profession and creating a network of potential respondents. The waste coach, as a street-level bureaucrat, is a profession a researcher can apply for relatively easy in comparison, for example, to professions as police-officer, teacher, and nurse. Focusing more on participatory research as a method or research strategy and building a whole research on this method could result in new insights and interesting results. The researcher is able to experience the whole process of discretion determination personally, which is an innovative research strategy for studies on discretion.

Another result of this research was the panoptical effects control systems and power relations have on the work of a waste coach and had great influence on the experienced discretion. Coaches felt obliged to communicate on almost all their actions. Potential interesting research can be done on this effect and compare the experienced discretion in professions with strong power relations and control systems with professions who are characterized by lesser power relations and fewer control systems.

As mentioned before, there is still little scientific research done on the effects and the work of waste coaches. From own experiences and this research, it can be said that a waste coach has positive effects on, for example, the waste behavior of citizens, residual waste reduction, and the gathering of information concerning waste problems and other problems that play among citizens. It is recommended that more research is to be done on these effects a waste coach has in order to create more validated prove of these alleged effects. Doing research from the behavioral change angle or simply cause and effect measurement angle is vital in proving the alleged effects of a waste coach or any other coach.

Practical recommendations based on this research can be done for both the managers and waste coaches. The manager of the waste coaches was largely constricted to the project goals, corporate culture, and expectations from their manager. These constricting factors have to be communicated well towards the waste coach or street-level bureaucrat. Good communication results in countering divergent expectations on the level of freedom and executing own initiatives a coach has. As a manager, try to explain the choices made top-down in a matter that this choice seems

acceptable for the employee. For policymakers, it is also important to try to avoid unattainable role expectations or vague policy goals which the coach has to implement. As a policymaker it can be very fruitful to sometimes think as a street-level bureaucrat or join them on the streets to experience the problems your street-level bureaucrat faces, by doing so and acknowledging these problems more realistic policy can be written down.

For the street-level bureaucrat, in this case, the waste coach, communication is also vital. Make it clear to the manager that the working situation is not good, when facing problems, unattainable role expectations or vague policies that can't be implemented well on the street. When more discretion is desirable in order to implement the policy, changing the corporate culture towards a more co-operating relationship with the managers. Initiate initiatives substantiate the choices made and prove to be capable of gaining more responsibility.

10. Reflection on limitations of this research

Writing a master thesis was a process of certain magnitude which I haven't experienced yet during my time studying at the Radboud University. The process of writing a thesis consists out of making choices, where every choice has an impact on this process and the end result. In the end, all of the decisions made during this process led to the thesis you, as a reader, have just read. However, there are also limitations to these choices on which I will reflect in this chapter.

First, I will reflect on the waste coach as a research object, the respondents and cases studied. Hereafter, my time working as a waste coach and the impact this had on this research will be discussed. Thirdly, the choice for street-level bureaucracy will be elaborated in relation to other theoretical perspectives I also attempted to use. At last, I will reflect on the chosen method used in this research.

This research focused on waste coaches, their managers and the project to gain insight in the determination process of discretion. Of course, many other professions were suitable when using the street-level bureaucracy approach but during my internship I had the opportunity to work as a waste coach and this led to the choice of using this research object. The concepts from the street-level bureaucracy theory and discretion were well applicable to this profession, as shown in this research. However, the fact that almost no research was done on waste coaches could have an effect on the interviews that were held. During the interviews I noticed that the managers had almost no negative answers about their project. This could be because the interviews and this research were seen by the managers as a moment to advertise their waste coach approach and working methods. This did not necessarily had negative effects for the interview results, while I kept asking critical questions about the project and when an answer was not satisfying, I asked follow-up questions to get more insight.

To receive data for this research I visited five cases and I spoke to six managers or policymakers and six waste coaches. The data gained from these conversations was certainly sufficient to write the analysis and come to a conclusion. Nonetheless, this research would provide more generable results when more time was spend at these projects or more projects were visited and more respondents were interviewed. The recommendations thus mention that more research on different projects is needed to create an even better overview of the aspects of the waste coach projects.

During the process of working on this thesis, I also worked as a waste coach in the region of Nijmegen for several months. This was partly participatory work, but most of the time regular work and doing my job as a waste coach. During this period I sometimes forgot my role as a researcher and this led to a unsystematic way of collecting data. In hindsight, valuable and detailed data could also

be gained from a more systematic participating research. However, information from working as a waste coach was still used in this research, but more as background information, and to personally gain more insight in the effects of discretion and to experience the use of discretion in person. In spite of these circumstances, my employer valued my work as a waste coach and I received compliments of both citizens and my manager on my performance as a waste coach.

Street-level bureaucracy was not the first theoretical perspective I have attempted to use in this research. My interests also lied in behavioral change studies and the relation between the government and citizens. The first draft proposal focused on the relation between the degree of discretion and behavioral change. But after struggling with this combination of theories and problems with creating a clear framework and research direction, the choice was made to focus on street-level bureaucracy and discretion and not on behavioral change theories anymore. Still, I learned a lot from reading behavioral change theories, but in order to finish a well substantiated thesis this choice had to be made. The theory of street-level bureaucracy fits well with my interests in the relation between the government and citizens, and how this relation takes form on the streets. During my time working as a waste coach, I spoke to many citizens and heard many opinions on the government, problems they had and also solutions they had for problems in their municipality.

At last, as also mentioned in chapter 5.5, *'side note on grounded theory'*, the method of grounded theory was used conforming to the description of Glaser and Strauss (1967). Not all of the coding process took place in Atlas TI. and I did not create a systematic theoretical model on discretion as described in the literature on grounded theory. Nonetheless, the goal of gaining more insight in the determination process and effects of discretion was achieved and the method of grounded theory has proven its worth in achieving this goal. The grounded theory was used as a tool to systematically process and analyze the collected data. The grounded theory helped, during the process of coding the data, to critically review the collected data and create subject-matter for the analysis and conclusion. Also, memos were written down during this process which resulted in a more systematic working method which accelerated the completion this thesis.

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12. Appendix

12.1 Atlas Ti.

Atlas Ti. was used to create an oversight of what was said during the interviews. The conceptual model laid the basis for the codes that were used in Atlas Ti. This meant that while reading and coding the interview transcripts for the first time there was a focus on for example: if someone said anything about the background or professionalism of the waste coach, or about discretion, or about task determination, maybe something about the corporate culture, or control instruments. While reading the transcripts for the first time, these concepts stood out and gave a good picture of each waste coach project and how they coped with discretion. Figure 4 shows the codes and the quantity of how many times they were used while analyzing the interview transcripts in Atlas Ti.

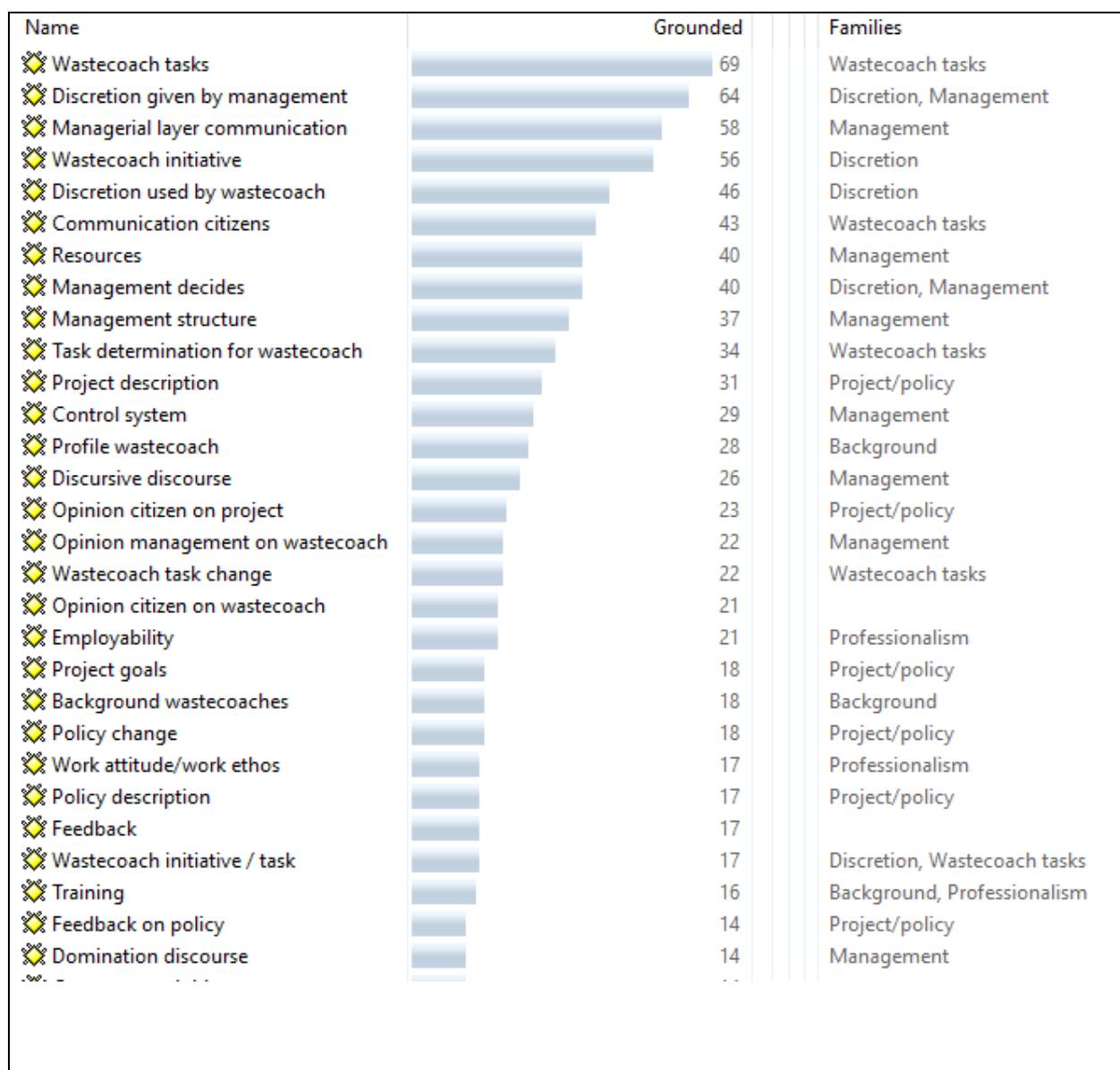


Figure 4. Example of most used codes and how often the code is used in all interviews.

12.2 Interview guide manager

Note that the interview guides shown below consist out of all the questions which were prepared in advance and function more as a guideline or checklist during the interviews than that they are a representation of how the conversations really happened. The interviews were semi-structured, which also led to 'improvisation' and the researcher tried to have natural conversations instead of a static interview. The interview transcripts and recordings are processed in another file which can be obtained at request.

Ik doe een onderzoek naar de werkzaamheden van afvalcoaches en hun effect op gedragsverandering. Hoe een afvalcoach te werk gaat om het doel van het afvalbeleid, afvalcoach project te behalen, wat voor invloed een afvalcoach heeft op gedragsverandering en in hoeverre het werk van een afvalcoach invloed heeft gehad op de veranderingen in afvalscheiding en afvalgedrag van bewoners.

Algemene vragen

1. Wat is uw naam, leeftijd en woonplaats?
2. Wat is uw functie en kunt u dit kort toelichten
3. Hoe bent u op uw huidige functie terecht gekomen, wat is uw achtergrond?

Afvalcoach projecten & Beleid

1. Kunt u kort aangeven wat de belangrijkste punten en veranderingen in het afvalbeleid zijn in uw gemeente?
2. Waarom is gekozen voor een afvalcoach aanpak bij het huidige beleid?
3. Kunt u afvalcoaches in het algemeen kort omschrijven?
4. Wat is uw taak binnen het afvalcoach project?
5. Wat is het profiel van een afvalcoach waar jullie naar opzoek waren? En op basis waarvan werd dit profiel vastgesteld?
6. Wat vindt u een belangrijke eigenschap die een afvalcoach moet hebben?
7. Kunt u kort aangeven wat de doelen en verwachtingen zijn van het afvalcoach project? Hoe past een afvalcoach binnen het behalen van bijvoorbeeld betere recycling of een nieuw afvalsysteem?
8. Hoe vordert het project/is het project gegaan?
9. Wat was de invloed van het gekozen profiel van de afvalcoaches op het project? Op welke wijze was het anders gelopen als er voor een ander profiel was gekozen? (Voorbeeld andere gemeente)

Street level bureaucracy

1. Is er bewust gekozen om bepaald werk te delegeren en hiervoor een afvalcoach in te zetten?
2. Krijgt u veel feedback 'van de straat' die u anders niet had gehad?
3. Merkt u een verschil tussen hoe het beleid is opgeschreven en hoe het vervolgens 'op straat' wordt uitgevoerd? En waar zit dit verschil in of kunt u een voorbeeld geven?
4. In welke mate krijgen de mensen, met name coaches, binnen het project de vrijheid om naar eigen goeddunken te handelen?
5. Merkt u een kloof tussen wat de afvalcoach op straat meemaakt en wat er vanuit beleid en politiek mogelijk is?
6. Welke middelen (Uren, materiaal, financieel) zijn er beschikbaar voor het project en voor de afvalcoaches? En worden deze naar behoren ingezet?
7. Hoe zijn de middelen verdeeld over de afvalcoaches? Waar is deze keuze op gebaseerd?
8. Hoe worden de taken verdeeld binnen het team? Wordt er qua zwaarte van de taken ook

gekeken naar de achtergrond van een persoon en ervaring als afvalcoach?

9. Zijn er ook voorbeelden waar een afvalcoach zijn of haar eigen takenpakket uitkiest en uitvoert?

Bedrijfscultuur

10. Hoe zou u de bedrijfscultuur hiervan hier omschrijven?
11. Op welke wijze merkt u dat de bedrijfscultuur uw werk beïnvloedt en de wijze waarop u met uw personeel omgaat?
12. Wie heeft de verantwoordelijkheid over hoe efficiënt en succesvol het project is en is dit een reden voor u om bepaalde regels op te stellen tegenover uw personeel?

Beleid & Project

1. Op welke wijze wordt het afvalbeleid aan burgers uitgelegd?
2. Is het huidige beleid duidelijk voor burgers; zo niet, waar zitten de grootste knelpunten/onduidelijkheden?
3. Hoe moet een afvalcoach volgens u omgaan met de burgers? En wat voor reacties hoort u terug van afvalcoaches en burgers of de gesprekken?
4. Is er op aangegeven van de afvalcoach ruimte voor maatwerk/uitzonderingen of moet er dan nog een 'second opinion' komen? Kan de coach zelf voor maatwerk kiezen en in veel gevallen handelen naar eigen goeddunken of moet er nog veel toestemming van bovenaf gevraagd worden?
5. Kunt u voorbeelden geven van projecten waar de afvalcoaches mee bezig zijn geweest?
6. Worden plannen van de afvalcoach ook afgekeurd en waarom?

Instrumenten

7. Wat voor middelen/instrumenten gebruikt u om de controle te bewaren over het project?

Gedragsverandering

1. Wat vindt u van het afvalgedrag van inwoners van uw gemeente?
2. Waar liggen de voornaamste redenen waarom het gedrag van burgers zo is als dat het is?

12.3 Interview guide waste coach

Ik doe een onderzoek naar de werkzaamheden van afvalcoaches en hun effect op gedragsverandering. Hoe een afvalcoach te werk gaat om het doel van het afvalbeleid, afvalcoach project te behalen, wat voor invloed een afvalcoach heeft op gedragsverandering en in hoeverre het werk van een afvalcoach invloed heeft gehad op de veranderingen in afvalscheiding en afvalgedrag van bewoners.

Algemene vragen

1. Wat is uw naam, leeftijd en woonplaats?
2. Wat is uw functie en kunt u dit kort omschrijven?
3. Hoe bent u op uw huidige functie terecht gekomen, wat heeft u voor het afvalcoachen gedaan?

Afvalcoach projecten

1. Hoe zou u het project omschrijven waar u onderdeel van bent?
2. Wat zijn de voornaamste doelen?
3. Wat is uw taak binnen het project?
4. Hoe vordert het project/is het project gegaan?

5. Hoeveel uur per week werkt u?
6. Wat zijn de voornaamste bezigheden op een werkdag?

Street level bureaucracy

1. Spreekt u tijdens uw werk met burgers en op welke manier komt u in contact met ze of zij met u?
2. Om welke reden nemen ze contact met u op en hoe gaat u om met deze gesprekken? En zijn de mensen tevreden/geholpen na uw hulp?
3. Voor de projecten die u net noemde, waar heeft volgens u te veel tijd in gezeten en waar had u graag meer tijd voor gehad? En waar lag dit verschil aan denkt u?
4. Heeft u ook trucs of een standaardprocedure om om te gaan met de werkdruk?
5. Hoe zou u de rolverdeling beschrijven tussen u en uw baas? En voornamelijk qua wie bepaald hoe de werkdag eruit komt te zien?
6. Worden eigen projecten of voorstellen om beleid uit te voeren op prijs gesteld of worden veel van uw plannen afgekeurd door uw leidinggevende? En kunt u hier voorbeelden van geven?

Beleid

1. Kunt u het huidige beleid waar u mee werkt omschrijven?
2. Is het beleid voor u en de burgers duidelijk, zo niet: waar zitten de grootste knelpunten/onduidelijkheden?
3. Is het beleid zoals het is opgeschreven in de praktijk ook zo te gebruiken of vergt het nog enige aanpassing door uzelf? En kunt u hier voorbeelden van geven?
4. Hoe maakt u het beleid duidelijk voor burgers?

Conclusie

1. Merkt u dat er ruimte of speling is met hoe u met het beleid omgaat?
2. In welke werkzaamheden heeft u de vrijheid om zelf te handelen?
3. Zijn er voorbeelden waar u graag iets had uitgevoerd dat positieve invloed had kunnen hebben op afvalgedrag, maar dit werd teruggefloten?
4. Onderneemt u wel eens acties zonder toestemming, waar dit eigenlijk wel nodig was?
5. Merkt u naar mate u langer als afvalcoach werkzaam bent, uw manager uw werk anders is gaan beoordelen en uw vrijheid in werkzaamheden veranderden? En hoe heeft u deze verandering ervaren?
6. Hoe denkt u dat de bedrijfscultuur binnen het bedrijf waar je werkt invloed heeft op de vrijheid die werknemers en u heeft om naar eigen goeddunken te ondernemen?
7. Ten slotte, welke factoren zijn volgens u doorslaggevend voor het bepalen van de vrijheid die iemand krijgt in zijn of haar werkzaamheden?