UNIVERSITEIT TWENTE.

Master programme in Policy and Governance

Development of Centers for Youth and Families (CJG) in three municipalities of Overijssel province

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List of Tables and Abbreviations

Tables and Figures

Abbreviations

VNG – The Union of the Netherlands Municipalities

IPO – Inter Provincial Platform

CJG – Centre for Youth and Families

MYF – Ministry for Youth and Families

YFP – Youth and Families Programme

RIMV - National Institute for Public Health and the Environment

UWV - The implementing body for employee insurance schemes in the Netherlands

IMC – Inter-municipal cooperation

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Introduction

The Dutch Constitution of 1848 introduced a decentralized unitary state with three layers of government: central, provincial and local (municipal). Since 1980s, when decentralization of welfare and care policy in Netherlands started, numerous responsibilities have been transferred from the state level to the provincial and municipality levels (Fleuke, Hulst, 2006)[1]. The decentralization measures that have taken place were followed by budget cuts and a process of specialized youth care provision reform which is still in progress. Due to decentralization, municipalities have gained more responsibilities, a wider scope and active role in shaping youth and family policy. Despite decentralization policies national government still plays a role in directing and supporting such policy making efforts, by setting up a general framework and implementation guidelines (Gilsing, 2007)[2].

For the "translation" of state-level guidelines and framework requirements into provincial and local-level implementation we find the Union of the Netherlands Municipalities (VNG), and Inter Provincial Platform (IPO) as intermediary institutions. Nevertheless, the main focus is on the provision of intensive support for the steering role of local municipalities[3].

Even though of the major advantages of ambitious measures towards decentralization during 80' and 90', nowadays greater civil participation, effective and efficient allocation of public goods and services have become "disputed points" in the Netherlands. (De Vries,2000:193)[4]. The possibility of tailor-made policies, which has to be as one of the major advantages of decentralization, is subject of discussion since equality before a law abates the distribution of good and services varies per municipality"(Ibid, 194, see also Eindrapport, 2009[5]).

Recent literature gives more attention to local network governance and self-organizing networks, where limited ties and (even lack of cooperation) are often present between community-based organizations and the local municipality. Since network governance and close

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[1] Frederik Fleuke, Rudic Hulst, 2006, A Contingency Approach to Decentralization, Public Organiz. Rev. 6, 37-56, Springer Science Business Media, LLC

[2] Rob Gilsing, 2007, *Intergovernmental relations and the effectiveness of local governance: the case of Dutch youth policy*, International Review of Administrative Sciences 73; 45, SAGE, http://ras.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/73/1/45

[3] Ministry of Health and Sport, Ministry of Education, Culture & Science, (2000), Thematic Review – Early Childhood Education and Care Policy in Netherlands, Backround Report of OECD project, Hague

[4] Michiel S. De Vries, 2000, *The rise and fall of decentralization: A comparative analysis of arguments and practices in European countries,* Euorpean Journal of Political Research 38: 193-224, Kluwer Academic Publisher

[5] Ministry of Justice, 2009, Evaluationderzoek Wet op Jeugdzorg, Eindrapport, BMC adviec management

cooperation involves integration of services between different organizations and sectors, the national government recognized the need for youth policy reforms and a more targeted oriented approach.

National government has realized that it can not act as a single player. Changes in national government's role in Dutch youth policy have obviously affected the role of local government. The decision to transfer responsibility regarding preventive youth care to the municipalities was based on the idea that local government would be better equipped with better possibilities for coordination, effectiveness, efforts and access to the public. Thus, local government would be in better position for policy making regarding the needs and demands of youth. "In many municipalities you can find nowadays integrated concept of services on family and parenting support" (Prinsen, 2008, pg.3)[6].

The Ministry for Youth and Family as the main initiator of such new approach came with the creation of Family and Youth Programme 2007-2011. This national base-model is a starting point for CJG development (Sauren and Loon, 2010)[7] (see also page 8-9). Beside an integral approach between service provision institutions, such project also requires interactive and integral approach of different government levels for its effective realization (MYF, 2007)[8].

However, the particular form of network governance strategic approach and communication in each municipality can appear profoundly different from other municipalities, thus various pattern of developments may appear due to the different economies of provision (where even superficially similar modes of governance or strategic approaches in establishing network or programme might not operate in the same way) (Evers, 2005: 198)[9]. A Municipality can introduce a range of mechanisms and instruments, and a division is often made between the use of a top down approach or methods to influence the behavior of lower level actors (bottom up approach) in a network. The main aim of this thesis is to look at the approach that municipality has taken, than deconstructing interactive relations and cooperation between actors involved using appropriate analytical method, development progress would be explained.

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[6] B. Prinsen, 2008, *Dutch Design: Integration of Family Support Services,* Netherlands Youth Institute
[7] Wilbert Seuren, Dave van Loon, 2010, Kennisbetwerk Centra Jeugd en Gezin, Theorie en Praktijk van het sammenwerken in een netwerkorganisatie, KCJG
[8] Youth and Family Ministry, 2007, *Every opportunity for every child, Youth and Family Programme 2007-2011- shortened version,* www.jeugdinspecties.nl
[9] Adalbert Evers, Jane Lewis and Brigit Riedel, 2005, Developing Child Care Provision in England and Germany: problems of governance, Journal of European Social Policy, http://esp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/15/3/195

Methods of work and data collection

The research will be conducted according to the following research question and sub-questions

Main research question:

> *How does a municipality's strategic approach affects network interaction between actors involved in the CJG in the municipalities of Almelo, Hengelo and Enschede?*
>
> 1. *What does Youth and Family programme entail?*
>
> 2. *What was the starting situation in three municipalities at the introduction of the youth and family programme (summer 2007)?*
>
> 3. *What actions have the municipalities taken to implement their role of directors?*
>
> 4. *What is the current situation in the three municipalities regarding the Youth and Family programme?*

My interest for writing this thesis derives from the fact that Youth field is complex and dynamic, therefore it is challenging to "deconstruct it". It is interesting to see how organizations who have common goal, but a lot of differences, work together in each municipality and what are the factors and the phase of development regarding Youth and Family Plan since its start. This analysis of the thesis can not be generalized, but its main contribution is giving insights in the cooperation, network roles, operalizational level and obstacles that might help organizations in performing such project especially to effectively work together from the very start. At first, the main observation is that many municipalities appear in the different development stage (initial, developing or implementing stage) regarding each department (parenting and youth support and professionals); another observation is that municipalities are taking different strategic approaches, as well now they use concepts and inclusion examples of regional cooperation and CJG structures in other municipalities.

In empirical research it is necessary that data gathered are strongly linked to the concepts and vise versa (Punch, 2006: 25)[10]. In order to link research data and concept in logical and consistent way, analysis should be done applying theoretical concepts from approaches in network strategic steering (bottom up, top down and best practice approach), cooperation models

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[10] Keith F. Punch, 2006, *Developing Effective Research Proposal, Second Edition* Sage Publication

(where different incentives are used) and network analysis (where we can map relationship between actors, mutual dependency, their position, institutional context and interaction).

In addition, as this research represents only a small empirical study, it can not be easily generalized, but on the other side, a three municipality comparisons will provide a detailed overview of CJG development that can be reflected upon a case of other municipalities with rather similar characteristics.

Data collection

The method of collecting data is done by conducting an interview. It "may be used for descriptive, explanatory, and exploratory purposes" (Babbie, 2007, chapter 9)[11]. In addition, "this method can be used for other units of analysis, such as groups or interactions, some individual persons must serve as respondents or informants" (Ibid, pg, 254) Interviews are performed mainly by using semi structured interviews and matrix questionnaires. Interviews lead to more wallpaper, floor and clarity (Thiel, 2007: 106)[12]. Beside getting relevant data, based personal observation and impression I would be able to deeply explain factors influencing development phase from another point of view (e.g. professionalism, interviews perceptions, etc).

Moreover, in order to describe the programme as a whole, being as well one of the research questions, various publications are used covering decentralization reforms in youth and family policy: scientific articles, CJG and Youth and Family Ministry's articles, brochures, official correspondence letter, websites, and published interviews.

In order to form a representative and relevant picture in answering main question and sub question, my intention is to conduct interviews from different organization involved within and in CJG network in each municipality, ranging from policy-makers to the executive level. They can to great extent provide practical insights into policy matters and organization of the network. The total number of interviews will range from 6-10. In each municipality the coordinator of CJG will be interviewed, followed by the Alderman responsible for this area. Upon availability several organizations involved in CJG service provision will be also interviewed. As this thesis is a small empirical study, there might be a case of inability to conduct all interviews planned. Nevertheless, if sufficient data from several interviews are collected, their interpretation would cover all aspects of study analysis.

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[11] Earl Babbie, 2007, *The Practice of Social Research,* Wadsworth Vangage Learning
[12] Thiel Thiel, S, 2007. Administrative research: a Methodology introduction. Bussum: Uitgeverij, Coutinho

In order to make an assessment of development phase in each municipality of CJG from 2007 until present, beside taking into account RIMV website page, a matrix table will be handed to each coordinator of CJG to rate the progress achieved in each sector (professionals, parenting and youth care) (for table see Appendixes 1). The main problem is that the developments can not be assessed due to the lack of performance data and indicators, therefore each coordinator during interview will be asked to mark or grade the development of each sector according to matrix provided. Accordingly, theoretical assessment and explanation of the outcomes will be analyzed using matrix results and variables (factors) described throughout theoretical part (for table see Appendixes 2).

Research relevance

Social relevance

To improve and organize youth and family care municipality are to be seen one of the most important contributors. From a social point of view, development and implementation of a functional system of Centre for Youth and Families is not an easy task. How to approach actors in shaping, organizing and implementation of the centre where various actors need to work together, is a challenge for every municipality's steering role. Each municipality need to deal with its societal needs, different interest, historical background and the administration capacity to achieve such task. Tackling social problems of such nature will significantly depend on the capacity to develop a CJG and its operalisation level. Current health and care promotion policies and practice "places a high value on local development work because it aims to enable communities to identify problems, develop solutions and facilitate change"(Ritchie, 2004)[13]. In this thesis, development and operalisation will be examined from the starting point up to the recent development.

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[13] D. Ritchie, O. Parry, W. Gnich, S. Patt, 2004, *Issues of participation, ownership and empowerment in a community development programme: tackling smoking I a low-income area in Scoltand,* Department of Sociology, University of Edinburgh

Scientific relevance

The form of network governance and communication in each municipality can appear profoundly different from other municipalities, thus various pattern of developments might appear due to the different economies of provision (where even superficially similar modes of governance or strategic approaches in establishing network or institution might not operate in the same way) (Evers, 2005: 198)[14]. A Municipality can introduce a range of mechanisms and instruments, and a division is often made between the use of top down approach or methods to influence the behavior of lower level actors (bottom up approach) in a network which is further described in the literature review.

The explicit ideological agenda of community development is to remedy inequalities and to achieve better and fairer distribution of resources for communities. This is achieved ideally through participatory processes and bottom-up planning. Empowering communities to have more say in the shaping of policies influencing health and care represents a break with earlier traditions of public health associated with top-down social engineering. This thesis aims at analyzing municipalities approach in developing CJG looking at the different factors involved. Therefore, it could contribute to the general knowledge of possible approaches that municipalities should consider when implementing similar programmes in their own communities.

Personal relevance

This thesis focus only on Dutch administration system from the decentralization measures to the implementation of programmes at local level. Since such approach is not a practice in my own country as well as in many developing countries, it contributes to the personal knowledge about advance programmes that can be applied internationally.

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[14] Adalbert Evers, Jane Lewis and Brigit Riedel, 2005, Developing Child Care Provision in England and Germany: problems of governance, Journal of European Social Policy, http://esp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/15/3/195

Chapter 2

Youth and Family Programme

The Programme for Youth and Families (YFP) outlined by the present Government Office in 2007 defines the aims, focus areas and practical measures. Thus, programme overview would answer the first sub-question. Government main goal with YFP is to build safe and healthy environment where children can have equal opportunities to fully develop their potential in growing up, regardless of their cultural background, physical or mental capacity. The Ministry for Youth and Families is responsible for formulating child-friendly policy and coherence in multidisciplinary co-operation at local level. The aim thus goes even further "The Hague, the national government, the municipal and provincial authorities, youth care institutions, schools and other stakeholders will therefore need to work together more closely" (YFP, 2007)[8]. The programme adopted by the present government provides municipalities with general guidelines and a framework on how to implement the programme based on "one family, one plan" approach by 2011. The Government investment in the Programme and imposed binding commitment on all stakeholders to "pull together" is both an end in itself and necessity for well-being of society as a whole. The approach "one family one plan" is consisted of three main approaches:

- parenting support,

- prevention, identification and intervention of problems at early stage,

- tackling them with coherent approach where parents, professional and authorities share responsibilities.

All three approaches are applied to three different departments:

- *dealing with parents,*

- *youths (age 14-25)*

- *training of professionals in developing service skills and family coaching*

Nevertheless, while ideas how to tackle social problems are national, solutions and implementation remain local. Municipalities play the most important role when it comes to shaping youth and family policy according to the family and children needs and steering the programme development. Municipalities are responsible for strategic approach in achieving assigned task from integrating all institution services, dynamics in developing each sector within

the programme, monitoring and steering the implementation. Focus is on families as having a crucial role in society. When more than one support service is needed, organization would need to work together. Perusing effective youth and family policy interventions is done through member of municipal executives responsible for this area, whereby service provision and coordination is done by nominated coordinator from one of the institutions involved. However, funding of the programme derives from the national level. In many cases economic policy instruments and to less extent, legal instruments imposed by state limits the scope of municipalities for adapting, customizing and integrating local youth policy due to the regulatory nature of those instruments.

Centers for Youth and Families (CJG)

The Minister for Youth and Families is responsible for creating a child and family-friendly policy. The CJG represent manifestations of new integral approach within youth which uses coordination, cooperation and a center of attention for the benefits of youth and families under the concept of "one child, one family, one support program, one support team". In order to achieve this, government's present term office programme main aim is to create national network of Centers for Youth and Families (CJG) in every municipality by 2011 "All parents, young people and children, including those without specific problems, must have access to an approachable, recognizable point of contact close to home where they can get advice and help on a wide range of parenting issues". Such an innovative approach involves the participation of several policy sectors, integration of different youth policy areas as well as departmental co-operation. Besides, the work of CJG includes identifying and reporting cases of child abuse, implementing aspects of family policy, creating child-friendly environment and promoting citizenship among young people (MYF, 2007)[8]. This responsibility is being done by executive authorities of each local municipality together with service providers in field of youth and families. The CJG in the most of the cases is not a classical organization in the form of the institution or the body with legal personality (Konijn, 2007)[15]. It is rather a network that existing organization have - sharing knowledge, expertise, their networks and relationship together.

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[15] Hildebrand Konijn, 2007, "Op zoek naar een concept" overzicht en analyse projecten in het kader van Centra voor Jeugd en Gezin, PJ Partners

<u>CJG design</u>

A design of CJG is central responsibility of local municipalities both in context and organization (MYF, 2009-2010)[16].

CJG set-up requirements include tree main features:

- a walk in point for a information and advice

- an educational practice and grown up

- comprehensive approach

These parts together include at least minimum functions in the CJG that should be in place. It is important that in 2012 the tree parts of the CJG are completed, so the basic models of the state framework initiate CJG opening. In this time many municipalities still take preparation for the set-up of CJG. In addition there are huge differences between municipalities. Some municipalities are still orienting themselves on the design of the CJG, whereas other municipalities are already at the end of development phase (see RIMV)[17]. In a limited number of municipalities has been an 'operational" CJG. Operational CJG regards to the full implementation of each sector within CJG (see page 11). By 2011, CHG must be operational in each municipality. Municipality carries the responsibility for planning of CJG. Thereby municipalities are paying attention on the choices in substantive and organizational design of the CJG. Depending on the historical background of social care, municipalities usually establish CJG on existing structures. Therefore operational functions and speed of development largely depends on existing structures of previous youth chain in each municipality. If municipality already have recognizable and accessible facilities for youth and health care/or educational support, they often take as the starting point for the design of CJG. In Apeldoorn for instance with the JOED (child healthcare under one roof), while smaller municipalities would have to establish shared regional centre. By the Konijn (2007) review on the concept of CJG "The realization of a CJG seems to municipalities with a high degree of urbanization easier to imagine than in rural municipalities". Nevertheless, chain management can be seen as a way of frontline management in practice. This demonstrates that despite that policy network and the chain network once formed by the same organizations, in the practice are far apart. However, framing the design of a CJG within the priorities of local municipalities as well as within priorities of the national government

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[16] Ministry for Youth and Families, 2009-2010, Vaststelling van de begrotingsstaat van de begroting van Jeugd en Gezin (XVIII) voor het Jaar 2010
[17] RIMV - National Institute for Public Health and the Environment http://www.rivm.nl/

framework might look as a simplistic aim, but in reality it can be a difficult attempt which often finish up discouraging control and sustainability of decentralized cooperation programs and measures (UN, 2008)[18].

Coherent approach and environment

CJG are set up on existing structures, but to tackle solve and prevent problems it is necessary that the services work on cooperation basis and coherent approach (MYF, 2008). In each municipality CJG is established "either as one physical building or as a cooperation model". An important feature of the CJG is that a walk-accessible point in the neighborhoods should have a place in a familiar and friendly environment (MYF, 2008-2009)[19]. Part of the environment also includes a green environment to encourage the youth to move freely and play (see also Kojijn, 2007). Here the key directing duties and initiation lies in the local authorities under creating coherent preventive youth and family policy. On the other side, Beven (2002)[20] argues that coherent approach and environment modeling can satisfy the need, but it can also cause structural errors and incorporation of improved knowledge. Thus, depending how CJG is structured from the beginning and how it is incorporated in environmental modeling can effect the knowledge improvement and re-defining set structures in later stage. The main assumption is that municipalities are choosing between service providers, cooperation model and organization established "less than one roof", and accessible location to meet the demands of their citizens. Accordingly, development phase would be also determined by taking into account those variables in further analysis.

Many projects are in various stages of development. They have no common starting point or baseline (Ibid). Therefore the other attempt of this thesis is to provide comparison on the level of operation in each municipality looking at their historical, institutional and organizational differences before and after setting up CJG.

In all cases there seem to be different growth models. In some, often large communities they work with pilots projects. Other municipalities are pragmatic beginning to physically bring together functions in a building (Gorinchem, Amsterdam) and there is a gradually looking for

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[18] United Nations – Public Administration and Development Program Development Department, July 2008, Contribution to Decentralized Cooperation to Decentralization in Africa.
[19] Ministry for Youth and Families, 2008-2009, Tweede Kamer der Staten General, Wijziging van de Wet op de jeugdzorgin verband met het opnemen van een gemeentelijke verantwoordelijkheid voor de Jeungdketen.
[20] Keith Beven, 2002, Towards a coherent phylosophy modeling environment, The Royal Society.

ways to further develop collaboration. Other municipalities prepare and submit plans to expanded first, then fixing it in Project Plans (Tilburg, without Borders), while yet other municipalities follow both strategies. The different approaches vary widely. In some cases, the municipalities (Almere, Apeldoorn, Amsterdam) reported evaluations, which should give direction on next steps. The projects provide a very mixed picture: there are major differences, both in terms of history, composition of participating institutions, size, character, operation and development perspective.

Cooperation and agreements

Purpose of this design is also reaching a cooperation agreement between all stakeholders involved (CJG, 2009)[21]. Agreement with provinces and between municipalities, CJG and other parties from the local youth chain are therefore essential. In addition, there are obligations for children and families-contracting arrangements to be made with and among a wider group of local youth organizations in the chain. Thus, municipalities had the statutory duty to provide balanced agreements between other parties from the local youth chain (e.g. primary care, education, police, etc). However, not only can municipalities and other parties appear in the agreements, they can be also approach by other actors and parties[22]. These arrangements must be made on the full spectrum of youth chain, not only with agencies in social work, youth, youth health care and education, but also with primary health care (including general practiners and maternity care) mental health, disabled, authorities work and income, the attendance officer, housing association and police, and the Public Prosecutor's Office. The financed national government programme thus leaves no room for question of non-commitment that these arrangements are actually made.

An agreement specifies the relationship between partners, particularly with regards to the organization of work, management of project, and the rights and obligations of partners. A consortium agreement for example can be signed before the start of the project. The consortium agreement shows the strong resemblance to an agreement like the creation of CJG network. An important feature of such an agreement is that they have no legal basis. Such agreements are not more than a Memorandum of Understanding between relevant institutions. A consortium

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[21] CJG- July ,2009, Programma van Gesen Centrum voor Jeugd en Gezin Hendrik – Ido – Ambracht, versie 3.0

[22] Official corresponding paper between Ministry for Youth and Families and Ministry of Justice, 9 April 2010, Tweede Kamer der Staten General, www.rijksoverheid.nl

agreement has the form of contract and this means that is binding for parties. Such agreement/contracts are not widely used in the public domain in general. As the parties are attached to their own interest and do not want to relinquish power, they are hesitant to engage in such agreements. Contractual agreements work less on ideas based on work of common confidence, willingness and initiative. Even if consortium focuses on more on control, provides discipline, and efficiency by De Man (2006)[23] this can also be a disadvantage. In such network actors are less inclined to do business within the rules, even if it creates values. They are less likely to break new ground because they have little freedom and they are not settled. They focus more on process rather than the goal. Willingness and trust are also central objective and important in building strong connection among actors within network. The actors work more and rely on their own motivation. Therefore, there is a lower burden of coordination. In contrast, modification is absent. If actors do not keep to the agreements, hard sanctions are possible.

Nevertheless, the other structure of the consortium that De Man (2006) suggest is also possible (legal entity or foundation association) which from my point of view is the most suitable in case of the CJG. It is more common during long-term cooperation. The advantage of these types of organizations referred as "bodiless aim" is incorporated in the status of independent networks. Professionals from various institutions are dispatched to new network institution to work together on same programme. It can work with private goals, practices, etc, which will reduce fragmentation. Sufficient affiliation with partners of CJG should be important, so that working towards a common chain approach is established. Final advantage is that leadership within the organization (in this case local government) has more powers to the parties involved to speak on their responsibilities towards the networks. A good example of a CJG based on the latter association-based agreement is provided by the CJG in Rotterdam that functions as a legal entity. Different organizations with different objectives, methods, modes of control and funding sources are brought together to achieve more consistency.

As a conclusion, I think that on focusing on enchasing control with agreements or willingness/trust have pros and cons. For the development of the CJG the most important think that both focuses are well balanced which will be considered in this study. If too much attention is on willingness/trust, than it will entail the risk that that parties will act opportunistically. On the other side, if attention is on control than as consequence inadequate staff and lack of trust among each other may appear.

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[23] Man, AP, 2006, Control Alliance: Cooperation and precision instrument. Assen: Van Gorcum

State of affairs

In order reflect development of CJG from starting point in 2007 to present I will illustrate phases that have been achieved in this period of time. The realization of the CJG development regards CJG design requirements (see page 13). Data is available at the RIVM (National Institute for Public Health and Environment) official website.

Table 1 - Realization of CJG

Year	Enschede	Hengelo	Almelo
September 2007	Orientation/design	Orientation/design	Orientation/design
September 2008	**Realized**	Implementing/cooperation agreement	Orientation/design
September 2009	**Realized**	**Realized**	Implementing/cooperation agreement
January 2010	**Realized**	**Realized**	**In realization phase**

Data source: http://www.rivm.nl/vtv/object_map/o3365n38301.html

CHAPTER 3

Literature review

In the conception of this thesis, the role of the municipalities is central. Starting how decentralization has affected this role and how strategic approach to establishing network where each various actors have different positions and role, and how cooperation within on local and regional scale is organized, would determine outcomes and development of CJG. Moreover, dealing with "wicked problems" in the network affecting impasses and breakthroughs in the development process is explained introducing concept developed by Bueren, Klijn, and Koppenjan (2000)[34]. Therefore, the literature review would give insights about those concepts that would enable to provide answers in analysis.

Impact of decentralization on local youth policy

Decentralization is a broad substantive policy on how a number of social problems are to be constructively tackled. Decentralization in youth policy in Netherlands started with the adoption of Welfare Act 1987, and by the Youth Care Act (1992) and the Youth Employment Guarantee Act was adopted in the same year. Decentralizing policy tasks and functions effected more close and sensitive approach to youth concrete problems in the micro-social context by imposing deregulation and de-standardization of decision making. The scope of the policy has been extended uniting the resources in hands of the local policy level, which have been until than separated under different schemes (Nissen, 1996)[24].

When it comes to the local policy, it is usually exemplified as broad and complex in its context and network structure. However, the way in which municipalities exercise their youth policy role is changing as they become more dependent upon various national preferences over which they have varying (and ambiguous) control (Voogt, 1997, pg 14)[25]. Decentralization does not represent uniformity across state and across municipalities. In most cases each municipality is organized differently and appears to have different technical and administrative capacities, which

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[24] Carl Nissen, A. Scerri, N. Gousgounis, P.E. Mitev, C. Ghenea, 1996, *Review of National Youth Policies,* A report by an international expert group appointed by the Council of Europe

[25] Voogt, Janna C.; Louis, Karen Seashore; van Wieringen, A. M. L., 1997, *Decentralization and Deregulation in the Netherlands: The Case of the Educational Support Service System, Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Chicago, IL, May 24-26, 1997)*

vary among sub-national authorities (Cheema and Denis 2007)[32]. Instead of institutionalized forms of local politics, locked into nationalized patterns of organization and regulation and reinforced by persistent local political cultures, there would be a networks and informal patterns of government that do not depend on organizational routines and traditions and adapt existing patterns of regulation to solve local public problems. (P. John, 2001)**Error! Bookmark not defined.**.

This means that a municipality is increasingly taking on the roles of director, intermediary and process coordinator (Ibid). Therefore, in such environmental settings local governments are generally characterized as having limited capacity to adequately steer local organizations and establish internal coordination which turns out to be difficult to implement a set of goals and ambitions.

Many arguments are put forward against decentralization and the rational for government with overwhelming coercive power (Ophuls 1973: 228; Ostrom 1990:8)[26]. The coercive influence on the local governments by national policy affects the steering power regarding the organizations involved in youth policy. But this is not just a balance between the state and local levels that complicates a municipality's steering capacity. It is also outside of local government boundaries of responsibility such as: insufficient capacity of youth care centers, various schemes of funding organizations and compartmentalization at central government level. As a result local government are confronted with integration and coordination problems for which central government does not provide clear-cut answer – "decentralization trap"(Gilsing, 2005, p342,)[27].

The effects and efficiency of preventive care decentralization would be theoretically assessed and reflected throughout analysis of development and implementation level of the CJG.

Strategic approach in network

In understating public policy as a form of social construction aimed at resolving problems faced by a political community, it is of utmost importance that the term public policy is not linked solely with the work of central government or municipalities. Therefore, we should distinguish

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[26] Ostrom, E, 1990, *Governing the Commons,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
[27] Rob Gilsing, 2005, Bestuur aan banden, Lokaal Jeugdbeleid in de greep van National beleid, Sumarry, Social and Cultureeel Planberean, Den Haag.

two dimensions of governance approach regarding networks or institutional building – vertical (top-down) and horizontal (bottom up) (Petak, 2008:11)[28].

In recent literature governance is more described as coordination in more complex, frequently horizontal, organizational structures including some hierarchical elements (Rhodes, 1996; Kickert et al., 1997; Bardach 1998; Balloch and Taylor 2001)[29]. Whilst there is to a great extent abstract discussion about strategic approaches and research using case studies, there are only few studies that seek to map the pattern of each approach used in a policy sector and to explain discrepancy in co-ordination instruments. This thesis tends to map the municipality's approach for the establishment of CJG and to identify best practices of their strategic choice.

A municipality is faced with the challenge to design a new policy in a difficult and complex field of youth and family if it has few approaches to design such policy: top down, bottom up, best practices or "sideway in" (mixing approaches depending on development phase).

a) Top down approach

A top down approach involve higher level governmental levels using formal authority and a range of informal instruments, often linked to their formal assigned supervisory role, to mandate or encourage lower level bodies to coordinate and execute their activities. The top down approach is concerned with the transfer of legitimate decisions to lower levels of authorities. Strategic approach choice therefore highlights action, rational choice and the power of legitimate authority (Petak, 2008).

However, such strategic approach is not always clear-cut. Studies have long acknowledged the affects of lower level implementation actors on policy processes and outcomes. For example, studies from 1970s describe the unsuccessful attempts of various public programmes in the US, emphasizing incapacity between top level authorities (policy makers) instruments and lower level (civil servants) action in the process. The so called "implementation gap" (Lynn, 1996) is explained to be result of "principal agent problem", whereby higher level authorities face difficulties in getting compliance from their subordinates in the programme. Moreover, it is also evident in complex delivery service networks, where intended policy

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[28] Zdravko Petak, 2008, Dimensions of Public Policy and Governance, Croatian Scientific Journal, 35.07
[29] Oliver James and Alice Moseley , 2006, Co-ordinating Public Services from the Top Down or Bottom-up? Implementation Gaps in 'Joined-up Government' Initiatives and Street-level Co-ordination of Homelessness Services in England Workshop on Performance in Multi sector/organisation Collaborations A Performing Public Sector: Second Trans-Atlantic Dialogue Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, tDepartment of Politics, University of Exeter

guidelines and frameworks had to be passed on various organizations and agencies having veto power over participation choice (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973).

Regarding the top-down approach model for countering the "implementation gap" and improving control with bureaucracy over network actors in policy implementation involves enchasing control mechanisms such as: frequent monitoring of their activities, clear and less ambiguous task directives. Furthermore, in this approach we usually find traditional instruments of coordination (legislative and regulatory) (Ham and Hill, 1993).

b) Bottom up approach

A bottom up strategic approach involves a wide range of instruments that do not engage vertical authority and the control measures mentioned in top down approach. The bottom up approach is characterized in term of gradual construction of actions between broad circles of actors. In other words, this approach includes relationship between policy actors in different organizations and systems outside the lines of hierarchical authority (Petak, 2008).

Relationship in bottom up approach typically includes use of contracts, join and service level agreements, partnership arrangement (often as looser model: informal ties based on trust and reciprocity). Bottom up approach leaves the room for deliberation process in coordination process of policy to the higher level of bureaucracy, where emphasis is on the coordination of implementation process. Emore (1979)[29] argues that implementation process is actually the level where policy should be made and enforced since in this stage expert knowledge of local circumstances and needs are already drawn.

The two approaches described above are not conflicting, but, moreover, mutually assumed. The top-down approach is holding the unquestionable existence of policy makers: since the focus is on the government, must be supplemented by the rulers. The other approach, however, is illustrated that hierarchical authority is not sufficient, and there must be based on negotiation and consensus among actors for desired goals to be achieved.

c) Best practice approach

The top down approach and bottom up approach have strong links with type of relationship with actors in the network (control, willingness/trust) explained previously (see page 15-16). As we can see from the table 3 below, both approaches characteristics have their pros and

cons. Here as well, it is not recommended to take each approach for granted (as the only solution), but to well-balanced them according to circumstances.

Identifying the limits of top-down and bottom approaches within network establishment and steering imposed the need for searching new governance tools (Salamon, 2002)[29]. Those tools are in often described as 'informal' (Peters, 2000)[29], 'soft' and 'light touch' (Stoker, 2000). Therefore, influencing implementation actors is done indirectly, giving broad policy guidelines, discretion and room for their achievement. Kettl (2002, 491)[29] in such approach argues that government role should be to: negotiate, provide incentives, but not command". Therefore, the role of the municipality regarding CJG is not to control mainly, but also to enable interaction between actors in the network. Many literature suggest (Bruijn and ten Heuvelhof, 1997)[29] that instruments that should be used for better implementation is not changing actor's behavior, on the contrary it's changing their relationship. Accordingly, the most appropriate instruments are covenants, contracts, incentives and communicative instruments. They can be used for networks that are predominantly horizontal and do not require a municipality to be a main actor in hierarchy.

On the other side, indirect tools approach suggest that steering multi-actor network should not (mainly) involve instruments of governance mainly, but primary understanding interaction among actors (Kooiman, 2003)[29]. According to his arguments, it is recommended to control or coordinate at the level of the "spontaneous and relatively little organized forms of interactions" among actors involved in implementation. (Kooiman, 2003)[29]. Here the interaction consist of informal channels and personal interchange between actors as well as informal agreements, self-applying rules and semi-formalized codes of conduct. Other bottom-up approach advocates also stressed the significance of strategic interaction process and games that exist within networks (O'Toole, 1993; Klijn and Teisman, 1997)[29]. Klijn and Teisman (1997)[29].

In order to illustrate in further analysis where each municipality belong regarding chosen approach firstly we need to give overview of characteristics in each approach.

Table 2 - Characteristics of each strategic steering approach

	Characteristics
Top – down approach	• Municipality as main leader identify and drive desired change, and carefully plan and execute thought subordinates. • Clear lines of authority and accountability - Municipality transfer the responsibility to key leaders in creating their vision and that "sell" it to community. Municipality is the one doing strategic thinking while other actors are dealing with operational matters. • Municipality as leader in the process establish, influence and monitor implementation • Formal cooperation instruments (legislative, regulatory) resulting in increased bureaucracy • Identifying and replacing guidelines
Bottom up approach	• Goals are set with personal commitment of various actors inovleved in network. • Designing the vision and strategy includes greater participation and decision making of actors • Stimulates innovation • Sustainable network throughout building trust, mutual understanding and commitment. • Coordination and implementation process are essential.
Best practice approach	• Enabling interaction between actors • Influencing relationship between actors rather than their behavior • control or coordinate with spontaneous and relatively little organized forms of interactions • Informal, light and soft steering with broad guidelines • Negotiation and incentives are performed using mainly communicative instruments and informal agreements, arrangements and partnership.

Role of municipalities towards integrated approach

There is evidence of integrated policy approaches in various networks within the youth policy area, where different actors from different sectors are active. Municipalities therefore are not the sole policy actor, but they have to use an integrated approach towards youth policy. However, processes of integration also have their limits. The potential of process integration is determined by the willingness of parties to integrate their processes, the willingness of the various actors to serve their co-financiers to provide or to process integration in order to impose laws and frameworks. Process integration requires extensive organizational cooperation to transfer parties to fully merge into new organizational structures, or to integrate certain components or features of their work in existing structures[30]. Government's strategic approach is not only to ensure cooperation in providing services, or to pursue common goals, but also to give a clear picture of the future policy sector and the role of government within it.

However, the current built up of the youth-care system easily leads to greater demand for specialized help. Municipalities do not invest much in prevention and light-weighted forms of primary-line interventions, because they do not experience many incentives to do so. As a result, children, youngsters and families are guided towards (more expensive) specialized services. The point is that the latter type of interventions is paid from province-level budgets. Municipalities do not feel budgetary pressure to provide help at an early stage (Jeungdstelsel, 2010)[31]. The Example of Netherlands where municipalities indicate that in 2008 adequate provision of care coordination (the main function of CJG) is 25% according to the local minimum required. The Minister also considers this rate inadequate. (Ibid). Effective integration takes advantage of each partner regarding its relative strengths, thus providing combination of capacities in order to address the needs and priorities of citizens, their quality and coverage of service provision at reduced costs (Cheema, Dennis, 2007)[32].

In recent years, it has become increasingly evident that common tasks and an integrated approach can only lead to results if there is a genuine willingness to share information with partners in the network. "It is possible, and we should do it" – according to the Minister of Youth and Families in dialogue with society[8]. The barriers between the Hague department, between municipalities and provinces, between youth care institution, schools and other institutions have to be diminished. Much of these indicators are to split up to the level of municipalities' cultural

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[30] Youth and Family Ministry, 2007, *Every opportunity for every child, Youth and Family Programme 2007-2011- shortened version,* www.jeugdinspecties.nl
[31] Beleidsdoorlichting, Jeugstelsel, April 2010
[32] G. Shabbir Cheema, Dennis A. Rondinelli, 2007, Decentralizing Governance, Emerging concepts and Practices, Brookings Institution Press

and historical background. According to YFP there are three sectors to be established within CJG (see page 8) and each municipality has its own results from the monitoring, its own emphasis, and its own responsibility for youth and family policy adjustments accordingly. In situation for example in Amsterdam such component are substantially different from Bennekom, and requires another approach (Ibid). This is also relevant for three municipalities regarding my analysis in thesis.

The collaborative Centers for Youth and Family may eventually broaden their network with parties who are familiar with the recruitment of young people with a disability or a history of care. One example is collaboration with UWV (the implementing body for employee insurance schemes in the Netherlands) and the municipal social services offices. The purpose is to put development in motion and to promote cooperation and implementation. UWV and municipalities go into 'work Squares' with cooperation in regard to reintegration. Important element in this service is to provide customized, addressing the need for customer-centric demands (Konijn, 2007[15].

A policy vision

One of the important instruments in steering network and building consensus is policy vision. It gives the desired course to the policy actors; it also provides promotion of policy integration throughout establishing cohesion. When vision created by those organizations that are directly involved in taking course of their actions, consensus helps in avoiding deviations. On the other hand, this thesis will also look at the correlations between how local governments cooperate in creating common vision.

"In 2001 in most municipalities there was no joint vision shared by local government and youth care services on how local youth facilities and the youth care services could cooperate most effectively"(Gilsing, 2005). The format of institutional order created at the time of organizational birth constitutes a dominant and determining factor in later organizational life and operalisation.

In short, in accordance with the historical institutional approach, the original institutional design and context do matter (Krasner, 1984: Peters, 1999)[33].

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[33] S. Groenveld, P. Wagenenaar and Fritz der Meer, 2010, Pre-Napoleonic centralization in a decentralized polity: the case of the Dutch Republic, International Administrative Science, Sage Publications, http://ras.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/76/1/47
Krasner, S. (1984) 'Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Perspectives', *Comparative Politics* 16: 66–94
Peters, B. Guy (1999) *Institutional Theory in Political Science: The New Institutionalism*. London/ New York: Continuum.

One good way to strengthen cooperation is working with a strong common identity for the network. Each organization has its own professional language, manners and customs. There may, however be an obstacle in working together in network. A strong common identity ensures that people feel at home and make networking more than a just a combination of sub-activities (Port House, 2003). A clear identity creates unity and takes care of dedication of the staff. It also provides a reference to which one's decision can review it and shed the self-organizing power. However, municipalities are still insufficient to continue a care pathways, for instance by providing aftercare. Together with lack of cooperation between professionals from different organization can limit the implementation of concept "one family, one plan".

Organizing a network

As mentioned previously, shaping a CJG network can be initiated and approached by different actors. In this thesis I will investigate what are the main actors initiation the set-up of CJG and how already established network does affect municipality steering role in CJG development dynamics.

There is continuous interaction between the different actors as they need to work together to achieve mutual goals. The interaction have the form of a game, the actors work together about the rules of the game, negotiate and trust each other. The government here has responsibility of network management (Rhodes, 1997, pg.53). The government is only one of the actors in the network. The other actors operate autonomously and they are therefore not under direct control of government.

De Bruijn, and Koppenjan Kickert (1992 pg.5)[34] indicate that self-control through organizing networks emerges when using top-down control. From top-down perspective, implementation is seen as one of the phases in the policy process, it is also phase that follows after the policy (Tops &Hartman, 2009, pg.5)[35]

In the theoretical framework it was all clear that organizations primarily work within a policy network. How this cooperation can be shaped Klijn & Van Twist (2000) use following roadmap to explain. They distinguish six steps. For the relevance of this thesis only following five steps are chosen:

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[34] De Brujin, JA de, Kickert, WJM, Koopenjan, JFM, 1992, Management of complex policy networks, Rotterdam
[35] Tops, PW, Hartman, C., 2009, The tension between policy and frontline management, three patterns

- Mapping the organizational goals (it clarifies the role that players play within the network and upon degree of mutual dependence among actors)

- Relevant actors in the network identification (most powerful or powerless actor depending what resources they have at their disposal)

- Actors position (position depends on relationship dependency with other actors regarding their goals)

- Analyzing the institutional context (formal and informal context and issues). In informal context, there are rules that existing within the network, but which are not described in the legal papers. In the formal context issues as legal powers of organization and powers on the field of interaction between actors are addressed.

- The interactions between actors in the network inventory (frequency and variety of contract plays a central place in network formation)

While first tree step are easy to be identified conducting interviews the institutional context and interaction between actors will be further analyzed using the concept of policy network approach - "wicked problems" (Beuren, Klijn, Koppenjan, 2003).

Concept of the Policy Network Approach

Network society today is facing complex and "wicked" problems calling for collective action as solution.. Beuren, Klijn and Koppenjan (2003) concept attempts to explain impasses and breakthroughs in policy interaction processes based on presence and absence of collective action. Due to the fact that casual relations are numerous, interrelated and difficult to identify, problems in the network have to be dealt within a context of great uncertainty. From the network perspective there are three uncertainties involved: cognitive, strategic and institutional. To cognitive uncertainty lack of scientific knowledge is not an only contributor, but strategic and institutional factors also play a role. Strategic uncertainly appears as more actors are involved having different perceptions about problems and solutions while institutional uncertainly is result of high fragmentation of government authorities and arenas where decisions are made.

The main focus here is to explain to which degree actors succeed in reducing these uncertainties through interaction and cooperation and what factors have positive or negative effects. This is done by analyzing four different factors used to explain impasses and

breakthrough in policy processes: social, cognitive, institutional, and network management factor.

Social factors of an impasse arrive when there is lack of interaction between actors and insufficiently coordinated strategies when resources and cooperation are crucially needed to solve the problems. A breakthrough is created when communication is intensified or when actors change their strategies.

Cognitive factors of an impasse arrive when different views about the nature, causes and effects of the problem, the solutions, as well as the quality of available knowledge and research. Differences in knowledge and perceptions of a problem can lead to "dialogues of the deaf". I such state, parties communicate to each other, but do not take on board what is proposed. Opportunity for breakthrough is possible thought new proposal, re-definition of a problem, developing new knowledge or creating new strategy results on mutual ground of agreement.

Institutional factors of an impasse arrive when there is no formal institution or body providing adequate support and facilitation that actors can share (knowledge, long-term relations, common identity, norms, values and language. A breakthrough is created with new proposals such as alternative institutional supportive measures and arrangements.

The last factor of an impasse and breakthrough is important when it comes to solving complex and unstructured problems. Even if there is breakthrough created in first three factors, network management includes the role of facilitator or mediator in this process. It creates opportunities between parties to reduce conflict, find agreement and reach consensus in their positions.

This concept in further analysis provides an idea what course of direction municipalities' strategic approach and instruments in establishing CJG could lead to considering benefits and drawbacks of factors involved in interaction process. In the analysis I will try to provide an explanation for impasses and breakthroughs based upon matrix questionnaires and table illustrated below:

Figure 1 - Analytical framework of interaction process in the network

Institutional variables:
Shared or not shared values, rules, language, institution

Social variables:
Lack of interaction/conflict strategies
Changes in participation and strategies

Cognitive variables:
Dialogue of the deaf
New/redefined

Network management:
No roles
Mediator/facilitator

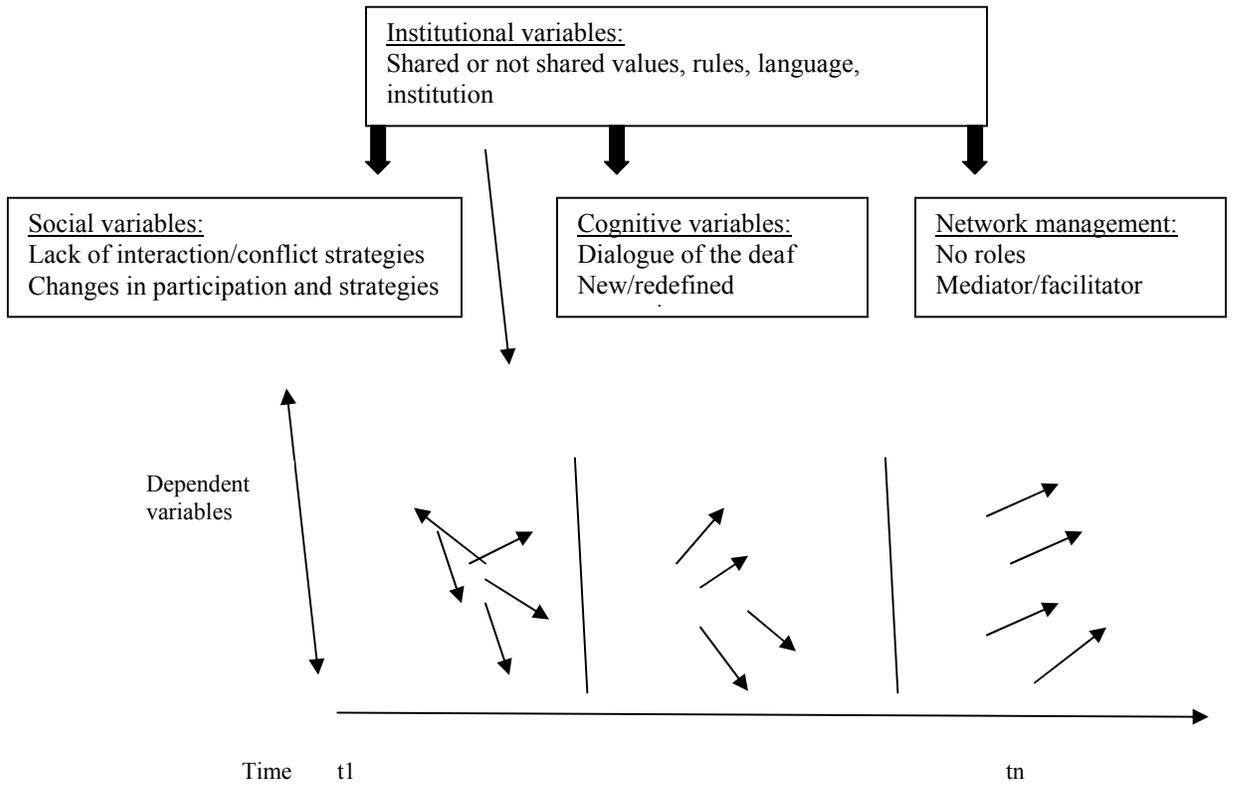Dependent variables

Time   t1

tn

Table adopted from *De Brujin, JA de, Kickert, WJM, Koopenjan, JFM, 1992, Management of complex policy networks, Rotterdam*

Inter municipalities' cooperation (IMC)

Definition of inter-municipal cooperation (IMC) by Arn and Friederich (1994:5) is " a fulfillment of a public municipal task by an individual municipality, by two or more municipalities jointly or by a third legal entity, whereby the task fulfillment simultaneously serves at least municipalities and the participating municipalities participate directly ("performing") or iderectly ("organizing")" (Steiner, 2010)[36]. In the area of social services it is frequently present this model of cooperation since professional knowledge is shared with other municipalities in order to provide equal service quality in smaller municipalities. Good example can be seen in creating Loes within CJG. Loes is inter-municipal cooperation for parenting support where seven municipalities of Twente region are involved (, Hof van Twente, Rijssen- Holten, Twenterland and Wierden) .

Figure 2 – Inter-municipal cooperation within Loes concept

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[36] Reto Steiner, 2010, The cause, spread and effects of Inter-municipal cooperation and municipal mergers in Switzerland, Public Management Review

Arn, D., Friederich, U., Friedli, P., Mu¨ller, M., Mu¨ller, S. and Wichtermann, J. eds (1999) Kommentar zum Gemeindegesetz des Kantons Bern, Bern: Sta¨mpfli.

Della Santa, M. (1996) Dalla Collaborazione alla Fusione. Analisi degli Aspetti Economici, Istituzionali e Sociologici del Comune, Fribourg: University of Fribourg.

Geser, H., Ho¨pflinger, F., Ladner, A. and Meuli, U. (1996) Die Schweizer Gemeinden im Kra¨ftefeld des Gesellschaftlichen und Politisch-Administrativen Wandels, Zu¨rich: University of Zu¨rich.

Gassmann, U. (1993) Kommunale Ausgaben als Ergebnis Politisch-O¨konomischer Entscheidungsprozesse?, Bern, Stuttgart, Wien: Haupt.

Various advocates of IMC stress that municipal cooperation is more intensive and widespread in smaller municipalities. The reason behind is that smaller municipalities have limited capacity for fulfillment of tasks in required professional level (Della Santa 1996:81, Geser, 1996:268)[36]. Therefore, in situation where municipalities cooperate on the same programme, it may lead to better achievement in tacking administration burdens and professionalism in developing services. Moreover, the IMC can improve effectiveness and efficiency in the service delivery of local governments. This is perfumed by maximizing available resources with cooperation agreements. It can benefit municipalities to gain more knowledge, cost savings, eliminate overlapping efforts, and apply best practices as it would otherwise be unable to individually afford and develop. Despite these advantages, there are potential obstacles that can affect the municipal ability to engage in inter-municipal cooperation as a worthwhile and most feasible means to provide equal quality services.

Within IMC a political actors have an important role as they promote reforms and prevent them. Lack of trust between potential municipality's partners' top authorities can influence the cooperation efforts. 'For local political actors, a rather non-specific supply of public goods –for example, in the form of visible prestige objects – can be completely rational if the electorate is poorly informed' (Gassmann 1993: 238)[1]. As a result, classes of dignitaries evolve while true parties no longer exist. Moreover, position of municipalities change because they perceive that other municipality will take advantage of, or that programme itself will fail to bring win/win outcome.

Community identity and pride here is important factor to consider and should not be underestimated. "People care about their community and identify with it. Plans to change local government, which are often proposed, will fail if the reformers neglect to factor in these strong values of localism and neighborliness, which determined the way local governments were organized originally and make it difficult to change their boundaries and operations" (Office of the New York State Comptroller, 2004, page 3)[37]

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[37] Office for the New York State Comptroller, Division of Local Government and School Accountability, 22004, Inter-municipal cooperation and Consultation, Exploring Opportunities for Savings and Improved Service Delivery.

CHAPTER 4

Analysis

Table 3 - Analysis of findings illustrating differences in CJG development based on chosen variables in each municipality from 2007 – present

	Variables	Enschede	Hengelo	Almelo
CJG establishment (set-up)	Programme goals and objectives	Defined before opening of CJG	Not clearly defined and uncoordinated collective objectives set	Not clearly defined and uncoordinated collective objectives set
	Relevant actors (roles and position)	Regional organizations main actors in implementing programme while equality of decision making and responsibility about mutual goals and objectives among all actors exist.	Regional organizations main actors in development. Discrepancy in influence, participation and responsibilities of different actors.	Regional actors equally represented and involved
	Municipal strategic steering approach	Top down guidelines and framework, implementation from bottom-up to top-down. Coherent approach taken.	Mix of top down and bottom up from guidelines to implementation Incoherent approach taken.	Unbalanced top down and bottom up approach
	Environment	Clearly defined	Re-defined several times	Re-defined several times
Network approach	Institutional context	Professional detached from relevant organizations working within CJG	Cooperation model without formal institution	Cooperation model without formal institution
	Interaction and collaboration	Direct management interaction - meeting and evaluation every 6 weeks	Random meetings and evaluation once in 8-10 weeks	Frequent meeting prior to opening
	Inter-municipal cooperation (IMC)	Initiated with Loes programme	Started a year after	Started a year after
Development phase (see also matrix)	Parenting support Youth (0 – 24) Professionals' skills IMC	Implementation fully optimized Defined Defined Lunch at early maturing stage	Defined Early maturing Defined Established one year after realization	defined Early maturing Early maturing - II -

To be able to do analysis all information collected (documents, interviews, etc) are processed and written out, so that information can be consulted several times. This also allows the information gathered to be well interpreted and thus understandable and optimal to use by end users (Yin, 2009, pg. 122)[38]. According to the literature review and data collected from interviews this table above gives a comparison of each municipality over the variables chosen as main points of my analysis.

<u>Program goals and objectives</u>

Analyzing programs goals and objectives I will come across the answer to the second sub-question: What was the starting situation in three municipalities at the introduction of the youth and family programme (summer 2007). In the later stage of analysis in explaining variables I will be able to answer other sub-questions and main question of the research.

From conducting interview with coordinator of CJG Enschede (Ms Patricia Dormbos), Hengelo (Ms Arja ten Thije) it has been found that in these municipalities a lot of organization working in field of youth and family were already present. However, forming CJG was organized in different way and their goals and objectives depending on already existing structures are diverse.

In Enschede based on already existing structures this municipality has achieved realizing CJG opening year after the given framework by the state (in September 2008) while Hengelo and realized it one year after. Almelo is still in progress of realization phase. The framework for realizing CJG regards not only CJG design (see page 13) but also three sectors to be developed within (see page 11). Due to the fact that parenting support in Enschede was already in high development stage by many organizations, municipality decided to put this department in implementation first, while other would come and develop along. This was not a case in municipality of Hengelo and Almelo as they have started developing all sectors at the same time. This course of action tells us that Hengelo and Almelo municipalities had no focus in specializing in one field, or no clear and recognizable vision where major capacities lies. Therefore, structure had to be made from the scratch establishing all departments at the same time.

One of the interview findings gives insights of the role of municipality in terms of setting goals and objectives. The municipality of Enschede have started strengthening cooperation with relevant organizations before opening of CJG, while Hengelo has chosen only to "replace"

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[38] Yin, R. K., 2009, Case research study: Design and methods, 4th edition. Sage publications

existing cooperation in new name "CJG". Therefore, goals and objectives of CJG Enschede have been agreed and set beforehand. Organizations have met together under the initiative and supervision of project leader appointed by municipality and forming a team they agreed to proceed with common idea of future structure and functioning of CJG. The main guidelines and framework from state level were first on agenda to commit on, but municipality in consensus with other organizations decided how to delegate responsibility, organize and shape it. Almelo and Hengelo had different approach. Lacking the awareness of the strength in each department vision how to establish goals and objectives as consequence led to redefining CJG. This will be reflected and explained throughout variables (see table 3) that will follow in analysis.

The following variables chosen are the main subject of analysis regarding theoretical assessment of development stage of CJG until present.

Environment

Defining goals and objectives were predominant factors determining environment where CJG was established. Enschede putting forward parenting support as recognizable symbol of CJG, decided to place it in Central Library as most accessible point for parents to come. On the other side Hengelo put forward all three departments at once with no clear long term vision. As a consequence two walk in points were created offering separate CJG environment for youth and parenting support while professionals are located to work outside of physical premises. This objective resulted as ineffective and it was revised several times. Therefore, the municipality decided in recent future to place only one CJG walk in point in centre of the city. Almelo had different vision. The idea was to establish CJG as "shop" where besides offering special care, youth and families can also buy products affiliated with CJG. However, it wasn't cost efficient so they have never proceeded with this idea, which as consequence changed the vision, redefined environment where CJG should be placed and delayed its realization.

Relevant actors (roles and position)

When Enschede municipality was inviting organization and forming a CJG team, it delegated responsibilities depending on their field of work. At the beginning the municipality decided that MEE, Region Twente and Alifa due to their regional activity are the main actors in

the project and that they should sign the legal agreements first. Nevertheless, in shaping CJG all organization involved after are equally represented and their ideas based on feasibility are adopted by project leader from the municipality. The decision to do so was also based on the resource dependency as those organizations would develop new initiatives from their own budget and contribute to the cost efficiency of limited funds that municipality provides. In case of Hengelo, priorities were only the main regional actors due to their capacity and scope of necessary professionalism in special care they can cover. Other organizations joined in later stage to "fill in the gaps" and join upon their willingness. Even reaching realization phase there is still room left for others actors to join on their own will. Therefore, we can see that municipality of Hengelo did not balanced the control role to bring all relevant actors together from very start, which resulted in incoherent approach and domination of the actors over the responsibilities that might have been given to smaller and specialized organizations. Almelo had also had slightly different approach. All actors involved had equal representation in the programme, but without strong interaction between them (Ms Karin Keur interview).

Municipality's strategic steering approach

Hengelo at the beginning did not take balanced strategic approach. Focus was on bottom up approach in order to wait for organizations to come together and propose course of direction. Therefore, top down approach was rather "soft" and insufficient. The municipality has only invited main organization while it left a choice and time for others to join. Moreover, due to the lack of coherent approach and prior knowledge of each department service provision demand, it has resulted with opening two walk in points of CJG. It suffered severe consequences, as focusing on all sectors lacked demand from the citizens and slower down development process. This case we can also be seen in municipality of Almelo, where interaction between actors was missing because of soft top down approach. Leaving plenty of room for deliberation without clear and in depth task directives caused the "implementation gap". Switching to more top down approach in later stage the municipality came to recognize necessity of supervisory role, taking control and executing their assigned actions.

On the other side, Enschede performed significantly faster that other municipalities using top down approach to delegate responsibility, give less ambiguous direction and incentives and compliment it with bottom-up approach to open room for deliberation and generating new ideas. As a result, new initiatives has been lunched such as for instance "Districts: where Loes together in partnership with FC Twente neighborhood council, police and local corporations joined to

work together in several activities for parenting support (Wijken in Uitvoering, 2009, page 76-79)[39].

<u>Institutional context</u>

The institutional context significantly affected the way the CJG departments are structured and professional's ability to share the knowledge, common norms, values and identity. From case of Enschede we can see strong engagement of professionals from each organizations working toward developing CJG vision. From very start, municipality decided that in order to achieve set goals and service provision quality, professionals from each organization needs be attached to CJG. By appointing professionals to work several hours per week within CJG, the municipality supported and facilitated establishment of formal institution. This has led to generating more ideas and Loes concept was result of it. CJG Enschede has created the Loes website as easy and recognizable symbol of parenting support. Municipality of Enschede already new how does organization work and cooperate, thus directing them to dispatch professionals and put them together under one roof was based on previous experience. "The advantage point is that municipality brought as together and we all have agreed to work on the same goal". (Patricia Dormbos).

This was the way to identify the community needs and problems and efficiently place resources in addressing them. In the beginning Loes was only local programme, while later, when other municipalities in the region randomly started joining; today it has become regional one. Signing legal agreement and Loes programme between actors involved municipality has build consensus about common policy vision and common identity of the network (see page 23).

From personal impression and observation during interviews, Hengelo and Almelo did not take adequate approach in creating strong institutional context. The course of action toward creating few CJG walk in points and soft top down approach in directing and organizing organizations responsibility from beginning provided undesirable results. Professionals instead of being attached from organizations to work within CJG were placed to act outside of their premises. Acting and representing organizations individually have not contributed to the environment where each of them can share knowledge, norms, language and vision towards common goal. Instead, lack of support and facilitation of formal institution strengthen the

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[39] Ministry for Housing, Spatial Planning and Environment (VROM) and Minister for Housing Neighborhoods and Integration (WWI), 2009, Wijken in Uitvoering.

professional skills dealing with problems which was also highly graded by interview participants, but on the other side no contribution was made towards achieving any objectives of CJG. Furthermore, only contact point exists in the CJG, so the service provision is performed by directing them to appropriate organizations dealing with their programme. Therefore, citizens can be incorrectly directed to the irrelevant institution due to the lack of details about real problem they face.

As described previously institutional context can be main factor of an impasse and also major impact on social, cognitive and network management factors of an impasse on the network (see figure 1 page 29).

Interaction and collaboration

From the frequency of the meeting and monitoring progress we can see major differences between three municipalities. In municipality of Enschede meeting take place every 6 weeks while in Hengelo every 8-10 weeks. Almelo had to intensify the interaction between actors in the network and inter-municipal cooperation to meet deadlines for CJG realization. Therefore, meetings take place several times a week. The municipality has recognized that interaction and cooperation on municipal level are the main contributors towards building strong institutional context and speeding up the realization of CJG based on others best practice examples.

Inter-municipal cooperation

Hengelo and Almelo decided to join Loes programme a year later. In case of Hengelo was political decision from Alderman. "Decision to do so was based on the fact that Hengelo would be overruled by the alderman of Enschede" (interview Ms Arja ten Thije). As mentioned previously IMC can have obstacles if one municipality perceives if working together one will take advantage of the other. Not to go with Loes did not bring win-win for Hengelo situation which resulted with many factors affecting functioning of CJG in later stage. Different approach of Hengelo brought different outcomes. Common identity was missing and there are no professionals detached from organizations to work within CJG. Therefore, organizations were directed to work on field providing services in the schools and other institutions. In addition control role and review of municipality was taking place on meetings every 8 weeks. On the other side, Almelo was significantly behind with realization and acquainting with Enschede progress by the time, it enchased the inter-municipal cooperation at the later stage.

<u>Development phases</u>

However, while parenting support in Enschede is already in implementing phase when it comes to other two sectors (working with youth 14+, and professional skills) CJG Enschede is still development process (see Appendixes 1). This part by the vision from the beginning was planned to develop accordingly as various organizations involved have different working habits and backgrounds, thus it takes time to train them. Moreover, they have all different projects they are working within they own organizations. Therefore, after Loes programme Enschede started to work regionally inviting other municipalities to join and share the knowledge. "We started IMC cooperation as we have learned from Loes that this works better for everyone". In this way CJG of Enschede had an aim to develop other two sectors based on practice and experience from other two municipalities.

On the other hand, Hengelo did not meet the level of the development as Enschede did. From collecting data from matrix given professional skills were rated highest while there is still a lot of work to be done before fully implementation of other two sectors. The main factors determining present development stage of CJG Hengelo is taking incoherent bottom-up approach and not engaging in IMC.

Almelo is still in early maturing level concerning all departments. As explained previously main factor for such state is lack of interaction, strong institutional context and ambiguous municipality goals and objective vision and guidelines.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Advanced decentralization programme as the Youth and Family Programme and CJG which is one part of it, can only be achieved if an integrated approach to deliver youth and family special care is taken through coordinating effort, initiatives and intervention of various key players, particularly municipality, and if there is strong interaction and accountability of all role players involved. In this analysis we recognized that all developments ultimately take place at the local and inter-municipal level, and that local dimension is becoming more and more important when it comes to implementing programmes previously being carry out by provincial or national authorities.

The large role play the opposing interest of each municipality, thus it appears that there is lack of common vision about goals and objectives. To achieve this, the municipalities, both in content and process, need to make clear agreements and arrangement with actors from very start. Despite the fact that network exist in each municipality, more attention should be paid in drafting clear guidelines and protocols. Moreover, this ensures that the trust, common vision and sharing knowledge between professionals of various organizations will have impact on interaction and institutional context of CJG itself, and thereby it will increase the approximation in the future smoother cooperation in other activities beyond this programme.

Furthermore, municipality often affairs that institution could be regulated themselves as we have seen in the case of Hengelo and Almelo in particular. It is not a case that organization would work together beyond their internal occupation, as they tend to contribute to supply individually. However, organizations also still lack mutual coherence. They are all individual entities with different field of expertise. Therefore, it is the large role that local community recognizes the fact that much of development order and progress municipality need to steer and lead. When supervisory and director role is acknowledged than organizations future special care within CJG bear upon direction and course set by municipality. Nevertheless, organizations in the steering comitee are also important due to the different task they can cover. The primary and companion organization play an important role because their professional are involved in CJG. Thus, bringing all organization that could contribute to the programme is essential in when it comes to the knowledge needed to run CJG. However, this gives actors more independent role in overall, with result that main and small organizations share same responsibility and stand behind the policy. Beside, we can see from the analysis that main problems for Hengelo and Almelo in realization of operational CJG apart from steering role of the municipalities themselves were

institutional context and interaction. Main emphases in any integral approach lie on interaction between actors. If strong interaction is present, than impasses in institutional context can be defeated, culture impasses in terms of professionals mutual understanding can be created, cooperation intensified and goals and objectives clearly defined.

Appendixes 1

	Stage

Table 4 - Matrix illustrating development stage of CJG regarding each sector

	Immature (0-2)	Early Maturing (2-4)	Defined (4-6)	Managed (6-8)	Optimized (8-10)
Development characteristics	• Outcomes unclear • Low level of cooperation • Ad hoc& incongruent goals & objectives • Low actors interest and contribution • No consistent approach to change environment	• Some alignments of policy & responsibilities with objectives but mostly "bottom up" • Strategies and practices documented but needing improved communication • No formal tracking of monitoring and evaluation • Project management approach and strategies under development	• Large change management projects identifiable and show alignment to overall change agenda • Improved overall awareness of strategies and priorities among actors • Some understanding of roles and responsibility • Identifying those with skills needs and internal groups beginning to share best practice • Resource plan available and needs identified within context of other projects	• Evaluation of programs and resources systematically occurring • Training program established and evaluated • Performance and resources assessed against organizational needs • Formal networks established • Processes, systems and services within organization integrated	• **Problems fully addressed** • **Integrated resource utilization and decision making among actors** • **Strategic change management planning occurring in regard to other projects within CJG**
Municipality position (development stage)					
Parenting support	**Almelo**	**Hengelo**			**Enschede**
Youth 0 -24	**Hengelo** **Almelo**	**Enschede**			
Professionals' skills	**Almelo**	**Enschede** **Hengelo**			

Table example adapted from Cambridgeshire County Council, undated; CSR Quest, 2007