

The art of being careful

“A qualitative research on the effects of the construct of social neighborhood teams in relation to the Dutch municipal youth care policy success”



Master Thesis
Sander Roelofsen
4066928

Dr. Marcel Hoogenboom
Dr. René van Rijsselt

Joost Cornielje
Nautus B.V.

Amersfoort, June 24 2019
Utrecht University
Social Policy and Public Health
Word count: 9996

“In the end, it is about children receiving the care they need. You want them to grow up in the best way possible. The cases are often complex and often radical things in the lives of people”

(R10).

Abstract

Since early 2015, Dutch municipalities have been responsible for designing and implementing youth care. A much-used form of organizing this is by making use of a social neighborhood team. These social neighborhood teams come in various different shapes, or models. In this study, the relationship between the municipality and the social neighborhood team has been elaborated by identifying structural factors: form of cooperation, relational complexity, degree of power, dependency and degree of discretion. It was studied to what extent these structural factors influence the success of the local youth care policy. Policy success can be divided into three dimensions: policy as a process, policy as a program and policy as politics. Data was gathered through interviewing local policy makers and youth care professionals, as well as analyzing policy evaluation documents. The elaborated structural factors do have an influence on the potential youth care policy success. However, this success can be obtained through all social neighborhood team models. This means that there is no so-called golden standard. No set of structural factors that make a social neighborhood team successful. It is important to make clear choices when creating a social neighborhood team, since diffuse constructs may lead to confusion. Furthermore, the importance of the youth care professional was stressed. This is seen as the core of the actual youth care and should be secured as the number one priority.

Introduction

Since early 2015, Dutch municipalities have been responsible for implementing the so-called ‘Youth Act’ (Jeugdwet in Dutch): a new system in which youth care will be fully organized by municipalities, whereas previously this was more divided (see figure 1). An evaluation of the old system presented various shortages. It showed that there were financial incentives that worked towards expensive specialized care, there was an inadequate cooperation towards children and families and deviant behavior was unnecessarily medicalized. Altogether, this led to a cost-boosting effect as derivative of these bottlenecks (Rijksoverheid, 2013). Partly because of this reason, a new system has been developed that is secured in the Youth Act. The ultimate goal of this change of system is to *“simplify the youth system and to make it more efficient and effective, with the ultimate goal to strengthen the individual power of the youths and of the caring and problem-solving capacity of the family and social environment”* (Rijksoverheid, 2013, p. 2).

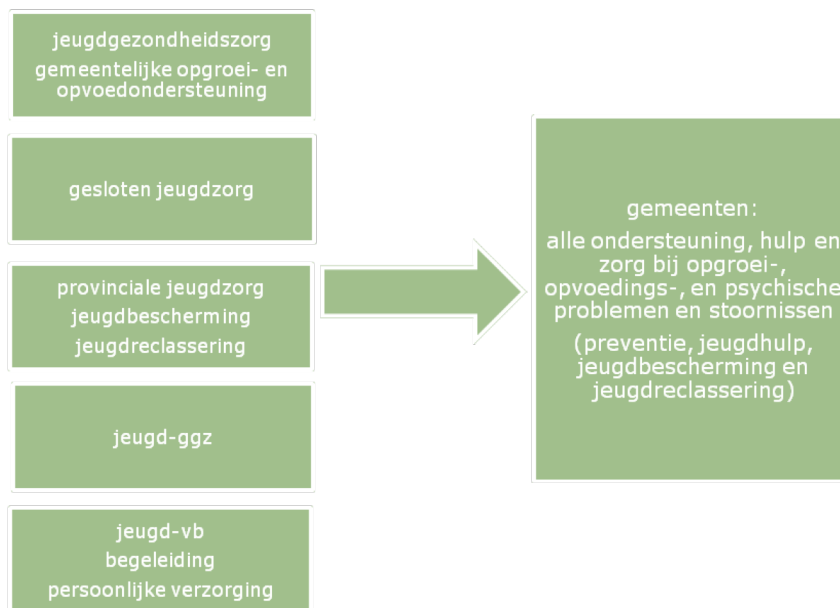


Figure 1. *Huidige en nieuwe jeugdhulpstelsel*. Retrieved from Rijksoverheid (2013).

As a result of the decision to transform the youth care system, the municipalities obtained various new responsibilities: creating facilities in the areas of youth care when there are problems in upbringing and psychic problems and disorders, the self-reliance and social participation, giving recognizable and low-threshold advice about choosing and using the right form of help and the access to the forced framework and organizing the implementation of the child protection measures and juvenile rehabilitation (Rijksoverheid, 2013).

In order to organize these new challenges, a large number of Dutch municipalities initiated social neighborhood teams. A new type of organization that would primarily be the residents' gateway to care. It was intended that this team would act closely to the natural environment of the clients, so that access is easy, and barriers are minimized. Some municipalities chose to have no neighborhood team but do have different organizational bodies that have the same responsibility as such social neighborhood teams would have. A research conducted by Movisie (2019) concluded that 83 percent of the questioned municipalities work with neighborhood teams. They often consist of people with different backgrounds who integrally treat the request of help together. The support that is offered would ideally take place within the clients' own network or through facilities in the social field.

Problem definition

Now, roughly four years later, questions rise whether or not these social neighborhood teams are the proper way to facilitate municipal youth care. Because of the decentralization, various different forms of social neighborhood teams have been founded. So far, no clear evaluation of these different types of social neighborhood teams has been undertaken. Are all forms of social neighborhood teams as effective? What aspects of what form works well and what aspects do not? It is of great importance to investigate this, since the Dutch youth care system is under a lot of pressure. The Central Bureau for Statistics (CBS) for instance, states that the number of youths that were in need of care between the period of 2015-2017 has increased significantly (CBS, 2019). These neighborhood teams are said to be closer to the youth and therefore able to signal more problems (NOS, 2018). Furthermore, the Central Plan Bureau (CPB) conducted a research on the effect of social neighborhood teams in the framework of WMO care use. This showed that social neighborhood teams do not contribute to less, but instead to more expensive care. This is happening while the initial goal of implementing social (neighborhood)teams was the complete opposite (CPB, 2019). The organization and implementation of these social neighborhood teams has an influence on the number of referrals and thus the increase of costs. It is expected that the neighborhood teams within the youth care will have a significant effect on the increasing deficits too. With financial deficits rising, and questions on the effectiveness of the new system popping up, it is of great importance to investigate the principle of social neighborhood teams in relation to the youth care policy.

Theoretical framework

Following the problem statement, a framework consisting of both empirical and theoretical insights, is provided. First the construct of social neighborhood teams is elaborated, in order to establish a typology of social neighborhood teams. This typology is based on organizational characteristics that can be withdrawn from the literature. Furthermore, the concept of policy is explored, and the determination of policy success is given. What follows, is a theoretical overview, consisting of the relations between different organizational characteristics and whether or not these will lead to a certain degree of policy success.

Assessing social neighborhood teams

A social neighborhood team is a much-used organizational form when talking about the gateway for residents with a request for help. The teams often consist of people with different backgrounds who integrally treat the request of help together. The support that is offered would ideally take place within the client's own network or through facilities in the social field. A research conducted by Movisie (2018) concluded that 83 percent of the questioned municipalities work with neighborhood teams. In order to investigate social neighborhood teams, a clear construct of which organizational structures are present, is needed.

According to Movisie (2018), municipalities have implemented several different organizational models. A distinction is made between municipalities that manage the social neighborhood teams themselves (model 1), municipalities that have outsourced the team to one or more care providers (model 2 and model 3), and municipalities that outsource the responsibility to an independent legal entity (model 4). Furthermore, several municipalities have stated that the chosen organizational structure cannot be categorized in one of the given models. If significant, these models will be discussed in the results section of this paper. A visual representation of the elaborated models is given below.

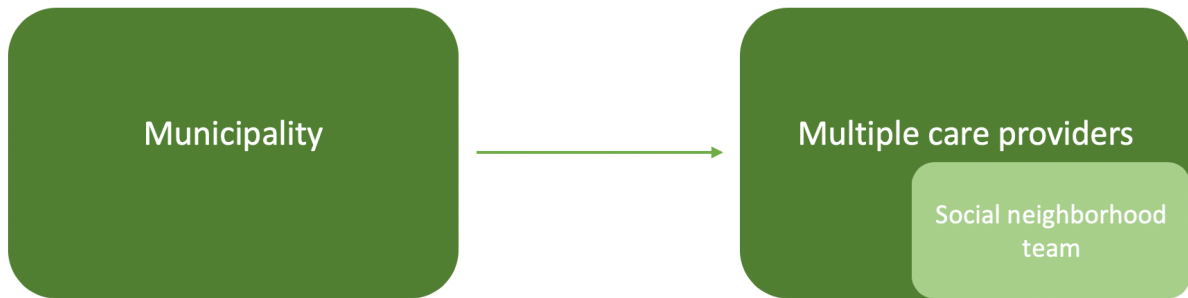
Model 1

In this model, municipalities manage the social neighborhood teams themselves. This means that the municipality is responsible for both composing and implementing youth care policy.



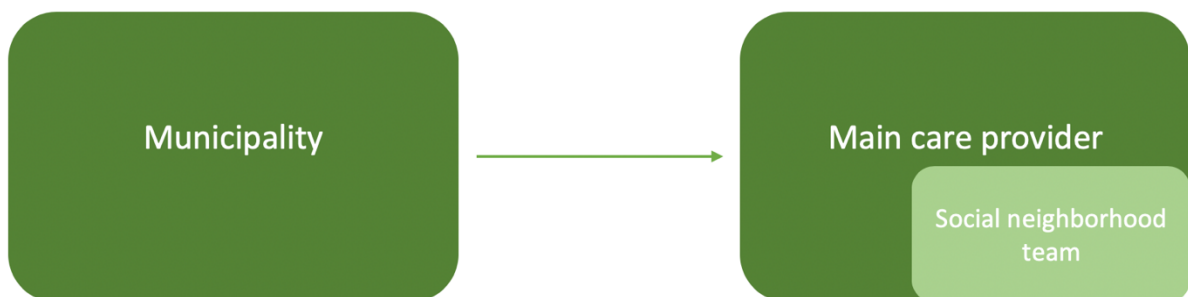
Model 2

For model two, the neighborhood team consists of multiple care providers. The social neighborhood team is not managed by the municipality but is outsourced. The relationship between the municipality and the social neighborhood team is based on subsidies and procurement.



Model 3

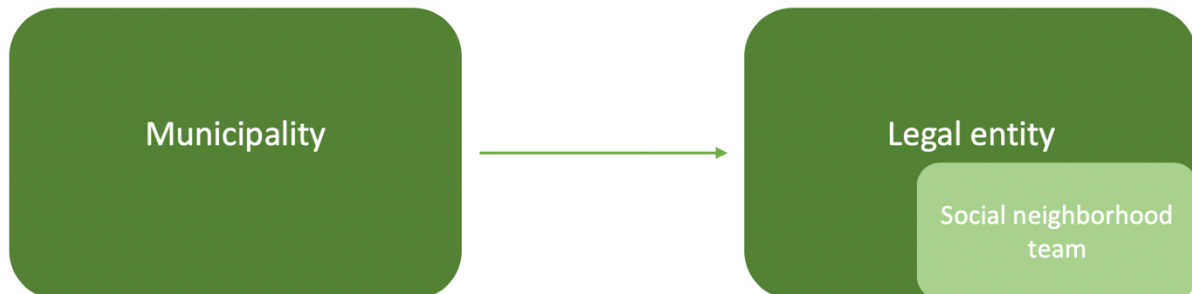
This model is similar to model two but differentiates because the municipality has appointed one care provider as main contractor. This alters the relation between both the municipalities and the different care providers, but also between the care providers themselves.



Model 4

In this final model, the municipality has outsourced the social neighborhood teams to a legal entity. This is often an independent body, which acts as a mediator between clients, care

providers and municipalities. In the case of youth care, municipalities often choose to situate the social neighborhood team within a foundation. The relationship between the social neighborhood team and the municipalities is therefore external.



Constructing a social neighborhood team typology

The aforementioned models are a representation of how municipalities have chosen various organizational models for implementing social neighborhood teams. These organizational models are constructed by several structural characteristics. Although model 1 does not entail a multi-actor approach, it can still be compared with the other models. Literature states that a distinction in relational characteristics can be described as a multi-actor or network approach (Van Waarden, 1992; Rhodes, 2006; Klijn & Koppejan; 2001). This network approach argues that policy is a result of complex interaction processes between multiple actors. These actors are dependent on each other, which means that the implementation of the policy is only possible if all actors cooperate. In other words: *“Policy networks are sets of formal institutional and informal linkages between governmental and other actors structured around shared if endlessly negotiated beliefs and interests in public policymaking and implementation. These actors are interdependent, and policy emerges from the interactions between them”* (Rhodes, 2006, p. 424).

Several structural factors can be distinguished, in order to construct a typology of social neighborhood teams. Van Waarden argues that these factors cannot be seen as separate indicators, since they are intertwined at all times (1992). First, forms of cooperation can be identified by looking at the different functions and goals of the established relationship. Several functions and goals can be identified: access to decision-making process, exchange of information, negotiation on recourses and services, and cooperation in policy formation,

implementation or legitimacy (Van Waarden, 1992). For this study, the form of cooperation mainly relies on the degree to which all stakeholders are involved in the various policy dimension that are present. These dimensions will be elaborated later on.

Next, the complexity of cooperative relations can be studied. This can be achieved by looking at the number and intensity of mutual relations. Moreover, the way in which the relations is experienced is taken into account (Van Waarden 1992; Williams, 2005).

Furthermore, the (a)symmetry of relations can be a discerning factor. Three types of relations can be identified: one-sided, multi-sided or joint-exchange relationships (Van Waarden, 1992). One-sided relationships are asymmetrical, in which one or a few organizations have more power. Multi-sided relations are often described as symmetrical, since organizations are dependent on each other. This means power is more equally distributed. This also applies to joint-exchange relationships: two or more organizations are exchanging resources and services and act as one unit (Levine & White, 1961; Pröpper et al., 2005).

Coordination mechanisms are a fourth indicator for constructing a neighborhood team typology. Hierarchic authority occurs when one organization has control of input, whereas with horizontal consultation, all organizations have equal input. Connecting leadership means that, although is in charge, there is space for other organizations to generate input. Lastly, staff mobility is present, when personnel is exchanged between organizations (Van Waarden, 1992).

The positioning of organizations in the network is another structural factor. This entails the way in which certain organizations have a centralized position or not (Williams, 2005). The more central an organization is positioned, the more power it has in the network. This is mainly linked to the degree of delegation that is present (Van Waarden, 1992).

For this study, the three aforementioned structural factors will be merged in to on structural factor: degree of power. This is mainly because in this study there are only two parties that are compared. Also, since the three aforementioned structural factors are heavily related, these will be assessed as one. The way in which power is organized may have a large influence on the potential success of social neighborhood teams. Power can be more centralized or more divided amongst stakeholders. In this case, power is expressed as the degree of control the municipality

has on the policy making process and implementation. The three aforementioned structural factors will be separate indicators for assessing the structural factor relations and power.

Also, the independence of organizations regarding the use of resources and services is a structural factor. This entails that the degree to which an organization relies on other organizations to obtain and use certain resources and services, can be described as a structural factor (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). ‘Resource concentration’ occurs when one or a few organizations possess certain resources or service, making other organizations dependent on them. ‘Resource dispersion’ is in effect when resources and service are available at multiple organizations (Fink et al., 2006).

Lastly, when assessing a typology, the concept of discretion needs to be taken into account. This is the degree to which organizations have the freedom and control of utilizing certain resources, services or other aspects that relate to the implementation process (Fink et al., 2006). A decrease in control between organizations, leads to an increase in access to resources and services (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

Based on the described models that are used to assess the different forms of social neighborhood teams, and the elaboration on structural factors that have been abstracted from the literature, a typology of social neighborhood teams can be formulated. The table below is a representation of the described models in relation to the structural factors.

<i>Structural factor</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>	<i>Model 3</i>	<i>Model 4</i>
<i>Form of cooperation</i>	Cooperation on policy formation and implementation	Cooperation on policy implementation and resources	Cooperation on policy implementation and resources	Cooperation on policy implementation
<i>Relational complexity</i>	Increased complexity	Decreased complexity (implementation)	Decreased complexity (implementation)	Decreased complexity
<i>Degree of power</i>	High municipal power	Low municipal power	Low municipal power	Medium municipal power
<i>Dependency</i>	Lower dependency	High dependency	High dependency	Higher dependency
<i>Degree of discretion</i>	High municipal control	Low municipal control	Lower municipal control	Higher municipal control

Table 1. Typology of social neighborhood teams.

Assessing policy success

In order to take a closer look into policy success and failure, an elaborated definition of policy is required. Literature suggests that policy should be aimed at improving social developments. Governments are responsible for making the right decisions, regarding the proper guidance of the aforementioned developments. Therefore, Bovens et al. (2007) define policy as “*all intentions, choices and actions of one or more administrative authorities, focused on the right guidance of a certain social development*” (p. 16). This definition implies that the intentions, choices and actions undertaken might be more or less successful. These components are, after all, constructed by (partial) subjectivity. Thus, the next step in this theoretical framework is to provide an overview of what is meant by policy success or failure. The interpretation of policy success is highly sensitive to its perceived result. Hence the use of the word ‘interpretation’. In one policy case, protagonists might claim that a policy has been successful, while opponents might declare it has failed. In other words, “*(...) the verdict about a public policy is an ongoing ‘framing contest’ between its advocates and shapers on the one hand, and its critics and victims on the other*” (Boin et al., 2009). Policy outcomes are often found in between these extremes (McConnell, 2010). A structured framework, or heuristic, is needed in order to assess policy success or failure in a more objective way.

Constructing an objective framework for assessing policy success, however, is not easy. First of all, evaluating policy success can be achieved by using two different dimensions: programmatic evaluation and political evaluation. Programmatic evaluation is based on ‘that what can be objectively measured’: “*observable costs and benefits, original intentions and eventual outcomes*” (Bovens & ‘t Hart, 2016, p. 656). Political evaluation pertains to the world of impressions: contested arguments, stories, framing, good cops and bad cops (Bovens & ‘t Hart, 2016). Research shows that these two dimensions of evaluation do not necessarily correlate (Bovens et al., 2001; Gaskarth, 2011; Kruck, 2016). However, when acknowledging both logics, an assessment matrix can be constructed (see table 2). It shows that a policy can be successful on paper but is not necessarily perceived as such. Or, on the other hand, it can be perceived as a successful policy but is has come with, for instance, extremely high costs. Wildavsky (1979) has portrayed this political paradox as “*doing better, feeling worse*”. In this paper the two logics of policy assessment will be described as objective policy assessment and subjective policy assessment. In which the first relates to the concept of performance, and the latter to the concept of reputation.

<i>Reputation: Political assessment</i>	++	--
<i>Performance: Programmatic assessment</i>		
++	Success	Tragedy
--	Farce	Fiasco

Table 2. *Two logics of evaluation* (Bovens et al., 2016).

McConnell acknowledges the aforementioned definition of policy success, but argues that the two logics of policy evaluation are not sufficient enough (2010). Therefore, three more elaborated dimensions of evaluation are given: processes, programs and politics. All three dimensions can be separately successful or not, meaning that even if the outcomes of a policy are not completely satisfactory, it is not an instant fiasco. McConnell (2010) provides the following definition of policy success: “*A policy is successful if it achieves the goals that proponents set out to achieve and attracts no criticism of any significance and/or support is virtually universal*” (p. 351). Next, all three dimensions will be elaborated, in order to provide indicators connected to each dimension. All indicators can be categorized in five levels of success: absolute success, resilient success, conflicted success, precarious success and failure (McConnell, 2010). Also, the last part of the definition will be explained and connected to the three dimensions. This will also be evaluated, based on the five categories of success.

‘Policy as a process’ entails the identification of social problem and examining whether or not a policy is needed. If so, certain choices, regarding the design and potential implementation of the intervention, are made. Therefore, policy as a process is also referred to as ‘policy making’. In case of the social neighborhood teams, the policy making process reflects the choices that have been made when institutionalizing the decentralizations. This means that current forms of social neighborhood teams are a result of the choices made during the policy making process. When evaluating policy as a process, several indicators can be formulated. First, policy as a process is successful if during the development of a policy, government’s goals and objectives are preserved. Next, legitimacy of the policy amongst stakeholders is of importance. This can be achieved through active consultation. Third, vital for a successful policy process is a sustainable coalition of supporting interests. This means that the parties responsible for creating the policy should operate as a coherent unit, instead of cooperating on an ad hoc basis (Patashnik, 2008 in: McConnell, 2010, p. 353). Lastly, the policy should resonate a certain

degree of innovation. Progressive policy is therefore associated with successful policy, whereas an aging policy can be described as (partially) failing.

‘Policy as a program’ is based on the idea that the goals and objectives of the formulated policy are met as intended. Minor changes or obstacles may occur, but this will hopefully prove the resilience of the policy. This relates to the idea that the outcomes of the policy are as desired. However, a distinction in these indicators is made between the way the policy is implemented and the outcomes of the implementation. Both indicators are weighed based on predetermined objectives. Also, the outcomes of the policy should be beneficial for the intended target audience. A failure in this regard, would occur if the policy actually damages the target audience (McConnell, 2010, p. 353).

‘Policy as politics’ is considered to be relevant when assessing the reputation and legitimacy of and trust in the government. A first indicator that is used for measuring success, concerns the way in which the policy strengthens or weakens the electoral position of the government. Also, the policy should have an influence on policy agenda and whether or not governing is going more smoothly. Lastly, the implemented policy should lead to the preservation of values and visions that the government aspires to radiate. It shows that the government is able to translate its values into concrete and successful actions (McConnell, 2010, p. 353).

As for the last part of the definition of policy success (“... *and attracts no criticism of any significance and/or support is virtually universal*”), this indicator can be applied to all three dimensions. The policy process, as well as the implementation and political aspects should experience little to no opposition. Universal support is therefore seen as a factor for assessing successful policy. On the other, major opposition to the various dimension contributes to potential policy failure (McConnell, 2010).

Social neighborhood team typology and policy success

Based on existing literature, an overview of the potential relation between the typology of social neighborhood teams and policy success is given. Klijn & Koppejan (2001) state that structural factors may be an influence on policy success or failure. First, the concept of dependency is an important factor. Whenever two organization are dependent on each other, it is important that organizations are actually aware of their dependency. In this case, goals need to be made clear

to all parties, in order to avoid conflicts. These conflicts might lead to a stagnation in achieving policy goals. One could argue that a lower dependency might reduce the risk of this stagnation.

Furthermore, it is argued that rules and regulations play an important role in achieving policy goals (Klijn & Koppejan, 2001). These rules and regulations ensure that risks are avoided, and transactional costs are kept on a low (Hindmoor, 1998). Hierarchy can provide clarity, and therefore reduce potential policy failure. This relates to the structural factor of coordination mechanisms.

Research question

Although research has been conducted on both policy success, as well as policy networks, the connection between them has not often been made. Moreover, there is a significant gap in decentralized youth care policy. Especially the new social neighborhood team system has not been researched critically. A further investigation is needed, in order to assess the potential relationship between policy success or failure and the typology of social neighborhood teams. Therefore, this paper aims to do just that. Following the theoretical framework, a research question is formulated. The research question is stated as followed:

“To what extent do the structural factors, of which social neighborhood teams are constructed, influence the success or failure of Dutch municipal youth care policy as a process, policy as a program and policy as politics?”

Expectations

Since most municipalities are still in search for a model that works really well, and boosts success on the three aforementioned dimensions of policy success, questions rise whether or not there is a golden standard, when it comes to creating a social neighborhood team model. It is expected that this cannot be found. The decentralization was implemented to give municipalities the freedom to find their own golden standard. It is expected that a clearer view on these various tailored-made solutions will be found. This could provide municipalities that are still struggling with organizing youth care properly, with leading examples of tailor-made solutions.

Methodology

In this chapter, the methodology of the research is elaborated. The selection of participants is elaborated, as well as the procedures undertaken to perform the research. Also, information about the reliability and validity of the instruments is given.

Participants

Respondents were selected based on position in the field and relation to the research subject. Both neighborhood team professionals as well as local policy makers were interviewed. The research has been limited to municipalities in the Province of Utrecht, since this is a manageable scope for the research. In order to distinguish differences in structural factors, all social neighborhood team models that have been elaborated in the theoretical framework, are represented in this study.

Procedures

Several methods for data collection are used. These methods are, according to Deetz (1996, p. 202), suitable for interpretivist research. Using multiple strategies of collecting data improves the reliability and credibility of the research, since it gives the researcher multiple angles on the constructed reality (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 51).

Interviews

The main source of data will be the result of the conducted interviews. Interviews give the researcher substantive and detailed informative, while providing leeway for flexibility and deviation (Bryman, 2016, p. 470-471). For this research, semi-structured interviewing is applied. This entails that a topic list with mostly open-ended questions is used. Although these topics indicate a certain structure, the interview is flexible and there is room for discussion and by questions. All quotes used in this study, were originally stated in Dutch. A translation of these original quotes is presented in this study.

Document analysis

For this research, policy evaluation documents were used, in order to serve as a form of control for the conducted interview. Documents provide an extra dimension to the subjective data that

is being collected through interviewing. It often provides a more objective reality, which can be mirrored to the other data collection methods (Bryman, 2012).

Data analysis

Analyzing the gathered data is done through an extensive coding process. This strategy will help answering the research questions (Boeije, 2014, p. 92). Three different methods of coding are applied to this research:

1. Unraveling the data and sorting in to different categories.
2. Elaborate themes and finding out what's really important.
3. Looking for patterns and integrate in the defined themes.

Coding is often done using NVIVO: a computer application that helps structuring data and give insights in relations and patterns. Also, NVIVO helps analyzing data in a systematic and organized way (Boeije, 2014, p. 148).

Instruments

Reliability and validity in the qualitative research paradigm can be conceptualized as trustworthiness, rigor and quality (Golafshani, 2003). Also, the researcher must strive to eliminate bias and increase truthfulness of a proposition about some social phenomenon (Denzin, 1978). A way to achieve this, is by triangulation. Triangulation is defined as “*a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study*” (Cresswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). For this study, triangulation is established through using interviews and document analysis as instruments of research.

Validity and reliability

The internal validity includes the way in which the used methods are actually used as intended (Bryman, 2012). In other words: does this research measure the things it should measure? For this research, the internal validity was strengthened by using policy documents to support the data collected through interviewing participants. The answers provided by the respondents could be verified, by checking the provided documents. Statements on policy success, were therefore more powerful. However, more sources of data could have bene applied. To be more specific: other actors involved in the research context could have been approached and interviewed. This might have given a different perspective to the data already gathered. Furthermore, the structural factors that were researched might not have been the only structural

factors that are present in the research context. By choosing a broader participant sample, this could become clear.

External validity entails the degree to which the results of the research can be generalized to environments outside of the research context (Bryman 2012). In terms of representativeness of the participant sample, several issues needed to be addressed and tackled. First, since the participant sample is relatively small, representativeness might be affected. In this case, only seven out of a potential 355 municipalities were selected to participate. Therefore, any conclusions drawn are not representative for all the municipalities. In order to tackle this problem, municipalities were selected based on three major conditions: municipality size (in terms of inhabitants), location (all in one Dutch province), and an even representativeness of the different social neighborhood team models was guaranteed.

The reliability of the data collection instruments concerns the degree in which the participants have been studied in the same manner and under the same conditions. In other words: it relates to the consistency and degree to which the research can be conducted in a comparable manner (Bryman, 2012). For this research, the reliability is considered to be relatively high. All respondents were asked the same questions in roughly the same time frame. Therefore, the respondents had equally long to provide answers. Although reliability is relatively high, it was not fully achieved. One of the explanations is that, in one specific case, two participants were interviewed simultaneously. This may have led to the participants not speaking truthfully or being afraid of sharing sensitive, but useful information. Also, some interviews lasted longer than others, which could insinuate that a few participants were able to share more information than their colleagues.

Results

The Dutch youth care system has been experiencing a lot of turmoil in recent years. Therefore, policy makers and professionals working in this field are currently facing enormous challenges, as for how to organize all this properly. Financial shortages are a common issue and keeps the mind of policy makers and professionals busy. Furthermore, the local council and executive board feel the pressure rising from society. The result of this is that local politics, the mayor and aldermen hold the policy makers accountable for the outcomes of the policy. So far, municipalities find it hard to get a grip on what the root of the problem is and how to solve it. However, although respondents acknowledge the statements mentioned above, in general, they are optimistic in terms of the actual care provided. After all, the main goal is to help youths as best as possible. All municipalities involved share this thought and believe that this is a positive development.

Although the general trend mentioned above indicates that municipalities are experiencing the same issues, the way in which municipalities are trying to tackle these issues varies a lot. This relates to the theoretical framework, which elaborates the different models of social neighborhood teams that municipalities work with. The effect of these models will be elaborated later in this study. First, an overview of the municipalities involved is given. They will be characterized and given a name, to ensure anonymity. In total, seven municipalities are included in this study, as well as one independent institute, specialized in advising municipalities and publishing research independently. In terms of demographics, an attempt has been made to involve municipalities with similar demographics. Therefore, all municipalities are situated in the same province and have approximately 30.000 to 60.000 citizens, with some exceptions. This scale is considered to be average (CBS).

Second Tier Town, as the name suggests, has a social neighborhood team that is framed as being a second tier team. This means that the access to the social neighborhood team is organized in such a way that potential clients are registered via other referrers such as welfare work or general practitioners.

Little Town, the smallest of all participating municipalities (hence the name). In this town, people have a strong of sense community cohesion. Therefore, when one is in need of (youth)

care, the access to this care is usually nearby. On the other hand, sensitive information easily spreads across the town, which is not always desirable when it comes to youth care.

Internal Town has a social neighborhood team that is situated within the municipality. Although multiple municipalities have the same way of organizing this team, Internal Town has a very case when it comes to the position of the social neighborhood team.

Mixed City, as the name states, has chosen to situate the social neighborhood team both internal and external. In case a citizen has a single issue, for instance when solely youth care is needed, the internally situated team is responsible. However, when multiple issues are present, the externally situated team is responsible. This might be the case when a youngling has an issue, whilst the parents are in a major debt.

In transition town, the organization of youth care is subject to change. As of now, there is no social neighborhood team as described by the respondents. The municipality works with an integrally organized team, consisting of consultants. Consultants give indications for citizens in need of care and refer to care providers. However, this will change in the course of time (hence the name Transition Town), and the municipality will have an internally situated social neighborhood team.

Big City, the largest municipality incorporated in this study, has an eternally situated social neighborhood team. In this case, the team is organized within a foundation, an independent, legal entity. The main reason for this positioning is to ensure autonomy for the social neighborhood team professionals. Since the municipality is not in full control, the social neighborhood team has more freedom, in terms of acting as they seem fit. When analyzing the structural factors, this will be addressed in more detail.

External Town has an externally situated social neighborhood team, in which three care providers are responsible for the organization of youth care in practice. The dynamic of the relationship between the municipality and the social neighborhood team will most likely be different than for other municipalities.

Lastly, an independent research and advisory institute was incorporated in this study. Although they do not provide care, or determine policy whatsoever, they do give a more zoomed out

perspective on the cases. Therefore, a more nuanced view on the playing field was given. It may also be used as a form of control to the input of the municipalities or to compare with.

The following table provides an overview of the municipalities involved in this study, as well as the respondents, documents, models (as described in the theoretical framework) and number of citizens a municipality has. For some municipalities, two participants were interviewed. This is why in some cells, a policy maker and a professional are mentioned.

Municipality/organization	Respondents	Documents	Model	Citizens
Second Tier Town	Policy maker (R1)	No	1/mixed	25.000
Little Town	Policy maker (R2)	Yes (D1)	1	22.000
Internal Town	Policy maker (R3) Professional (R4)	No	1	46.000
Mixed City	Policy maker (R5)	Yes (D2)	Mixed	64.000
Transition Town	Policy maker (R6) Professional (R7)	Yes (D3)	No model	52.000
Big City	Policy maker (R8)	Yes (D4)	4	66.000
External Town	Policy maker (R9)	Yes (D5)	2	64.000
Independent institute	Expert (R10)	-	-	-

Table 3. *Overview of research data.*

Structural factors and policy success

Following the aforementioned introduction on the results of the study, this paragraph contains an analysis of the influence the different structural factors have on the degree of policy success. In this study, the assessment of policy success consists of three dimensions: policy as a process, policy as a program and policy as politics. All of which can be evaluated separately. All structural factors of which a social neighborhood team consists, will be analyzed using these three dimensions.

Form of cooperation

As mentioned earlier, the form of cooperation relies on the degree to which different stakeholders are involved in the various policy dimensions that are present. A relevant question to be asked is: What relationship is present between the social neighborhood team and the municipality and how is this related to different policy dimensions? Moreover: what effect does this have on the degree of policy success?

Several respondents indicate that the success of policy as a process will, in general, be higher whenever the social neighborhood team is situated within the municipality. Mainly because the legitimacy of the policy will be higher, and the coalition of stakeholders might potentially be stronger. This is also a potential threat to the policy, since conflicting interests might cause division. The more stakes are involved, the longer the process might take and conflicting interest cause unrest and therefore, instability. On the other hand, whenever the social neighborhood team is situated externally, the policy is often less legitimate, and the goals and objectives of the policy are not always clear. Respondent 5, a policy maker from Mixed City, a town in where multiple models are present, thus creating an influx in stakeholders state: *“They do not really know where the policy is situated and what it entails. So that is a bit difficult, because the policy is then create for people who are not able to apply it properly. Or they do not know how”* (R5).

As for policy as a program, the form of cooperation results in a more divided landscape. Whenever there is a form of cooperation in terms of policy formation, the success of the policy as a program will be improved, because the social neighborhood team tends to be more aware of policy goals and objectives. This awareness may result in achieving these goals and objectives better. However, having the right professionals on the job is even more important. This is stressed by multiple participants. Respondent 9, an experienced policymaker explains from Big City, who has worked for multiple municipalities states that this is already going very well: *“We are very proud that we have a lot of expertise there, and we are able to consider what is necessary for the child. On the other hand, there are municipalities where they have a certain consultant role, in which they are not able to provide care themselves. So that is why we are very happy with our approach”* (R9). This is confirmed by the provided document, stating that, although not all policy goals were met, the clients were provided with adequate care (D4).

The influence of the form of cooperation on the policy as politics tends to be very low. The only notion that has to be made is that political opposition tends to be a little bit lower in case the social neighborhood team is situated within the municipality. This is mainly, because municipal control is higher and therefore leads to lower risks.

Relational complexity

The relational complexity entails the number and intensity of mutual relations, in this case between the municipality and the social neighborhood team. This also includes the number and length of individual interactions. More relations and a higher intensity result in an increased relational complexity. However, both ends of the spectrum could have a positive effect on the success of municipal youth care policy.

The relational complexity is strongly connected with policy as a process. When discussing this topic, respondents mainly referred to policy as a process. Whenever the social neighborhood team is situated within the municipality, relations appear to be more intense and intimate. This boosts two effects: the policy tends to be more legitimate, since the stakeholders involved in the implementation process have been involved in the policy process. The policy process can be described as being bottom up. On the other hand, complexity is likely to be higher, due to personal relations and the blurriness of formal relations. Complexity, in this sense could mean that multiple interests cause for delay in the development of the policy, or disagreement on some points. As for situations in which the social neighborhood team is situated externally, these trends seem to be the opposite.

The influence of relational complexity on policy as a program, is not as big as the influence it has on policy as a process. However, policy goals and objectives tend to be achieved better, whenever relations are more intimate. This matches the idea that the policy is widely supported and therefore better aligned with the working field.

The success of policy as politics is not affected by relational complexity as much as policy as a process. However, in some cases, it has a significant effect on successful policy as politics. A policy maker from the municipality of Little Town states that, for small municipalities, having an increased relational complexity might result in political sensitivities. Certain notification of incidents will be very easily spread amongst citizens and politicians. This may cause instability. The following statement elaborates this: *“A disadvantage is that, whenever an incident occurs, the whole towns knows it. The consequence of this is that local politicians may ask us how that can be possible and what we are going to do about it”* (R2).

Degree of power

The degree of power is expressed as the degree of control the municipality has on the policy making process and implementation. The degree of power that a municipality has may vary.

The implementation, or program, of the youth care policy is often executed by the social neighborhood team. Therefore, the control or power that a municipality has over the social neighborhood team could have an influence on the effectiveness of the youth care policy as a program. Whenever the social neighborhood team is situated within the municipality, a high degree of power is present, because they have more control on the activities of the social neighborhood team. This may result in a higher achievement of policy goals and objectives. This means that policy makers and professionals are often tuned in better and are more aware of each other's interests. Because the professionals are more aware of policy goals and objectives, they are often achieved better. Whenever the social neighborhood team is situated externally, other effects can be distinguished.

When looking at the desirability of the policy, little to no variation has been discovered. The only notion that can be made, is the fact that professional in social neighborhood teams that are situated internally, are often more aware of the financial consequences of the policy implementation.

The indicator of policy success as a program, concerning the potential benefits that clients may have from the policy implementation are evaluated as very positive. From both sides of the spectrum, the overall consensus is that clients are treated very well. This is also acknowledged in most policy evaluation documents. The quality of the care is considered to be very good. This has to do with the great expertise that is presented within these social neighborhood teams. Multiple participants agree to this statement and argue that the employees of the social neighborhood team have a great influence on the outcomes of the policy. A policy maker from Second Tier Town states that these benefits are present: "*We do conduct customer satisfaction surveys. The feedback we get from this is that clients are, in general, satisfied with their treatment. This also entails the speed of their treatment*" (R1). In this case, the clients relate their treatment to the people present in the social neighborhood team. Therefore, no clear distinction, regarding the potential benefits of clients in relation to the degree of municipal power, can be made. This is because, it is often related to people, instead of institutions.

The degree of power a municipality has on the policy related to the social neighborhood team, has an effect on the success of policy as politics. Especially when the social neighborhood team is situated externally, politics tends to try and be in control. One of the consequences of this, is that policy makers are focusing more on accountability towards the coalition, instead of

focusing on improving youth care policy. Respondent 9, an experienced policy maker states that this hinders him and creates stress as well: *“A large proportion of my time is lost to writing numerous accountability documents, intended for the local council and managers. Especially focused on financial shortages. No so much on solving these issues (...), but rather explaining why they are present and how they came to be”* (R9). This trend is not specifically related to one or more social neighborhood team models.

Dependency

The structural factor dependency is described as the degree to which an organization relies on other organizations to obtain and use certain resources and services. In this case, municipalities are ought to be more independent whenever the social neighborhood team is situated within the municipality and, is more reliant on the social neighborhood team when situated externally.

For policy as a process, the degree of dependency is of no to little influence in the increase of policy success, when taking this participant sample into account. It may be an influence on the relationship between stakeholders, since dependency affects resources which are related to policy making, but this does not necessarily increase policy success.

Furthermore, the success of policy as a program is also not as much affected as expected. The comments respondents made, were often neutral of nature and thus not aimed at establishing policy success. Cooperation is often well regulated, even when resources are very much concentrated within one stakeholder. A policy maker from the municipality of External Town states: *“Their responsibility is the implementation; they provide the actual care. However, whenever there is an incident, or the numbers are odd, we do start a conversation with them”* (R8).

Successful policy as politics is a component that might be affected by the dependency of a municipality in relation to the social neighborhood team. Because of the political tensions regarding the financial shortages in Dutch youth care, political legitimacy and coalition stability are fragile. Respondents indicate that local politics, being the council, are trying to keep control of the situation. In case the social neighborhood team is situated externally, the dependency on the externally situated social neighborhood team is higher. Respondent 8, who commented on the topic of dependency before, states that *“It can be noticed that, because of these financial shortages, the political aspect has become more important. Local politics want to get a grip on*

these issues. And because of these uncertainties (...) they approach us with all sorts of ideas” (R8). Following this statement, dependency is not so much a cause for successful or failing policy as politics, but rather it is an accelerator when political friction, lack of legitimacy or coalition instability is present.

Degree of discretion

Lastly, the degree of discretion is assessed. This is the degree to which organizations have the freedom and control of utilizing certain resources, services or other aspects that relate to the implementation process. Although similar to the structural factor of dependency, nuances can be made.

Although this structural factor will be of greater influence during the policy implementation, it can be of influence on the potential success of the policy as a process. The stakeholders involved will need to come to an agreement on certain policy goals and objectives. The degree of discretion is therefore often higher when the social neighborhood team is externally situated.

As for the success of the policy as a program, discretion is a broadly discussed theme. Although related to the concept of the degree of power and relational complexity, the freedom and control of using certain resources is a standalone topic. Whenever the social neighborhood team is situated internally, the degree of discretion tends to be lower. On the other hand, whenever the team is situated externally, the degree of discretion tends to be higher. However, no clear distinction was made, in terms of one way being more successful than the other. In case of an external situated social neighborhood team, a higher degree of discretion is evaluated as a contribution to the success of the policy as a program. Especially the desirability of the outcomes and the created benefits for the target population are relatively high. The given mandate provides a degree of freedom to utilize expertise and to do what is really needed, instead of carefully following the policy guidelines. A policy maker from Mixed City acknowledges this by saying that *“They professionals are very capable, and are able to obtain a broader and deeper look on the situation that the consultants that are stationed here. They take control in the neighborhood”* (R5). For the social neighborhood team that is situated internally, the indicator of achieving policy goals and objectives is generally evaluated better, but no major differences were found.

Next, the policy as politics. Although the positioning of the social neighborhood team has a varying influence on the municipal politics, it does not necessarily make a difference, as far as the policy success as politics. The only notion that needs to be made is the fact that an externally situated social neighborhood team may cause more political friction. Since a certain mandate is present, the social neighborhood team has more freedom to operate as it seems fit. This gives local politics lower control, and may therefore lead to higher political opposition. A policy maker from Big City states that: *“Municipalities feel the need to take control. They want to understand and get a grip on the situation”* (R9). The urge for control makes that political successful policy is probably achieved better with an internally situated social neighborhood team.

Reviewing the models and general trends

Organizing youth care can be a challenging process. Especially, since there is no clear recipe that can be applied to all individual municipalities. The aforementioned structural factors are a detailed representation of this challenging process. The number of choices that has to made does have an effect on the way in which youth care is organized. The analysis of the structural factors shows that there is no one size fits all. No golden standard. No set of clear-cut choices that leads to successful youth care policy and a high quality of youth care.

However, the choices a municipality can make for organizing youth care, in this study embodied by the structural factors, do have an influence on the potential success of the policy. It is important to notice that the choices regarding the structural factors are often linked with each other. This means that whenever a municipality chooses to have an externally situated social neighborhood team, it affects the way in which the structural factors behave. This results in different outcomes of youth care. Customization can be applied to really have a tailor-made system that is best for the municipality. It has been made clear that, for instance, differences in municipal size are an important determinant for choosing an appropriate form of organizing a social neighborhood team. A small municipality might benefit from having a social neighborhood team situated within the municipality, since it often represents community-building and accessibility. On the other hand, for larger municipalities this might not work, because of the scale of the municipality. It could be wise to organize a social neighborhood team closer to the residents, in order to lower the threshold to youth care. The general trend is that most municipalities do have an idea of what is necessary to organize youth care in a way that suits their profile. The policy evaluation documents that were provided do confirm this as

well. Although financial shortages are a very relevant issue, that is mentioned a lot, the actual quality of care is often evaluated as very positive.

Furthermore, it is important to make clear choices as a municipality. Whenever this is diffuse, confusion occurs, and policy success is likely to be lower. This has been addressed by Mixed City, a town in which multiple models were represented (R5). This statement is invigorated by the policy documents, in which an evaluation shows that certain roles are not assessed properly. The evaluation states that this can be solved by choosing a clear path, most suitable for the municipality.

Lastly, both the respondents and the policy evaluation documents stress the importance of experienced, good professionals. This is often the key to providing good quality youth care. An expert from an independent research institute states that the core of everything that is going on in the Dutch youth care system is eventually only about one thing: providing the care that children and teenagers need:

“In the end, it is about children receiving the care they need. You want them to grow up in the best way possible. The cases are often complex and often concern radical things in the lives of people” (R10).

Conclusion and discussion

Since the decentralization in 2015, Dutch municipalities are responsible for designing and implementing all types of youth care policy. So far, although a lot of progress has been made, municipalities are faced with difficulties and it is far from smooth sailing. This study sought to assess the potential success of social neighborhood teams, in relation to the youth care policy. Several forms of these teams, also called models, were analyzed. It was found that the models consist of structural factors: indicators used to explain how these social neighborhood teams are equipped. Also, three dimensions of policy success were elaborated. This study focused on finding the relation between these structural factors and the potential policy success. In order to do so, the following research question was formulated:

“To what extent do the structural factors, of which social neighborhood teams are constructed, influence the success or failure of Dutch municipal youth care policy as a process, policy as a program and policy as politics?”

The main conclusion to this question is that structural factors do have an influence on the potential success of municipal youth care policy, although no clear trend in terms of direction was found. There seems to be no golden standard as far as making certain choices that may lead to imminent success. Instead, the decentralization of Dutch youth care gives policy makers the opportunity to tailor-make municipal youth care, and improve success by providing a certain degree of freedom. The composition of a municipality, especially the number of citizens, is crucial for deciding what kind of social neighborhood team suits best. Establishing these characteristics will help in choosing the right form of organizing a social neighborhood team.

Furthermore, municipalities should not hesitate to make a clear choice. The results have shown that all models and structural factors can have positive effects, as long as clear choices were made. Whenever this was not the case, confusion often got the upper hand in the outcomes of the youth care policy. Municipalities should therefore not hesitate to make bold choices. This reduces confusion, and people know where things stand.

Finally, the importance of good professionals was stressed by multiple participants and confirmed by the policy evaluation documents. In the end, the professionals are the ones who

provide the actual care, and a lot depends on them. Apart from the organization of the social neighborhood team, this needs to be the number one priority of municipalities.

Limitations

Accompanied with the aforementioned statements, some limitations to this research need to be mentioned. First of all, the size and composition of the research sample may not be as adequate as desired. Only a small portion of Dutch municipalities was questioned. Furthermore, similar sized municipalities were involved in this research. This also makes it more difficult to generalize the main conclusions. This could have been tackled by increasing the sample size and interviewing varying sized municipalities or to investigate small or large municipalities only. Furthermore, the results that were presented are measured in a very specific context, being Dutch youth care. Therefore, in terms of scientific relevance, it needs to be taken into account that the context may have been a great influence on the results. This makes it harder to conduct a similar study. However, when conducting this study in a different context, comparing the results would provide useful insights.

Implications

Taken the limitations of this research into account, various implications can be addressed. These implications can be translated to the practical reality and can be considered when organizing municipal youth care.

First of all, one would have to accept that there is no golden standard. This study has shown that, creating a model that is good and applicable to all situations, is simply not feasible. Every municipality should consider very carefully what approach would fit best.

Furthermore, municipalities should not hesitate to make bold choices. In this study, it has been emphasized that, choosing one side of the spectrum rather than staying in the middle, is often more successful.

Lastly, municipalities should invest in the people that provide the actual care. Apart from organizing the social neighborhood team and developing a suitable policy, this should be the number one priority. Providing good care starts with embedding good quality care professionals empowering them.

Bibliography

- Arum, S., & Enden, T. v. (2018). *Sociale wijkteams opnieuw uitgelicht*. Utrecht: Movisie.
Opgehaald van Movisie: www.movisie.nl
- Boeije, H. (2014). *Analyseren in kwalitatief onderzoek: denken en doen*. Den Haag: Boom Lemma.
- Boin, A., 't Hart, P., & McConnell, A. (2009). Crisis exploitation: political and policy impacts of framing contests. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16.1, 81-106.
- Bovens, M., & 't Hart, P. (2001). Beleidsfiasco's tussen bestuurlijk falen en bestuurlijke pech. In T. Abma, *Handboek Beleidswetenschap* (pp. 127-144). Amsterdam: Boom.
- Bovens, M., & 't Hart, P. (2016). Revisiting the study of policy failures. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(5), 653-666.
- Bovens, M., 't Hart, P., & Twist, M. v. (2007). *Openbaar Bestuur - Beleid, organisatie en politiek*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Wolters Kluwer.
- Brewer, D. (1999). The Challenges of Interdisciplinarity. *Policy Sciences Vol. 32*, 327-337.
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CBS. (2019, april 30). *Jeugdhulp 2018*. Opgehaald van CBS: www.cbs.nl
- Chettiparamb, A. (2007). *Interdisciplinarity: a literature review*. Southampton: University of Southampton.
- CPB. (2019). *De wijkteambenadering nader bekeken: het effect van de inzet van wijkteams op Wmo-zorggebruik*. Den Haag: Centraal Planbureau.
- Cresswell, J., & Miller, D. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into practice* 39(3), 124-131.
- Deetz, S. (1996). Describing differences in approaches to organization science: rethinking Burrell and Morgan and their legacy. *Organization Studies, Vol. 7(2)*, 191-207.
- Fink, R., Edelman, L., Hatten, K., & James, W. (2006 15(3)). Transaction cost economies, resource dependence theory, and customer-supplier relationships. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, 497-529.
- Gaskarth, J. (2011). Where would we be without rules? A virtue ethics approach to foreign policy analysis. *Review of International Studies*, 393-415.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report* 8(4), 597-606.
- Hesse-Biber, S., & Leavy, P. (2011). *The practice of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Inc.

- Hindmoor, A. (1998). The importance of being trusted: transaction costs and policy network theory. *Public Administration* 76.1, 25-43.
- Klijn, E. H., & Koppenjan, J. (sd). Besluitvorming en management in netwerken: een multi-actor perspectief op sturing [Decision making and management in networks: a multi-actor perspective]. In T. Abbema, *Handboek Beleidswetenschap Perspectieven, thema's, praktijkvoorbeelden* (pp. 179-195).
- Kruck, A. (2016). Resilient blunderers: Credit rating fiascos and rating agencies' institutionalized status as private authorities. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(5), 753-770.
- Levine, S., & White, P. E. (1961). Exchange as a conceptual framework for the study of interorganizational relationships. *Administrative science quarterly* 5(4), 583-601.
- McConnell, A. (2010). Policy success, policy failure and grey areas in-between. *Journal of Public Policy*, 30(3), 345-362.
- NOS. (2018, november 5). *Jeugdzorg opnieuw duurder, deel gemeente wil minder jongeren doorverwijzen*. Opgehaald van NOS: www.nos.nl
- Patashnik, E. (2008). *Reforms at risk: What happens after major policy changes are enacted?*. NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pfeffer, J., & Salancik, G. (1978). The external control of organizations: a resource dependence perspective.
- Pröpper, I., Kessen, H., & Weststeijn, E. (2005). *Trendstudie Samenwerking decentrale overheden*.
- Rhodes, R. A. (2006). Policy Network Analysis. In *The Oxford handbook of public policy* (pp. 423-445).
- Rijksoverheid. (2013, juli 17). *Jeugdwet*. Opgehaald van Rijksoverheid: www.rijksoverheid.nl
- Rijksoverheid. (2013, juli 1). *Memoire van toelichting bij Jeugdwet*. Opgehaald van Rijksoverheid: www.rijksoverheid.nl
- Waarden, F. v. (1992). Dimensions and types of policy networks. *European journal of political research*, 21 (1-2), 29-52.
- Wildavsky, A. (1979). Doing better and feeling worse: the political pathology of health policy. In *The Art and Craft of Policy Analysis* (pp. 284-308). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Williams, T. (2005). Cooperation by Design: structure and cooperation in interorganizational networks. *Journal of Business Research* 58 (2), 223-231.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Operationalization

Independent variable: structural factors

Theoretical concept	Specification of concept through literature	Topic	Subtopic/explanation	Source
Structural factors	Form of cooperation	- Access to decision-making process		Van Waarden, 1992
		- Exchange of resources		
		- Cooperation on policy implementation		
	Relational complexity	- Intensity		Van Waarden, 1992
		- Interaction frequency		
		- Duration of interaction		
	(A)symmetry of relations + Coordination mechanism	- One-sided relation	- One actor has more power	Levin & White, 1961
		- Multi-sided relation	- Reciprocity	
		- Joint-exchange relation	- Actors operate as one	
		- Hierarchic authority	- One actor has more power	Van Waarden, 1992
		- Horizontal consultation	- Reciprocity	
		- Connecting leadership		
	Dependency	- Resource concentration (low dependency)	- On actor controls all resources	Fink et al., 2006
		- Resource dispersion (high dependency)	- Multiple actors control resources	
	Degree of discretion	- Ownership of knowledge and information		Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978
		- Access to and use of and control over resources		
		- Power to draw up rules and regulations		

Dependent variable: policy success

Theoretical concept	Specification of concept through literature	Topic	Subtopics/explanation	Source
Policy success	Policy as a process	- Government policy goals and instruments are preserved		McConnell, 2010
		- Conferring legitimacy on the policy		
		- Building a sustainable coalition		
		- No to little opposition		
	Policy as a program	- Implementation in line with objectives		McConnell, 2010
		- Achievement of desired outcomes		
		- Creating benefit for a target group		
		- No to little opposition		
	Policy as politics	- Enhancing reputation of government		McConnell, 2010
		- Controlling policy agenda and easing the business of governing		
		- No to little opposition		

Appendix 2: Topic list

Introduction

Both interviewer and interviewee introduce themselves. Explanation on research is given. Confidentiality is guaranteed and permission for recording the interview is asked.

General questions

Information about interviewee

- What does your job entail?
- How does this relate to the Youth Act?
- To what extent are you involved in the policy making process and implementation?

Social neighborhood teams

- To what extent does this municipality have neighborhood teams?
- How are these teams organized and positioned?
 - o Who are the different stakeholders?
 - o How do they cooperate?
- Are there specific teams for youth?

Structural factors

- *Form of cooperation*
 - o Access to decision making process by different stakeholders.
 - To what extent are social neighborhood teams involved?
 - o Cooperation on implementation between stakeholders.
 - To what extent are social neighborhood teams involved?
- *Relational complexity*
 - o How often does consultation take place?
 - o How long does this generally take?
 - o Who is involved?
- *Power and relationships*
 - o To what extent do the stakeholders involved have equal power?
 - o To what extent does the municipality have a central position in the relationship?
 - o How does the position of the municipality affect the relationship?
- *Dependency*
 - o How are resources divided? Who controls what?
- *Degree of discretion*
 - o To what extent are social neighborhood teams able to operate as they seem fit?
 - o To what extent is the municipality in control of the implementation process?

Policy

General questions

- What policy objectives have been identified by the municipality?
- How would you define policy success?
- To what extent is the social neighborhood team policy successful?

Program

- To what extent are the policy objectives preserved?
 - o Does the policy implementation match the objectives?
- To what extent are the outcomes of the policy as desired?
- To what extent does the target group experience benefits from this policy?
- To what extent has the policy created opposition, regarding the program?

Process

- To what extent were government goals and objectives preserved?
- To what extent is the policy seen as legitimate by its stakeholders?
- Can the policy making coalition be seen as coherent?
- To what extent has the policy created opposition, regarding the process?

Politics

- To what extent has the policy on social neighborhood teams lead to fluctuations in local government reputation?
- To what extent did the policy create political opposition?

Structural factors and policy success

- To what extent has the positioning of the social neighborhood team been of influence on the policy outcomes?
 - o How did the form of cooperation affect this?
 - o How did the relational complexity affect this?
 - o How did the power and relations affect this?
 - o How did the dependency affect this?
 - o How did the degree of discretion affect this?

Closing statements

- Is there anything else we need to discuss?
- Do you have questions?
- Thank interviewee for their time.

Appendix 3: Coding tree

1. General information social neighborhood team
 - a. Function participant
 - b. Social neighborhood team
 - i. Information social neighborhood team
 - ii. Positioning social neighborhood team (i.r.t. municipality)
 - iii. Integrality social neighborhood team
2. Structural factors
 - a. Form of cooperation
 - i. Access to decision-making process
 - ii. Exchange of recourses
 - iii. Cooperation on policy implementation
 - b. Relational complexity
 - i. Intensity of relations
 - ii. Experienced relationship
 - c. Degree of power
 - i. Situating of power
 1. Role of social neighborhood team
 2. Role of care providers
 - ii. Degree of hierarchy
 - d. Dependency
 - i. Dependency of stakeholders
 - ii. Distribution of resources
 - e. Degree of discretion
 - i. Degree of discretion of social neighborhood team
 - ii. Rules and regulations
3. Successful policy
 - a. General comments
 - i. Policy goals and objectives
 1. Similarities with national goals and objectives
 - ii. Involvement of social neighborhood team on policy goals and objectives
 - b. Process
 - i. Preserving goals and instruments
 - ii. Policy legitimacy
 - iii. Preserving the coalition of stakeholders
 - c. Program
 - i. Achieving policy goals and objectives
 - ii. Desirability of policy outcomes
 - iii. Benefits for target group
 - iv. Degree of opposition
 - d. Politics
 - i. Reputation of the municipality

- ii. Soothing of governing
 - iii. Political opposition
- 4. Structural factors and policy success
 - a. General comments
 - i. Degree of successful policy
 - ii. Influence of structural factors on social neighborhood team
 - b. Influence of structural factors on policy success as a process
 - i. Specific structural factors of influence
 - c. Influence of structural factors on policy success as a program
 - i. Specific structural factors of influence
 - d. Influence of structural factors on policy success as politics
 - i. Specific structural factors of influence