

The evolution of problem definitions and solutions for multi- problem families on the interface of care and security

The case of: Dutch Zorg- & Veiligheidshuizen

Master thesis

MSc. Public Administration – Governance and Management in the Public Sector

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Preface

Dear reader,

From an early age I have been surrounded by loved ones who work with families that are confronted with complex life challenges. I believe that the wellbeing of families, and of young children in particular, is crucial for a healthy society. Therefore, I highly value the work of people who provide care and assistance to such families. As part of the final academic element of the master programme *Public Administration – Governance and Management in the Public Sector* I have had the opportunity to broaden my knowledge on this topic in the past few months through conducting research. As a result, I hereby present my research on the evolution of problem definitions and solutions for multi-problem families within the context of the Dutch integrated Zorg- & Veiligheidshuis-approach. This is an approach in which care and security professionals collaborate to address complex issues, such as those of multi-problem families.

This research is affiliated with a long-term Erasmus University Rotterdam research on MPFs commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of Justice & Security. The ministry and the Association of Netherlands Municipalities (VNG) assisted with the recruitment of the respondents for this research. Due to their efforts it was possible to obtain a diverse respondent group. I am very grateful for their assistance and dedication towards this research. I would like to thank Prof. Geert Teisman and PhD Candidate MSc. Hans Joosse-Bil for the inspiring and guiding supervision. Furthermore, I would like to thank my family and friends for the moral support and advice. Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all respondents and thank them for their commitment to this research. I would like to thank the family members for their openness and their willingness to share their personal story with me. By writing this thesis I hope to contribute to the wellbeing of families who share a similar story. I hope to contribute to the work of actors who are committed to help these families on a daily basis.

Yours faithfully,

Iris Bijman

Abstract

Even though a lot of public money and well-intended effort is invested to help multi-problem families (MPFs), success seems to be limited. The help that is offered to these families by a diverse set of organisations and professionals is fragmented. This is one of the obstacles for effectiveness (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). Collaborative networks of the involved professionals and organisations are promoted as solutions for overcoming the obstacle of fragmentation (Levi-Faur, 2012). However, research has shown that collaboration between actors around *wicked problems*, such as the MPF-issue, does not happen naturally. This is due to the existence of different perspectives on what the problem actually is and how it should be solved (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). This study analyses the development of problem solution definitions (PSDs) for MPFs within a Dutch collaborative integrated approach called Zorg- & Veiligheidshuis (ZVH). ZVH are initiatives where professionals from care and security organisations collaborate to address complex issues, such as MPFs.

This study answers the following research question: *How do problem definitions and possible solutions for MPFs evolve in the working processes of the ZVH (aimed to increase collaboration and integrated approaches)?* A qualitative research method is adopted to conduct a multiple case study of several ZVH. We assume that PSDs evolve through interpretations by professionals. The interpretive process in which meaning is attributed to ‘the problem’ and ‘the solution’ of MPFs is studied by conducting semi-structured interviews with sixteen process managers of several ZVH-locations. The focus is on process managers because of their connecting role between the professional actors of the ZVH-network. One additional MPF-case study is conducted by interviewing three family members, one district agent and the involved process manager in order to test the results of the aforementioned multiple case study.

From the interviews with the process-managers it can be concluded that the professionals of the ZVH-network develop their PSDs from individual points of reference. As a result, multiple diverging and sometimes conflicting PSDs evolve around one family in which each PSD emphasises a different element of the issue. This study argues (in line with Joosse-Bil et al., 2019) that such a separate approach does not suit the emergent and wicked nature of an MPF. Furthermore, the diverging and conflicting relationship between PSDs challenges the formulation of an integrated approach to MPFs. This study also gives insight in how, according to the process-manager, the individual professionals’ PSDs unfold into more integrated approaches. The family case analysis gives insight into which conditions do or do not contribute to the formulation of a collaborative integrated approach that suits the complex nature of an MPF. This single case study supported earlier insights that effectiveness is clearly related to the variable ‘do family member feel that they are taken seriously’.

The study reveals that the following factors contribute to a better fit between the PSDs of the professionals involved, the family members on which the involvement is targeted, and the complex nature of the issues at stake:

1. Tap into the self-organising capacity of the family members,
2. Acknowledge the emergence of the system elements,
3. Stimulate symbiotic co-evolution,
4. Use boundary spanning activities.

This study argues that when these four principles, in line with the complex system theory, are taken into account, the MPF-issue will be defined and addressed in a less fragmented way. This opens up the opportunity to more effectively deal with MPF-issues. In this way, this study aims to contribute to the realisation of long-term solutions for MPFs. Further research has to focus on the question whether or not a really applied integrated approach is the answer to more effectiveness. This is a hypothesis still open for testing.

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Introduction

Most families in the Netherlands that are confronted with issues such as debt or relational problems can solve their problems independently or with help from plenty available social service providers. They are resilient enough to deal with societal challenges. However, a small group of Dutch families is lacking resilience and is therefore confronted with enduring and complex issues in multiple domains in life. Policy makers call them multi-problem families (MPFs). Their issues are of socio-economic nature, or relate to the psychosocial circumstances of the adult and/or the child, such as parenting problems or poverty. These problems are chronic, complex, intertwined and often intergenerational. Most families additionally experience long-term problems with care providing organisations (Kann-Weedage, Zoon, Adding & van Boven, 2016). Compared to other children, children growing up in MPFs are more limited in their opportunities in life, show more behavioural problems (Asscher & Paulussen-Hoogbeem, 2005; Maggi, Irwin, Siddiqi, & Hertzman, 2010) and tend to develop more severe behavioural problems over the course of their lives (Sprat, 2011). Even though a lot of effort and public money is invested to help MPFs, success seems to be limited (Joosse-Bil, Teisman, Verschoor & van Buuren, 2019).

The diversity of the problems these families have generates a situation where a large number of organisations surround these families. In some cases, one single family receives help from over twenty-five care providers (Nationale Denktank, 2013). A family facing issues such as addiction, crime, domestic violence and housing problems might be interacting with policemen, social workers, debt counsellors, teachers, nurses, probation officers and housing corporation representatives. This shows that the problems of these families go beyond one public service domain. Solving these issues therefore requires more than the individual institutional capabilities of care or law enforcement alone. However, despite the intertwinement of the issues of MPFs the problems currently remain to be targeted separately. This is regarded as one of the obstacles for creating effective solutions for MPFs (Ministry of Justice and Security (J&S) & Centrum voor Criminaliteit & Veiligheid (CCV), 2018).

The Dutch ministry of Justice and Security stimulates a collaborative approach between care provider-, security- and welfare organisations that embraces the intertwinement of the problems of MPFs (Ministry of J&S & CCV, 2018). However, realising an approach that reaches beyond the individual domains is not easy. Justice interventions and care interventions often do not use the same working methods and procedures. This causes problems for collaboration and may even be counterproductive (Ministry of J&S & CCV, 2018). In order to improve the lives of MPFs more insight into the development of a collaborative approach at the interface of care and security is required. This is also relevant with regard to the high costs of the current services provided to these families: on average over 100.000 euros per family per year (Kann-Weedage et al., 2016).

In order to contribute to these insights, this research will focus on a collaborative initiative named Zorg- & Veiligheidshuizen (The Care and Security Houses) in the Netherlands. These local

networks of key actors such as police, public prosecution, youth care and the municipality are present in 32 Dutch locations. In this network justice, care and governance come together in an attempt to deal more effectively with complex problems, like those of MPFs. If necessary, other actors such as housing corporations or social workers join the network. The goal of this cooperation is to diminish domestic violence, crime and social disturbance. Together they try to signal problems in an early stage, jointly develop solutions and implement these collectively. The intention is to avoid fragmented action and to adjust the internal working processes of care and justice in order to complement each other (Ministry of J&S and CCV, 2018).

In order to analyse the collaborative approach towards MPFs by Zorg- en Veiligheidshuizen (ZVH), this research will depart from a systematic and governance theoretical perspective. It will emphasise the varying backgrounds of the different actors and how these influence collaboration. A collaborative approach can be challenged by the existence of different perspectives on how a problem should be defined and solved (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). This research will therefore analyse how the problem definitions and solutions for MPFs evolve within the integrated approach of the ZVH. The data will be gathered through interviews with process managers. Their insights are of great value as process managers work on the borders of the organisations involved in the ZVH and fulfil a connecting role. In order to complement the perspective of the process managers, the family members of one former ZVH-case and the professionals will be interviewed.

Chapter 1: Problem Statement

1.1 Social trends

Every year 2 to 5 % of Dutch families find themselves in a situation, characterised by a variety of complex problems that is hard to escape. These so-called MPFs are families with issues in diverging areas (psychological, socio-economical and safety). Their problems reinforce each other, pile up, are intertwined and result in the creation of new additional problems (Kann-Weedage et al., 2016; Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). A growing and diverse group of Dutch organisations in the security and care domain are involved with MPFs. These organisations invest a lot of effort, time and financial resources to improve the situation of these families and to diminish their negative influence on social safety. Nevertheless, the success of these efforts seems to be limited (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). A small group of Dutch families is, despite all the help offered, confronted with enduring, sometimes generational, problems. This causes negative effects for the lives of the family members and for society as a whole regarding social disturbance, security and financial costs (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019).

For these reasons the improvement of help offered to families with complex problems remains an important theme for national care and security policy (Ministry of J&S & CCV, 2018). However, the creation of effective approaches and interventions remains difficult (Evenboer, Reijneveld & Jansen, 2018). Joosse-Bil et al. (2019, p.4) signal three main obstacles for an effective solution: the multiplicity of the problems in the families, the interaction between the family and the organisations, which in some cases does not contribute to the wellbeing of the family and public order, and finally, the multitude of specialised organisations that are able to solve individual problems but experience trouble with the multiplicity of the problems as a whole. This shows that, despite all the well-intended efforts, there is still a lot to gain in the way MPFs are addressed.

In order to help MPFs support should be offered in multiple areas at the same time (Zoon & Berg-le Clercq, 2014). This requires a collaborative approach of organisations in the care and security domain. The development of such an approach is placed high upon the Dutch policy agenda but seems to be difficult to establish (Ministry of J&S and CCV, 2018). Research has shown that collaboration between actors with diverging perspectives, institutional backgrounds, norms, interests and methods does not happen naturally (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). It is therefore important to gain further understanding about the development of a collaborative approach towards MPFs at the interface of care and security. This research will therefore analyse a Dutch attempt to formulate such collaboration: the Zorg- & Veiligheidshuizen.

Zorg- & Veiligheidshuizen (ZVH), which can be translated to care and security houses, are local or regional partnerships between multiple justice and care partners that focus on an integrated, problem-oriented approach in order to improve social security (Rovers, 2011). The actors collaborate to deal with complex societal issues that cannot be solved by using traditional institutional means.

These issues are all characteristic by a complexity of problems that ask for an approach that goes beyond the individual domains of care or security, such as MPFs (Ministry J&S, 2013). The integrated approach of ZVH towards MPFs specifically has not been investigated. It can therefore be relevant to gain more insights into the integrated approach of ZVH towards MPFs. This may contribute to policy making and an integrated service delivery for MPFs. This is relevant for the improvement of the lives of MPFs on a local level and for maintaining or improving social safety in the Netherlands. Particularly, it can help to improve the functioning of the ZVH in their approach to MPFs.

The scope of this research requires a focus. The role of problem definitions and solutions are seen as important for collaboration and collective problem-solving (Van Hattum & van Hal, 2015; Teisman, van der Steen, Frankowski & van Vulpen, 2018; Marks & Gerrits, 2017; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). This research will therefore focus on the evolution of problem definitions and solutions for MPFs within the collaborative attempts of different ZVH. The literature of public administration on complexity theory and network governance offers tools to analyse these processes. The relevant theoretical trends will now be discussed.

1.2 Theoretical trends

As stated in the previous paragraph, despite all well-intended efforts and financial investments, there is still a lot to improve when it comes to helping MPFs. One of the present obstacles is the fragmented help that is offered towards individual family members and/or sub-problems (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). Complexity theory has gained more attention within Public Administration literature in the last twenty years (Eppel & Rhodes, 2018) and can be useful to analyse why a fragmented approach can be problematic for solving complex social issues such as those of MPFs. Even though many different stands in complexity theory exist, all analyse dynamics and change in systems as a result of complex interaction between the elements of that system (MacIntosh & MacLean, 1999).

A classical and popular way to approach a social problem is to cut it into separate units and to assign responsibility for solving each part to individual experts. The rhetoric behind this approach is that solving each separated part of the problem will eventually lead to the solution of the problem as a whole. Complexity scholars argue that this $1+1=2$ rhetoric is applicable to *tame* problems, such as a simple mathematical question, but not to complex societal issues (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). At first sight, simplification might seem an effective means to create order, to reduce complexity and to solve a problem. However, complexity scholars argue that in the case of *wicked problems*, simplification will eventually create more complexity. This is because the assumption that the sum of the parts equals the whole is incorrect in the case of wicked problems. A fragmented approach to a wicked problem can therefore be problematic because it does not address the issue as a whole. For these

reasons, complexity scholars reject reductionism and acknowledge and embrace complexity instead (Wagenaar, 2007).

Joose-Bil et al. (2019) argue that most of the obstacles for offering successful help to MPFs can also be regarded the result of this reductionist approach. The authors argue that MPFs are often addressed as if they are a complicated machine consisting of individual parts that can be identified and solved separately. From a complexity perspective it can be argued that this simplification does not suit the intertwinement and wickedness of the problems of MPFs and therefore a traditional fragmented approach is not effective for MPFs (Joose-Bil et al., 2019).

How has this fragmented approach developed? Within Public Administration literature, the fragmentation within the public sector is often seen as a result of earlier modernisation trends within the organisation of the government. During the twentieth century most western governments were organised in a bureaucratic fashion (Peters & Pierre, 1998). This Traditional Public Administration (TPA) model was based on the ideal of rational and efficient bureaucracy. This Weberian organisational rhetoric is characterised by hierarchy, differentiation and neutrality (Stanley, 1959). Bureaucracy was seen as the ultimate mode to organise the government until the increasing amount of rules and procedures, as a means for uniform control, resulted in what Levi-Faur (2012) describes as 'Big Government'. The growing bureaucratic apparatus provided challenges for the coordination of policies, budgets and civil servant from the centre of the government. Critique increased, which has resulted in the rise of New Public Management (NPM).

NPM was a new perspective on how the government should be organised: like a business. Market theory and private sector practices were applied to overcome the bureaucratic flaws of TPA. The government task was to set goals from above and let implementation to others. NPM resulted in three main reforms: "*disaggregation, competition and incentivization*" (Dunleavy, Margetts, Bastow & Tinkler, 2005, p.470). Disaggregation relates to specialisation, which Verhoest, Bouckaert & Peters (2007, p.327) define as: "*The creation of new public sector organizations with limited objectives and specific tasks out of traditional core departments with many tasks and different, sometimes conflicting objectives.*" The heydays of NPM ended in the beginning of this century. Specialisation and disaggregation had caused a new problem: fragmentation of governmental action (Christensen & Lagreid, 2004). Dunleavy et al. (2005) even talk of 'The Crisis of New Public Management' and argue that the extensive amount of separate central agencies increased institutional and policy complexity.

Currently, a trend in public administration literature and practice has occurred, which emphasises turning around the fragmentation of the state. This trend relates to the well-known shift from government to governance which can be described as a shift from a vertically organised government towards a more horizontal and poly-centred form of politics and policy-making (Rhodes, 1996; Levi-Faur, 2012). Since then, more attention is being given to networks, in which public policy is created through collaboration among diverse actors in order to address complexity in public

administration (Klijn, 2008). Kooiman (1993, in Peter & Pierre, 1998, p.225) even states that “*Networks have come to dominate public policy*”.

Collaboration in governance networks can be seen as a means to overcome the flaws of TPA and NPM (Levi-Faur, 2012). However, it is argued that collaboration does not happen naturally and just having a network is not enough (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Ansell & Gash, 2008). This can be seen in the case of MPFs in the Netherlands where attempts to increase collaboration and the integration of services seem to be difficult (Ministry of J&S & CCV, 2018). The characteristics of governance networks can help to analyse the challenges for collaboration. Governance networks are characterised by the diverse personal, professional and institutional backgrounds of actors (e.g. youth care worker vs. police officer) whom all bring along different perspectives, which are based on norms, rules and methods (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Different perspectives on what the problem actually is, how it should be approached and which solution might be suitable, can challenge a collaborative process (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

Even though there seems to be consensus that MPFs should not be approached in a fragmented fashion, according to Joosse-Bil et al. (2019) many actors do find themselves ‘caught’ in the earlier described machine rhetoric. It can be argued that there are certain underlying forces that keep the machine rhetoric and fragmentation in place. Complexity theory offers tools that can be useful for analysing these underlying forces and to gain more insight into how problem definitions and solutions for MPFs evolve in a collaborative context. Complexity principles such as path dependency, autopoiesis and boundaries are, as shown by Joosse-Bil et al. (2019), are relevant to analyse the bottlenecks and to build blocks for collaborative approaches towards MPFs.

As stated, diverging perspectives towards a problem can challenge collaboration, such as disagreement on how a problem should be defined and solved (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). This research will therefore attempt to gain more insights into the evolution of problem definitions and solutions for MPFs in different ZVH. It will be analysed how the professionals come to their definition of the problem and solutions, how these are related and which building blocks and bottlenecks are experienced in the formulation of an integrated problem definition, solution and plan which reflects the intertwinement and complexity of the issue of MPFs.

1.3 Research objectives

The main objective of this research is to gain insight into how problem definitions and solutions around MPFs evolve according to the process managers in a selection of ZVH-cases. The underlying goal is to contribute to the wellbeing of MPFs and social safety. There will be attempt to analyse the underlying forces that influence the creation of an integrated approach towards MPFs, by studying the evolution of problem definitions and solutions. The main group of respondents in this research are the process managers in a few ZVH-cases. Their perspective will be gathered to analyse how the problem

definitions and solutions evolve in the context of the ZVH collaboration. In order to test the results of this first step and to complement and deepen the perspectives of the process manager-group, one family case study will be conducted. The goal is to analyse how the family members, a professional and the involved process manager of that specific case, evaluate the ZVH-approach. Furthermore through this second step, the research intends to analyse the fit between the definitions and solutions of the professionals and the members of one family and how they feel approached.

This research aims to contribute to the understanding of collaborative approaches towards MPFs on the interface of the care and security domain. It aims to contribute to the efforts of similar networks that try to deal with wicked societal problems such as MPFs through collaboration among actors with possibly a variety perceptions and goals. Above all it aims to generate useful insights in order to contribute to the ZVH efforts for helping MPFs.

Sub-objectives:

- A. Gain understanding about how, according to the process managers, the professionals come to their definition of the problem and possible solutions;
- B. Gain understanding about how, according to the process managers, the problem definitions and solutions of professionals relate to each other;
- C. Gain understanding about how, according to the process managers, the problem definitions and solutions unfolded into an integrated approach and which building blocks and bottlenecks are experienced;
- D. Gain understanding about how the professional and process manager of one case evaluate the attempt to formulate an integrated approach;
- E. Gain understanding about how the family members of one case evaluate the fit between their problem definitions and solutions and those of the professionals and how the family feels they are approached.

1.4 Research questions

Main research question:

How do problem definitions and possible solutions for MPFs evolve in the working processes of the ZVH (aimed to increase collaboration and integrated approaches)?

Sub-questions:

1 Sub-questions answered by data collection through interviews with process managers:

1. How do professionals, according to the process managers, individually come to their definition of 'the problem' a family has and the (sets of) solutions they suggest?

2. How do the individual problem definitions and suggested solutions of the professionals relate to each other according to the process managers?
3. How do the individual problem definitions and solutions unfold into a collaborative approach and what are the building blocks and bottlenecks experienced by the process managers for an integrated and effective approach?

II Sub-questions answered by data collection through interviews with a professional, process manager, and the family members of a specific case:

4. How do the professional and process manager evaluate the attempt to create an integrated approach?
5. How do the family members evaluate the fit between their problem-solution definition and those of the professionals and how do they feel they are approached?

The research question focuses on how problem definitions and solutions for MPFs evolve. The research includes the problem definitions and solutions of the professionals and of the family members. The first sub-question focuses the problem definitions and solutions of professionals. The second sub-question addresses the way these relate to each other. The third sub-question focuses on the development of an integrated approach within the context of individual problem definitions and solutions. The data will be based on interviews with process managers. In sub-question 4 and 5 the perspectives of process managers are complemented and tested by interviews with the members of one family and an involved professional and process manager of that specific case.

1.5 Relevance

This research can contribute to the scientific body of knowledge on collaboration and integration between care and justice efforts regarding MPFs. In the recent decades research has been done on governance networks (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). The complexity approach applied in this research may shed additional light on the underlying processes within MPFs and within the ZVH (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). More specifically, this research aims to contribute to the knowledge on how problem definitions and solutions around the wicked issue of MPFs evolve. It evaluates the approach of ZVH to MPFs and might gain lessons for similar initiatives. The societal relevance of this study lies in the contribution to more effective approaches of MPFs. Gaining insight on how MPFs can be approached more effectively is relevant in light of the high societal costs of MPFs and the low effectiveness. It may also contribute to the work of the actors who collaborate within the ZVH.

1.6 Reading guide

The theoretical chapter defines MPFs and presents statistics. It analyses the nature of MPFs and argue why it is 'wicked' and how this wicked character influences problem definitions and solutions. We compare approaches to solving issues such as MPFs. This comparison departs from the: government vs. governance debate. The concept of government is discussed and linked to the ideal of problem-solving. The concept of governance is discussed and linked to complex system principles. These illustrate why the ideal of problem-solving is unsuitable for wicked problems such as MPFs. It illustrates why governance, and more specific process management, could be more suitable for addressing wicked problems as MPFs. Chapter three concerns the research methods. The results are presented in chapter four and analysed in chapter five. Chapter six provides the conclusion, discussion and recommendations.

Intermezzo: Background Zorg- & Veiligheidshuizen

The first networks started to operate in 2005 and were initiated by the Ministry of J&S. However, some collaboration networks were already operating before 2005 (Rovers, 2011). Today, 32 ZVH exist in the Netherlands, see appendix I for a geographical overview (Ministry of J&S and CCV, 2018). The ZVH deal with certain types of cases. A case needs to meet three requirements: 1. The person or family has problems in multiple areas 2. They commit crimes or behave in a disturbing manner or there is a high chance that they will do so in the future, and 3. Parties from multiple chains are needed to solve the problems (police, parole and youth care for example). The professionals jointly create a plan to solve the case, often a combination of care, service delivery and law enforcement. The plan departs from a systematic approach of the family: one family, one plan, one manager (Ministry J&S & CCV, 2018).

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Multi-problem families as a wicked problem

An MPF consists of at least one adult and one child in the age of zero to eighteen years old and is a family which on a long-term basis is having trouble with problems in multiple domains in life. The main issues are socio-economic or relate to the psychosocial circumstances of the adult and/or the child such as parenting problems and poverty. The problems of MPFs typically are chronic, complex and interwoven. The families additionally often experience problems with care providing organisations (Kann-Weedage et al., 2016). Not all families with multiple problems can be categorised as MPFs. A family may be confronted with diverse problems at the same time though it can only be categorised as an MPF if the problems have existed for a long period and when the family does not fully cooperate with the support and help offered (Kann-Weedage et al., 2016).

Estimates of the number of MPFs seem to vary. Based on micro data of Statistics Netherlands (CBS) it is estimated that 35.365 families in the Netherlands were confronted with multiplex issues in 2016. Based on the definition above, 25.896 of them can be defined as so called MPFs (Kann-Weedage et al., 2016). The Ministry of J&S and the CCV (2018) state on their website that there currently are between 75.000 and 116.000 Dutch families with problems in more than one area. According to their publication 3.5% of the families in cities are confronted with multiple problems while this percentage is 1.5% in the rest of the country. A relatively high number of these families have a non-western migration background (Ministry of J&S and CVV, 2018). The Council for Public health and Care (de Klerk, Prins, Verhaak & van den Berg, 2012) estimated the number of MPF at 70.000. The authors used a wider definition and included not only the factual problems of families but also the risks for developing new problems (Nederlands Jeugd Instituut (NJI), 2019).

Knowledge about the specific factors that can explain the existence of MPFs is limited. However, it is known that MPFs are confronted with multiple interwoven and long-term risk factors, which are intergenerational and negatively influence the development of children. If a child is confronted with four risk factors or more, the chance of the development of a psychological, behavioural, intelligence or criminal problem is 30 per cent. Risk factors are; a low socio-economic status (low education, poverty, unemployment, low living standards), the accumulation of negative life events, inadequate parenting skills or child abuse, disrupted bonding patterns, family conflict such as domestic violence, marriage issues, lack of day to day structure, psychological or addiction problems or disabilities of the parents, psychological problems or disabilities of the child, limited support of the social network and finally, long-term disappointing history with care and service providers, lack of motivation for accepting help and/or lack of trust towards care and service providers (NJI, 2019).

As stated before, despite all the well-intended efforts, the issue of MPFs remains difficult to solve. Rittel & Webber (1973) argue that our modern society increasingly faces problems that are difficult to tame. The authors argue that the process of defining social and policy issues and solutions for such *wicked problems* is extremely difficult. The problem definitions and solutions created for these problems depend on the analysis and judgement of those involved and can never be fully 'solved'. As a result, wicked problems tend to keep returning back on the agenda of policy makers (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Rittel & Webber (1973) define ten characteristics of wicked problems:

1. "There is no definite formulation of a wicked problem" (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.161):

The process of defining a problem and that of finding a solution are interwoven. This is because very specific formulation of the problem implies a direction for the solution (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Wicked problems lack a definite formulation because there is no consensus on the nature of the issue. Different actors involved might have competing views on the nature, definition and possible solution of the issue (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Roberts, 2000a). How the problem is defined therefore depends on the actors involved.

2. "Wicked problems have no stopping rule" (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.162):

In the case of a tame problem, such as a mathematical equation, a problem-solver can know when he or she found a solution. However, when "*there is no definitive 'the problem' there is no definitive 'the solution'.*" (Devaney & Spratt, 2009, p.638). In the case of a wicked problem there is no set problem definition but there are also no criteria for when 'the' solution is found. This means that there is no stopping rule. Actors stop when a solution is good enough or when they run out of time or other resources.

3. "Solutions to wicked problems are not true-or-false, but good-or-bad" (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.162):

In the case of wicked problems "*(...) many parties are equally equipped, interested, and/or entitled to judge the solutions, although none has the power to set formal decision rules to determine correctness.*" (Rittel & Weber, 1973, p.161). Each actor's judgement will differ according to their ideology, their values, the group they belong to and their interests (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.162). "*different individuals and organisations within a problem domain will have significantly different perspectives, based on different histories, cultures and goals*" (Chapman, 2002, p.12) which creates a diverse set of judgements. Therefore, in contrast to a mathematic equation, a solution for a wicked problem cannot be true or false; it can only be determined as good or bad.

4. "There is no immediate and no ultimate test of a solution to a wicked problem" (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.163):

In the case of tame problems it is possible to determine if a solution has worked out on the spot. In the case of wicked problems, a solution will create waves of consequences over a longer period of time. It can even create unintended effects that again may cause new waves of consequences (Rittel & Weber,

1973). The complete consequences of a solution therefore cannot be seen until the final wave has been run out.

5. “Every solution to a wicked problem is a ‘one-shot operation’; because there is no opportunity to learn by trial-and-error” (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.163):

A possible solution to a mathematical problem can be tested over and over again until the most suitable solution is found. According to Rittel & Webber (1973) this is not possible for wicked problems. It is not possible to build a bridge first, see if it meets all criteria in order to adjust it later on in a simple fashion.

6. “Wicked problems do not have an enumerable (or an exhaustively describable) set of potential solutions, nor is there a well-described set of permissible operations that may be incorporated into the plan” (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.164):

In the case of wicked problems, one can never be sure if all possible solutions have been taken into account. In addition, there are no objective criteria in order to judge which strategies or solutions are acceptable. The solutions, which are chosen in the end, depend on the judgement ability of the people involved (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

7. “Every wicked problem is essentially unique” (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.164):

Despite possible similarities between problems, diverging factors within the social context of the problem make one-size-fits-all solutions ineffective (Conklin, 2006).

8. “Every wicked problem can be considered to be a symptom of another problem” (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.165):

Wicked problems are often interwoven with other problems due to the dynamic social context in which they exist. Due to this interconnectedness, attempts to solve one problem may give rise to a new problem (Dranove, Kessler, McCellan & Satterwaite in Devaney & Spratt, 2009). This means that what is seen as the cause of a wicked problem might be a wicked problem itself on a different higher level.

9. “The existence of a discrepancy representing a wicked problem can be explained in numerous ways. The choice of explanation determines the nature of the problem's resolution” (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.166):

There are no rules to identify the right explanation of a wicked problem. It is difficult to decide if a hypothesis has been proved or not. The perspective of the actor who is making the analysis of the problem is decisive for the formulation of a problem and solution (Rittel & Weber, 1973).

10. “The planner has no right to be wrong” (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p.166):

“(…) the scientific community does not blame its members for postulating hypotheses that are later refuted so long as the author abides by the rules of the game, of course.” (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 167). This is different for wicked problems, where planners and policy makers are not given such immunity. Their task is not to find the truth but to improve aspects of the world people are living in:

“Planners are liable for the consequences of the actions they generate; the effects can matter a great deal to those people that are touched by those actions.” (Rittel & Webber, 1973, p. 167).

MPF as a wicked problem?

Rittel & Webber (1973) are seen as the pioneers for wicked problem theory in social sciences and their ten characteristics help to understand the obstacles for solving modern complex societal problems such as MPFs. However, it can be argued that some of the characteristics the authors describe overlap. This makes it difficult to clearly distinguish the core characteristics of wicked problems. Head (2008) makes a distinction in the characteristics of wickedness of problems according to the level and combination of three factors: *complexity*, *uncertainty* and *divergence* (see table 1). This distinction adds to the definition of Rittel & Webber (1973). Together, they form a useful tool to analyse the wickedness of MPFs. The insights offered by Rittel & Webber (1973) and Head (2008) will now be used to argue why the issue MPFs can be seen as wicked.

Table 1 Source: Head (2008, p.103)

Table 1: Complexity, uncertainty and divergence

Complexity of elements, sub-systems and interdependencies	Low	Moderate	High
Uncertainty in relation to risks, consequences of action, and changing patterns	Low	Moderate	High
Divergence and fragmentation in viewpoints, values, strategic intentions	Low	Moderate	High

Complexity

As stated, MPFs are characterised by interwoven problems that reinforce each other (Kann-Weedage et al., 2016). In certain cases, problems such as debt, unemployment and crime do not exist in an isolated way but can be seen as symptoms and causes of each other. The intertwining of these elements creates *content complexity* (Stoppelenburg & Vermaak, 2009). The existence of many different organisations and actors that are interacting with each other and the family members can be seen as different sub-systems. This involvement of many actors, their interdependency and the diversity of ideas and values contribute to the *process complexity* (Stoppelenburg & Vermaak, 2009).

This is expressed in the varying evaluation of the issue of MPFs as well as the perspectives on a suitable solution. Process complexity is related to what Conklin (2006) describes as *social complexity*. Conklin (2006) argues that wicked problems always exist in a social context. Social complexity can be seen as a property of the social network that exists around the problem. The more actors involved in collaboration, the higher the level of social complexity. The issue of MPFs is characterised by the existence of many diverging actors (as stated, in certain cases over 15 different care providers are involved with a single MPF) and is therefore characterised by social complexity.

Uncertainty

There are no straightforward definitions of the nature of the problem of MPFs and the uniqueness of each case requires a tailor-made approach (Kann-Weedage et al., 2016). This creates a form of *uncertainty*. The intertwinement of the issues of MPFs and the impossibility to predict or measure what the consequences of the problems and solutions may be, adds to uncertainty. Changing (organisational) patterns, such as the decentralisation of youth care to municipalities since 2015 (VNG, 2019) may have a similar effect.

Divergence

Divergence can be seen in the existence of different norms, values and perspectives that actors (including family members) may have towards a problem and possible solutions. Norms and values diverge from person to person but also in policies and between professional groups. Each actor might have a different idea about how an MPF should or should not function. Actors originating from different organisations might also have diverging strategic intentions such as targets, budgets etc. (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019).

Complexity, uncertainty and divergence: MPF is a wicked problem

It can be stated that the issue of MPFs is characterised by a combination of complexity, uncertainty and divergence. Most of the characteristics of MPFs resemble Rittel & Webber's (1973) description of wicked problems such as the absence of a definite formulation of MPFs and the interconnectedness of the sub-problems of MPFs. For these reasons, MPFs will be seen as a wicked problem in this research. The concept of divergence already touched upon the existence of varying problem definitions and solutions for wicked problems such as MPFs. The evolution of these problem definitions and solutions are central to this research and will now be further discussed.

2.2 The evolution of problem and solution definitions

A problem can be defined as: “A matter or situation regarded as unwelcome or harmful and needing to be dealt with and overcome.” (Oxford Dictionary, 2019). A solution may be a way of dealing with

a problem and can be defined as: “*A means of solving a problem or dealing with a difficult situation*” (Oxford Dictionary, 2019). Problem and solution defining can be seen as an interpretive process, in which meaning is attributed to the problem and its solution (Benford, 1997). Hoppe (2010) emphasises that issues only become a problem if they are defined or framed as one: “*We do not discover a problem ‘out there’; we make a choice about how we want to formulate a problem.*” (Hoppe, 2010, p.59). The concept of framing may help to understand how different problem definitions and solutions evolve. In this context framing can be defined as a process in which issues, decisions or events obtain different meanings from diverging perspectives (Schön & Rein, 1995). Hoppe (2010) explains that problem framing is the way actors see a situation as problematic. The way a problem is framed depends on the interpretative schemes people use (Hoppe, 2010). Frames can therefore also be seen as a set of mental filters through which people interpret the world.

Perceptions create the images that people have of their environment and the opportunities and problems within it. The way people frame these problems and opportunities is influenced by many factors such as their ‘world view’ (Dunn, 2012), culture, norms, values, experiences, knowledge and in the case of professionals their expertise, the institutional rules and culture of their organisation, goals, and the services they are able to provide (Chapman, 2002; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Each actor may draw the boundaries of an issue in a different way. They might highlight certain aspects of a problem more compared to others. Professionals but also family members may put a different element of the issue at the centre.

Like individual actors, organisations also tend to define problems according to their own perspective. In the case of MPFs, problems are often defined based on the organisations’ specific work area. Youth care organisations look at the development of children and how this might be threatened, while probation services often see relational problems as characterising for MPFs (Steketee & Vandenbroucke, 2010). This additionally means that in some cases, the problem only becomes relevant when it fits the individual task of an organisation or professional (Teisman, 2017). Some organisations might see an MPF as a family that is ‘having problems’ while others might view the family as one that is ‘causing problems’ (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019).

Different problem definitions and possible solutions will arise depending on the perspective that is adopted. This relates to the concept of *problem-solution-combinations* (Teisman, 2000). Teisman (2000) argues that a decision-making process is influenced by a dynamic relation between sets of problems and solutions that are presented by different actors. In other words: the formulation of a problem refers to a problem-solution combination. Gerrits & Marks (2017) discuss the closely related concept of *problem-solution definitions* (PSDs). The authors state that the number of PSDs can be unlimited because individual actors formulate their PSD from their own perspective (Gerrits & Marks, 2017). Because they are based on individual perspectives, each PSD might seem rational within the context of the professional in question. However, this rationality might not apply outside the boundaries of the professionals’ organisational context. This might be problematic when different

problem-solution combinations conflict: “*It is not uncommon for one professional's goals to contradict those of another professional, whose lens is trained on a different individual or subsystem.*” (Friedlander, Escudero & Heatherington, 2006, p. 254). However, successfully connecting different problem-solution combinations might allow the issue to move forward as a whole (Teisman et al., 2018).

It can be stated that within a collaborative process, the way actors define a wicked problem and its solutions may be *diverging* (based on divergence of Head, 2008) or *converging*. This may be seen in a spectrum, in which the extreme of converging means that problem definitions and solutions of different actors overlap completely. However, the extremity of divergence shows a total disagreement on the way the problems and solutions for an MPF should be defined. This spectrum can be seen as a process, in which the way individual problem-solution combinations might move between converging and diverging during a decision making process. The dominant governmental and problem-solving approach towards wicked problems such as MPFs will now be discussed.

2.3 Public administration context: the added value of specialisation

The first paragraph has discussed the nature of the issue of MPFs and argued why it can be seen as a wicked problem. The second paragraph shed light on the evolution of problem definitions and solutions. This paragraph will analyse the organisational and governmental context in which complex issues such as MPF are addressed. It will start by discussing how this governmental context has developed. It will continue by describing the dominant problem-solving approach.

Traditional PA

During the twentieth century most public administration practices in the world were characterised by a bureaucratic welfare state in which the government was the major actor in policy making, problem-solving and service delivery (Peters & Pierre, 1998; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Torfing, 2012; Levi-Faur, 2012). These practices were created and implemented in a vertical fashion from the government’s formal, top-down, hierarchical position. Woodrow Wilson (1956-1924), one of the Traditional Public Administration scholars and the 28th president of the United States, pled for the separation of politics and administration. His goal was to depoliticise and rationalise administration (Stillman, 1973).

This Traditional Public Administration (TPA) model was based on the Weberian values of rational bureaucracy: hierarchy, differentiation and neutrality (Stanley, 1959). Governments used their *hierarchical* position to impose solutions for social problems from top to bottom in a unilateral fashion. Special units were created through *differentiation*, which consisted of official administrations who were appointed to serve the public interest in a *neutral* way (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). The hierarchical TPA approach to social problems can be described as an *authoritarian strategy* which is

an effective tool for ‘taming’ problems in a context where power is highly concentrated (Roberts, 2000b, p.4).

In contrast to popular associations today, during the TPA-era bureaucracy was seen as something positive. It was seen as an effective tool to meet the goals of the government (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). It can be argued that TPA was indeed a successful model until the focus on top-down authoritarian coordination through differentiation and procedures had a contradictory and unintended effect (Crozier et al., 1975 in: Torfing, 2012). The inherent nature of bureaucracy caused the creation of an increasing amount of procedures and tasks assigned to a growing number of actors and organisations. This resulted in what Levi-Faur (2012) describes as ‘Big Government’. This big bureaucratic apparatus made it difficult to coordinate policies, budgets and civil servants from the centre. Power was not highly concentrated anymore. This made an authoritarian strategy (Roberts, 2000b) for solving social problems less effective. It is argued that an additional problem of TPA was the lacking ability of the government to respond to the increasing pluralistic and dynamic needs of modern society. The clients of the governments and citizens had become more assertive and this required different policies and services (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

NPM aiming to organise an efficient specialisation in specific problem-solution combinations

The complexity of the pluralistic society and the ‘uncontrollable’ welfare state due to TPA asked for a new approach (Torfing, 2012). Ronald Reagan, the 40th president of the United States criticised the size of the government and argued that “*Government is not the solution to our problem, government is the problem.*” (Inaugural Address, 20th of January, 1981). The government had to become more efficient and effective. Market theory and private sector practices were implemented to overcome the bureaucratic challenges of TPA and to solve modern social problems. Governments should ‘steer’ instead of row (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). In other words, governments should have the role to set goals for policy but leave the implementation to other actors. “*Central is the notion that when policy making is separated from execution, uncertainties are made more manageable – this includes the separation of responsibilities.*” (Klijn, 2012, p.204). Making uncertainties more manageable can be seen as an attempt to reduce complexity.

This rhetoric was popular during the heydays of New Public Management (NPM) reforms, which were implemented in many western and newly industrialised states in the eighties and nineties (Fenger & Bekkers, 2012). NPM came in many different reforms, however, Dunleavy et al. (2005, p.470) have synthesised them in three categories: disaggregation, competition and incentivisation. Fenger & Bekkers (2012, p.6) describe these categories:

“Disaggregation refers to splitting up large public sector hierarchies into smaller, more or less autonomous units with their own specializations, organizational structure, methods of accountability and leadership. Competition refers to the separation of purchasers and providers in

order to allow multiple different forms of provision to be developed and to introduce competition among these different providers. Finally, incentivization refers to the introduction of performance incentives both at the organizational and the individual levels.” (Fenger & Bekkers, 2012, p.6)

Efficiency and effectivity through specialisation

Within NPM, the deliberate distribution of functions is seen as a means for efficiency and effectiveness. It is a way to create clear boundaries and lines of control and a way to stimulate specialisation. This resembles with the economic theory of the division of labour. Political Economist Adam Smith (1723-1790) argued that the division of labour positively influences productive power of society as a whole due to the fact that specialisation and the concentration towards individual tasks would lead to improvement of personal skills and the productivity of sub-tasks, which increases efficiency (Smith, 1776).

Based on this rhetoric, NPM came along with a growing specialisation in a geographical sense but also based on categories of tasks, processes or clients. Specialisation can be horizontal which considers specialisation on the same hierarchical and administrative level of an organisation. It may also be vertical, which refers to the distribution of responsibilities, authority and tasks among hierarchical levels (Fenger & Bekkers, 2012). In NPM, vertical specialisation was seen as the answer to the central policy issues of TPA because it would give leaders the chance to focus on formulating strategy instead of the implementation. Horizontal specialisation could be seen in the creation of single-purpose organisations as a way to replace the large, multifunctional public institutions of TPA.

As stated, specialisation and the division of tasks could be seen as an attempt to create order and controllable boundaries. The rhetoric is: when governments reduce complexity by creating order, society becomes more readable which allows actors and organisations to more easily and effectively meet their goals. It can be argued that modern society gained much of its welfare through this paradigm (Scott, 1998). Western societies are characterised by a high level of specialist knowledge and expertise which are used to address complex societal problems. The use specialisation and deliberate distribution of tasks in order to ‘tame’ modern social problems will now be discussed.

Taming wicked problems: the ideal of problem-solving

Solving a problem by ‘decomposing’ it, by breaking it down into sub-problems, is a popular method (Daviter, 2017). Raiffa (1968, p.271) states: *“The spirit of decision analysis is to divide and conquer: Decompose a complex problem into simpler problems, get one's thinking straight in these simpler problems, paste these analyses together with a logical glue (...).”* Daviter (2017) argues that ‘taming’ strategies, which follow this ideal of problem-solving, are mostly practiced in order to address wicked problems. In line with the NPM paradigm *“this typically entails the transfer of authority to define the problem and devise a solution into the hands of a few select actors or decision-making bodies*

identified based on their;' (Daviter, 2017, p.578) *'knowledge and expertise, organizational position in the hierarchy, information, or coercive power'* (Roberts 2000b, p.4, cited by Daviter, 2017).

Within taming strategies, wicked problems are therefore often defined alongside existing organisational boundaries or functions or specialisations. Daviter (2017, p.578) explains:

"Based on a strategy of taming, the question is not, for example, what type of knowledge would be required to address the issue comprehensively, but which department or agency has the most readily usable expertise to assume ownership of the problem as it stands. Taming, therefore, necessitates an act of objectification that settles and at least temporarily institutionalizes an answer to the question of what the nature of the problem is and what type of knowledge is needed to address it."

Approaching ill-structured and complex problems as tamed ones gives public authorities the possibility to: *"limit participation and debate, assign administrative responsibility, reduce the need for cross-sector coordination, take swift action, draw on the available expertise, and apply pre-existing policy instruments and evaluative criteria."* (Daviter, 2017, p.578-579). A taming strategy is therefore attractive for those who want to control and manage a problem and is still often applied.

Undesired effect: fragmentation

The heydays of TPA and NPM are over. However, the current organisation of the government is still characterised by NPM-effects and complex problems such as MPFs remain to be addressed through taming strategies (Daviter, 2017). This happens even though the limitations of NPM have been pointed out more than once (Christensen & Lægreid, 2004; Peters & Savoie, 1997). It is argued that one of the undesired effects of NPM and its forces for the division of labour and specialisation is fragmentation (Christensen & Lægreid, 2004). NPM reforms resulted in the fragmentation of governmental control. NPM eventually 'hollowed out the state' (Jessop, 1994 in; Levi-Faur, 2012) and diminished the state's capability to steer (Peters & Pierre, 1998; in Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Fragmentation on a lower organisational level resulted in the splintering of social services and roles of employees, users and care providers. It resulted in the endlessly growing of separate organisations with their own tasks, organisational structure and methods (Fenger & Bekkers, 2012).

In the case of problem-solving of MPFs the division of labour and specialisation can be seen in the existence of different actors and organisations who are responsible for and experts in one sub-domain of an MPF; debt is addressed by the financial counsellor, probation service supervises an offender and housing problems are addressed by the housing cooperation. The following paragraph will argue why fragmentation and the ideal of problem-solving do not suit the nature of wicked problems such as MPFs.

2.4 Going along with undesired fragmentation: mismatch between solidity & fluidity

The previous paragraph introduced the development of the popular problem-solving approach to problems, such as MPFs, in which problems are divided into sub-problems and, in line with NPM rhetoric, assigned to specialised units and experts. This paragraph will argue why this approach is problematic for wicked problems such as MPFs. Complex system principles will be used to further analyse why the fragmented, static and *solid* nature of the NPM ideal of problem-solving does not suit the unstructured, intertwined and *fluid* nature of the issue of MPFs.

Joosse-Bil et al. (2019, p.14) describe the dominant problem-solving approach to MPFs as *the machine rhetoric*: in which families are often approached as a complicated machine consisting of individual parts that can be identified and solved separately. It is believed that this will eventually add up to the solution of the problem as a whole. It can be argued that this rhetoric is effective in the case of *tame* problems. However, it is argued that MPF-related issues such as child abuse cannot be tamed or controlled (Forrester & Harwin, 2008; Pugh 2007; Spratt & Devaney, 2008). In other words, these problems are not tame but wicked and the ideal of problem-solving does not reflect the wickedness of MPFs. Joosse-Bil et al. (2019) therefore argue that MPFs should not be seen as a machine, but as a complex system that includes interacting family members and institutions (see figure 1). The core concepts of complex system theory such as emergence, a systemic perspective, autopoiesis and self-organisation will now be used to further analyse why the ideal of problem-solving, including fragmentation and the NPM-rhetoric, is problematic for MPFs.

Figure 1: Complex system of an MPF and interacting organisations (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019)



A complex system approach to MPFs

When the nature of an issue is characterised by the existence of many intertwined problems, a fragmented approach loses its effectivity because the elements addressed by each expert do not eventually result in the disappearance of the bigger issue (Rittel & Weber, 1973). This relates to the principle of emergence (Holland, 1997). Emergence means that the sub-problems of MPFs do not exist in a vacuum but are connected to other problems and their outcomes. The results therefore do not only depend on the quality of the interventions but also on the interaction between the intertwined elements and interventions (including the family members, professionals and organisations). Interventions co-evolve: they may positively reinforce each other's effect, known as symbiotic co-evolution, or they may oppose each other through interferential co-evolution (Gerrits, 2012). This also means that small events can have big consequences, which is known as the 'butterfly effect' (Lorenz, 1963). These principles help to understand why, despite all well intended actions of individual professionals, problems may keep returning when they are addressed in a fragmented fashion.

Emergence shows the importance of interactions. However, fragmentation has led to the development of many different organisations (police, youth care etc.), that have developed their own languages, ways of working and interpretative schemes. This can negatively influence the way organisations interact if the organisations become autopoietic: uniform. This means that organisations do communicate with each other but that this hardly brings about any change (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). Autopoeiesis can be seen when organisations interpret everything outside their organisation within the logic of their own organisation (Gerrits, 2012). This can be positive in the sense of expertise. However, in terms of problem defining, autopoietic organisations will view the problems of MPFs within their own logic. This can be problematic when families, or their problems, do not fit into any of the organisations' lenses or when each lens focuses on a part of the problem while the issue as a whole remains unseen (Brans & Rossbach, 1997; Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). This relates to the concepts of boundaries. When actors identify strongly with their own organisation or expertise, the socially constructed boundaries between organisations become intensified. When these boundaries do not link up to each other closely, gaps may arise. Due to these fragmented gaps, families that do not meet the obligations or the terms of the organisations fall between two stools. The gaps also result in fragmented solutions that target sub-problems but lack to address the issue as a whole (emergence) (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019).

The ideal of problem-solving assumes that issues can be tamed and controlled. However, according to complexity theories, complex systems have self-organising capacity. In situations of chaos such systems are able to organise itself without the control of any outside agent. This means that in the case of imbalance, the system is able to organise itself back to a more orderly state. In other words systems are robust (Teisman, van Buuren, & Gerrits, 2009). This makes top-down efforts to control and change MPFs ineffective because the systems structure themselves in a bottom-up fashion. The tendency of systems to form themselves back into their previous state also means that

creating change or repairing errors within a system is difficult once the patterns are embedded. In other words; “*repairing is expensive*” (Joosse-Bil et al, 2019, p.42: Gerrits, 2012). This is known as the principle of hysteresis and helps to understand why simplistic fragmented solutions for complex, structural and embedded problems are problematic.

Robustness can also be seen in the patterns of organisations and professionals. The way organisations and professionals behave is influenced by their history: they are path-dependent (Lyth, 1988; Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). Path-dependency helps to understand how the ideal of problem-solving, including the efficient division of tasks, has led to the creation of fragmented and solid working methods that are still dominant today. This can become problematic when professionals and organisations become locked-in the path they are on, for example, due to strict rules or protocols, while wicked problems require unconventional actions instead of one-size-fits all solutions (Rittel & Webber, 1973; Gerrits, 2012). Another negative effect of striving for efficiency can be explained by the principle of redundancy. Within the rhetoric efficiency, anything superfluous should be avoided in order to be efficient. However, according to the principle of redundancy, complex systems require some leeway in order to respond to disruptions in the system. Without it, the disruption of one element (the outage of a professional for example) could make the whole system collapse. For this reason, NPM and problem-solving efficiency measures can be problematic in the case of wicked problems (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019).

The structures of complex systems can additionally change due to specific types of events: change-events. A change-event could also be understood as a turning-point. In comparison to a ‘normal’ event, a change-event creates a set of reactions in and around the system, which highly impact the system’s behaviour. An event might, for example, change the mindset of family members and lead to new behaviour. In the case of a governance process, a change-event might lead to the introduction of new actors who bring change or who shed light on new issues. The effects of a change-event can therefore strongly influence the outcomes of a care providing or governance process. (Teisman, Van Buuren & Gerrits, 2009).

The aforementioned complexity principles help to understand why MPFs should be approached as a machine but as a ‘bunch’ of intertwined problems that ‘live’ and develop and that are unpredictable and partly unknown. In light of this complexity approach, not only the family, but also the organisations interacting with it, should be seen as a complex system (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). According to the *law of requisite variety* (Ashby, 1991), the fluid nature of the issue MPFs requires an approach that reflects the complexity of the issue it tries to solve. The MPF system therefore requires a systemic perspective and an approach with creative and out of the box solutions. Diversity in actors, problem definitions and possible solutions should be included and the issue itself should be central instead of the organisational logic. This requires an adaptive and collective approach that does not put the individual members and sub-problems central, but the issue of MPFs as a whole. Finally, in order to meet the Ashby’s law (1991) it requires a less top-down form of governing. The next paragraph

will therefore discuss a post-NPM approach to wicked problems such as MPFs, which lets go of the ideal of problem-solving and embraces complexity: governance and process management.

2.5 Governance: an integrated approach to process management

“When governmental action is fragmented, complex problems are only partially solved.” (Cejudo & Michel, 2017, p.3). Post-NPM reforms therefore adopt a more holistic approach (Bogdanor, 2005) and aim to counter the fragmentation legacy of NPM and to restore public sector organisation by creating more horizontal coordination and integration (Christensen & Laegreid, 2004). Public administration scholars often describe this shift from government (TPA and NPM) to governance. Rhodes (1996) defines governance as: *“Governance signifies a change in the meaning of government, referring to new processes of governing; or changed conditions of ordered rule; or new methods by which society is governed.”* (p.652). Governance can be described as the transition from a vertically organised government towards more horizontal, poly-centred policies, policy-making and politics (Rhodes, 1996; Levi-Faur, 2012).

Multiple Public Administration scholars such as Provan & Kenis (2008), Klijn & Koppenjan (2016) and Roberts (2000b) argue that wicked problems can be best addressed through a specific form of governance; governance networks. Torfing (2012, p.99) defines governance networks as *“networks of interdependent actors that contribute to the production of public governance”*. Klijn & Koppenjan (2016) give more attention to interaction in their definition of governance networks:

“More or less stable patterns of social relations between mutually dependent actors, which cluster around a policy problem, a policy programme, and/or a set of resources and which emerge, are sustained, and are changed through a series of interaction.” (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016, p.21).

It can be argued that governance networks suit the nature of wicked problems because they reflect the complexity of wicked problems (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Ashby, 1991). Governance networks are complex because they consist of multiple actors each holding ‘different views of the world’ (Rein & Schön, 1992). Different institutional backgrounds of actors also contribute to the diversity of governance networks, which suits the fluid nature of wicked problems (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016) and follows the *law of requisite variety* (Ashby, 1991).

Wagenaar (2007) argues that the tendency of NPM to tame problems actually creates more complexity. Some governance scholars therefore argue that the purely analytical approach to problem-solving should be replaced by a process management approach (De Bruijn, Ten Heuvelhof & In ‘t Veld, 2002; Stephensen, 2011), also known as ‘the collaborative strategy to wicked problems’ (Roberts, 2000). An ideal process management approach acknowledges the interconnectedness of problem elements, the interdependency between actors, their different perspectives and the need for

interaction in order to solve wicked problems (Edelenbos, Monnikhof & van de Riet, 2003). *“Collaboration is premised on the principle that by joining forces parties can accomplish more as a collective than they can achieve by acting as independent agents.”* (Roberts, 2000b, p.6). All stakeholders should therefore be engaged, committed (Roberts, 2000b) and move beyond organisational boundaries and administrative levels. This suits the nature of wicked problems that requires collective action (Van Bueren, Klijn & Koppenjan, 2003) due to the fact that the problems are rooted in multiple policy arenas (Agranoff, 2003).

Complex system principles are useful to analyse the suitability of process management for wicked problems. The holistic approach of process management embraces the principle of emergence by acknowledging the interconnectedness of elements and by adopting a systematic approach. Process management aims to move beyond organisational boundaries and individual tasks. It acknowledges the importance of interaction and in that way opposes fragmentation and the uniformity of organisations (autopoiesis). This approach reflects the *“need to get past traditional silos and be flexible and innovative”* (Stephensen, 2011, p.1) in order to address wicked problems. The ideal of process management additionally suits the wickedness of MPFs because it puts the issue, and in this case the demand of the family, central instead of the organisational logics and sub-tasks. This suits the principle of self-organisation. In contrast with the ideal of problem-solving, process managements allows for *“big picture thinking”* and the formulation of solutions, which are *“informed by on-the-ground-intelligence”* (Stephensen, 2011, p.1). The approach additionally allows to search for underlying problems and to use creativity to find solutions that are not one-size-fits-all (Conklin, 2006).

A process management approach towards MPFs seems suitable because it reflects the complexity of the issue. However, collaboration and process management within governance networks does not happen naturally, partly due to the existence of different perspectives, problem definitions and solutions (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Ansell & Gash, 2008). The next paragraph will therefore discuss how the problem definitions and solutions of individual professionals may evolve into an integrated collaborative approach that suits the ideal of process management.

2.6 Filling the gaps: boundary spanning

As argued, in order to address the issue of MPFs as a whole, an approach is required that goes beyond the individual PSDs of professionals. Einstein (1879 – 1955) stated: *“You cannot solve a problem from the same consciousness that created it. You must learn to see the world anew.”* This requires the capacity of reframing the issue of an MPF *“by moving up from a specific definition of the problem to a higher level of abstraction, where it is more likely to find common ground (i.e. the common good or public interest) than at lower definitional levels”* (Waddock, 2012, p. 131).

Termeer, Dewulf, Breeman & Stiller (2013, p.21) state that reflexivity is a capability to deal with wicked problems; “*the capability to deal with multiple frames in society and policy*”. The authors argue that reflexive observation and connecting are possible ways to deal with multiple frames. Reflexive observation means “*knowing that one’s own way of portraying the situation is only one among many, noticing the ambiguity that ensues when others portray the same situation in different ways, and recognizing how this plays out in the ongoing interactions between actors in the wicked problem domain.*” (Termeer et al., 2013, p.8). Making actors aware of their different perspectives is argued to be an important aspect of dealing with wicked problems (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). However, this is not an easy task because “*The clarity created by one analysis can easily be blurred by new developments or by asking other actors to present their analysis.*” (Termeer et al., 2013, p.5). Reflexive connecting means that the different perspectives need to be connected. “*Connecting can take different forms, including integrating existing frames through a creative synthesis, adding a new superordinate frame that can overarch the variety of existing frames, bridging different frames at points where they overlap, or collectively redesigning the situation such that the variety of frames is accounted for.*” (Termeer et al., 2015, p.8 referring to Schön & Rein, 1994).

Boundary spanning can be seen as a means *to do* process management. It is “*characterized by negotiating the interactions between organization and environment in order to realize a better fit*” (Van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2014, p.6). Boundary spanners are actors that work on the boundaries of organisations. Their presence is seen as important for collaborative processes (Bardach, 1998 in Williams, 2002) and governance networks (Torfing, 2012; Van Meerkerk and Edelenbos, 2014). Boundary spanners move beyond the boundaries of organisations and attempt to connect them. They try to improve collaboration between autopoietic organisations. For example, by creating commitment and trust and by aligning working processes through coordination (Van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2014). Boundary spanners attempt to motivate actors to move to the boundaries of their organisations in order to collaborate and to come up with innovative solutions. Boundary spanning activities may further include the alignment of perspectives, the formulation of a joint diagnosis of the situation and collecting, selecting, exchanging and translating information from one organisation to another (Van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2014). Such activities can contribute to the formulation of shared meaning and the creation of strong relationships for sustainable collaboration (Williams, 2002).

In this way boundary spanning activities can contribute to the formulation of an integrated approach by “*bringing unlikely partners together, breaking through red tape, and seeing things in a different way*” (LGMB, 1997, p.10 in Williams, 2002, p.109). However, the success of boundary spanning activities is not guaranteed. Several aspects may influence this process the personal competences of actors for example (Thusman & Scanlan, 1981). Klijn (2014 in Sørensen & Torfing, 2016, p.271) explains how “*drama-democracy*” aspects such as conflict, short-termism, competition and personal point scoring can additionally challenge the preconditions for boundary spanning such as

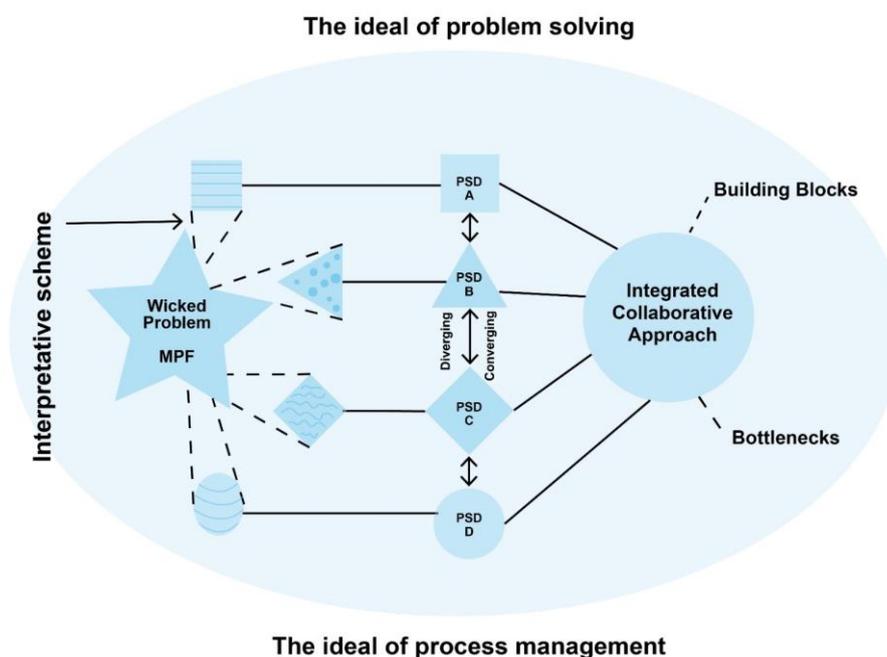
collaboration and trust. Contextual factors, such as the barriers within organisations due to bureaucracy, the inflexibility of actors and the fragmentation within organisations, may also challenge boundary spanning (Van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2016).

2.7 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework is a synthesis of the literature. It draws upon the theoretical framework in which earlier research and insights on how and why the main phenomena, which are central to this research, occur. The conceptual framework additionally presents how the theoretical concepts and the relation between them will be approached in this research.

The framework can be divided in three parts. The first part on the left side represents the wicked problem MPF. The star shaped element represents the fluid boundaries of the family system, in which multiple actors (such as family members) and their problems interact. The family system is surrounded by multiple organisations and professionals. The four differently shaped figures represent the diversity of the organisational backgrounds of the professionals. The dotted line represents the professionals' interaction with the family system and the interpretative schemes that the professionals use to give meaning to the MPF. The horizontal lines represent how the professionals come to their individual PSD (PSD A-D). The PSDs form the second part of the framework. The arrows between the PSDs represent how the PSDs relate. The relationship can be characterised by convergence or divergence. The final part of the framework represents how the individual PSDs unfold into an integrated collaborative approach, which is influenced by certain building blocks and bottlenecks.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework



Chapter 3: Research Design & Methods

3.1 Research strategy

To study the evolution of problem definitions and solutions for MPFs as part of the collaboration in ZVH, a qualitative research strategy was chosen (Bryman, 2012). A qualitative method suits the goals of this research: analysing how the involved actors (process managers, professionals and family members) perceive the evolution of problem definitions and solutions. A qualitative research strategy gives the possibility to analyse the descriptions of the respondents in a detailed way. The relatively small number of process managers within the network (around 70) makes it difficult to conduct a quantitative research with a large N. This research additionally has an explorative character, which makes a qualitative research strategy more suitable due to the flexibility it offers and the possibility to ask more in-depth questions.

This research adopts a constructivist ontology and therefore approaches the phenomena central to this research, MPFs, problem definitions, solutions, organisational boundaries and collaboration, as social constructs. Constructivism assumes that such social phenomena are not naturally given but constantly re-constructed through interaction between actors (Bryman, 2012). This leads to the assumption that multiple interpretations and attributions of meaning to events and phenomena will and are allowed to exist.

The goal of this research is to gain insight into the construction of problem definitions and solutions among actors involved with MPFs through collaboration in ZVH. From a constructivist perspective the respondents are seen as actors who contribute to the way that problem definitions and solutions get meaning. This research therefore departs from an interpretivist epistemology that emphasises the interpretation of social action from the perspective of the actors (Bryman, 2012). In this case these actors are the process managers of the ZVH, one professional and three family members. The goal of this research is not to explain the evolution of problem definitions and solutions, but to understand it, or as Weber (1964-1920) called it *Verstehen* (Bryman, 2012).

3.2 Research design

The main part of this research concerns the perceptions of process managers of multiple ZVH and therefore analyses multiple cases. A multiple-case study has become a common research design in social sciences fields, such as organisation studies (Bryman, 2012). A multiple-case study can contribute to theory building and allows the researcher to analyse the conditions in which a theory will or will not be supported (Yin 2009 in Bryman, 2012). Bryman (2012) additionally argues that the comparison itself can propose concepts that are relevant for an emerging theory.

Multiple ZVH were selected for this multiple-case study. The ZVH-initiative has been chosen because it is as an example of an attempt to develop an integrated approach towards MPFs by bringing together multiple actors from both the care and security domain. This can be seen as an attempt to move beyond organisational borders and to approach multiple aspects of MPFs at the same time. The initiative is therefore suitable for studying the evolution of problem definitions and solutions for multi-problem families on the interface of care and security. Among the national initiative, multiple units were sampled in nine different ZVH. For the second part of this research one case was selected: a former MPF that has been subject to a ZVH. This case was selected to test the results of the aforementioned ZVH-cases and offers the possibility to conduct an in-depth case study of the experiences of the members of an MPF, an involved professional and the involved process manager.

3.3 Methods

The perceived evolution of problem definitions and solutions for MPFs were analysed in the light of the narratives of the process managers, a professional and family members. The narratives of people represent the way they attribute meaning to events and experiences (Bryman, 2012). A qualitative research approach provides the opportunity to understand such experiences and perceptions of people (Bryman, 2012). This makes it a suitable approach to study how the respondents perceive the evolution of problem definitions and solutions.

The data was collected through semi-structured interviews. This suits the objective of this research as it enables to gain detailed understanding of the respondents' perceptions and experiences (Bryman, 2012). It additionally allows the respondent to give input to the interview, which is essential as their perception is central to this study. Furthermore, this method allows the researcher to ask key questions as well as to find out about the underlying perceptions of the respondents that might not come to light in, for example, a quantitative research or a structured interview (Bryman, 2012). However, some form of structure was applied in order to collect the relevant data. Topic lists for the interviews (see appendix II for topic lists) were formulated based on the operationalisation of the concepts (see appendix III for operationalisation scheme) and were shared with the respondents previous to the interview. The questions were asked in Dutch which is the native language of the respondents.

3.4 Operationalisation

The concepts that are central to this research have been operationalised in order to conduct fieldwork. The concepts were made measurable through defining dimensions and/or indicators that result from the theory. Appendix III presents the operationalisation scheme.

Problem, solution and definition

The core concepts of this research are problem definitions and solutions which can be divided in three parts: problem, definition and solution. ‘Problem’ is defined as “*A matter or situation regarded as unwelcome or harmful and needing to be dealt with and overcome.*” (Oxford Dictionary, 2019). ‘Solution’ is defined as: “*A means of solving a problem or dealing with a difficult situation*” (Oxford Dictionary, 2019). Based on the literature review, ‘definition’ in this case is seen as an interpretive process in which meaning is attributed to ‘the problem’ and ‘the solution’ (Benford, 1997). When a context is characterised by multiple actors, the number of PSDs can be unlimited because the individual actors formulate their PSD from their own perspective (Gerrits & Marks, 2017). In this case the definition process can be influenced by the perspective of actors such as their history, culture, goals, organisational background, values, job and expertise (Chapman, 2002). Problems may also be defined in relation to the images and availability of a solution (Teisman, 2000). Indicators for the construction of a problem definition and solution may be: who has a problem, what specifies it, on what information is this based and what might be a possible solution?

Relationship between problem definitions and solutions

Based on the theory, the relation between problem definitions and solutions of different professionals towards MPFs may be characterised by variety (Rittel & Webber, 1973). This relationship is approached as diverging and converging. A diverging relationship indicates that the problem definitions and solutions of professionals are diverse or even conflict due to diverging ideas about what the problem might be or what could be a suitable solution (Rittel & Webber, 1973). It may also be diverging due to conflicting interests or priorities for example (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). As opposed to diverging, the relationship could have a converging character. A converging relationship can be indicated by the absence of conflicting interests, priorities, goals and the presence of consensus about what the problem is and what the solutions might (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). The ability to see other ways in which a situation can be portrayed, also known as reflexivity (Termeer et al., 2013) could contribute to a converging dynamic. Boundary spanning, or the act to move to the borders of organisations and interact with professionals from other organisations (Van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2014) could additionally positively influence converging dynamics.

Bottlenecks and building blocks: the ideal of problem-solving

Based on the theory, two different approaches to problems such as MPFs can be seen: the ideal of problem-solving versus process management. An approach that follows the ideal of problem-solving is characterised by the act of decomposing a problem into sub-problems. As Raiffa (1968, p.271) states: “*Decompose a complex problem into simpler problems, get one’s thinking straight in these simpler problems, paste these analyses together with a logical glue (...)*” An indicator for a problem-solving approach is the act of defining problems and solutions alongside existing organisational

boundaries and tasks. In such an approach, the problems are solved by dividing tasks and by assigning expertise to each sub-problem and individual client. Typical for such an approach is that existing specialised methods and solutions are used in order to address each sub-problem. Efficiency and measurable results are highly valued in a problem-solving approach (Daviter, 2017).

Bottlenecks and building blocks: the ideal of process management

Based on the theory, an approach that follows the ideal of process management may be characterised by a holistic and systematic approach to the issue as a whole. An indicator for a process management approach to problem defining and solution forming is the acknowledgement of the interconnectedness of problem elements (Edelenbos, Monnikhof & van de Riet, 2003). An indicator for a process management strategy is the acknowledgement of the interdependency between actors, their different perspectives and the need for interaction and boundary spanning in order to solve the problem (Edelenbos, Monnikhof & van de Riet, 2003). This includes the search for underlying problems and the use of creativity in order to find solutions that are not one-size-fits-all (Conklin, 2006). Boundary spanning activities such as connecting, information translating and motivating actors to move beyond the borders of their organisations could be seen as a means to process management (Van Meerkerk & Edelenbos, 2016).

3.5 Respondent group and selection

The research population central to this research are the process managers of collaborative efforts around MPFs in Dutch ZVH. This population was chosen because the process managers fulfil a unique role in the collaboration process. They are the actors who move on the borders of the organisations and who fulfil a central position within the network of surrounding organisations and professionals. Their perspective on the formulation of problem definitions and solutions is therefore relevant. There was attempted to interview process managers from as many different locations throughout the country as possible in order to increase the external validity of this research.

The respondents were selected through a purposive sampling method. This means that the units of analysis were selected based on their relevance for the study (Bryman, 2012). In this research the relevance of respondents is based on their involvement with a ZVH in the function of process managers, as a professional or as a family member. Purposive sampling was executed through convenience and snowball sampling. A convenience sample is selected based to the availability to the researcher (Bryman, 2012). Through snowball sampling, participating respondents of the research help to find other suitable respondents (Bryman, 2012).

This research is affiliated with a long-term Erasmus University research on MPF commissioned by the Dutch Ministry of J&S. The ministry and the CCV are closely connected with the ZVH and assisted with the recruitment of the respondents. The CCV posted a call for participation

in their ZVH-newsletter and on their internal forum. They additionally contacted all ZVH managers through a group chat message. Twelve respondents were recruited due to these efforts. Seven respondents were recruited through snowball sampling via the first recruitment round. One respondent was found through a personal contact of the researcher.

The number of respondents is twenty (table 2). Fourteen respondents work as a process manager at nine ZVH locations spread out over eight Dutch provinces (including the Netherlands Antilles). In two ZVH locations, an additional interview was conducted with a process manager of a related MPF municipality organisation. The second respondent group consists of three members of a family that has been subject to a ZVH-approach and a professional involved with that family. The professional is a district agent in the neighbourhood of the family. The family members and the district agent were introduced to the researcher by one of the process managers.

Most of the data was collected in face-to-face interviews. Conducting interviews within a setting that is familiar to the respondent contributes to the ecological validity because it resembles the day-to-day reality. The respondents were asked to suggest an interview location in which they felt comfortable and that was suitable for conducting an interview. As a result, the process managers were interviewed in an office setting and the family at home. For practical reasons, such as distance and lack of time and availability of the respondents, four interviews were conducted by phone. However, all participating ZVH-locations in this research were visited in person by the researcher at least once, except for the ZVH in the Netherlands Antilles. The interviews lasted between one and one and a half hour. One face-to-face interview was shortened to 25 minutes due to an unexpected change in the respondents' schedule. The interviews were audio recorded under permission and later transcribed. The results for question 1-3 have been collected through interviews with the process managers. The results for question 4 were collected through an interview with a district agent and the involved process manager. The results for question 5 were collected by interviewing three family members.

Table 2: Respondents

Process managers	Professionals	Family members	Total
16	1	3	20

3.6 Method data analysis

The data was analysed through written transcripts of the audio recordings of the interviews. The strategy that was chosen for analysing the qualitative data is grounded theory. Coding is the key process of this strategy. The data was therefore broken down and names were attributed to the parts soon after the collection of the data (Charmaz, 2000 in Bryman, 2012). There was maintained a close

connection between the concepts and the data through constant comparison of phenomena that were coded under a certain category (Glaser & Strauss 1967, in Bryman, 2012). All the collected data was coded by using the analytical programme 'DeDoose'.

The content of the transcripts of the interviews was labelled, distinct, brought together and ordered through coding (Bryman, 2012). The used type of coding was "*Open Coding*" (Corbin, 1990, p.61 in Bryman, 2012, p.569), which can be described as: "*the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data*". The first coding phase consisted of initial open coding, which resulted in 241 codes. The second phase consisted of axial coding in which the codes were ordered by merging overlapping or closely related codes. This resulted in 115 codes with a more conceptual character. The third coding phase consisted of the development of 42 final conceptual codes. These became the most prominent concepts of the research. These codes represent patterns that give insight into how the respondents give meaning to the evolution of problem definitions and solutions within the integrated ZVH-approach to MPFs. The conceptual codes were based on the input of the respondents and in some cases resemble with the theory. Appendix IV presents the coding scheme.

3.7 Ethical considerations

The collected data could contain personal, emotional or even criminal information. In order to prevent any negative effects, for the respondents or any of the people they might discussed, the information that was provided has been handled with great care. All data has been handled confidentially and the respondents have been anonymised. The audio records were made under permission and deleted after the finalisation of this research. The audio records were and will not be shared with any other party and will not be used for any other purpose than this research. If desired, the respondents have received a transcript of their interview. These considerations and the purpose of the research have been discussed with the respondents previously to each interview.

Chapter 4: Empirical Findings

The data collection will be presented in this chapter. We will deal with the development of professional PSDs, the relationship between these PSDs, the building blocks and bottlenecks for an integrated collaborative approach and finally the results of the ZVH family case study.

4.1 Development of individual problem definitions and solutions

In order to gain insight into how professionals individually come to their definition of the problem a family has and the solutions they suggest, the process managers were asked to reflect on a recent MPF approach. All process managers describe cases in which ten to twenty-five professionals were involved. The process managers describe multiple aspects that influence the process of problem defining and solution forming by professionals. The most often mentioned aspect is the individual point of reference. This is followed by other aspects (listed in order of decreasing frequency of mentioning): individual task, job, position & expertise, interests & priorities, sub-problems & individual clients, mother organisation, passion & vision, available information and previous events & experiences. The coding scheme can be found in appendix IV under Q1.

Individual point of reference

All process managers state that the professionals depart from their own point of reference and perspective or “*frame of mind*” (R11, 28-08-19) when they come to their definition of the problem of a family and when they think of solutions. The process managers describe that the way problems of and solutions for MPFs are defined, depends on the person who is defining it: “*Everyone looks at the case from his or her own point of reference.*” (R5, 21-08-19) and “*In that way everyone has kind of their own view of things.*” (R14, 12-09-19).

Individual task, job, position & expertise

Thirteen process managers state that the individual task, job or position of the professionals is reflected in their perspectives: “*It’s their position, I think they always look through those glasses.*” (R5, 21-08-19). R15 (25-09-19) states that she always tries to figure out how the professionals view the problem. She states: “*It relates to their background and their role.*” This relates to expertise, which according to three process managers, can also be seen in how professionals define the problem of and solutions for families. R5 (21-08-19) illustrates this with an example of a case in which the addiction-practitioners focus on the addiction part of the problem when defining and solving it, while the financial advisors use their specific expertise to analyse and solve the debt of the family. R8 (16-09-19) gives a similar description when discussing how actors analyse what is going on within a family: “*Addiction care focuses more on the addiction and the police and justice focus more on their*

parts.” The remaining three process managers do not mention the individual task, job or position of the professionals when they describe how the professionals come to their definition of the problem and the solution. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Sub-problems & individual clients

Twelve process managers notice that professionals often focus on sub-problems and/or (their) individual clients or family members when they analyse the problem and solutions. One process manager describes this as: “*What you see for example is that probation services only visits the father at home, and home care the mother, and youth care is additionally involved for the children. They do all have their own point of reference when they look at the problem.*” (R11, 28-08-19). R12 (18-09-19) describes how youth protection, the salvation army and the Child Care and Protection Board focus on the protection of the child when they analyse the problem, while probation services focuses on the supervision of suspects and offenders within the family. Another process manager also sees this focus on separate parts of the problem reflected in the perspectives of professionals: “*People still often remain thinking in a pigeonhole fashion, as in this is mine (...) what strikes me is that people remain in their own tube, the professionals*” (R10, 16-09-19). The remaining four process managers do not mention the focus on sub-problems and/or individual clients or family members when they describe how the professionals come to their definition of the problem and the solution. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Interests & priorities

According to twelve process managers the individual and organisational interests also influence the way professionals define the problem of families and the solutions they prioritise: “*They obviously all take their own interests in the client with them*” (R4, 09-08-19). R10 (16-09-19) mentions how interests can affect the way professionals view the problem: “*Everyone is part of it from their own organisation so they also have their own interests.*” R5 (21-08-19) stated this also influenced the way actors prioritise aspects of the problem and solutions: “*Actually, everyone looks at it from their own point of reference and everyone thinks that the main focal point lies somewhere else.*” R15 (25-09-19) also sees the individual goals of professionals reflected in the way they define the problem and suggest solutions. The remaining four process managers do not mention the individual and organisational interests when they describe how the professionals come to their definition of the problem and the solution. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Mother organisation

Ten process managers argue that individual definitions and solutions of professionals exist within the frame and supply of the organisation they work for. According to R12 (18-09-19) and R5 (21-08-19) police-actors often define a problem and its solution in a “*blue*” fashion [Dutch National police force

colour]: *“The police says; it’s blue, it’s crime, so catch and punish.”* (R12, 18-09-19) and *“The police obviously approaches it from criminal law and they really look blue.”* (R5, 21-08-19). Public order administrators define the problem as follows according to R5 (21-08-19): *“They mostly look at the effects to the surrounding. Can the press find out about it? Should the mayor know? That is very much in a sort of outside ring.”* R10 (16-09-19) describes the process of problem defining and solution forming among care providers as follows: *“Care providers often are, with all good intentions, concerned with themselves and their own organisation and their own task.”* The remaining six process managers do not mention the frame and supply of the mother organisation when they describe how the professionals come to their definition of the problem and the solution. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Passion & vision

Seven process managers argue that the way professionals define problems and think of solutions can be influenced by the passion or vision of professionals towards a dimension of the problem. *“Every institution has its own vision and its own target group”* (R5, 21-08-19). R4 (09-08-19) describes a case in which this could be seen: *“There are practitioners who very much look at it from their own passion and who hold their own vision towards the treatment. For example, in relation to that addiction.”* R16 (01-10-29) describes that she often notices multiple visions in the way professionals view problems and in the way they talk about how the problems should be solved. R16 (01-10-29) describes that family members are also confronted with different visions of professionals towards the problem and solution. The remaining nine process managers do not mention passion or vision when they describe how the professionals come to their definition of the problem and the solution. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Available information

According to six process managers, professionals also define problems and come up with solutions based on the information that is available to them. R11 (28-08-19) describes that executive professionals use the information and impression they get out of a home visit to formulate an image of the problem. According to R1 (09-07-19) police professionals use police reports and look at facts such as arrest in order to define the problem. R12 (18-09-19) additionally states that care providers, for example, use information about someone's youth. When it comes to solution forming, the information that is used is also of influence: *“In case of the police, it is often just like thinking in facts and to see if they can do something and if there is enough evidence. In case of care providers you see that people try to see if someone is motivated and if they have an entrance.”* (R1, 09-07-19). The remaining ten process managers do not mention the available information when they describe how the professionals come to their definition of the problem and the solution. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Previous events & experiences

Five process managers state that previous events and experiences with clients also influence the way the problem and possible solutions are perceived by the professionals. R2 (22-07-19) explains how assumptions based on previous events influence the way problems are defined:

“What you hear quite often is that for example once, seven years ago, a boy in that family was part of a major aggressive incident in which someone was almost beaten to death. After that he was once suspended from school because he was too aggressive. But actually, after that, in a period of four years there were no incidents, but we remain lingering in those two incidents. Like; ‘that man is dangerous’. So search for where there can be detected framing of the family. When did we frame the family in such a way that we are almost incapable to think of these people as other than they are these people who do this and that?”

R15 (25-09-19) provides an example of how the professionals can be influenced by earlier experiences with a family, namely when: *“they are completely done with it”*. The remaining eleven process managers do not mention previous events and experiences when they describe how the professionals come to their definition of the problem and the solution. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

4.2 Relationship between the problem definitions and solutions

The process managers were asked to describe how individual problem definitions and solutions proposed by professionals relate to each other. The process managers describe differences and similarities that according to them characterise this relationship. Listed in order of decreasing frequency of mentioning the differences include diverging problem definitions, diverging solutions, diverging interests & priorities and diverging logics. This diverging relationship will first be discussed, followed by the similarities, which indicate a converging relationship. The coding scheme can be found in appendix IV under Q2.

4.2.1 Diverging relationship

Diverging problem definitions

Fifteen process managers explain how the problem definitions of the professionals differ from each other. *“So a housing corporation has a different problem definition than a care provider of an organisation that is voluntarily involved with the support of a mother or the Child Care and Protection Board. So everyone obviously has their own sub-definition.”* (R15, 25-09-19). R4 describes a case that also illustrates the existence of different problem definitions: *“I had five official diagnoses for one client, from five different organisations!”* (R4, 09-08-19). R2 (22-07-19) describes the

differences as problematic: “*And they all think something else and it is not attuned to each other and that’s a problem*”. R11 (28-08-19) additionally states that professionals who see the family in person often see the problem of the family in a different way compared to professionals who do not have such direct contact with the family. The remaining process manager does not mention diverging problem definitions when he or she describes the relationship between the professionals’ individual problem and the solution definitions. Neither does the respondent explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Diverging solutions

Twelve process managers describe the diverging character of solutions suggested by professionals. R12 (18-09-19) explains:

“It happens often between care and security, like; ‘no we need to punish him because he does not stick to the rules’. And there are care parties at the table who say; ‘well no because the treatment is just starting off and we need to give him another chance’.”

R3 (22-07-19) illustrates the existence of conflicting solutions: “*Everyone with their own expertise, from their own small framework, insufficient knowledge about what the other is doing. So some solutions are just fundamentally contradictory to each other.*”

Three of these process managers describe the existence of diverging opinions about solutions among co-workers within an organisation. R2 (22-07-19) describes a case where co-workers of a single organisation uphold and execute conflicting solutions to solve problems (R2, 22-07-19). R7 (30-08-19) describes a similar situation where co-workers from the same mental healthcare organisation suggested different solutions:

“They all wanted and tried something else. There was one who said, about the ambulatory care, that man cannot go back into the neighbourhood it really doesn’t work anymore, he needs to be hospitalised. And the other practitioner said I totally disagree (...) I had different people from the same group with a different story.”

The remaining four process managers do not mention diverging solutions when they describe the relationship between the professionals’ individual problem and the solution definitions. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Diverging interests & priorities

Eleven process managers talk about diverging interests and/or priorities when they describe the relationship between the problem definitions and solutions of the professional. Nine of them describe the diverging interests. R5 (21-08-19) describes a case which illustrates this:

“One of the parties was the housing corporation and it concerned nuisance. The people had to get out according to them. Another applicant was the GGZ [mental health care] and they said ‘this man and child are in danger of becoming homeless, they cannot handle that, we want to make sure that these people can keep their house.’ Those are truly contradictory interests.”

R11 (28-08-09) notices that professionals often do not take the interests of others into account when they suggest solutions.

Six of these process managers (additionally) describe how the problem definitions and solutions also relate to each other in the way that the professionals see different priorities. R11 (28-08-19) for example, describes a case where one professional argued that the debts needed to be addressed first while another argued that the addiction held more priority. R13 (04-09-19) describes that actors occasionally define the problem of a family as one that does not concern them because it is in their interest to avoid getting the ownership of it. *“One says; ‘it’s psychiatric’, the other one says; ‘it’s addiction’, everyone passes it on because no one wants to be the main contractor because they are afraid to get a whole bunch of multi problems, so they say; ‘it’s not mine’.”* (R13, 04-09-19). In total six process managers referred to lacking ownership as an explanation for the relationship between the different problem definitions.

In total five process managers do not mention diverging interests or priorities when they describe the relationship between the professionals’ individual problem and the solution definitions. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Diverging logics

Ten process managers describe the existence of different logics when they were asked how the problem definitions and suggested solutions of professionals relate. They spoke about different or even conflicting worlds:

“The security domain and the care domain are obviously totally different domains. The care domain tries, upfront, to prevent as much as possible and to help people. The security domain is more devoted to punishing if that’s what you’re dealing with. So they look through a totally different tunnel. And this may clash and they might not understand each other’s worlds that well.” (R8, 16-09-19).

R1 describes: *“You see their conflicting logics in the broadest sense, the language, miscomprehension towards each other; we might find it very logical that the police arrest the father but there are no grounds to arrest that man. You know it can be very broad in that sense.”* Nine of these process managers state that the misunderstanding about the tasks of others also characterises how suggested solutions differ from each other. *“They often differ because there are often expectations towards other organisations which very frequently appear to be unrealistic.”* (R6, 26-09-19). Four of these process managers (additionally) describe the existence of different languages as a characteristic for how the

different problem definitions and solutions relate to each other. “For example, especially on the legal side, people use a language among each other that is not understood by care providers.” (R1, 09-07-19). R13 (04-09-19) similarly describes how the police and a psychiatrist uses different languages when they define the problems of a family and suggest solutions.

In total six process managers do not mention diverging logics when they describe the relationship between the professionals’ individual problem and the solution definitions. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

4.2.2 The spectrum of divergence and convergence

All sixteen process managers describe the relationship of the PSDs of professionals in terms of divergence. Several respondents describe how the relationship between some PSDs more strongly diverge compared to others. They describe factors that influence the level or intensity of divergence between the PSDs. Twelve process managers state that the level of divergence is influenced by the characteristics of the professionals. R6 (26-09-19) explains this as:

“It depends on the person. There are people who have a broader perspective and who see their own organisation as a piece within the bigger puzzle. But there are also people who sit on their own island and they also indicate ‘this is what I can do and nothing more’.”

The four remaining process managers do not describe the influence of the characteristics of the professionals to the level of divergence. Neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant.

Ten out of sixteen process managers notice that professionals from similar organisations adopt less diverging, or more converging, problem definitions and suggest more similar solutions. According to these process managers, the problem definitions and solutions of care providing professionals relate more closely to each other. Security professionals also show more resembling in their problem definitions and solutions according to them. The six remaining process managers do not describe this, neither do they explicitly mention that it is irrelevant. Finally, three process managers describe how the level of divergence between problem and solution definitions is lower for professionals that share and focus on a final goal, such as the wellbeing of a family’s children or an overall more stable situation. Three respondents (additionally) describe how the level of divergence is lower for professionals who work together more often.

4.3 Integrated collaborative approach: building blocks and bottlenecks

The sixteen process managers were asked to describe how there is dealt with the possible existence of multiple problem definitions and solutions within the collaborative approach towards MPFs. Based on their experiences, this resulted in a list of building blocks and bottlenecks that influence the process of

formulating an integrated approach that closes the gaps between the diverging problem definitions and solutions. An overview of the results can be found in table 3 at the end of this paragraph. The coding scheme, including the ratio of appearance of the indicators for each building block and bottleneck, can be found in appendix IV under Q3.

Fragmented vs. synergetic approach

All sixteen process managers describe fragmented approaches as bottlenecks for unfolding the existing problem definitions and solutions into an integrated approach. This includes conflicting actions and interventions, holding on to individual roles, focussing solely on security, splitting the problem into sub-problems, tunnel vision of professionals and organisations, unacknowledged interdependencies and the focus on individual family members. The following quotes illustrate fragmented approaches:

“Information is often targeted to individual family members. Everyone sits on their own island, probation services is involved with father, the care provider with mother for the finances, but in the end, the larger whole? What are the risks for the children? But that does not happen, or people think ‘that person will do it’ but then nothing is being done. (...) You often see the emergence of parallel processes, especially when there is a lot of assistance in one family, so from different organisations.

That’s when you see parallel processes and people find it very difficult to see because they have become part of the system. People work past each other or they are not aware about what others are doing. That’s when stagnation in the assistance starts, because the processes are counteracting, and the risks only increase.” (R6, 26-09-19)

R3 (22-07-19) expresses how she felt about a past fragmented approach:

“Everyone gives a slightly different message to the people within the family. They don’t know each other and there are too many messages. I was so sad when we found out about this at the start of the case. Often with MPF there are situations that have been going on for over seven years before they come to us. And when you get around a table together, you find out that for seven years everyone is doing things from their own best ideas and they execute the right things from their own organisation, but it does not contribute.”

R4 (09-08-19) describes the effects of fragmentation on a higher administrative level:

“Well you know it has been a separated pillar for years. The mayor is responsible for public order and safety, the alderman for youth care and other care. Those are divided portfolios. Also in politics, national politics, you have the minister of justice and security and the care ministers, it has already been organised in separated portfolios and no one puts a skewer to all of it. I would very much like

that to happen. (...) I sometimes say; the mayor is involved with the perpetrator, the youth alderman with the children and the care alderman with the mother.”

R4 (09-08-19) also describes the existence of conflicts in law as a bottleneck, which she calls “*abrasive legislation*”. R13 (04-09-19) describes how fragmentation remains a challenge for the formulation of an integrated approach for MPFs. According to this respondent professionals tend to hold on to their individual roles more when cases become more complex because it is safer and more demarcated.

As opposed to fragmentation, all sixteen process managers describe a synergetic approach as a building block for unfolding the existing problem definitions and solutions into an integrated approach. This includes putting the issue central, one plan for the whole family, collaboration between care and security, approaching the borders of organisations fluidly, giving direction and making collaboration as a goal on its own. R2 (22-07-19) describes the importance for an overarching goal: “*We search for an overarching goal for the whole family, that’s different than normally.*” All process managers describe several activities that contribute to unfolding individual problem definitions and solutions into a synergetic approach. These include creating awareness of all interests and roles, creating foundation, support and commitment (for example through a covenant), using empathic skills, resolving earlier tensions or conflicts, connecting and introducing actors to each other, maintaining a helicopter view, functioning as a constant factor and motivate actors to think beyond their own tasks.

Information exchange

Thirteen process managers experience the lack of information exchange and communication as a bottleneck for creating an integrated approach. This includes the lack of awareness about possibilities and means of other parties and privacy limitations for information exchange. R6 (26-09-19) explains:

“What we see often is that GGZ does not know that there is a house eviction coming up, or that they do not know that there is a lot more information available that has not been shared, due to which they do not have the complete picture (...) They miss chances to cooperate or to prevent that they act in a counterproductive way.”

R3 (22-07-19) also describes the effects of lacking communication:

“We like to fill things in for the other such as ‘you can do this or this can be done by her’. And I think that is why, at a certain point, a lot of people are standing around a case but they do not come to any results because everyone thinks the other person will do something. And then actually nothing happens or at least not enough.”

Three process managers do not mention the lack of information exchange as a bottleneck. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a bottleneck.

Intensive information exchange is seen as a building block for creating an integrated approach by fourteen process managers. This includes the creation of a timeline of the history of the family and the received services, the investment of time for information exchange and a privacy covenant. R1 (09-07-19) explains: *“New information often comes up, that was unknown for some. Sometimes the police have some more information. Then it all comes together to get a total picture.”* The remaining two process managers do not mention intensive information exchange as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Characteristics professionals

All process managers describe how unfavourable characteristics of professionals can be a bottleneck for the formulation of an integrated approach. Unfavourable characteristics of professionals include fear to step out of their role, putting rules and protocols forward, deviating from the agreements and wrongdoing. R14 (12-09-19) describes:

“It often has to do with the person, sometimes a narcissist human, and well then it doesn't go anywhere. People need to make their own ego subordinate to the general plan and interest. You need to leave your interest behind for a moment.”

R2 (22-07-19) describes how professionals can be afraid to step out of their role:

“People are scared, and that also has to do with the registration of professionals. Everybody has to be accountable as a person. Even when you have bad luck you can be held responsible, and that greatly hinders the way people do their job. One person is like ‘well I will be able to explain everything so give it to me’. But the people who are afraid of that and who think ‘how could this affect me as a person’, they do not fit as well, not because they are not good care providers, but for such a big approach, you want care providers who say, ‘this is explainable, so give it to me I will take that extra step further or outside’.”

Fourteen process managers describe how favourable professional characteristics can be a building block. This includes the ability to think beyond their own task and the support from the organisation to do so. R3 (22-07-19) explains: *“And the vision of the organisation itself, do you get the space? A professional could be willing to but if the organisations calls you back like ‘we don't do that’, well that makes it difficult.”* The remaining two process managers do not mention favourable professional characteristics as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Analysing & goal setting

Two process managers describe how fragmented analysing and goal setting can be a bottleneck for the formulation of an integrated approach. This includes top-down goal setting and the existence of a dominant problem definition. R1 (09-07-19) describes how the party who initiates the collaboration not always leaves enough room for others to analyse the problem and to come up with solutions. The remaining fourteen process managers do not mention fragmented analysing and goal setting as a bottleneck. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a bottleneck.

Fourteen process managers emphasise how collective analysing and goal setting can be a building block. This includes a collective bottom-up process, combining different problem definitions and solutions, and consensus forming. R2 (22-07-19) describes “*We do a puzzle together to get to the right path and to get to the right solution.*” R7 (30-08-19) explains:

“The integrated approach means that people first come to a broader point of view. That people come to realise ‘O this is really going on and these are all the parties involved, these are the aspect that play a part and these are the possibilities we have to move further.’”

The remaining two process managers do not mention collective analysing and goal setting as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Systematic approach towards the family

Eight process managers describe the lack of a systemic family approach as a bottleneck, such as the focus on one or two individual family members and/or life areas and the lack of a historic approach. R6 (26-09-19) describes:

“The lack of insight in what is going on in the whole system, a person never stands by themselves, maybe there is a group of friends, and everyone affects each other, either positively or negatively. So if you create a change somewhere in the system than what happens with the rest of the system? So if you turn on something here, look for the effects it may have for the rest of the system and make sure that you arrange a safety net. So taking it as a whole is not done enough.”

R14 (12-09-19) describes that their approach is often emphasised on one family member:

“I think that there is a lot to win by including the whole family. Often there are many different things going wrong in the family of the boys that come here, debt or small houses etcetera. You also need the parents, if there are debt problems than the whole family is turmoil, if the parents worry about their oldest sun, it affects the rest of the family. If you have a stressed mom, it can be disastrous for the rest. So it’s nice that we help one person, but if the mother has debts, the stress in such a family will remain. That has negative consequences. You have to take that in consideration because otherwise you’ll get the next child in the family that will behave in a certain way. In the case of

domestic violence, you can see that it is a sort of a generational thing, learned in the cradle is carried to the tomb, so if you don't change the circumstances than the next generation will be up next. So work more generational and look at the people around a client. However, I speak from this ZVH, but I do think that we could incorporate that more and in a better way. But maybe that's utopic."

The remaining eight process managers do not mention the lack of a systemic family approach as a bottleneck. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a bottleneck.

Twelve process managers describe the application of a systemic approach to the family as a building block. This includes an intergenerational approach, and an approach that targets all life areas of all the actors in the family system and it includes an historic approach (awareness of previous events). R13 (04-09-19) describes why she believes this is a building block: *"We do not believe that you can focus on one child. In this kind of families, it always is multi problematic, and also the parents, because a child never raises itself."* The remaining four process managers do not mention the application of a systemic approach to the family as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Systemic approach organisations and professionals

Eight process managers describe the lack of a systemic approach to organisations and professionals as a bottleneck for creating an integrated approach. This includes the involvement of too many actors, the lack of executive professionals, focussing solely on security, and the absence of professionals and organisations. R16 (01-10-19) talks about missing partners:

"When an organisation is not paid for the meetings by the municipality and it costs a lot of time, in that case it is logical, but it is an enormous bottleneck because only by bringing all these parties to the table in a good way, things can be done and good solutions can be found. And a half meeting won't get you far."

R4 (09-08-19) describes that their ZVH is more focused on security and describes her wish for:

"A shared house where all care providers would be represented. They could obviously have their own signature, because sometimes it's only a single issue, not everything is multi-problem. But in the case of multi-problem all inside a care house! Do you want to be a care providing organisation in this area? In that case you provide a delegate to the care house in order to reach integrality."

R4 continues to explain that the inclusion of care providing professionals would allow them to intervene to the problems in a far earlier stage. The remaining eight process managers do not mention the lack of a systemic approach to organisations and professionals as a bottleneck. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a bottleneck.

Fourteen process managers describe a systemic approach towards professionals and organisations as a building block for formulating an integrated approach. This includes inviting external experts, the inclusion of all involved or required professionals and organisations and including executive professionals who know the family members. This also includes de-duplicating unnecessary professionals and organisations. The remaining two process managers do not mention a systemic approach towards professionals and organisations as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Scope of action

Limited scope of action, such as the lack of say over other organisations and bureaucratic obstacles such as rules and protocols, is seen as a bottleneck by eleven process managers. R9 (16-09-19) explains:

“We very often run into rules etcetera. For example, in the case of addicts, they are obligated to do a detox but this is only allowed when they have a suiting aftercare trajectory. But there are too many waiting lists, so it is difficult to adjust everything to each other due to the rules. So that is not integrated enough.”

The remaining five process managers do not mention limited scope of action as a bottleneck. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a bottleneck.

Thirteen process managers describe how a wide scope of action can be a building block for formulating an integrated approach. This includes perseverance, not putting rules and protocols forward and the monitoring of agreements. R10 (16-09-19) *“We just do it; we bring about change. They are often much abided, but we just do it. And that works most of the time.”* R13 (04-09-19) describes: *“We work around protocols (...) what I experience is that a care provider calls, and nothing is possible, I call and the doors open. We don’t let ourselves be fobbed.”* The remaining three process managers do not mention wide scope of action as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Start of the collaboration

Fifteen process managers state that the late start of collaborative efforts is a bottleneck for creating an integrated approach. Nine of these process managers state that damage becomes hard to repair. R14 describes that cases often come to them when they have become unmanageable, he continues:

“It strikes me that they often are people who have had people come over endlessly, also in the family, and that there has been tried so much and that all of it did not work. And I think that you are actually already too late. If it concerns a top x [high impact crimes] and he’s 18 and already has a whole past in youth care and he knows exactly how he has to arrange things or to avoid a treatment, because

your approach is to soft or to inconsistent or because you do not gather everything together, yes than you lost years. That's such a shame. I would love to see that change but I don't know how." (R14, 12-09-19).

The remaining process manager does not mention the late start of a collaboration as a bottleneck. He or she neither explicitly mentions that it is not a bottleneck.

Six process managers describe an early start of a collaboration as a building block for the creation of an integrated approach. R4 (09-08-19) describes why an earlier start is a building block:

"Well because you can intervene earlier and prevent much more sorrow compared to when you stand at the back of the line, when someone has committed 47 crimes and won't get a statement of conduct anymore. It's incredibly difficult to get all those guys into a regular job. I need to brush so much harder."

The remaining ten process managers do not mention an early start of a collaboration as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Capacity and resources

Thirteen process managers describe the lack of capacity and resources including staff outage, shortage of facilities such as residence, financial cuts and the lack of time as a bottleneck in the attempt to form an integrated approach. R16 (01-10-29) describes:

"Waiting lists are also a big problem, or budgets that run out. For example, when someone is obligated to take a GGZ treatment within a certain period of time, but the GGZ waiting list is that long that the deadline already passes. That is not helpful for the client, it is very frustrating."

The remaining three process managers do not mention the lack of capacity and resources as a bottleneck. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a bottleneck.

The existence of sufficient capacity and resources, such as the creation of new roles and time are described as building blocks by thirteen process managers. R5 (21-08-19) gives an example of such a building block:

"We are in a luxury position because we have two out-patient workers of our own. When everybody says 'we are stuck to our own organisation' or 'no this does not fit' or 'I only have one hour in the week' or people who do not like it, in that case we have two independent out-patient care providers."

The remaining three process managers do not mention sufficient capacity and resources as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Supply

Twelve process managers describe unfit help and supply, such as treatments, as a bottleneck. This includes the lack of supply that suits the needs of clients, early fiction on solutions and supply driven solutions and competition R6 (26-09-19) explains:

“Everything we do is tailor-made, however, we often run into laws and rules and bureaucracy and the lack of suitable spots. You actually want to work from the intrinsic motivation of people and we do try that but often we are forced to look for what is available instead of what is necessary and what could we create together. But that is difficult because the question sometimes does not suit within the existing care trajectories and financial flows.”

The remaining four process managers do not mention unfit help and supply as a bottleneck. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a bottleneck.

Tailor-made and demand-centred supply is seen as a building block by all process managers. This includes unconventional actions to generate a breakthrough, the use of creativity and innovative solutions and the commitment of the family. R12 (18-09-19) explains: *“You have to be creative, sometimes everything has been discussed or the standard things don’t work, so you have to think of ways to motivate such a person to cooperate and you have to think unorthodoxly sometimes, like how do we solve this?”*

Long-term solutions

Fourteen process managers describe how the lack of long-term solutions can be a bottleneck for the formulation of an integrated approach. This includes the focus on putting out fires, fall backs, professionals who stop when their task is done and the lack of aftercare. R3 (22-07-19) explains: *“What you see often is that you live from crisis to crisis to crisis. But you want to get to a structural solution with less crisis situations in between.”* The remaining two process managers do not mention the lack of long-term solutions as a bottleneck. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a bottleneck.

Thirteen process managers describe how long-term solutions and searching for underlying patterns can be a building block. This includes signalling errors in the collaboration, adjusting the plan along the way, conducting an in-depth analysis of the family’s problems and patterns, taking small steps and searching for stagnating factors in policies and protocols. R8 (16-09-19) explains: *“It has to do with behaviour and that is not something that changes over night. So it takes time to figure out if something is working or not. You need to take time for that.”* R16 (01-10-19) describes the importance of small steps:

“In the end you try to get a common interest, for these kinds of families the goal is reached when the children are doing well and when the crime and disturbance have ended. But that is quite ambitious. Because in the end, we do get a bit of control over such a family by directing it very often

and intensive but also has to do with being prepared for the long haul. It's not true that a family easily changes, especially if they themselves do not see the need. So, it has to do with not giving up and yes, sometimes two steps forward and one step back. Small steps.”

The remaining three process managers do not mention long-term solutions and search for underlying problems as a building block. They neither explicitly mention that it is not a building block.

Table 3: Overview results ‘Integrated approach’

<u>Bottleneck</u>	<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Building Block</u>	<u>Indicators</u>
Late start collaboration	Help and/or collaboration started too late, damage is hard to repair	Early start collaboration	Do not wait to notify bottlenecks, early/continuing communication, invest in prevention of escalation
Fragmented approach	Conflicting interventions/actions, focus on security, focussed on individual family members, splitting into sub-problems / no overview, holding on to individual roles, tunnel vision, unacknowledged interdependencies	Synergetic approach	Create awareness of all interests/roles, create foundation, support & commitment, approach borders fluidly, connect & introduce actors, (care & security) collaboration as a goal on its own <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Resolve earlier tensions & conflicts - Put the issue central - Create one shared plan for the whole family - Use empathic skills - Give direction & function as a constant factor - Helicopter view - Motivate actors to think beyond their own tasks
Fragmented analysing and goal setting	One dominant definition/goal, top-down analysing/goal setting	Collective analysing and goal setting	Collective bottom up process, combining different problem-solution, consensus forming
Lack of capacity	Financial cuts, lack of	Sufficient	Shared collaborative office /

<u>Bottleneck</u>	<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Building Block</u>	<u>Indicators</u>
and resources	facilities/housing, lack of time, staff outage	capacity and resources	facilities, create new functions / roles, budget and time
Unfit help/supply	Focus on solutions too early, supply does not suit needs family, supply driven (competition)	Tailor-made and demand-centred supply	Involvement and commitment of family, creativity & innovation, tailor-made solutions, unconventional actions to generate breakthrough
Limited scope of action	Bureaucratic obstacles (rules/protocols), financial boundaries, lack of authority over other organisations, municipality borders, performance measurements	Wide scope of action	Monitor agreements, perseverance/not letting go/escalate to higher authority
Lack of information exchange	No communication between parties, not aware of possibilities/means are not used fruitfully, privacy limitations for info exchange	Intensive information exchange	Create timeline of the history of the family and the received services, invest time in information exchange/communication, privacy covenant
Lack of systemic approach (professionals & organisations)	Focus on security, missing professionals/organisations, lack of executive professionals (only representatives), too many actors involved	Systemic approach (professionals & organisations)	De-duplicate involved professionals, include executive professionals, include all involved/necessary professionals/organisations, invite external experts
Lack of systemic approach	Focus on only one or two family members, focus on only one or two, lack of	Systemic approach (family)	Historic approach, include family in plan making process, intergenerational (include whole

<u>Bottleneck</u>	<u>Indicators</u>	<u>Building Block</u>	<u>Indicators</u>
(family)	historical approach		family system), target all life areas
Unfavourable professional characteristics	Afraid to step out of role and deviate from agreement/plan, mother organisation does not motivate to think beyond own task, putting protocols and rules forward, wrong doing/fraud	Favourable professional characteristics	Mother organisation motivates to think beyond own task, professionals able to work integrated/ think beyond their tasks
Lack of long-term solutions	Fall backs, focus on putting out fires, lack of aftercare, stop when own task is done	Long-term solutions and search for underlying problems	Adjust plan along the way, detect system errors in collaboration/interventions, in-depth analysis family problems/patterns, search for stagnating factors in policy/protocols, small steps

4.4 ZVH family case

Case description

The family consists of a man who has two sons from a former relationship and a woman who has two daughters, also from a former relationship. The man and woman are in a relationship, live together and do not have children together. All children were eighteen years old or older at the time of this research. The mother's oldest daughter attended the interview. During the period that the family was subject to the ZVH, three out of four children were underage. The family had problems in many different areas in life such as several addictions, debt, mental illness leading to suicide attempts and domestic violence. Moreover, they were a cause of nuisance in the neighbourhood and often came in contact with the police and the legal authorities. The man met the ZVH after he opened the gas tap in his apartment in an attempt to commit suicide. He was evicted from his home and put into custody. No family members could remain in the apartment.

The situation of the father and mother is currently stable. Until recently, the daughter and her two children lived with the father and mother after she divorced her husband. The children of the daughter are currently assisted by youth care professionals.

The professional that has been interviewed functions as the district agent in the neighbourhood of the family. The professional collaborates with the local ZVH on a regular basis. The ZVH process manager that has been interviewed fulfilled a key role in the formulation of the integrated approach to the family in this case. The district agent and the process manager know the family, their history, and their current situation very well. The results are discussed for each perspective starting with the family, followed by the professional, and finally, the process manager.

4.4.1 Family perspective

Fit problem definitions and solutions before ZVH-approach

The family speaks about the period before and after they became involved with the ZVH, in which the gas incident was seen as a turning-point. The mother and father describe that they both felt unheard and that their problems were not understood or recognised for a long time. The family experienced trouble with finding suitable help for the father's addiction, their financial issues, the domestic violence and several mental health problems. The father describes how he often felt misunderstood in the period before the gas incident. He had visited his doctor several times to get help with his addictions. However, he describes that he was told to lose weight first:

“I was looking for help for a long time, but I was so done with it. (...) Well when there is a doctor who says: ‘start by losing some weight’. While I said I have a problem with alcohol and drugs, and they said: ‘first lose twenty kilogram and we’ll look into it afterwards.’ (...) They did not see my problem.”
(Father).

The father explains that his weight was not the cause of his problems and therefore losing weight was not the right solution for to him. *“Only the doctor was involved but I never got a referral.”* (Father). The father felt unheard because no one asked how he wanted to be helped. His feeling of despair increased and as *“a cry for help”* (Father) he attempted to commit suicide by jumping in the local river twice. Several police agents took him out of the water and brought him home. However, no further actions were taken according to the family. The family situation escalated when the father attempted to create an explosion by opening the gas tap in their apartment. Father describes what led up to the gas incident:

“I totally did not receive the help that I needed. Nothing. The police also had to laugh. Maybe because of my past, they thought they knew me. (...) I was done with it. And then I did something stupid [the

gas incident] *as a sort of way out maybe to find help. Because, it never was that bad. But because of that notification it obviously escalated. And everything got out of hand really.*” (Father)

The mother had a similar experience when she reported a domestic violence incident at the local police station but missed out on any form of after-care. Years before the gas incident her husband reported himself because he had beaten her “*from head to toe*” (Mother). As part of the report, the bruises were photographed at the police station. However, no actions were taken after the report was made. She or her husband did not receive any help, nor did her youngest daughter who was at home during the domestic violence incident. The mother’s feeling of being unheard increased after the gas incident when she was forced to leave the family’s apartment:

“I could not enter the house anymore, I was allowed to go in for one night, and I had to pack my things and leave. There was no shelter arranged or anything. I could not stay with my oldest daughter for long, because of her husband, so I slept on a bench for two nights.” (Mother)

The mother accompanied by her youngest daughter, approached several institutions, such as the municipality and the police, in order to get help during the first days after the gas-incident. However, she describes that her problems were not seen:

“I did not receive any help. When it [the gas incident] happened, I was with him, but we broke up after. I never heard anything of the lawyer or no one really. (...) I missed that at the time, there were no care providers or something like that involved with me.” (Mother)

The mother describes that she never personally received any help until they became subject to the ZVH. The daughter describes that she was not in contact with any institution until recently, but she did not miss it either.

Even though the family temporally fell apart, and lost their house due to the gas incident, they describe it as “*a turning-point*” (Mother) that resulted in positive changes. The mother describes how the father’s aggressive behaviour strongly decreased after the gas incident and how their relationship improved. The father describes how the family started to receive better professional help after the gas incident because their case was introduced to the ZVH.

Factors for change

The family members describe that the help from the ZVH played a crucial role in bringing change to their situation. “*I also did not receive help at first. I was supposed to be assisted by certain institutions but somehow no one ever came. Only after the moment the ZVH started to direct everything, things started to come, that was when it started off.*” (Father). The mother describes how “*It all came together a bit more*” (Mother) when the ZVH got involved. The father and mother explain that after the father was released from prison, the ZVH was able to arrange a house for them through a priority

arrangement, which they would never have gotten on their own. Mother describes: *“What’s most important to me is that the financial part is arranged, work has been solved, and all social burdens have been arranged. That brings peace in your life.”* The family describes how this allowed them to make a new start. The daughter describes how the stability improved the family relations. The father describes how the stability contributed to solving his addiction. He describes what is important for change:

“I truly believe that the basic is the most important. They always say that the risk for a fall back is the greatest when you leave prison. But people always arrive back into a problematic situation. They don’t have a house, they already lost their family, they don’t have money, so what happens when they come back? Is there more control? No, in the case of eighty percent that comes back there is not and the willingness gets lost.” (Father)

The family positively evaluates how the ZVH payed attention to their needs and listened to them. They describe how they trusted the process manager and appreciated the commitment. *“She [the process manager] really listened to us and asked what was going on and what we needed most. That was new.”* (Mother). Father explains how the ZVH was able to open up doors that remained close to them:

“All the doors remained close when I tried it by myself. And in that case you need someone who just makes that extra step necessary to move on. You feel like you have been sent away like a small child and you actually get thrown back into society” (...) *“They did not listen to me. The ZVH opened all the doors. I wanted to take steps forward on my own but every time I was confronted with another door and then I ended up at the ZVH and the door opened. For example, I got out of prison and I needed financial benefits but that takes eight to nine weeks. The ZVH had arranged in within two weeks.”* (Father)

Father explains that he is still grateful for the help. However, he did feel discouraged at certain moments:

“I ticked the wrong box, so I got a letter that the debt restructuring programme was ended. ‘But sir I ticked the wrong box, a mistake can happen to anyone right?’ Well no. So, I called the ZVH and she had arranged everything in the slightest second. Well that’s very discouraging.” (Father)

The daughter never received any direct help of the ZVH and she did not miss it either. However, she did see how much the situation of her family changed after the involvement of the ZVH. She ended the relationship with her mother when the mother returned to her stepfather after the gas incident. However, she describes how the relationship has been restored recently due to the improvement of the situation of her mother and stepfather.

Evaluation of the overall approach

Father and mother are proud of what they have accomplished. The father and mother state that they could have been helped in a better way if they were approached differently from the start: *“It could have been solved faster if there was listened earlier. Or if the collaboration had started earlier, then it never would have had to come this far.”* (Father). The mother explains: *“Maybe they can’t do anything about it, but I have the feeling that they don’t have enough time to listen. That’s it actually. They should also listen to our interest.”*

The father positively evaluates the ZVH involvement and describes how the ZVH was able to overcome the contradictory actions of professionals:

“Sometimes it was very contradictory, I had to go that way and the other said the other way and you couldn’t give your opinion. Their case was what counted and nothing more, to this point and no further, and then it was finished. While there actually were solutions behind some of those doors. And the doors did open for the ZVH.” (Father)

However, during the ZVH involvement the father did miss the support of parties outside of the collaboration: *“I felt like some parties did not support me. I believe that you should always hear both sides of a story. Some people get pushed in a certain corner very easily like that one is addicted or such, while maybe that is totally untrue.”* (Father)

Father describes more obstacles that he encountered during the ZVH-approach such as the many complicated rules and forms he had to deal with, which he did not understand. However, he describes how the ZVH was often able to assist and: *“They translated it for me.”* (Father). Another obstacle for the family was that during the three years of debt restructuring, the money they had to live on was often transferred by the institution days too late, which caused a lot of stress. *“It was even ended once after we checked a wrong box, which almost ruined everything the ZVH had done.”* (Mother). The ZVH-plan was additionally hampered due to the decision of an actor outside of the ZVH collaboration: *“Everyone in the ZVH, even the prosecutor, advised that the addiction should be treated first, but the judge decided no. That ruined the whole plan.”* (Father). The addiction treatment was eventually delayed. This hampered the father from moving forward: *“No there was no space in the clinic (...) I wanted to work, I did not feel like waiting. I already accomplished so much and did not want to stand still. Than it would have gone wrong.”* (Father). Even though the father could have been called for his obligatory treatment any moment, he describes how the ZVH helped him to find work.

Overall the father and mother very positively evaluate the ZVH involvement. The father and mother describe why they think the ZVH is important:

“Without the ZVH it would not have worked. I think the communication between institutions themselves is not right, they have to communicate better.” (...) *Social work does not function if it does*

not happen in correlation to each other, there should be more feedback. Like sometimes a new social worker needs to join, but well they should communicate that.” (...) “And maybe someone else is needed from another institution or maybe there is one to many in it and you think ‘what is that one doing here?’” (Father)

Mother also describes the involvement of the ZVH was crucial for the collaboration: *“The collaboration between all of them just doesn’t work. (...) One says this, and the other one that but they do not listen to each other. Better communication, better collaboration. That would already change a lot. Now the ZVH is still needed.” (Mother).*

Evaluation of the current situation

The father and mother describe that they are very proud of what they accomplished. The father currently works as a manager in a factory. Because of his job, the family was able to pay of their debt and stabilise their financial situation. The mother describes how she and her husband would like to buy a house in a better neighbourhood with fewer nuisances. However, the legacy of their debt currently prevents them from buying a house. The father describes: *“We want to make that final step now but we are hold back because of those rules. I understand it but it does feel like an obstacle.” (Father)*

The daughter is currently in contact with a youth safety organisation for her own children. The trajectory started after the school reported concerns about the safety of the children in the context of the divorce between her and the father of her children. She describes that she did not see the problem at first.

“At first when they told me, I thought ‘why? This has nothing to do with me.’ Until I really heard the story and when I heard the story of other parents, what they have been through. That was when I recognised it as my story and at that moment I did understand it. I do see that my children suffer.” (Daughter)

She describes that in order to solve her family problems she wants to work on the communication with her ex-husband. However, from the start of the services: *“That was put aside, there was not even talked about it.”* Within the assistance that she currently gets, there is focussed on co-parenting instead of communication, which she does not see as the solution to their problems. The daughter is not happy about the way she is currently being approached by the youth care organisation and she does not feel understood. She explains:

“Well if you tell me that they will bring in Veilig Thuis [Safe at Home: combating domestic violence and child abuse] and that this could turn out véry bad for me, well at that point I was actually already done with it. I really thought this is a bit weird.” (Daughter).

4.4.2 Professional perspective

This section presents the results from the interview with the district agent that has been involved with the family of the case study. Because the content of this section results solely from the interview with this respondent, the quotes are not followed by a reference.

Case evaluation of the ZVH approach

The district agent describes that he is regularly in contact with the family of the case, especially with the father. His current involvement relates to the aftercare of the ZVH-approach. The respondent evaluates the ZVH-approach to the family and describes the importance of the personal assistance and the clear agreements that were made, especially in the period after the father got released from prison. He continues:

“If he got out, and was kind of dumped into the big world, he could have never accomplished the same things as now with the assistance of the ZVH, like initiating a workplace, housing and other things. They were really on top of it and because of that, the family is on the right track. And I think these people really benefit from such a tailor-made approach. That is very important. And the personal approach of the ZVH process manager really contributed.”

The district agent describes how the ZVH used its perseverance to arrange whatever was needed to help the family. The district agent additionally positively evaluates the ZVH efforts to maintain a close relationship with both the family members as with the involved professionals.

The district agent describes the current challenges for the aftercare:

“Their biggest problem now is that they are still in the debt restructuring process, which prevents them from buying a house elsewhere and to move forward. A tailor-made approach in this would benefit them too, in order to prevent that they are being stopped by their past. They really want to make the restart, but that is complicated due to those five years of financial administration. So that is holding them back right now.”

However, the district agent states that the family has accomplished a lot and that he is very positive about the ZVH-approach to this case.

General evaluation of the ZVH-approach

The district agent positively evaluates the ZVH-approach in general:

“I am very content about it because what I see, even now with more recent examples, is that within two weeks after a case is brought in, everybody gets around the table and there is established a plan.”

So it is the quickest way to get all the partners together and the network, and to collectively find out who can do what and when, and who can take what responsibility. So the coordination just works very well and that is very good.”

The district agent describes that the ZVH-meetings contribute to the formulation of an integrated approach in which solutions are aligned with each other and in which agreements are made. The district agent describes how the process manager’s director function governs the process and keeps it moving forward. He describes that the ZVH-approach enables them to help people more effectively:

“It enables us to be on top of it and to find the alignment in a better way. And to make sure that we are all going in the same direction and that to make sure that we, as professionals do not oppose each other in our work.”

The district agent describes what he values about the integrated approach:

“When there is no coordination you can sometimes see that there are different interests. The police have the interest of public order and safety, but a care organisation can have a totally different interest and that can affect each other in a negative sense, and that is something you can prevent by searching for alignment and to be aware of what the other is doing.”

The district agent positively evaluates how the police receive feedback about the notifications they make to the ZVH on a regular basis. The district agent would find it an improvement if other parties than the police would more frequently initiate a case to the ZVH in order to get criminal law advice, for example, in the case of unacceptable or criminal behaviour. The district agent has the feeling that the police initiate the collaboration more often compared to care providing organisations, while the criminal law perspective could be very valuable for specific care cases too, in his opinion: *“It’s often a police story, while other parties are mostly listening. They do think along and want to cooperate but it is mostly a police story.”* The district agent describes another negative aspect for the creation of an integrated approach. It concerns the inclusion of executive professionals:

“Instead of a delegate I would prefer to have the direct treatment professionals at the table, someone who exactly knows what is going on. What you see often is that the person who comes to the meeting is a coordinator or something that is not directly present in the case.”

4.4.3 Process manager perspective

This section presents the results from the interview with the process manager that is involved with the family of the case study. Because the content of this section results solely from the interview with this respondent, the quotes are not followed by a reference.

The ZVH process manager describes how she was introduced to the family in the period after the gas incident. She visited the father who was in custody at that time and started off by discussing the family's situation. In addition, she spoke to the neighbours of the family, who were *“a bit scared after the gas incident. It was also a threat for the neighbourhood that made the case extra complicated, therefore the ZVH was introduced.”* The process manager met the mother when she got back together with the father, after his release from prison.

The process manager additionally spoke to the involved professionals to understand their perspective on the issue. During these conversations, she noticed that there was no overview of what was going on in the family. She explains that until that point there had been multiple specialised organisations that had *“singular contact”* with the family. However, the communication and coordination between the organisations was absent. She explains why this was problematic: *“The work of one organisation opposed the work of the other”* For this reason, she initiated the collaboration by inviting all involved professionals to the ZVH: *“Connecting is the most important. They needed to get to know each other and their tasks and interests”* She explains that the ZVH tried to make the professionals aware of the fact that they needed each other in the case of this family:

“I always say: ‘I am not here for me. I am here for the clients. And if we are all convinced that we want to give them a new life in all those life areas, you need to give in on some point to put the other party at the centre in order to eventually obtain your own goal.’ If they understand that, it works.”

The process manager describes how the ZVH-approach for this family started. The participating professionals collectively discussed all life areas in order to find out what was going on in the family:

“When we get a case, everything is still empty and then we, together with the professionals, really need to search together. (...) Fill in the four life areas. What do we find? And what is going on? All life areas are connected so you will also have to address them in connection to each other.”

The life areas included: health, work, social relations, and crime. The process manager describes that the professionals were stimulated to exchange information. In addition, the family was asked to describe their issues, needs and priorities. The ZVH additionally created a timeline of all the past professional activities and events in the family.

The process manager describes her work as follows: *“Tying up. That is all I do.”* She deals with the different advises and actions of the professionals that were involved with the family: *“That is when I say: ‘No guys, that is all fine, but in this case, how are we going to align one thing to the other?’ It is a puzzle.”* She explains that: *“The goal was to combine the interventions into a shared plan.”* in such a way that they did not oppose each other's effect. This required to set goals collectively and to adjust some interventions or to prioritise one intervention over the other. She

describes that she asked the professionals to not focus on their individual task and that of their organisation. She illustrates: *“I refer to the interest of the client, and the covenant that requires us to look beyond the boundaries of our own organisations.”* In the ZVH-collaboration for this family it did not happen naturally:

“It definitely does not always work. Especially because in this case there was an addiction treatment professional that worked from his passion and who had his own vision of the treatment. But because we adopted a broad perspective and stimulated that, we agreed that if we would work on the debt first, the addiction treatment would go faster because that problem gets more room to actually exist.”

Overall, the process manager positively evaluates the ZVH-collaboration. However, the integrated plan was confronted with several obstacles including actions of actors outside of the ZVH-collaboration:

“One organisation opposes the other. We collectively created an advice for judge. We wanted him to first do the obligatory addiction treatment and his prison time after. Even the public prosecutor agreed that this was best. But the judge turned it around. And it got worse because when he got out, he lost his spot on the waiting list and there was no treatment for him. But also, no house, I thought he was going to be treated so did not arrange one. So, I called everyone until I arranged a house for them. But the whole time we knew he could be called for the treatment any moment and lose the house again.”

The process manager describes another obstacle: *“And the bureaucracy! How many forms we had to fill in?”* She explains how the newly stabilised financial situation of the family was almost ruined because the family had checked a wrong box on a form that almost ended their debt restructuring program.

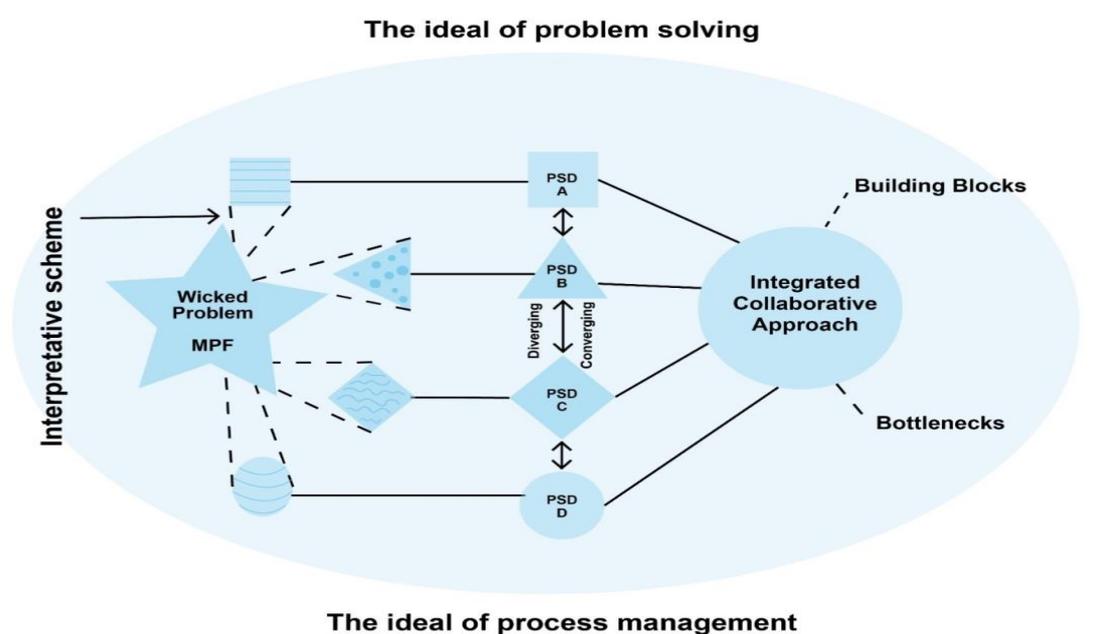
The process manager describes how the ZVH approach to this family could have improved if it would have focussed on all family members equally from the start. However, the ZVH-collaboration was able to bring a lot of positive change to the family’s situation, even though most direct attention was given to the father. Concerning the ZVH-approach in general, she names the obstacle that some parties, especially care professionals, are not represented in the ZVH. She explains that the ZVH she works for focuses relatively more on security. She would like to obtain a more even balance between care and security because:

“You would be able to intervene earlier and to prevent a lot of suffering compared to when you are at the end of the line, when someone has conducted 47 felonies and will not get a regular job anymore. I have to work so much harder.”

Chapter 5: Analysis

This chapter applies complexity principles in order to increase our understanding of the cases. First, the results regarding development of individual PSDs and the relation between them are analysed (sub-question 1 and 2). Secondly, the building blocks and bottlenecks are analysed (sub-question 3). As demonstrated, many complexity principles can be recognised in the building blocks and bottlenecks that result from the interviews with the process managers. In order to conduct a more in-depth analysis, the complexity principles that most strongly contribute to the understanding of the family case study are put at the centre of the analysis. The third part of this chapter provides an in-depth analysis of the family case (sub-question 4 and 5). The final part of this chapter applies the complexity principles that most strongly contribute to the understanding of the family case study to the results of research question three. This allows for a more in-depth analysis of a selection of the building blocks and bottlenecks that result from the interviews with the process managers. Throughout the chapter, the conceptual framework (figure 3) is used as a tool to analyse the results.

Figure 3: Conceptual Framework



5.1 The evolution and relationship of the professionals' PSDs

The left part of the conceptual framework is a useful analytical tool to organise the results that concern the development of PSDs for MPFs by individual professionals. When one zooms into this

part of the conceptual framework one can see the MPF-issue that is, according to the process managers, surrounded by many (sometimes up to twenty-five) professionals. The process managers were asked to describe how these professionals develop their PSD for an MPF. The middle part of the conceptual framework represents the relationship between the PSDs of individual professionals. In order to gain more understanding about how the professionals' PSDs relate, the process managers were additionally asked to describe this relationship.

Evolution of PSDs

When analysing the results, the first finding that occurs is the fact that the way problems of, and solutions for, MPFs are defined depends on the person who is defining it. All process managers argue that the PSD-process of professionals is influenced by their individual point of reference. This indicates that the PSD-process of individual professionals is influenced by the frame they adopt. The majority of the process managers describe four specific aspects that influence the PSD-process of individual professionals: the professional's expertise and task, the sub-problems of their individual clients, the professional's interests and priorities and finally, the frame and supply of their mother organisation. These four elements can be understood as the most prominent frames or sets of mental filters through which the professionals interpret the family's situation. Two respondents illustrate this by describing how police professionals adopt a 'blue' frame [Dutch national police force colour] and focus on criminal law aspects when they develop their PSD for a family. Another respondent illustrates the focus on sub-problems of individual clients by describing how youth protection, the salvation army and the Child Care and Protection Board focus on the protection of a family's children in their PSD-process, while probation services focus on the supervision of suspects and offenders within a family. The examples illustrate how the PSD-process can be understood as a framing process in which the professionals interpret and attribute meaning to the family's situation within the context of their own frame.

The results demonstrate how professionals, despite good intentions, tend to define the problem and solution of an MPF from their own core. This indicates an internal focus resulting in PSDs that suit the professionals' reality. The principle of autopoiesis illustrates how professionals tend to interpret everything on the outside of their organisation within a framework of their own organisation. It can therefore be argued that the PSD-process of individual professionals is subject to autopoiesis. This helps to understand why the professionals' PSDs have a monotonous character and mirror their tasks, expertise and the identity of their mother organisations. Therefore, the PSDs of individual professionals focus on specific elements of the MPF-issue, not on the issue as such. This separated character of PSDs processes raises questions about the overview of the issue. The internal focus of the PSD-process raises questions about how PSDs of professionals with different tasks, expertise, and mother organisations relate to each other.

Diverging PSDs

The second important finding that follows from analysing the results is how the dynamic between the PSDs of individual professionals is characterised by divergence. The results show how professionals draw the boundaries of the problems and solutions in different ways and how this results in diverging or conflicting PSDs. One respondent illustrates this by describing how she once received five official diagnoses for one client from five different professionals. Furthermore, the results indicate that the PSDs diverge based on the professional's interests and logic. One respondent illustrates this by describing a case in which a housing cooperation professional was interested in solving nuisance through house eviction, while a care professional was dedicated to prevent the family from losing their house and becoming homeless. Most of the respondents additionally describe how the relationship between some PSDs is more diverging compared to others. The results show how the level of divergence is influenced by the characteristics of the professionals, such as the ability to adopt a broader perspective. Furthermore, the PSDs of professionals from similar organisations appear to be less divergent, or in other words more convergent.

As stated, the results indicate that when the professionals come to their PSD, they start from the frame and logic of their own organisation. When these frames and logics differ, multiple PSDs arise. Autopoiesis helps to understand why the internal focus of professionals can lead to diverging or even conflicting PSDs. Autopoiesis explains how a PSD might seem rational within the organisational context of the professional who is defining it, however it might be irrational for a professional who upholds a different logic. A respondent illustrates this with the example of care professionals who saw the arrest of a family member as a suitable solution while police professionals found this irrational because there were no grounds for arrest. In this example, autopoietic dynamics resulted in a misfit between the professionals' logics, which resulted in diverging PSDs. Furthermore, autopoiesis helps to understand why the results indicate that professionals with similar organisational backgrounds have less diverging PSDs: they uphold similar logic and frames and therefore develop similar PSDs. This additionally helps to understand why the characteristics of professionals result to influence the level of divergence between PSDs. Autopoiesis demonstrates that professionals that adopt a broader perspective develop less internally focussed PSDs. Autopoiesis therefore contributes to our understanding of the relationship between the PSDs of individual professionals, which result to diverge or even conflict. Based on this analysis, it can be argued that the results indicate a misfit between the PSDs of individual professionals.

The consequences of autopoiesis

The analysis reveals that the MPF-issue extends across a variety of actors who define the problem and possible solution from their own point of reference, and bring along divergent and sometimes conflicting insights. The existence of multiple actors and perspectives towards the issue of an MPF can be seen as one of the typologies of a wicked problem. The focus on problem elements, such as

sub-problems and individual clients, within a PSD-process illustrates how the professionals, with all good intentions, focus on the part of the issue that fits the task within their own organisation. The formulation of PSDs within the frames of existing organisational boundaries, tasks or specialisations can be seen as a consequence of autopoiesis. Additionally, it can be seen as a characteristic of the ideal of problem-solving, in which professionals focus on that component of the problem that fits in with their expertise. Within the ideal of problem-solving, a separated PSD-process can generate efficient use of expertise.

However, autopoiesis is problematic when families, or their problems, do not fit to any of the professional's expertise. Additionally, it is problematic when the PSD of each expert focuses on a part of the problem but collectively do not link up. Therefore, fragmented gaps between the PSDs arise and the issue as a whole remains unseen (previously argued by Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). As argued in chapter two, a fragmented approach is particularly problematic for an MPF. This is because the wicked nature of an MPF is characterised by the existence of many intertwined problems. Due to this intertwinement, an approach that addresses the problem elements in a separate way will not result in the disappearance of the issue. It can therefore be argued that the autopoietic and separate PSD-process of the professionals represents as a misfit with the wicked nature of the MPF-issue.

Furthermore, the diverging and sometimes even conflicting relationship between the PSDs of individual professionals, additionally explained through autopoiesis, challenges the fit between the PSDs of individual professionals and the creation of an integrated collaborative approach for MPFs. So how can there be moved beyond individual PSDs and formulated an integrated approach that addresses the MPF-issue in its totality? The next paragraph will concern the building blocks and bottlenecks that, according to the process managers, influence the creation of an integrated approach towards MPFs.

5.2 Creating fit between the PSDs: the ZVH building blocks and bottlenecks

The final part of the conceptual framework is a useful analytical tool to organise the results of the third theme that gives insight into how the PSDs unfold into an integrated collaborative approach that addresses the MPF-issue in its totality. Interestingly, various process managers indicated that this process is influenced by building blocks and bottlenecks. This finding will be further explored below, by outlining several building blocks and bottlenecks.

A first explorative analysis of the building blocks and bottleneck touches upon several insights that indicate the need to acknowledge the complexity of the MPF-issue. The early start of a collaboration and enough capacity and resources, which result to be building blocks for the creation of an integrated approach, for example, touch upon the principle of hysteresis. Hysteresis stresses the difficulties of changing an MPF-system back into its original stable state after the issues have already strongly developed. Because "*repairing is expensive*" (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019, p.42; Gerrits, 2012) an

MPF-approach should start before it becomes too difficult to repair the damage. Hysteresis additionally stresses the importance of available capacity and resources for families with already strongly developed issues. The principle could therefore additionally be useful to further analyse why the process managers describe the availability of capacity and resources as a building block for the creation of an integrated approach.

The lack of a systemic approach to the family and involved professionals comes up as a bottleneck, while the existence of such an approach is seen as a building block. These results touch upon the complexity principle of a systemic perspective, which emphasises the layering within the issue of MPF. The principle of emergence additionally illustrates how an MPF does not exist isolated, but is interconnected with other systems, such as the professional system. According to these principles an MPF requires a systemic approach that acknowledges the interconnectedness of the family's issues and involved actors. The complexity principles of a systemic perspective and emergence are therefore useful to further analysis why the aforementioned building block and bottleneck result to be important factors for the creation of an integrated approach.

Several other building blocks and bottlenecks seem to relate to one or more of the complexity principles and can be understood as cautious indications for the need to acknowledge the complexity of the MPF-issue. Table 4 presents an overview of the building blocks and bottlenecks and how they relate to the complexity principles. However, a more in-depth analysis of all building blocks and bottlenecks is required to thoroughly understand the explanatory content of the complexity principles. Unfortunately, the scope of this study does not allow for such an in-depth analysis of all building blocks and bottlenecks. Furthermore, the building blocks and bottlenecks resulting from the interviews with the process managers resemble with the existing complexity insights on the obstacles and factors for change in the address of MPFs (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). A thorough analysis of all building blocks and bottlenecks could therefore contribute to a valuable confirmation of these existing insights. However, due to the resemblance with the study of Joosse-Bil et al. (2019), an in-depth analysis of all building blocks and bottlenecks would not allow to strongly expand the existing insights.

However, the family case study does allow making a more exploratory step in the analysis. Even though it only considers one case, it may provide new insights on which specific circumstance can be created, and understood in terms of complexity, in order to improve the situation of an MPF. The next paragraph will therefore provide an in-depth analysis of the family case. The complexity principles that most strongly contribute to the understanding of the family case will be applied to a selection of the building blocks and bottlenecks resulting from the interviews with the process managers. This will be presented in the final paragraph of this chapter.

Table 4: Overview building blocks, bottlenecks & complexity principles

Bottlenecks	Building block	Complexity principle
Late start collaboration	Early start collaboration	Hysteresis
Fragmented approach	Synergetic approach	Co- evolution
Fragmented analysing and goal setting	Collective analysing and goal setting	Autopoiesis
Lack of capacity and resources	Sufficient capacity and resources	Hysteresis & redundancy
Unfit help/supply	Tailor-made and demand-centred supply	Self-organisation & redundancy
Limited scope of action	Wide scope of action	Boundary spanning & emergence
Lack of information exchange	Intensive information exchange	Autopoiesis
Lack of systemic approach (professionals & organisations)	Systemic approach (professionals & organisations)	Systemic perspective & emergence
Lack of systemic approach (family)	Systemic approach (family)	Systemic perspective & emergence
Unfavourable professional characteristics	Favourable professional characteristics	Boundary spanning & path dependency
Lack of long-term solutions	Long-term solutions and search for underlying problems	Emergence & systemic perspective

5.3 ZVH family case analysis

The case analysis follows the sequence of the family's narrative and is divided in three parts: pre-ZVH issues, the building blocks of the ZVH-approach and the bottlenecks of the ZVH-approach. Each part consists of descriptions of the experiences of the family members that are analysed by the application of the most explanatory complexity principles. The goal of this application is to further

understand the narratives of the family members, and to analyse which factors did or did not contribute to the improvement of their situation. The narrative of the family is therefore leading in this case analysis. However, several experiences of the ZVH family-case professional and process manager will be used to complement the family's narrative.

5.3.1 Pre-ZVH issues: understanding the misfit

Self-organisation

The family members describe how they were unable to deal with issues, such as addiction, financial depth, domestic violence, and mental health problems for many years. In their narrative, the family members give multiple descriptions of how they felt unheard and misunderstood by professionals and how they experienced issues with finding suitable help prior to the ZVH-involvement. The father's experience with his doctor might be the most explicit example of this. The advice of his doctor to lose weight could be seen as a valuable and well-intended effort to address the father's health problems. However, the father felt unheard because the visit to his doctor was motivated by his wish to address his addictions, and losing weight was not the solution for him. By advising to lose weight, the doctor prioritised a problem that did not match with the father's perception of the issues he experienced. Despite the good intentions of the doctor, the advice could therefore be seen as the consequence of a somewhat paternalistic attitude.

According to the principle of self-organisation, a paternalistic or top-down approach to an MPF can be problematic. Self-organising capacity means that an MPF is able to organise itself without the control of an external agent. It structures itself in a bottom-up way through interaction of the system's elements. As a result, an MPF behaves in unexpected or even unwanted directions which make top-down control or steering-efforts difficult. In other words, an MPF has its own will. An approach that does not acknowledge the perspective and intentions of the family members could therefore create resistance. This means that an approach aimed at changing the behaviour or the structure of an MPF should try to match with the perspective and intentions of the family members. In other words, it should aim to *tap into* the self-organising capacity of the MPF. For example, by allowing the family members to determine what they need to improve their own lives. Using the existing motivation as fuel to make the family more resilient and to create change, could additionally be an effective means to tap into their self-organising capacity.

When the principle of self-organisation is applied to the father's example, the doctor could have used the father's motivation to solve his addictions as an opportunity to tap into the self-organising capacity of his client. It could have been used as an entrance or as a starting point to create a wave of positive changes. However, the well-intended advice of the doctor did not match with the father's PSD and did not tap into his self-organising capacity. This can help to understand why the doctor's

approach did not create a breakthrough in the family's situation. The father describes that the advice of the doctor actually increased his feeling of despair. The father felt unheard and did not know how to improve his situation and as "*a cry for help*" (Father) he attempted to commit suicide twice by jumping into the local river. The issues that the family members experienced with finding suitable help and their feeling of being unheard and misunderstood can be understood as a mismatch between their PSD and those of the involved professionals. It can also be understood as a consequence of the lack of available help that tapped into their self-organising capacity. In this way the principle of self-organisation adds to the understanding of why the pre-ZVH professional actions did not contribute to the improvement of the family's situation.

Emergence

It is unknown why the doctor did not refer to an addiction specialist or to any other care providing institution. However, it is known that the doctor's advice focussed on finding a solution for one element of the issue of the MPF: the father's weight problem. The focus on this sub-problem shows how the doctor was unable to oversee the complexity of the issue of the family, which was more than the weight problem. The family describes more examples where professional-insight on the multiplicity of their issues was lacking. According to the family, the police agents who pulled the father out of the river twice were unable or failed to signal and act upon the underlying issues of the father's suicide attempts. The mother had a similar experience when she reported a domestic violence incident at the local police station but missed out on any form of after-care. The lack of professional-oversight of the whole issue could be a consequence of the capabilities of these individual professionals. However, it can also be seen as an example of how professionals, with all good intentions, might focus on parts of the issue without recognising the emergence of the problem elements. The professionals did their individual job: advised on the weight problem, brought the father home after his suicide attempt, made a report of the mother's domestic-violence issue, but collectively failed to improve the overall family situation.

The principle of emergence can help to explain why the family evaluates the pre-ZVH efforts negatively. Emergence means that all elements within the MPF-system, such as the family members, professionals, organisations and sub-problems, influence and interact with each other. This means that the effectivity of the action of a professional does not only depend on its quality, but also on how the other elements in the system react to it. Due to this intertwinement, addressing elements in an isolate fashion is ineffective. For an MPF-approach to be effective it should therefore acknowledge and anticipate to the emergence of the system's elements. This means that it should approach all sub-problems together.

The principle of emergence therefore helps to understand why the well-intended professional actions that focussed on sub-problems did not improve the overall family situation. In the case of the family, the pre-ZVH actions were conducted in a separate way and targeted only a selection of sub-

problems (the father's weight problem for example). According to the involved ZVH process manager, the communication and coordination between the professional actions was additionally limited prior to the ZVH involvement. This shows how the intertwinement of the system's elements was not acknowledged. This helps to understand why, for many years, the actions of the individual professionals did not contribute to the improvement of the overall situation of the family: a holistic overview of the MPF-system, including the sub-problems and actions of the professionals, was lacking. There was a misfit between the professional's PSDs en the emergent nature of the MPF-issue.

Change-event

Despite all the well-intended efforts of the involved professionals, it did not improve the situation of the family. The father describes how his feeling of despair further increased. As a consequence, the family situation escalated when the father attempted to create an explosion by opening the gas tap in their apartment. Due to this family crisis, and the threats it implied for the neighbourhood's safety, the professional attention for the family's case increased. As a consequence, their case was introduced to the ZVH. Despite the fact that the family temporarily fell apart, and that they lost their house due to the gas incident, they reflect upon it as the start of a new more stable family situation. They evaluate the crisis as a turning-point that positively changed their own behaviour and the professional help they received. The family describes the ZVH involvement as a key-factor for these positive changes.

From a complexity perspective the gas incident can be understood as a change-event. In comparison to a 'normal' event, a change-event creates a set of reactions in and around the system, which highly impact the system's behaviour. It may for example cause a change in the mindset of the family members. Furthermore, in the case of the care providing process for an MPF, a change-event might lead to the introduction of new actors who are able to create positive change. A change-event may additionally change the issues that are taken into account. The effects of a change-event can strongly influence the outcomes of a care providing process. A change-event could therefore be seen as a turning-point.

According to the family, the gas incident set in motion a chain of reactions in which the involvement of the ZVH was leading. Due to the gas incident, new agents (the ZVH) were introduced that, according to the family, brought positive change to their situation. The gas incident can therefore be understood as an event that broke the ongoing negative pattern of the ineffective professional help. In addition, it broke the negative behavioural pattern within the family. The gas incident could therefore be seen as a source of energy that allowed the whole MPF-system to move into a different direction. This illustrates how escalation and crisis can, somewhat contradictory, function as a positive change-event. As stated, the family evaluates the involvement of the ZVH as the cause for the improvement of their situation. The next paragraph will analyse what exactly has contributed to the improvement of the family's situation. The aspects that the family members positively evaluated will

be central to the analysis. If considered relevant, it will also incorporate the evaluations of the involved district agent and process manager.

5.3.2 Factors for change: understanding the fit

Self-organisation

The main aspect that, according to the family, brought change to the situation of the family was the ZVH's attention for their perspective and needs. The family members additionally appreciated the human approach of the ZVH and the commitment to their cause. For the first time, they felt understood and listened too. The ZVH helped them to arrange their basic needs, such as housing, work, and a stable financial situation. All family members describe that by solving their main concerns there was created a more stable and calm situation was created, which allowed them to make a new start. It lowered the family tensions and helped them to restore their family relations. The father describes how the stability and calmness enabled him to work on his addiction. The family describes how the inclusion of their perspective and the fulfilment of their basic needs allowed them to take back control over their lives.

As explained above, according to the principle of self-organisation, a lack of attention for the perspective and needs of an MPF could result in a misfit with the family's self-organising capacity and cause resistance. An approach aimed at changing the behaviour or the structure of an MPF should therefore try to match with the perspective and intentions of the family members. In other words, it should aim to *tap into* the self-organising capacity of the MPF. In this way the family's motivation can be used as fuel to create changes. Creating conditions that stimulate the self-organising capacity of an MPF can also contribute to a chain reaction of positive changes.

Through the inclusion of the family's perspective in deciding which actions would have the highest potential to create a successful outcome, the ZVH acknowledged the self-organising capacity of the family. By addressing the basic needs of the family, such as housing, stable and calm conditions were created that increased the family's resilience and allowed the family to improve their own situation. The ZVH efforts can therefore be understood as actions that tapped into the self-organising capacity of the family. In this way, the efforts realised a better fit between the PSD of the family and the professional actions. The ZVH's acknowledgement of the family's self-organising capacity helps to understand why the family members positively evaluate the ZVH's contribution to the improvement of their situation.

Emergence

The family members positively evaluate how, due to the ZVH involvement, "*It all came together a bit more*" (Mother). The narrative of the involved process manager adds to this. When the case was introduced to the ZVH, the process manager noticed that until that point there had been multiple

specialised organisations that had “*singular contact*” (Process manager) with the family. However, sufficient communication and coordination between the organisations was lacking. Secondly, a complete image of what was going on in the family was lacking. The ZVH-approach therefore started off by developing a coherent image of all the family’s life areas, such as health, work, social relations, and crime and aimed to address these in a coherent fashion. Additionally, an overview of all past and present professional activities was created. Both the family perspective and the professional perspectives were included.

As explained above, according to the principle of emergence the effectivity of the action of a professional does not only depend on its quality, but also on how the other elements in the system react to it. Due to this intertwinement, addressing elements in an isolate fashion is ineffective. For an MPF-approach to be effective it should therefore acknowledge and anticipate to the emergence of the system’s elements. This means that it should approach the family issues and the professional actions in its totality.

The creation of overview of all life areas and professional actions illustrates how the ZVH started off by creating a holistic overview of the MPF-system. As the family describes, the ZVH brought it all together a bit more and aimed to address the problems within the different life areas in a coherent fashion. The process manager did not focus on an individual part of the problem but gathered information through the family members in order to understand what was really going on. Through creating an overview of the professional actions, it also acknowledged the effects of the individual actions towards each other and the outcomes for the family. In this way the ZVH payed attention to the intertwinement of the system’s elements. As stated before, acknowledging the intertwinement between the system’s elements is a crucial for the creation of an approach that fits the complex nature of MPFs. The ZVH’s attention for emergence therefore helps to understand why the ZVH-approach, according to the family, contributed to the improvement of their situation.

Co-evolution

The family members describe how the ZVH was able to overcome most of the problems they previously experienced with counteracting professional actions. The process manager describes how at the start she noticed that, due to the “*singular contact*” (process manager), some of the individual professional actions had an opposing effect to each other. The ZVH recognised and addressed this problem by stimulating effective combinations and the alignment professional actions into one shared plan to increase the success of each action. The process manager describes this as ‘tying up’ professional advices and actions into an integrated approach. Some individual professional strategies and actions were adjusted to prevent a counteracting effect. This required a collective process of analysing and goal setting with the involved professionals. Furthermore, the ZVH stimulated the professionals to collectively prioritise actions that could positively influence later actions. For

example, by giving the priority to solving the financial problems of the family because it positively increases the effect of the following addiction treatment.

As the principle of emergence has shown, the effectivity of a professional action does not only depend on its quality, but also on how the other elements in the system react to it. In other words, interventions do not develop separately from each other but co-evolve with each other and their environment. The principle of co-evolution helps to understand how actions and interventions mutually influence each other's development. In the case of interferential co-evolution, different professional systems hamper the positive effect of each other's actions. When professional systems increase the positive effect of each other's actions this can be understood as symbiotic co-evolution.

The principle of co-evolution helps to understand why, according to the family members, the ZVH-approach was able to bring positive change to the family situation. The ZVH noticed and addressed the counteracting effects of the previous professional actions, which could be understood as the active prevention of interferential co-evolution. Furthermore, the ZVH facilitated a process in which the professional's actions were aligned in such a way that they positively empowered each other. The ZVH facilitated a collective analysing and goal setting process to create insight into which action should be prioritised to empower the other actions. The financial problems were deliberately prioritised because a stable financial situation would increase the effect of the addiction treatment. These efforts improved the fit between the different professional actions and stimulated symbiotic co-evolution.

Boundary spanning

According to the family, the ZVH functioned as a trustworthy and committed central point of contact, which allowed them to express their needs and helped them to communicate with the involved organisations. In addition, the ZVH functioned as a translator for the family and helped to understand the complicated, often juridical, information coming from the involved organisations. According to the district agent, the ZVH maintained a close relationship with the family and the involved professionals which contributed to the success. According to the process manager, creating the right connections was crucial for the approach. The ZVH therefore introduced the right professionals to each other in a physical meeting and created awareness about their tasks, interests and interdependencies. The ZVH also stimulated the sharing of information, insights and the creation of a timeline in order to collectively analyse the case in its totality. Furthermore, during the plan making the professionals were stimulated to put the issue central and to think beyond their own tasks in order to avoid counteracting effects of professional actions. The district agent emphasises the importance of the process manager's director function, which governed the collaboration and kept it moving forward. The district agent also describes how the ZVH perseverance to create unconventional arrangements for the family contributed to the approach's success. The family members also describe

that the ZVH was able to open doors that had remained close to them before, such as arranging a new house and social assistance benefit within a very short time.

The principle of boundary spanning helps to analyse the contribution of these ZVH efforts. Boundary spanning activities are aimed at creating a better fit between systems and their environment by influencing the interactions between these systems. Through boundary spanning activities it is attempted to move beyond the boundaries of organisations and to stimulate collaboration by connecting them. It can be understood as a strategy to overcome the negative effects of fragmentation. Connecting professionals from diverse organisations and the stimulation of collaboration are acts of boundary spanning. Boundary spanners also motivate professionals to move to the edge of their organisation in order to come up with innovative solutions. They stimulate the exchange of information and collective diagnosis. Furthermore, boundary spanners coordinate work processes to align professional actions and to prevent counteracting effects. Breaking through red tape and doing what is necessary instead of following protocols are tools that boundary spanners use to move an issue forward despite bureaucratic obstacles.

The process manager started off by understanding each PSD and interest, including that of the family. The process manager analysed where the PSDs conflicted and addressed it. This could be understood as an act of boundary spanning in which the ZVH acted as a mediator between the involved actors. Furthermore, the process manager's activities, such as creating awareness about all tasks and interdependencies, and the act of motivating professionals to think and work beyond their own organisation, strongly resemble with boundary spanning activities. Acting as a translator between the family members and professionals and using perseverance to break through red tape in order to arrange unconventional actions, can additionally be understood as boundary spanning activities. The coordinating efforts of the process manager can be understood as a helicopter view which allowed moving from individual PSDs towards an approach that spanned across the organisational boundaries. The ZVH's trustworthy relationship with the family could be understood as a factor that increased the ZVH capabilities to do boundary spanning. The boundary spanning activities of the process manager therefore help to understand why the ZVH contributed to the creation of an integrated approach that resulted in better family circumstances. The ZVH-activities could be understood as an act of boundary spanning that has contributed to the realisation of a better fit between the world of the family, that of the involved professionals, and among the professionals themselves.

5.3.3 Obstacles for change

Co-evolution

The family members and the process manager describe how during the ZVH-approach they were confronted with several obstacles. First of all, despite the connecting activities and the efforts to 'tie up' the professionals' actions, the family and the ZVH continued to experience some counteracting

effects of professional activities. The family experienced obstacles with complicated rules and bureaucracy of the involved organisation. For example, their debt restructuring program was ended after the family had checked the wrong box on a form. The problems this caused for their financial stability challenged the whole ZVH-plan. The ZVH-approach was confronted with more problems and opposing effects due to actions and decisions that were made outside of the ZVH-approach. For example, when the court decided to deviate from the ZVH advice and plan concerning the father's treatment.

As stated, the principle of emergence shows how the outcomes of an approach do not only depend on its quality but also on how other elements in the environment react to it. As a consequence, actions and interventions co-evolve and mutually influence each other's development. When different professional systems hamper the positive effect of each other's actions, this can be seen as interferential co-evolution.

The obstacles that the process manager and the family members experienced during the ZVH-approach could be understood as examples of interferential co-evolution. However, this interferential co-evolution was not caused by opposing actions inside of the ZVH collaboration, but due to actions from the outside. The actions of the depth restructuring program and of the court did not match with the ZVH-plan. The interferential co-evolution can therefore be understood as a misfit between the ZVH-approach and the actions of actors who were not part of the ZVH collaboration.

Emergence

The process manager describes how some obstacles for the ZVH-approach to MPFs are caused by missing care parties. According to her, their ZVH-approach has a relatively strong focus on security. The inclusion of more care providing parties would allow the ZVH-approach to become more integrated and effective. The district agent also describes how the ZVH-approach is mostly influenced by the security side of the organisations that surround an MPF. According to him, the ZVH-approach could be improved through a closer involvement of care providing organisations. The presence of delegates instead of executive professionals in the ZVH collaboration is additionally seen as an obstacle. The process manager describes how the ZVH aimed to improve the situation of the whole family. However, their strategy was mainly focused on the father, less direct attention was given to the other family members. The process manager describes this as an obstacle.

As stated, the principle of emergence shows how, due to the intertwinement of system elements, an approach that addresses the elements in a separate fashion becomes ineffective. For an MPF-approach to be effective, it should therefore acknowledge and anticipate to the emergence of the system's elements. This means that an MPF-approach should address the family's issues and the professional actions in its totality.

The obstacles described by the process manager and district agent mostly concern the lack of inclusion of important actors, such as executive and care professionals, for the creation of a fully

integrated approach. It additionally concerns the obstacle of a rather incomplete family approach. The principle of emergence helps to understand why these factors are seen as obstacles: when crucial actors are missing in the approach, the issue is not addressed in its totality.

Self-organisation

The family members describe how some obstacles prevent them to move forward during the time of the ZVH involvement. For example, when the father was ready to work on his addiction but had to wait for a treatment for months. The process manager describes how the lack of available care hampered the family's development. The father and mother currently also feel blocked in their wish to move forward due to the legacy of their completed debt restructuring process that prevents them from buying a house in a less problematic neighbourhood. The district agent also describes this as an obstacle and argues that a tailor-made approach would benefit the wellbeing of the family, while, due to their past, they are currently held back in their restart.

As stated, the principle of self-organisation shows that an approach aimed at changing the behaviour or the structure of an MPF should try to match with the perspective and intentions of the family members. Tapping into the self-organising capacity of the MPF could stimulate positive change while an approach that opposes the will of an MPF could cause resistance. However, the uniqueness of the needs of an MPF in order to positively change their situation might require non-standard solutions or policies. This creates an extra challenge obtaining a match between the family's needs and possible solutions.

The principle of self-organisation helps to understand the obstacles. Despite the family's motivation to change, the development of the family was hampered due to unavailability of suitable help and waiting lists. The unavailability of suitable help and the waiting list made it impossible to use the self-organising capacity of the family as a fuel to create change. In fact, the family felt slowed down on their way forward. Despite the fact that the family was in a debt restructuring programme for a reason, the legacy of the programme hampers their current wish to move forward. The obstacles can be understood as a misfit between the available supply and policies versus the self-organising capacity of the family.

It is all about the fit

The family case analysis has identified activities and processes that contributed or hampered the development of a successful MPF-approach. All of the actions share a common theme: fit. The pre-ZVH analysis has shown the hampering effect of the misfit between the PSDs of the family and the professionals. Furthermore, it emphasises the misfit between fragmented pre-ZVH professional actions and the intertwined nature of the family's issues. In contrast, the analysis of the ZVH-efforts has shown the value of the realisation of a fit between the PSDs of the family and the professionals. In addition, it emphasises the value of a better match between the ZVH-approach and the emergent

nature of the issue. The complexity principles that most strongly contribute to the understanding of these (mis)fits are self-organisation, emergence, co-evolution and finally, boundary spanning. These principles will now be applied to a selection of the building blocks and bottlenecks that result from the interviews with the process managers.

5.4 Reviewing the building blocks and bottlenecks of the process managers

The family case analysis illustrates which conditions can be created, and understood in terms of complexity, to improve the situation of an MPF. In this way the family case study emphasised the importance of four complexity principles: self-organising capacity, emergence, co-evolution and boundary spanning. However, this study found ten additional building blocks and bottlenecks that, according to the interviewed process managers, influence how the individual PSDs unfold into an integrated approach that fits the MPF-issue. As described in paragraph 5.2, the building blocks and bottlenecks touch upon several complexity principles. As stated, the scope of this study does not allow conducting an in-depth analysis that is required to thoroughly understand the explanatory content of the complexity principles. However, the family case analysis and the four explanatory complexity principles, accentuate four building blocks and four bottlenecks that are further discussed.

Self-organisation – The need for tailor made & demand-centred supply

The family case analysis illustrates how the limited effect of the help that was offered to the family members before the ZVH-involvement can be explained by the fact that it did not match with their needs. Furthermore, the case illustrates how the ZVH departed from the family's needs and motivation and was able to contribute to their wellbeing. However, the case analysis shows how the unavailability of suitable help and waiting lists later on challenged the ZVH's intentions to stimulate the family's resilience. Thus, the family case analysis emphasises the importance of an approach that taps into the self-organising capacity of the family members. These insights confirm the relevance of a tailor-made and demand-centred approach, which is described as a building block by all process managers. It additionally confirms how unfit supply, such as unsuitable treatments, can form an obstacle for the development of an integrated approach for an MPF, which is described as a bottleneck by most of the process managers.

Emergence – The need for a systemic approach

The family case analysis illustrates how the help that was offered to the family members before the ZVH-involvement did not contribute to their wellbeing due to the lack of a complete overview of the whole MPF-system, including the sub-problems and fragmented actions of the professionals. Furthermore, the case illustrates how the ZVH contributed to the wellbeing of the family due to the overview that was created of the different professional actions. Additionally, it aimed to address the

problems within the different life areas of the family in a coherent fashion. However, the results also illustrate how missing care professionals, executive actors and the lack of equal attention towards all family members, presented obstacles for the ZVH-approach. Thus, the case analysis emphasises the importance of an approach that acknowledges the emergence of the system elements. These insights confirm the importance of a systemic approach, towards the family and towards the involved professionals, and are described as a building block by the majority process managers. The case analysis insights additionally confirm how the lack of a systemic approach can be an obstacle for the development of an integrated approach, which is also described as a bottleneck by the majority of the process managers.

Co-evolution & Boundary spanning – The need for activities that stimulate synergy

The case analysis illustrates how the ZVH contributed to the wellbeing of the family because it was able to stimulate effective combinations of professional actions by adjusting and prioritising them in such a way that they increased each other's effect. However, the case analysis additionally shows how counteracting effects can continue to exist due to actions outside of the ZVH collaboration. The case analysis therefore emphasises the importance of an approach that takes into account possible interferential co-evolution and that actively stimulates symbiotic co-evolution. These insights confirm the relevance of a synergetic approach, which is described as a building block by all process managers. Additionally, it confirms how fragmentation, described as a bottleneck by all process managers, can form an obstacle for the development of an integrated approach.

Furthermore, the case analysis emphasises how certain ZVH-activities, such as giving direction, creating awareness of all interests, tasks and interdependencies, and motivating professionals to think beyond their own task contribute to the development of an integrated approach. Moreover, the case analysis illustrates the importance of the ZVH's perseverance to create unconventional arrangements for the family. These insights emphasise the value of boundary spanning activities. The case analysis therefore confirms the relevance of the activities described by all process managers, such as maintaining a helicopter view and connecting and introducing actors, which according to them contribute to the creation of a synergetic approach. Finally, the insights of the case analysis confirm the value of a wide scope of action, described as a building block by thirteen process managers. It additionally confirms the challenges of a limited scope of actions, described as a bottleneck by eleven process managers.

Reviewing the analysis

This final part of the analysis chapter illustrates the connection between the family case and four of the process managers' building blocks and bottlenecks for the creation of an integrated approach. Additionally, it emphasises the explanatory value of the complexity principles: self-organising capacity, emergence, co-evolution and boundary spanning. However, in order to thoroughly

understand the relationship between these building blocks, bottlenecks and the outcomes of an MPF-approach, further research is required. However, the overall analysis of the results in chapter 5 illustrates that the creation of an integrated approach is more than the realisation of fit between the PSDs of individual professionals. In addition, this chapter reveals the importance of the realisation of fit between the PSDs of family members and professionals. Overall, it emphasises the need to create fit between the complex nature of the MPF-issue and the integrated approach that aims to address it.

Chapter 6: Conclusion & Discussion

6.1 Conclusion

Based on the analyses of the interviews with sixteen process managers, one district agent and three family members, this study answers the following research question: *How do problem definitions and possible solutions for MPFs evolve in the working processes of the ZVH (aimed to increase collaboration and integrated approaches)?* The conclusions are discussed for each sub-question, starting with sub-question 1 and 2. The analysis of sub-question 4 and 5 has been decisive for the applied focus in the analysis of question three. The conclusions for sub-question 4 and 5 are therefore discussed previous to the conclusions for sub-question 3.

The first sub-question addresses the development of PSDs of professionals and reads as follows: *How do professionals, according to the process managers, individually come to their definition of 'the problem' a family has and the (sets of) solutions they suggest?* Based on the answers of all process managers, it can be concluded that the professionals' PSDs are influenced by their **individual point of reference**. Four elements result to be the most prominent frames or sets of mental filters through which the professionals interpret the family's situation and define their PSD:

1. The individual task, job, position and expertise of professionals.
2. The focus on sub-problems and/or individual family members.
3. The professionals' and organisational interests.
4. The frame and supply of the mother organisation.

The results reveal that the professionals tend to define problems of and solutions for an MPF from their own supply-side. They interpret the situation of the family, within the frame, context and logic of their profession and organisation. This results in the formulation of a PSD that suits the professional's perspective. It illustrates how the professionals, with all good intentions, become prisoned by a rather internal focus. The principle of autopoiesis is quite common in many organisations and proves to be explanatory for the understanding of the monotonous character of the professionals' PSD-processes in this study. Autopoiesis illustrates how the professionals tend to interpret everything on the outside of their organisation within the framework of their organisation. Based on these insights it can therefore be stated that the professionals' PSD-process in this research is subject to autopoiesis. To conclude, this study has found that professionals come to their definition of the problem and suggest possible solutions solely from within the scope of their own task and organisation. As a result, the PSDs of individual professionals are often relatively internal and focus on separate elements of the MPF-issue. This raises questions about how the PSDs of different professionals relate to each other. These questions are dealt with under sub-question 2.

The second sub-question addresses the relationship between the PSDs of individual professionals: *How do the individual problem definitions and suggested solutions of the professionals*

relate to each other according to the process managers? Based on the results, it can be concluded that the dynamic between the professionals' PSDs is characterised by **divergence**. The results indicate that professionals uphold different or conflicting ideas about what the problems of and solutions for MPFs are. Moreover, this study reveals that the PSD of professionals additionally diverge in terms of interests, priorities and logics. For example, the interest of a housing cooperation professional is to solve the nuisance caused by a family through house eviction, while the involved care professional is dedicated to preventing the same family from becoming homeless. The intensity of divergence between PSDs differs and is influenced by the characteristics of the professionals, such as the ability to adopt a broader perspective. Furthermore, the PSDs of professionals from similar organisations are evaluated as less divergent.

Once more, the principle of autopoiesis helps to understand how the PSDs of professionals relate. As stated, professionals depart from their own frame and logic when they come to their PSD. Due to autopoiesis, a PSD might seem rational within the organisational context of the professional who is defining it, but irrational for a professional who upholds a different logic. The misfit between the professionals' logic explains the diverging or even conflicting character of PSDs. Professionals from similar organisations uphold similar frames and logics: this fit explains the less diverging character of their PSDs. The ability to adopt a broad perspective enables to develop less internally focused PSDs, which explains the influence of personal characteristics towards the level of divergence. This study reveals how the principle of autopoiesis explains the relationship between the PSDs of individual professionals, which appear to diverge. To conclude, the problem definitions and suggested solutions of the professionals do not relate to each other, as they often diverge or even conflict. The divergent dynamic between the professionals' PSDs can be understood as a misfit. This challenges the formulation of an integrated approach in which the goal is to close the gaps between the professional actions.

The results for sub-question 1 and 2 raise questions about the suitability of the autopoietic PSDs and the nature of the MPF -issue. The autopoietic character of the PSDs can be valuable for the development of expertise and specialised knowledge that is required to solve the MPF-issue. However, the internal focus of the PSDs raises questions about what happens when families, or their problems, do not fit into any of the professionals' PSD (previously addressed by Joosse-Bil et al., 2019). Because the professionals' PSDs mirror their expertise, organisation's supply, and the for that professional relevant sub-problem, the PSD-process resembles with the ideal of problem-solving. In line with this ideal, each professional focusses on a component of the MPF-issue and uses its expertise and available solutions to address it. This study critically reflects upon the idea of problem-solving as a preferred strategy for defining and addressing the issue of MPF. The critique is that this simplifying and demarcating strategy does not suit the complexity of the MPF-issue. There seems to be a misfit between the demarcating and focussing nature of the professionals' PSD-process and the wicked nature of the MPF-issue. Furthermore, the professionals' focus on a part of the issue that fits their

internal core-business (autopoiesis) challenges the fit between the PSDs of individual professionals. Because every professional is part of another organisation, with its own core-business, the whole of actions is rather fragmented. As a result, the relationship between the set of PSDs used by individual professionals is diverging instead of converging. The PSDs cannot be matched easily with the PSDs of other professionals. The separated processes of establishing a PSD, and the tendency of diverging between PSDs, challenge the application of a more integrated approach that attempts to synchronise the professional actions offered to MPFs.

A challenging question here is what an integrated approach is. In order to increase our knowledge about this, an in-depth family case study has been conducted. This single case study was added to understand when families appreciate professional actions. Sub-question 4 on *How do the family members evaluate the fit between their problem-solution definition and those of the professionals and how do they feel they are approached?* and 5: *How do the professional and the process manager of the case evaluate the attempt to create an integrated approach?* deal with this.

The single family case analysis reveals the importance of the quality of the interaction between the family and the professional approach. The conclusion that can be drawn from the analysis of the three worlds of family, professionals, and process manager, is that integration is not only about synchronizing professional actions, but also and perhaps for a large part about synchronizing between family and professional actions. The single family case indicates that an approach by professionals is partly more appreciated when it fits the already existing family attempts to address their own problems. The case illustrates how professional focus on this fit is not obvious. The answers to questions 4 and 5 are presented here and follow the narrative of the family members: pre-ZVH issues, ZVH factors for change, and ZVH hampering factors.

Pre-ZVH issues

The family case analysis has revealed several pre-ZVH issues. It can be concluded that the family members felt unheard, misunderstood and were unable to find suitable help prior to the ZVH-involvement. This can be understood as a misfit between their PSD and those constructed by the professionals involved. In addition, it can be understood as a consequence of a lack of approaches that tapped into their **self-organising capacity**. This emphasises how overlooking positive powers within a family system that can make a difference hampers success.

Furthermore, the results reveal that the pre-ZVH actions were conducted in a fragmented way and targeted only a selection of sub-problems. The principle of **emergence** explains why, for many years, the actions of the individual professionals did not contribute to the improvement of the overall situation of the family: a holistic overview of the MPF-system, including the sub-problems and actions of the professionals, was lacking. This can be understood as a misfit between the professionals' fragmented actions and the emergent wicked nature of the family's issues.

Moreover, it can be concluded that the escalation of the family situation resulted to be a **positive change-event**. It broke the ongoing negative behavioural pattern within the family and introduced the family to the ZVH, which resulted to be the first step into the realisation of a more fit approach.

ZVH factors for change

The family case analysis has additionally revealed factors that contributed to the improvement of the family situation. First of all, it can be concluded that the ZVH's inclusion of the family's perspective and the ZVH's resilience-increasing actions contributed to the improvement of the family situation. The success of these actions can be explained due to the fact that they tapped into the **self-organising capacity** of the family. It can be concluded that this contributed to the creation of a better fit between the PSD of the professionals and of the family members.

Furthermore, this study has revealed that the creation of a holistic overview of all problem elements, including professional actions and family life areas, contributed to the success of the ZVH-approach. The success of these actions can be explained due to the approach's acknowledgement of the **emergence** of the system's elements. In this way, the efforts contributed to the fit between the overall professional approach and the intertwined wicked nature of the MPF-issue.

Moreover, this study has found that the prevention of counteracting effects and the stimulation of positive empowerment of actions contributed to the improvement of the family's situation. The principle of symbiotic co-evolution contributes to the understanding of the success of these actions. Based on the case analysis, it can be concluded that the stimulation of **symbiotic co-evolution** improved the fit between the professional actions.

Finally, it can be concluded that the ZVH's connecting activities, such as stimulating information exchange, breaking through red tape, and functioning as a translator between the family and professionals contributed to the success of the ZVH-approach. It can be concluded that these activities created a better fit between the professionals, and between the worlds of the family and those of the involved professionals. These insights emphasise the value of **boundary spanning activities and actors**. Boundary spanners are actors that move beyond the boundaries of organisations to connect them and to realise a better fit between the organisations' environments.

ZVH hampering factors

Despite the success of the ZVH-approach in this unique case, it can be concluded that the ZVH-plan and the family's development remained to be hampered by professional actions, but in this case from outside the ZVH-collaboration. Complexity theory labels these negative effects as **interferential co-evolution** from outside of the ZVH. This once more emphasises the heavily crowded professional scene around MPFs. Even when we are facing a deliberate attempt to come to an integrated strategy, there still can emerge misfits with professional actions of actors and bureaucratic rules outside the

ZVH-collaboration. This emphasises how the world of professionals consists of systems in systems and systems, where nobody is in charge and where a lot happens in a not integrated way.

This also works the other way around. In any integrated attempt there will almost always be missing actors. The case analysis reveals that missing actors in the professional field, such as executive and care professionals, hamper the positive effects of the ZVH-approach. The principle of **emergence** explains these obstacles: when crucial family members and professionals are not included in the approach, the emergent issue is not addressed in its totality. An additional quality of integrated approaches therefore has to be its emergent and adaptive capacity: who did we overlook, how can we find them and quickly integrate them in joint actions?

Finally, this study has found that the family's positive development was hampered due to the unavailability of suitable help. Questions for support are often managed in a linear way, creating waiting lists. As a consequence, the family experienced a misfit between the available support and their self-organising capacity. This additionally hampered the ZVH to use the self-organising capacity of the family as fuel for change.

In summary, sub-question 4 and 5 can be answered as follows. The family members negatively evaluate the fit between their problem-solution definition and those of the professionals. Furthermore, they negatively evaluate the way they were approached previously to the involvement of the ZVH. The complexity principles of self-organisation as a crucial prerequisite for effective interventions and the absence of emerging and adapting capacities most strongly contribute to the understanding of this misfit. The family members positively evaluate the situation where their PSDs and those of the professionals synchronized. This could sound like an open door. The case however reveals that awareness about this symbiotic quality is not naturally present in the professional world. The family members, district agent and process manager all positively evaluate the overall ZVH-approach. This study has revealed that the complexity principles of self-organisation, emergence, symbiotic co-evolution and boundary spanning most strongly contribute to the understanding of this improved fit. At the same time the world of care and justice is bigger and the respondents negatively evaluate the hampering actions of professionals outside the ZVH-collaboration. The complexity principle of self-organisation, emergence and interferential co-evolution most strongly contribute to the understanding of this misfit.

The last sub-question: *How do the individual problem definitions and solutions unfold into a collaborative approach and what are the building blocks and bottlenecks experienced by the process managers for an integrated and effective approach?* generates a list of building blocks and bottlenecks that relate to one or more complexity principles (presented below in table 5). A more in-depth analysis of all building blocks and bottlenecks is required to understand the explanatory power of the principles. The family case analysis, and its four explanatory complexity principles, confirm the relevance of four categories of building blocks and bottlenecks that are now discussed.

The family case supports the idea that professional approaches have to tap into the **self-organising capacity** of the family members. This confirms the relevance of a tailor-made and demand-centred approach. All process managers underline the importance of this building block. The rather common supply-approach is identified as a bottleneck for integrated and co-evolving approaches.

Furthermore, the analysis provides additional evidence for the need for **emergent** approaches able to add actors and elements when needed. This confirms the value of a systemic approach to the family as well as to the system of involved professionals. A majority of process managers refers to this building block. They also identify the lack of a systemic approach as a bottleneck for an integrated approach.

Additionally, it can be concluded that the case analysis emphasises the importance of an approach that is aware of possible **interferential co-evolution** and that actively stimulates **sybiotic co-evolution**. This confirms the relevance of a synergetic approach, which is described as a building block by all process managers. It also confirms how fragmentation, which is described as a bottleneck by all process managers, is an obstacle for the development of an integrated approach.

Finally, the case analysis once more reveals the need for **boundary spanning activities**. This confirms the relevance of the activities described by all process managers, such as maintaining a helicopter view and connecting and introducing actors, which according to them contribute to a more synergetic approach. In addition, the family case analysis' emphasis on boundary spanning confirms the value of a wide scope of action, such as cutting through red tape, which is described as a building block by thirteen process managers. The importance of boundary spanning also confirms the challenges of a limited scope of actions, which is described as a bottleneck by eleven process managers.

In conclusion, the process managers describe ten building blocks and bottlenecks that influence how the individual problem definitions and solutions unfold into an integrated approach. The family case analysis, and its four explanatory complexity principles, confirm the relevance of four categories of building blocks and bottlenecks highlighted in the table below.

Table 5: Overview building blocks, bottlenecks & complexity principles

<u>Bottleneck</u>	<u>Building block</u>	<u>Complexity principle</u>
Late start collaboration	Early start collaboration	Hysteresis
Fragmented approach	Synergetic approach	Co- evolution

<u>Bottleneck</u>	<u>Building block</u>	<u>Complexity principle</u>
Fragmented analysing and goal setting	Collective analysing and goal setting	Autopoiesis
Lack of capacity and resources	Sufficient capacity and resources	Hysteresis & redundancy
Unfit help/supply	Tailor-made and demand-centred supply	Self-organisation & redundancy
Limited scope of action	Wide scope of action	Boundary spanning & emergence
Lack of information exchange	Intensive information exchange	Autopoiesis
Lack of systemic approach to: -professionals & organisations -family*	Systemic approach to: -professionals & organisations -family*	Systemic perspective & emergence
Unfavourable professional characteristics	Favourable professional characteristics	Boundary spanning & path dependency
Lack of long-term solutions	Long-term solutions and search for underlying problems	Emergence & systemic perspective

* (lack of) systemic approach to family, and to professionals & organisations result to be two separate building blocks and bottlenecks but are merged into one category.

In summary, it can be stated that the problem definitions and possible solutions for MPFs evolve in many different ways. The PSDs of professionals that are involved with MPFs evolve from their own core. The professionals' individual PSDs resemble with their task and expertise, and focus on their individual clients within a family system. This is understood as the consequence of a PSD-process, in which the professionals apply the logic of their organisations towards the issues of an MPF. As a result, multiple diverging and sometimes conflicting PSDs evolve for one family, in which each PSD emphasises a different element of the issue. This study argues (in line with Joosse-Bil et al., 2019) that approaches that follow the ideal of problem-solving, in which an issue is divided in separated parts and addressed by experts, does not suit the complex, wicked and fluid nature of the MPF-issue. Furthermore, the diverging and sometimes even conflicting relationship between the PSDs of individual professionals, challenges the fit between the PSDs of individual professionals and the creation of an integrated collaborative approach for MPFs. In order to increase our knowledge about this, a list of building blocks and bottlenecks has been created of which four categories have been

enlightened and confirmed by an in-depth family case study. Based on these insights four recommendations can be made for the development of approaches to MPFs. These are presented in paragraph 6.3.

6.2 Discussion

Theoretical discussion

This research has been explorative and did not start with a comprehensive list of expectations. However, the findings confirm several existing insights generated in complexity approaches. Based on the theory of wicked problems, this study has argued that the MPF-issues are complex. The MPF-issue extends across a wide variety of actors who define the problem and possible solution from their own point of reference, and bring along diverge and sometimes conflicting insights. Moreover, the results support the argument that the PSD-process of individual professionals is influenced by factors, such as their individual tasks, job, expertise, interests, and their mother organisation (Dunn, 2012; Chapman, 2002; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

Additionally, this study confirms how professionals, despite all good intentions, tend to focus on that part of an issue that suits the task of their own organisation (Teisman, 2017). The results highlight how the problem of the MPFs may be defined in relation to availability of a solution within a professionals' organisation (Teisman, 2000). The revealed building blocks and bottlenecks support the argument that collaboration between actors with diverging perspectives, institutional backgrounds, norms and methods does not happen naturally (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Moreover, this highlights the existing complexity insights (Joosse-Bil et al., 2019) on the obstacles and factors for change in the address of MPFs. Altogether, this study confirms the relevance of the complexity principles, such as self-organising capacity and emergence, and the overall complexity perspective as a relatively new tool to analyse the wicked problem of MPFs.

The validating character of this study is valuable. However, it does not strongly expand the existing insights. The main contribution of this research therefore results from the explorative value of the family case study. To the best of the author's knowledge, no previous MPF-case studies exist that apply the complexity perspective and include the perspective of the family members. Despite the vulnerability of the single case study, the results offer explorative insights about which conditions can be created, and understood in terms of complexity, in order to formulate a collaborative integrated approach that suits the wicked nature of the MPF-issue. More specifically, this study suggests four practical factors that can be used to address the issue of MPFs in a way that moves beyond the ideal of problem-solving and contributes to a fit between the MPF-system elements. In this way, this study offers explorative insights to which steps, in theory and practice, can be valuable for the future. The analysis of this study's 'real life'-case is therefore a valuable addition to the existing findings this study confirms. To the best of the author's knowledge, the analysis of the MPF-issue through the

study of PSDs, and how these come together, is a new way to approach wicked problems. Wicked issues are characterised by the existence of multiple perspectives on what the problem actually is and how it should be solved. The study of PSDs, and how these come together, therefore suits the nature of wicked problems. This adds to the explorative theoretical contribution and value of this research.

Strengths and limitations

Each face-to-face interview has been held in a location that was familiar to and comfortable for the respondent. This contributes to the ecological validity of this study as it resembles the day-to-day reality. This especially has been the case for the family members that were visited in their home, which created a safe setting for them to describe their personal, emotional and even criminal, experiences. The researcher's visit to the family's home is a strength because it is not something that is very often included in scientific research on MPFs. Furthermore, the inclusion of the MPF-case has enabled to analyse the explanatory value of four complexity principles, which also adds to the strength of this research. However, the focus on the MPF-case analysis also presents a limitation because the remaining complexity principles and the majority of the bottleneck and building blocks have remained untouched in this study.

As is often the case for qualitative studies of this sort, the external validity in this research is rather low. This is since the results are based on a relatively small group of respondents. This makes the conclusions relevant for the research population, however they cannot be generalised outside of this group. The time and scope in which this study was conducted limited the possibility to replicate the research in order to increase the level of trustworthiness. To compensate this, the coding scheme of the data has been included in the appendix. The audit trail of this study and the anonymised primary sources can be provided upon request.

The nature of the respondent group could present a limitation for this study as it does not include all ZVH-process managers. To partly compensate this limitation, process managers from eight different ZVH-locations have been included of which only two located in the same province. Moreover, the fact that only one family case has been analysed makes the results vulnerable and presents a limitation. An additional limitation could be that the majority of the respondents who were asked to evaluate the collaboration processes are part of the ZVH-approach themselves. Awareness of a possible insider-bias is therefore required. Furthermore, this study requires awareness about the possibility that the respondents, including the family members, may tend to more negatively evaluate actions that took place outside of their own responsibility.

Another limitation of the selection of the respondents could be that most of them applied for research participation themselves, which means that the perspectives of less assertive or committed respondents might have been left out. The use of snowball sampling for the selection of the family members and the professional suits the budget, scope and time of this study. However, the researchers' control over this specific sampling method is limited and complete insight of the process

managers' motivation to refer this specific family case may be lacking. Sufficient time and resources would allow to overcome these limitations and to conduct a more random sample.

Further research

With this research there has been taken a next step into the study of MPFs from a complexity perspective. However, further research can be of great value in this relatively untouched field. The previous discussion has raised questions that can be addressed in future research. First of all, more examples of integrated approaches towards MPFs need to be studied in order to analyse to what extent the four factors, that result to be explanatory for the creation of an approach that suits the complex nature of MPFs, can be confirmed or reinforced. In addition, a more in-depth analysis of all ten building blocks and ten bottlenecks is required in order to research the explanatory value of all the complexity principles for these results. A large number of case studies would additionally allow to research the connections between the bottlenecks and building blocks and to draw more generally applicable and more substantiated conclusions. This is required in order to further develop the complexity perspective as a theory for the understanding of the issue of MPF.

To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first research that applied the complexity perspective towards an MPF-case that included the perspective of the family members themselves. For this reason, each extra MPF-case study that further analyses the explanatory value of the complexity principles, would have a contributing value to the explorative character of this research. Furthermore, the study of the MPF-issue through the analysis of PSDs, and how these come together, additionally is a relatively new way to address wicked problems. Future research could therefore expand this approach by applying it to more MPF-cases or other wicked problems. Furthermore, the use of (participative) observation as a method to collect data during the collaborative ZVH-meetings would allow gaining understanding about the professionals' PSDs from a different angle. It could also be interesting to further analyse the role of fit-realisation within the context of other wicked problem-solving initiatives. This could contribute to further develop the idea of fit-realisation as a theory and practical approach for wicked problem-solving.

6.3 Recommendations

Based on the results and conclusions of this study several recommendations can be made. A first general recommendation is to acknowledge the complexity of the MPF-issue. This requires to create awareness about how individual PSDs evolve and to acknowledge the existence of multiple, and sometimes diverging, frames and perspectives towards the problem of and solutions for an MPF. Four more specific recommendations listed below can be used as practical tools for the formulation or further development of an integrated ZVH-approach towards MPFs. This study argues that an approach that uses these four factors as a model to address the issue of MPF goes beyond the ideal of

problem-solving. When these four complexity principles are taken into account, the MPF-issue is no longer fragmented, defined and addressed in sub-problems but countered in its totality. However, each MPF-case is unique. The applicability of these recommendations may therefore vary from case to case.

Fit realising recommendations

1. Tap into the self-organising capacity of the family members

Focus on increasing the family's resilience by offering a tailor-made approach that suits their own ambitions and ability to fulfil them their selves by using their existing motivation as fuel to create change. Care and justice actions that support this have a good chance to become effective.

2. Acknowledge the emergence of positive and negative actors and elements in the family system as well as in the professional system

While professionals tend to focus on the single member of a family having the most significant problems, it could be much more effective to address the MPF-issue in its totality by adopting a systemic approach to the family and the professionals, not only looking for negative elements in the family (problem orientation) and positive approaches of professionals, but also looking for positive elements in the family and negative impact from professionals.

3. Stimulate symbiotic co-evolution and be aware of interventional co-evolution in lager systems

A crucial element is the alignment of actions to prevent counter effects of professional activity and to stimulate synergetic outcomes instead. This requires management of the interactions between professionals and a collective analysing and goal setting process in order to create insight into what intervention needs to be prioritised to empower subsequent actions. Among others, process manager can guide this. Nevertheless, an integrated approach is likely to be hampered by professional activity outside of the approach. It is therefore crucial to integrate this element in the system analysis and to be adaptive to hampering outside actions.

4. Use boundary spanning activities

Family, care and justice are systems in systems in systems. From an internal view professionals tend to draw boundaries. These boundaries however are superficial and do not match with the family issues. A crucial element of integrated approaches therefore is to cross deliberate superficial boundaries that hamper effective strategies. Among others, process managers can and should stimulate connection and use perseverance to create a better fit between and among professionals and the family members. Organisations responsible for the care and justice system also should create opportunities for boundary crossing of street level professionals.

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Appendix

I Geographical overview

Geographical overview of the Zorg- & Veiligheidshuizen in The Netherlands.



Source: Veiligheidshuizen (2019)

II Topic list interviews

I Process managers

Introduction questions about function and ZVH:

What do you do?

Can you give some examples of your role in a few specific cases?

Request to keep a recent approach for an MPF in mind:

What kind of case is it?

How does the collaborations start?

Who joins? And why? How is this decided?

How do the professionals view the problem? Where is this based on?

What kind of solutions do they have in mind? Where is this based on?

Why do you think they view it in that way?

How do these problem definitions relate to each other?

How do the solutions relate to each other?

Can you see similarities/differences?

Why do you think they relate in this way?

How did the definition evolve?

What is an effective way to establish an definition which reflects the MPFs problems as a whole?

Which methods are used to get to a joined definition and solution?

Can you tell me about a collaborative effort which you see as successful? What were the characteristics? Why was the collaboration successful?

What are the building blocks for formulating a successful integrative approach?

Can you tell me about a collaborative effort which you see as less successful? What were the characteristics? Why was the collaboration less successful?

What are the bottlenecks for formulating a successful integrative approach?

II Professional

Introduction questions about function and ZVH:

What is your function?

What is your role in the ZVH?

What was your relation towards the family?
Why did the family become subject to the ZVH?
How do you evaluate the approach of the ZVH?
What do you appreciate about the ZVH?
What could be improved?
What is an integrated approach for you?

II Family

Introduction questions about their current situation:

How are you doing?
What is going well and what could be better?

Questions about fit problem definitions and solutions:

What were the main problems?
What did you needed to solve those?
Which institutions/professionals were involved?
Did they see the same problem as you?
Did they propose solutions which you thought were necessary and useful?

Questions about the approach:

How did you feel approached by the professionals and institutions?
What do you think about the ZVH approach?
Did your situation change? If so, why? If not, why not?

III Operationalisation scheme

Development of individual problem definitions and solutions

Problem			Solution			Definition		
Problem-solution definitions (PSDs)								
Interpretative Scheme's								
History	Culture	Goals	Organisational background	Values	Job	Expertise	Available solution	Etc.?

Relationship problem definitions and solutions

Diverging	Converging
Diverse problem definitions	Uniform problem definitions
Diverse conflicting suggested solutions	Uniform suggested solutions
Diverse conflicting interests	Uniform interests
Diverse conflicting priorities	Uniform priorities
Conflict, disagreement, fragmentation	Consensus, reflexivity

Problem-solving vs process management

The ideal of problem-solving	The ideal of process management
Decomposing into sub-problems	Issue as a whole (acknowledge interconnectedness of problem elements)
Focus on efficiency and fast results	Focus on underlying problems and small steps
Focus on individual family members	Focus on family system
Individual expertise	Collective expertise
Separated functions and tasks	Collaboration (acknowledge interdependencies actors)
Framing within existing organisational structures and professions	

<p>Use available methods and solutions (optimise existing efforts)</p> <p>Holding on to individual tasks and responsibilities</p> <p>Static plan</p> <p>Expertise perspective</p>	<p>Putting the issue forward</p> <p>Search for creative and innovative solutions</p> <p>Motivate actors to act beyond their own task</p> <p>Adjust plan along the way</p> <p>Include family perspective</p>
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IV Coding scheme

1 = result is found

0 = result is not found

Results Q1

	Available information	Based on previous events/experiences with clients	Focus on own expertise	Focus on individual client	Focus on own organisation (frame & supply)	Focus on own sub-problem	Focus on own task/job/goal/position	Own interest/priority	Own passion	Own point of reference/perspective/frame of mind	Own vision
R7	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
R6	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
R5	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
R4	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
R3	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
R2	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
R15	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
R14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
R13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
R12	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
R11	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
R10	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
R1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0
R9	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
R8	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
R16	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1

Results Q2

	Diverging/Conflicting solutions	Diverging opinions inside one organisation	Converging depends on personality professional	Converging after working together	Converging due to sharing and focus on final goal	Converging care and security	Diverging interests	Diverging priorities	No one takes ownership of the problem (definition does not suit their task)	Diverging problem definitions	Factors who know family see different problem/priority	Diverging logics (care and security)	Different languages	Lack of understanding about task others
R7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
R6	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
R5	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
R4	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
R3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
R2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
R15	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
R14	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
R13	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
R12	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
R11	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
R10	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
R1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
R9	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
R8	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
R16	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1

Results Q3

	Late start collaboration	Damage is hard to repair	Help and/or collaboration started to late	Early start collaboration	Don't wait to notify about bottlenecks	Early/ continuing communication	Invest in prevention of escalation	Fragmentation & Conflict	Conflicting interventions /actions (care vs security)	Focus on security	Focus on individual family member	Splitting into sub-problems / no overview	Holding on to individual roles	Tunnel vision (professionals & organisations)	Unacknowledged interdependencies
R7	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
R6	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
R5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
R4	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
R3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
R2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
R15	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0
R14	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
R13	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
R12	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
R11	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
R10	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
R1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
R9	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
R8	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
R16	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0

	Holistic & synergy	Approach borders fluidly	Care and Security collaboration (strengthen each other)	Collaboration as a goal on its own	Direction	Put the issue central	One plan for the whole family	Activities process director	Awareness of all interests/ roles	Foundation & Support & Commitment (covenant)	Connect / introduce actors / network	Empatic personal skills (unjudgemental, respectful)	Function as the constant factor	Helicopter view	Motivate actors to think beyond their own tasks	Resolve earlier tensions/ conflicts	
R7	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
R6	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
R5	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
R4	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
R3	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
R2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
R15	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
R14	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
R13	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
R12	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
R11	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
R10	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
R1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
R9	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
R8	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
R16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0

	Lack of systemic approach (family)	Focus on one or two life areas	Focus on only one or two family members	Lack of historic approach	Systemic approach (family)	Historic approach	Include family in plan making process	Intergenerational (include whole family system)	Target all life areas	Lack of systemic approach (professionals & organisations)	Focus on security	Lack of executive professionals (only representatives)	Missing professionals/ organisations	To many actors involved	
R7	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
R6	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
R5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
R4	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
R3	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
R2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
R15	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
R14	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
R13	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
R12	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
R11	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
R10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
R1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
R9	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
R8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
R16	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1

	Systemic approach (professionals & organisations)	De-duplicate	Include all necessary professionals/organisations	Include executive professionals	Invite external experts	Fragmented analysing and goal setting	One dominant definition /goal	Top down analysing /goal setting	Collective analysing and goal setting	Collective Bottom-up process	Combining different problem solution definitions	Consensus forming
R7	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0
R6	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
R5	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
R4	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
R3	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
R2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
R15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
R14	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R13	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
R12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
R11	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
R10	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R1	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
R9	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
R8	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
R16	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0

	Unfavourable professional characteristics	Afraid to step out of role	Deviating from agreement /plan	Another organisation does not motivate to think beyond own task	Putting protocols and rules forward	Wrong doing/Fraud	Favourable professional characteristics	Another organisation motivates to think beyond own task	Professionals are able to work integrated/ think beyond their tasks	Lack of long term solution/ perspective	Fail backs	Focus on putting out fires	Lack of aftercare	Stop when own task is done
R7	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1
R6	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
R5	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
R4	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
R3	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
R2	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
R15	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R14	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
R13	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
R12	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
R11	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1
R10	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
R1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
R9	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
R8	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
R16	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1

	Search for underlying problems	Adjust plan along the way	Detect system errors in collaboration/ interventions	In depth analysis family problems /patterns	Long term perspective	Searching for stagnating factors in policy/ protocols	Small steps	Lack of capacity and resources	Financial cuts	Lack of facilities (residence , housing etc.)	Lack of time	Staff outage (exp. changing family guardians)	Enough capacity and resources	Budget	Create new roles/ functions	Shared office/ facilities	Time
R7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
R6	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
R5	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0
R4	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
R3	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
R2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
R15	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
R14	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
R13	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
R12	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
R11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
R10	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
R1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
R9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
R8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
R16	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1

	Wide scope of action	Monitor agreements	Not putting rules and protocols central	Perseverance / not letting go / escalate to higher authority	Lack of information exchange	No communication between parties	Not aware of possibilities / mean are not used fruitfully	Privacy limitations for info exchange	Intensive information exchange	Create timeline	Invest time in information exchange/ communication	Privacy covenant
R7	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
R6	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
R5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
R4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
R3	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
R2	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
R15	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
R14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
R13	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
R12	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
R11	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
R10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
R1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
R9	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
R8	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
R16	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1

	Unfit help/ supply	Focus on solutions to early	Supply does not suit needs	Supply driven (competition)	Tailor made & demand centered	Commitment of family	Creativity & Innovation	Tailor made solutions	Unconventional actions to generate break through	Limited Scope of Action	Bureaucratic obstacles (rules/ protocols)	Financial 'borders'	Lack of say over other organisations	Municipality borders	Performance measurements
R7	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
R6	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
R5	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1
R4	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
R3	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
R2	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
R15	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
R14	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
R13	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
R12	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
R11	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
R10	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
R1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
R9	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
R8	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
R16	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0