Collaborative Governance: Formula for Success?

A case study on the role of collaborative governance process dynamics and what collaboration produces in the perceived success of De Rekenfaculteit

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Abstract

Increasingly, government relies on collaborative structures in attempt to solve societal issues. This has also made its marks on public administration literature, which frequently highlights the necessity of involving non-state actors in public policy, with theories such as collaborative governance and network governance. This trend of collaboration in the public sector also shows in policy that addresses education, in which an increase in collaborative structures can be noticed. The Rekenfaculteit project is an example of this: several stakeholders collaborate in realization of intensive math tutoring for children in Pendrecht, a neighborhood in the south of Rotterdam. In this research, the collaboration between organizations in realization of Rekenfaculteit project is subject of analysis. The research question is*: How do collaborative governance process dynamics and what collaboration produces relate to its perceived success?*

Several theories on collaborative governance were explored. Different stages of collaborative governance can be identified. Many theories go into the process characteristics of collaboration. Collaborative governance focuses extensively on what elements and characteristics in processes are needed to get to a fruitful collaborative environment. For this, many different frameworks were designed. This research follows Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh's (2012) proposed distinction between types of process components: it consists of communication aspect (principled engagement), a relational (shared motivation) and a functional dimension (capacity for joint action). Furthermore, it is important to look beyond the process of collaboration: without it evolving into products it is unlikely that it is perceived successful. The products of collaboration are not as widely studied as its process dynamics are. A distinction was made between collaborative actions, the impacts these actions make (outcomes) and the ability to alter the process and actions according to its needs (adaptation). Lastly, the question remains what success is. When evaluating collaborative governance as a whole, the tendency is to look at the outcomes of collaboration. Kenis and Provan (2009) stress that different people are likely to use different criteria, in which one is not more valid than others. This paper follows this reasoning. It is frequently emphasized that a high quality process is conditional to achieving success.

Qualitative research was done in order to answer the research question. As mentioned before, the Rekenfaculteit project was used as a case here. Although unique in the sense that collaborative structures in education rarely offer such intensive tutoring to primary school students, it is one of many examples of collaboration in the sector. The case is worth looking into, because it is regarded as quite successful. Eighteen interviews were held and documents were explored. The data that was gathered here was used for analysis.

The findings show that all three components of the process dynamics were present in collaboration. Interviewees were particularly positive about the capacity for joint action: this was established early on and contributed to establishing the other two components: shared motivation and principled engagement. Although these were also thought of in a positive way, they took longer to build and some ongoing issues with the amount of information shared and trust and commitment were noted. Interviewees were positive about the collaborative actions, although areas for improvements are

mentioned. It appears that all three components of the process dynamics were crucial in the realization of the actions: the findings do not show one being more important than the others. With regards to the outcomes, it appears that the program's impact on the environment is considered most important. However, differences occur in what is most important in that aspect: socio-emotional development of the children or cognitive skill improvements. Although overall positive, some interviewees were a more negative about the latter. A belief is shared that the noted outcomes are related to the actions, referring to the tutoring. Adaptation appears a key element in this collaboration: it is said that Rekenfaculteit extensively focuses on improving itself and that many adaptations were made that were helpful in improving the quality of the program. Lastly, the question remains what success is and how this relates to collaborative governance. It appears that success mostly relates to the outcomes. Again, differences occur in what is considered most important here, in line with what was said about the outcomes. But success appears to go beyond just outcomes: the quality of the actions, adaptation and the relational aspect of process dynamics are mentioned as ways to define and measure success. Thus, success most directly relates to the outcomes, but from what it seems other elements play a role here as well. However, for the most part one can see that process dynamics, collaborative actions and adaptive capacity more indirectly relate to success, for the outcomes could not have been achieved without the aid of them.

Preface

It has been a long time coming, but I can now finally say: before you lies my master thesis. This thesis marks the end of my years as a student. Although the process of writing my thesis has not always been the easiest, it definitely was an interesting journey. The same counts for the master program: I have gathered many useful, and practical insights into the world of complex issues and the use of collaborative structures in addressing these. The program and my thesis gave me an interesting view on the limitations of government action and the innovative ideas that this premise brings about. I believe the Rekenfaculteit is one of the many examples of that.

Firstly, I would like to thank Stichting De Verre Bergen and Rekenfaculteit for allowing me to write my master thesis on this project. It was fascinating to see how much thought goes into the realization of this project, and the effort that is put into improving the opportunities for children in Pendrecht. It was truly inspirational. I could not have written any findings without the help of the interviewees. I would like to thank the eighteen people I interviewed for the valuable insights into their perceptions on the Rekenfaculteit and the process surrounding it.

Furthermore, I want to thank Joop Koppenjan, my thesis supervisor, for all the ideas, critical reflections and valuable feedback. In this, Jose Nederhand has also been helpful: I would like to thank her for the feedback on the concept of my thesis. Lastly, I want to say thank you to my family and friends for their support and patience during this process. Now all I have left to say is: I hope you enjoy reading this thesis!

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1. Introduction

1.1 Equality of Opportunity

Realizing equal opportunities in education is an important objective in Dutch public policy (Slob and Van Engelshoven, 2019, p.1-2) Although in the Netherlands disadvantaged children attending primary school are given relatively good support when compared to other countries, this does not mean that everyone succeeds (OECD, 2012). Research has shown that children that have parents that are poorly educated are known to get behind much more frequently than children of parents that received a college education. Also, children of immigrants often show a poorer than average performance. Many children in disadvantaged neighborhoods are, at least to some extent, negatively impacted by both (Rijksoverheid, 2016; Onderwijsraad, 2013). This means that, although in theory children should be offered the same education, they do not get the same opportunities.

Disadvantaged neighborhoods show a larger concentration of people with unfavorable socioeconomic backgrounds. This also reflects in education, and especially in primary schools, as children are usually sent to the primary school closest to their homes (Bakker, 2012). Thus, in attempt to fight inequalities in opportunity special attention is paid to neighborhoods (Slob and Van Engelshoven, 2019). The given that socio-economic factors, such as income and education, negatively impact children's performance in school has been topic of public policy for well over four decades (Onderwijsraad, 2013; Driessen, 2014). The Dutch ministry of Education, Culture and Science annually spends hundreds of millions of euros in attempt to diminish these negative effects. These policies appear to show little to no results (Driessen, 2014). Even if effects are shown the children affected by a poor socio-economic background are still disadvantaged considerably when compared to average (Onderwijsraad, 2013).

1.2 Collaborative Governance

Public policy that aims to improve the disadvantaged position of certain groups in education has been only limitedly successful, despite may attempts (Driessen, 2014). Issues with policy not showing intended effects have not remained unaddressed in public administration literature: since the 1970s Traditional Public Administration, a model that relies heavily on hierarchical structures, has drawn increased criticism for its incapacity of adequately dealing with societal issues (Head and Alford, 2015). The concept that is frequently used to give insights on why policy fails, generates controversy or why it causes unforeseen outcomes is commonly known as **wicked problems** (Head, 2008). Wicked problem theories are built on the premise that top-down hierarchical solutions do not match the pluralistic nature of modern society (Head and Alford, 2015). Instead, theorists highlight how modern-day issues are often marked by high degrees of uncertainty and conflicting values and perceptions (Weber and Khademian, 2008). This results in chaotic processes in which involving many actors often becomes unavoidable (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016).

The recognition that public agencies are incapable of singe-handedly solving complex societal issues, is said to result in intensive interactions between actors (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). This paved the

way for **governance networks** to emerge (ibid.). Governance networks are marked by interdependencies between actors. The idea behind this is that actors, with different interests, will at one point realize that they need each other to govern (Klijn, 2012). Involving actors that are not traditionally involved in public policy making seems better suited to effectively deal with wicked problems (Weber and Khademain, 2008). However, that does not mean that that collaboration is the easier option: the dynamics in governance networks are typically complex and difficult to understand (Bryson, Crosby, Stone, 2015). This is at least partially because actors within governance networks have their own resources, capacity to act and will form their own perceptions of the problems, solutions and how to achieve this. This will cause unpredictability. The idea behind this is that actors will behave strategically in order to achieve their own objectives and will adapt their behavior according to the behavior of others (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). Due to these characteristics, collaborating in governance networks is typically time-consuming and can be very strenuous (Ansell, 2012; Huxham, 2003; Provan and Kenis, 2008). However, it does seem necessary in order to tackle wicked problems (Head and Alford, 2015; Weber and Khademian, 2008; Bryson et al., 2015).

Within governance literature, considerable attention has been paid to **collaborative governance**. Although closely related, collaborative governance distinguishes itself from other governance network theories by stressing a need of effort that should be put in the process in order to arrive at acceptable solutions (Van Buuren, Boons and Teisman, 2012; Ansell and Gash, 2007). It pays extensive attention to interaction and deliberation, and how the actors' differing perspectives, caused by complex issues, can make collaboration a difficult process (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). Collaborative governance can be defined as: "*the processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished,*" (Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh, 2012, p. 2).

Different stages of collaboration can be identified (Chen, 2010; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Collaborative governance and network governance theorists extensively describe initial conditions of collaboration and the process itself (Bryson et al., 2015; Ansell and Gash, 2007). Although progress has been made in understanding outcomes, little agreement appears found on how to evaluate collaboration (Gash, 2016; Bryson et al., 2015). Problematic is that empirical research often only addresses one stage of collaboration (Kenis and Provan, 2009; Chen, 2010). Also, Kenis and Provan (2009) argue that when these process dynamics in relation to outcomes are addressed, the tendency is not to specify what performance means. This is unfavorable, *"because it is likely that while the conditions studied may contribute to one type of performance, they do not necessarily contribute to another type,"* (Kenis and Provan, 2009, p. 442)

1.3 De Rekenfaculteit

Overcoming disadvantages in education has been a wicked issue affecting public policy for decades (Head, 2008). The consequences of this show in policy that aims to address this: collaborative structures are often used in education sector initiatives (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). In the Netherlands, public policy that aims to address the disadvantages, that children negatively impacted by socioeconomic factors experience, leaves a lot of discretionary space to the organizations

responsible, such as schools and municipalities. This is arranged in this way to ensure that policy can be tailored to these children's needs (Onderwijsraad, 2013). This type of policy has led to in an increase of collaborative structures in the field of education (Mulder, 1996).

Many children living in the south of Rotterdam, one of the biggest cities in the Netherlands, are negatively influenced by socio-economic factors (Van der Most, 2016). Pendrecht, situated in the south of Rotterdam, is known as one of the more disadvantaged neighborhoods of the city with relatively high unemployment and a low average income and education levels (Rotterdam, 2016). In response to the deterioration of the neighborhood several citizen initiatives started, such as 'Vitaal Pendrecht,' a community centre (Boom, 2011). One of the more recent initiatives that started in this neighborhood was the Rekenfaculteit, which aims to help the children in Pendrecht by offering math tutoring for four hours a week for one school year. The program takes place in four primary schools in the Pendrecht area (Kinderfaculteit, n.d.*b*). In realization of this project, several parties work closely together. Research has shown that the program shows positive results: children that follow this program improve their performance on the CITO-test (Van der Most, 2017). Because of the positive results, plans are now made to spread the project across different neighborhoods in Rotterdam. As these plans are made, lessons are to be drawn from the existing project, but little is known about what contributed to the success of the collaborative endeavor. This makes this program a suitable case to look into. However, when doing this, it is important to keep the complex nature of collaborative governance in mind: *"clearly, the practical challenges of designing and implementing effective cross-sector collaboration are substantial. Theory, empirical research, and practice all reveal that because cross-sector collaborations are so complex and dynamic and operate in such diverse contexts, it is unlikely that research-based recipes can be produced. Probably the best that research can offer is design guidance"* (Bryson et al., 2015, p. 658).

1.4 Research Objective & Research Question

This study will look into collaborative governance in relation to the perceptions of success, using the Rekenfaculteit as a case study. In realization of the project, several organizations closely collaborate to realize math tutoring for children in Pendrecht, in attempt to improve their disadvantaged position. In that sense, this can be regarded as an example of collaborative governance. Collaborative governance is a broad concept and consists of different phases (Ansell, 2012). In this research, collaborative governance is divided into process dynamics and its products of collaboration. By doing this, it aims to contribute to the theorizing of collaborative governance in relation to its perceived success. Because plans are made to spread the project across different neighborhoods, more insights into the current process and success can be helpful. This research will look into the collaborative governance process by doing a qualitative case study. The following question is central in this research:

> How do collaborative governance process dynamics and what collaboration produces relate to its perceived success?

In order to answer this question, several sub-questions that will be addressed.

1. How are collaborative governance process dynamics perceived by Rekenfaculteit stakeholders?
2. How do Rekenfaculteit stakeholders perceive what the collaboration produced?
3. How do Rekenfaculteit stakeholders define and explain its success?

1.5 Relevance

1.5.1 Scientific Relevance

In their 2012 article, "*An integrative framework for collaborative governance,*" Kirk Emerson and colleagues argue that dynamic interactions between certain elements lead to successful collaboration. In order to understand the dynamics of a collaborative governance process additional case studies need to be done (Emerson et al., 2012; Bryson et al., 2015; Ansell and Gash, 2007): "*Additional research is needed to discover which relationships matter in what contexts, that is, researchers need to identify where, when, and why which components are necessary, and to what degree, for collaborative success.*" (Emerson et al., 2012, p. 22). Furthermore, Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2015, p. 659) argue that additional case studies need to be done that go beyond the identification of the elements present in collaborative governance: "*additional theorizing and empirical research are needed (...) to clearly understand more precisely what is causing what.*" This makes this case study scientifically relevant, as this case study will review how the dynamics in the collaborative governance in Pendrecht are regarded and related to collaborative success. Lastly, Gash (2016) calls for research on the markers of success for collaborative governance. This research aims to contribute to that by identifying what is considered a marker for success in this particular case: the Rekenfaculteit.

1.5.2 Societal Relevance

Due to the complexity of modern-day society, cooperation and collaborative governance becomes increasingly unavoidable in attempt to solve societal issues (Emerson et al., 2012; Bryson et al., 2015). This, however, does not mean that collaboration is easy: the challenges in realizing successful collaboration are substantial (Ansell, 2012; Bryson et al., 2015; Huxham, 2003). This does not stop collaboration from happening across the Dutch education sector. Government now stimulates collaboration in attempt to diminish effects of inequality of opportunity in primary education (Inspectie van het Onderwijs, 2017). The Rekenfaculteit in Pendrecht is a clear example of collaboration in education: several parties closely cooperate in realization of this program. This program is considered successful (Van der Most, 2017). Gaining knowledge on how collaborative governance works here will give more insights on what possible ingredients for success were in this given context. This is important in this specific context, as the Rekenfaculteit is looking to expand to other neighborhoods. However, the information that this study hopes to generate is not only relevant for Rekenfaculteit-related projects: it could offer lessons for other (future) collaborative governance attempts as well.

1.6 Structure

In the next chapter, theoretical insights relevant to the research question will be explored. Firstly, a broad description of the emergence of collaborative structures in public administration will be addressed (2.1). Next, the theoretical insights on collaborative governance processes will be elaborated (2.2), after which the products of collaboration are discussed (2.3). The theoretical framework will conclude with an explanation of the meaning of success within collaborative governance literature (2.4). In the third chapter, the conceptual model used in this research is first presented, (3.1) followed by the operationalization of the variables (3.2). In the third paragraph (3.3), the methodology of this research is elaborated. In the fourth chapter, the empirical findings for the case study that was held are presented. Firstly, the context of the case, the Rekenfaculteit program in Rotterdam-Pendrecht, is described (4.1), after which the findings regarding the process dynamics (4.2 - 4.4), the products of collaboration (4.5) and the perceived success (4.6) are presented. In the next chapter, these findings are analyzed (5.1-5.3). Based on the analysis of the findings, a conclusion is drawn (6.1), followed by the broader implications of these conclusions (6.2). Because it is important to pay attention to possible shortcomings in research, the limitations (6.3) are subsequently addressed. Lastly, recommendations for both practice and research are discussed (6.4). A list of all references that were used in this study can be found in chapter 7, as well as three appendices, containing an overview of the interviewees (1), the topic list that was used for the interviews (2), as well as the coding scheme used (3).

2. Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, theories relevant to the research question are discussed. Firstly, collaborative governance is defined and explained as a concept (2.1.1-2.1.3), after which the context surrounding collaborative structures is briefly explored (2.1.4). Hereafter, the process dynamics of collaborative governance are addressed, divided into three dimensions: the communicative (2.2.1) and relational (2.2.3) aspect and its capacity (2.2.3). Next, what collaboration produces is defined (2.3.1) and described: collaborative actions (2.3.2), outcomes (2.3.3) and adaptive capacity (2.3.4) are addressed. Lastly, what success means in collaborative governance is explained (2.4).

2.1 Collaborative Governance Processes

2.1.1 From Government to Governance

Public administration literature increasingly emphasizes the importance of using networks and collaborative structures to address complex public issues (Weber and Khademian, 2008; Rhodes, 1996; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). This moves away from the idea that solving societal issues is to be done through rules and regulations that leave a central role to a sovereign state (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005). Instead, collaboration and network theories stress the existence of interdependencies among organizations in society (Bryson, Crosby and Stone, 2006). One of the central ideas behind network theories is that society is becoming increasingly complex and fragmented. Because of this, the scope of government acting single-handedly becomes more limited (Klijn, 2012; Head, 2008). Instead, network theories stress that complexity results in interactions between different types of organization in attempt of addressing societal issues (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005). Thus, whether government wants it or not, in order to tackle these problems, it must collaborate with other actors. This is how **governance** started gaining popularity (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). Governance theories recommend a more open and relational approach to solving societal issues (Sørensen and Torfing, 2011). It signifies a change in what government means, as the processes and conditions, in which government operates, have (Rhodes, 2012). It is built on the existence of pluralist state, that needs to rely on other parties in order to solve public issues: stakeholders need to be involved in the decision-making and implementation process due to the interdependencies among actors (Osborne, 2006, Klijn, 2012).

Governance emphasizes interdependencies and interactions as the core of tackling issues (Rhodes, 1996; Osborne, 2006). Network governance theories are built on this premise (Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos, 2010). Provan and Kenis (2008, p. 231) define **networks** as "*groups of three or more legally autonomous organizations that work together to achieve not only their own goals but also a collective goals.*" Networks occur in different ways, shapes and forms, but are increasingly present when addressing complex issues (Provan and Kenis, 2008; Bryson et al., 2015; Rhodes, 1996; Koppenjan and Klijn, 2016; Sørensen and Torfing, 2005).

2.1.2 Defining Collaborative Governance

Across all fields, attempts to solve complex issues increasingly involve collaboration (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005). Just because it is frequently used does not not mean that collaboration is easy; it often is simply unavoidable (Ansell, 2012; Weber and Khademian, 2008). Collaboration lies at the very core of governance, as governance revolves around the coordination of collective problem solving by a multitude of interdependent actors (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Rhodes, 1996). Within governance theories extensive attention has been paid to governance networks, alongside theories for collaborative governance. Although both can be considered networks, network governance distinguishes itself from collaborative governance by stressing "*a structural relationship of coordination and concentration among a set of stakeholders, who may not be working together in a common forum,*" (Ansell, 2012, p. 500). Collaborative governance emphasizes the cooperation between actors *in* a common forum (Van Buuren et al., 2012; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Because of this, deliberation and interaction processes are actively addressed in collaborative governance theories (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). In practice, theories on network governance and collaborative governance show overlap (Ansell, 2012).

Collaborative governance is a quite generic term. It entails different approaches to collaboration that aim to achieve collective actions (Van Buuren et al., 2012; Ansell, 2012). Because of this, many scholars give slightly different meaning to it. In this research, **collaborative governance** is defined as: *"the processes and structures of public policy making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government and/or or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished,"* (Emerson et al, 2012, p. 2). Although it can be typified as broad, it captures the plurality of forms in which a collaborative governance process may occur (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Due to its broad definition, collaborative governance can vary across different dimensions. Ansell (2012) named four dimensions that determine the scope of collaborative governance. These are:

- **Who sponsors collaboration.** Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) distinguish sponsors, the actors that fund the efforts, and conveners, those who lead the process. Actors can be both, but this is not always the case (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). More narrow definitions of collaborative governance name public agencies as the initiator of collaborative governance (Ansell, 2012). Rather, the broader definition that was used here leaves room for other stakeholders, such as community groups and private businesses, to also initiate the process. (Ansell, 2012; Emerson et al., 2012; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).
- **Who participates.** Literature appears to disagree on whether or not a public agency included in the process is a pre-requisite of collaborative governance (Ansell, 2012). Scholars such as Ansell and Gash (2007) limit the scope of the definition to state-arranged processes by naming the inclusion of public actors as a pre-requisite. Emerson et al (2012), however, broaden the scope by using multi-partner governance as a starting point. Multi-partner governance may cover partnerships among state, private sector and civil society. These participants may be citizens, public agencies and private agencies (Ansell and Gash, 2007). The actual participants of collaborative governance are typically representatives of others, such as government, a business or a community (Emerson et al., 2012).

- **How collaboration is organized.** Ansell (2012, p. 499) defines the collaborative governance decision-making process as "*formal, consensus-oriented and deliberative.*" These three criteria distinguish collaborative governance from other types of cooperation between public agencies and the public. What especially characterizes collaborative governance is the focus on consensus and deliberation (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Emerson et al., 2012). Formality is, to some extent, required in order to arrive at results that affect the public, yet may differ strongly in different situations (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).
- **What collaboration means.** The term collaboration implies that participants in the process must have influence in the decision-making. This distinguishes collaborative governance from mere consultation, a phenomenon that often occurs between public agencies and non-state actors (Ansell, 2012). Collaboration means that the process must be collective. This means that all stakeholders have a real responsibility for the results that are to be generated (Ansell and Gash, 2007).

2.1.3 Collaborative Governance Frameworks

In attempt to understand how collaboration among different actors work many frameworks for collaboration have been designed (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015). Identifying important elements and relationships between these elements is crucial in order to gain understanding of the process, Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) argue. Frameworks in collaborative governance tend to use **performance logic,** and thus describe elements and factors that are thought to lead to a well-performing collaborative governance network (Bryson et al., 2006; Ansell and Gash, 2007). The elements these frameworks describe tend to show similarities (Bryson et al., 2015; Emerson et al., 2012). Some of these elements are said to directly lead to successful collaboration, but mostly they are interrelated with other variables and reinforce each other (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Bryson et al., 2006). A framework that specifically highlights causality among different factors is the framework designed by Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2012). Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2015, p. 445) laud this framework for its power to capture causal relationships, although *'it may excessively privilege process over structure.'* This framework is used as a basis to identify the elements and relationships between elements in this research.

Collaborative governance networks show different phases of the process. First, it is important to address the initiation of the process and the antecedents that led up to it (Bentrup, 2001; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Provan and Lemaire, 2012). The next phase can be described as the collaborative process itself (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Dynamics in between these elements create a process that will ultimately lead to products (Emerson et al., 2012; Ansell and Gash, 2007). Each phase influences the other phases and cannot be strictly separated. It is, however, crucial to address the factors and the relations between the factors in each phase, because they contribute to a better understanding of what caused the success of the collaborative governance process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

2.1.4 The Context of Collaborative Governance

A collaborative governance process does not just 'happen.' Its initiation and evolvement is influenced by what surrounds it: context. (Emerson et al, 2012; Bentrup, 2001). Context is a very broad term and

may entail a lot of factors. Due to the scope of this research, it is not our intent to explore the causality between system context and the process. Yet, it is important to analyze and specify these factors because they help to develop a fuller understanding of what is happening in a collaborative governance process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Provan and Lemaire, 2012). The idea behind this is that contextual factors incentivize or constrain an actor's willingness to collaborate, and it thus is important to be aware of the presence of such factors (Emerson et al., 2012; Bryson et al., 2015). These contextual factors are addressed in literature as possible important influences in collaborative governance processes:

- **Prior failure to address issues through conventional channels:** Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2006) see that collaboration across different sectors is more likely to occur if efforts to address this public problem are already tried and failed. They argue that this incentivizes collaboration.

- **Socioeconomic and cultural characteristics:** factors such as income, education levels, age and the health of a community determine the quality of the public resources available, and the need to address possible issues with it (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

- **Network interactions:** the idea behind this is collaborative endeavors are surrounded by bigger networks of actors that interact (Van Buuren et al., 2012).The intensity and strength of interactions, and how many organizations interact with each other, shows how connected a network is. This determines a starting point for a collaborative governance process, because it shows how easily actors communicate (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Networks that already show frequent interactions are more likely to collaborate (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Although sometimes strong ties are needed to build collaboration, low to moderate intensity of interaction often functions as an appropriate baseline (Provan and Lemaire, 2012).

- **Policy & legal frameworks:** legislative, regulatory and judicial systems create policy and legal frameworks that may enable or constrain the field in which collaborative governance occurs (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). They may determine the structure of the collaborative process and may define its purpose and the scope of its results (Bryson et al., 2006).

- **Media attention:** Klijn and Korthagen (2018) see that media attention often affects network governance processes. Media attention may work agenda setting, as it can create awareness around a pressing public issue (Sørensen and Torfing, 2011; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016) This may draw in more actors to join the process (Klijn and Korthagen, 2018).

- **Political dynamics:** changes in the political environment may incentivize the creation of collaboration in response to this (Bryson et al., 2015; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Ansell and Gash (2007) argue that an actor's perception of its dependence on other actors is shaped by political context.

- **Initial balance of power and resources:** In networks, resources are spread amongst actors. Actors will shape their perceptions on power distribution based on how these resources are spread. This shapes the willingness to collaborate (Vangen and Huxham, 2003a; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Ansell and Gash (2007) argue that an actor's perceived power shapes expectations of how their involvement in collaboration will contribute to achieving meaningful results, and this this may affect the incentives to participate. Unequal distribution of resources creates a situation in which some stakeholders may not possess the capacity, skills and resources needed to represent themselves properly in collaboration (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Roberts, 2004).

- **Prehistory of conflict or trust:** How collaboration went in the past is an important factor that determines how collaboration will come about in the future (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

Stakeholders judge other stakeholders' trustworthiness based on prior or existing relationships and reputation (Huxham, 2003; Bryson et al., 2006). Trust reinforces: if actors already trust each other, they are more likely to be willing collaborate again (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Bryson et al. 2006; Vangen and Huxham, 2003a). Conflict is likely to result in low levels of trust and dishonest communication (Ansell and Gash, 2007).

2.2 Process Dynamics

Collaboration is widely studied in Public Administration. Many different scholars came up with frameworks to describe this process. Roughly, these can be divided into two approaches: a step-wise approach and an approach that sees collaboration as cyclical, or iterative, interactions between participants (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Ansell and Gash, 2007). The approach that Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh (2012) take in their collaborative framework can be typified as the latter. According to this framework, collective action comes about because of dynamics between three components of collaboration. This is not a step-wise approach that ultimately leads to collective action. Instead, these are dynamic and interact with each other in an un-sequential way (Emerson et al., 2012). Each component consist of several elements, that may also work to support the other two components (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). The elements that Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) defined are principled engagement, shared motivation and capacity for joint action.

2.2.1 Principled Engagement

"Through principled engagement, people with differing content, relational, and identity goals work across their respective institutional, sectoral, or jurisdictional boundaries to solve problems, resolve conflicts, or create value," (Emerson et al., 2012, p. 10). Principled is a popular term in conflict resolution literature, used to stress principles of effective engagement. Among these principles are open dialogue, inclusive communication and representation of all different significant interests (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Ansell and Gash, 2007). Principled engagement is something that does not happen overnight. Rather, it is an iterative process that requires time (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). It is created through dialogue (Emerson et al., 2012; Ansell and Gash, 2007). It is a process aimed at surfacing differences and addressing these and it is built in a process consisting of four elements: **discovery, definition, deliberation** and **determinations** (Emerson et al., 2012).

Discovery

Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) name the first phase of principled engagement **discovery.** In this phase, stakeholders reveal their **interest** and **information**. This can for example be individual or shared interest, information or knowledge (Emerson et al., 2012). Some also refer to this phase as the problem setting phase: different actors discuss their ideas and based on these conversations it can be determined whether efforts to find collective action are desired (Bentrup, 2001). It is important to pay attention to this, because collaborative endeavors are often established upon the recognition of a complex issue. Because of this, perceptions are likely to differ across stakeholders (Head, 2008). In order to find opportunities for common ground, stakeholders must be aware of the varying perceptions and discuss these with one another (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Bentrup, 2001). Many authors stress

that it is useful to keep dialogue mostly face-to-face (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015; Burkhalter, Gastil and Kelshaw, 2002), and to repeat this process regularly, as circumstances may change perceptions (Head and Alford, 2015). Provan and Kenis (2008) emphasize that not every organization is always willing to share their information: they argue that if organizations are very much alike, it might lead to them to be more reluctant to share information. However, it is important to realize that there is no such thing as value-free knowledge in a wicked problem setting. This may result in that in later stages, it is found that not enough information is present or that stakeholders struggle to find commonalities (Gray and Purdy, Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). Because of this, stakeholders may want to seek seek additional information from experts in this phase in later stages of collaboration (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

Definition

Emerson and Nabatchi (2015, p. 61) call the second phase **definition.** In this phase actors seek **shared meaning and understanding** of the problem at stake and opportunities that lie there. This is done by assessing information that was gathered and shared in the discovery phase is evaluated on how relevant it is in addressing the issue at stake (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Innes and Booher, 1999). Helpful is agreeing on a *'joint base of information'* on the problem (Gray and Purdy, 2018, p. 71). The process of finding perception alignment should not necessarily mean that this shared understanding means an alignment of all interests: this can be a source of conflict (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Innes and Booher, 1999; Ansell, 2016). Instead, Klijn and Koppenjan (2016, p. 128) argue that alignment means: *"actors being aware of one another's perceptions and readjusting them so that they can co-exist or becoming compatible without actually sharing the same perceptions."*

Because collaboration often concerns complex issues, actors are likely to draw **boundaries** of the scope of the collaborative endeavor when the process is still in its early stages (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Gray and Purdy, 2018). Gray and Purdy (2018) see this as crucial in order to make progression in the collaborative process: they argue that this helps determine who should participate in deliberation and how this process is shaped.

Deliberation

As actors are making progress in the phases of discovery and definition, steps should be made into deliberation. **Deliberation** can be roughly defined as reasoned communication aimed at finding solutions for problems (Emerson et al., 2012). Deliberation is celebrated, but quite hard to achieve (Emerson et al., 2012; Roberts, 2004). Through deliberation, actors examine the issue at stake, listen to different perspectives, experiences and reasons in order to discover each other's interests (Fung, 2006). Fishkin, Luskin and Jowell (2000, p. 660) emphasize the importance of discussion: *"without discussion, it is also difficult to gain a full appreciation of the competing arguments or the circumstances and interests behind them."* The idea is that through these extensive discussions, stakeholders **carefully weigh the different perspectives** (Burkhalter et al., 2002; Emerson et al., 2012; Cohen, 1997; Roberts, 2004). This does not only concern stakeholders' interests, but also happen information or research, as well as a range of solutions (Burkhalter et al., 2002; Klijn and

Koppenjan, 2016). To realize deliberation, it is important that participants provide **reasoning** for the arguments they bring to the table (Cohen, 1997). This allows participants to weigh not only facts, but also the values underlying perspectives (Roberts, 2004; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a, Gray and Purdy, 2018). Deliberation also means that a large variety of opinions should be brought to the table (Burkhalter et al., 2002). Participants should get equal opportunity to speak to ensure this (Cohen, 1997; Emerson et al., 2012). This does not mean that everyone should get the same amount of time to speak. Instead, stakeholders should share a feeling that they had adequate opportunity to voice their perspective (Burkhalter et al., 2002). Cohen (1997) argues that this is not possible if stakeholders do not share **a sense of equality.** Therefore, power balances should be taken into account (Bryson et al., 2005; Vangen and Huxham, 2003a). It is argued that setting up ground rules is helpful in achieving the right conditions for deliberation (Ansell and Gash, 2007).

Determinations

The fourth element of principled engagement is **determinations.** Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) use the broad term determinations instead of decisions to stress the large number of group decisions that are made in the process over time. A division can be made into procedural and substantive determinations. **Procedural determinations** include decisions on things, such creating a work group and setting an agenda. **Substantive determinations** are more considered to be agreements on ultimate outputs of collaboration Emerson, et al., 2012). Huxham (2003) argues that determinations, or small wins as he calls it, are an important factor in the process of building trust.

Agreement is regarded as the output of deliberation (Burkhalter et al., 2002). In collaborative governance consensus is strived for (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Emerson et al., 2012). Ansell (2016, p. 40) explains this: *"the collaborative problem-solving process leans heavily on consensus to move forward. Majoritarian voting rules are likely to be a last resort, since they may encourage losers to withdraw their support."* This means that negotiations are likely to continue until all stakeholders **explicitly agree** on making a decision (Gray and Purdy, 2018) and that all stakeholders are involved in every step of the decision making process (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Because multi-stakeholder environments deal with a large variety of perceptions, unanimity often is an unrealistic aim (Gray and Purdy, 2018;). Instead, it is strived for that means that determinations are **acceptable** to all parties (Cohen, 1997; Gray and Purdy, 2018). Literature suggests that if agreements are acceptable and explicitly agreed upon, they are expected to be more durable, because stakeholders are likely to be happier with the process (Innes and Booher, 1999; Gray and Purdy, 2018).

Ansell and Gash (2007) stress the importance of intermediate results for successful collaboration. In the first stages of a collaborative governance process, agreement on its **common purpose** and **goals** are considered to be crucial determinations. Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) refer to this as a **shared theory of change.** A shared theory of change contains shared ideas and assumptions about what actors can achieve through collaboration, and based on this, actors will form a strategy on how to achieve this. In order to achieve successful collaboration, it is very important to find agreement on purpose (Innes and Booher, 1999; Bryson et al, 2006). The absence of such agreements makes the process a lot more difficult and may lead to stagnation and withdrawal of important actors (Bryson et

al., 2015; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Finding a shared theory of change does not always happen, even if the principled engagement process is strong (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

2.2.2 Shared Motivation

Shared motivation is all about relationships. It highlights social capital as an important determinant for successful collaboration (Emerson et al., 2012). The idea is that if principled engagement is effective, stakeholders will continue engage with each across organizational boundaries towards the greater goal. This is fostered by four elements: **trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy** and **commitment** (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). In that sense, shared motivation and principled engagement are related to each other: "*Shared motivation is, in part, initiated by principled engagement, and in that sense, it is an intermediate outcome; however, once initiated, shared motivation also reinforces or accelerates the principled engagement process,*" (Emerson et al., 2012, p. 13).

Trust

Trust is essential in successful collaboration (Bryson et al., 2005; Huxham, 2003; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Trust can be defined as "*a stable positive expectation that actor A has (or predicts he has) of the intentions and motives of actor B in refraining from opportunistic behavior, even if the opportunity arises,*" (Klijn, Edelenbos, Steijn, 2010, p. 196). Social relationships are central in building trust. Relationships among individuals builds trust among organizations, which is visible in successful collaborative governance examples (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Bryson et al., 2015). Trust is especially important in ambiguous, uncertain situations; it is regarded to be a pre-condition to collaboration here (Huxham and Vangen, 2003a; Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007). Trust shows several advantages. It reduces transactions costs: if an actors trusts another actor, chances of opportunistic behavior decrease. Also, trust may function as an alternative to contracts, which in turn reduces transaction costs (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007). It is said that actors that trust each other are more willing to take risks (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). This is said to enhance the problem-solving capacity of the collaborative initiative (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007). Although trust is widely recognized as an essential element of successful collaboration, it is often absent or lacking in practice (Huxham and Vangen, 2005).

The definition of trust shows vulnerability, as actors assume a position in which they expect that the other actor will take their interest into account, even if the opportunity for opportunistic behavior arises. Of course, actors cannot be certain other actors will refrain from this. This puts actors in a vulnerable position. The decision to trust, despite the uncertainty of the future, displays how risk can also be regarded to be a characteristic of trust (Huxham and Vangen, 2005; Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007). Huxham (2003) argues that trust building starts with expectations that actors about the future of their collaboration and a decision to trust in spite of the risk involved. As discussed before, expectations are at least partially shaped by past experiences (Vangen and Huxham, 2003a). Starting here, actors can build small successes that reinforce trust. The idea is that stakeholders adjust and

reshape their expectations on how **trustworthy** other stakeholders are based on their experiences (Van Oortmerssen, Van Woerkum and Aarts, 2014; Chen, 2010).

It is argued that the expectation that stakeholders have of the other stakeholders' ability to carry out its obligations also determines the level of trust (Das and Teng, 2001; Chen, 2010; Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn., 2010; Bryson et al., 2015). Klijn Edelenbos and Steijn (2010) refer to this as **agreement trust.** Chen (2010) and Das and Teng (2001) see that this ability is linked to having overall competencies. Although addressed as a separate condition that determines trust by many authors (e.g. Mayer, Davis and Schoorman, 1995; Van Oortmerssen et al., 2014), Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn (2010) see this as not a dimension of trust but as a factor that contributes to it. This paper follows this argumentation.

Another dimension of trust revolves around showing **good intentions** (Bryson et al., 2005; Van Oortmerssen et al., 2014; Mayer et al., 1995). This dimension focuses on how stakeholders perceive other stakeholders' intentions, meaning that they place concerns for other interests above their own (Das and Teng, 2001), or their intentions being "*good in principle*" (Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn., 2010, p. 205). This dimension is widely referred to in literature as **goodwill** (Das and Teng, 2001; Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn, 2010; Van Oortmerssen et al., 2014).

Mutual understanding

Trust lies at the basis of mutual understanding, according to Emerson et al. (2012). It is important to distinguish mutual understanding from shared understanding, as defined by Ansell and Gash (2007). Shared understanding means that there is a shared set of values; mutual understanding does not necessarily mean that actors agree, just that they **understand** and **respect other actors' differences** in positions and interests (Emerson et al., 2012). The importance of mutual understanding lies in the notion that in complex situations mutual agreement is often hard to obtain (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). When searching for common ground, actors should be consciously aware of that there is a plurality of perceptions. It is crucial that actors have the room to have differing perceptions, interests and values (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). Mutual understanding grows when actors respect these differences, in spite of attempts to find common ground (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

Internal legitimacy

The third element is internal legitimacy (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). The importance of legitimacy is frequently highlighted in network literature. In this, two aspects are mainly described: the external and internal legitimacy (Bryson et al., 2015; Provan and Kenis, 2008; Suchman, 1995). Suchman (1995) defines legitimacy as the perception that actions performed by an entity, being a network or an organization, are desirable or appropriate, defined by someone's belief system. It is often thought of as **credibility** (Provan and Lemaire, 2012; Emerson et al., 2012). Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) highlight the importance of an adequate presence of internal legitimacy in the process of building **shared motivation.** Provan, Kenis and Human (2008) argue that traditional organizations tend not to experience upfront problems with legitimacy, but networks, and

collaborative networks, do. Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2006, p. 47) explain this: *"collaboration is not automatically regarded by others - insiders or outsiders - as a legitimate organizational entity, because it it less understandable and recognizable than more traditional forms, such as bureaucratic structures."* Therefore, in order to survive, it is necessary that an organizational builds legitimacy when they have recently established (Bryson et al., 2006; Provan and Lemaire, 2012).

Internal legitimacy focuses on the processes inside the collaborative endeavor. It confirms the collaborative governance that was initiated and motivates actors to keep engaging in collaboration dynamics. It is therefore inseparable from the presence of trust and mutual understanding (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Bryson et al., 2015). The idea is that in this step actors have to justify their engagement in the process (Provan and Kenis, 2008; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Vangen and Huxham, 2003b; Thomson and Perry, 2006; Gash, 2016). This means that stakeholders must see **collaborating** with one another as **beneficial** (Provan and Kenis, 2008; Thomson and Perry, 2006), and thus recognizing the mutual **dependence** (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Most helpful in this is seeing positive results (Provan et al., 2008). To get there, it is important that stakeholders will gain confidence that attaining the shared **goals** are **feasible** (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Gash, 2016; Gray and Purdy, 2018). Gash (2016, p. 462) explains: *"the viability of a collaborative rests on stakeholder perceptions that it is a workable and worthwhile policy approach."*

Commitment

Trust, mutual understanding and internal legitimacy should create a sense of **commitment** to the process among the actors (Emerson et al., 2012). Commitment is often seen as critical variable in explaining successful collaboration (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Thomson and Perry, 2006). Ring and Van de Ven (1994) explain that from a rational perspective high commitment to collaborative processes cannot be solely justified other than that this is at least partially due to the social processes that occur in collaboration. In this step, stakeholders sometimes draw up contracts or other written documents, but may also stick to solely social capital. Especially trust is regarded a sine qua non for effective long-term commitment (Ring and Van de Ven, 1994; Bryson et al., 2015; Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007; Ansell and Gash, 2007). Gash (2016) argues that the same goes for legitimacy: without feeling that the process is worthy, a stakeholder will not commit itself. Commitment is said to be closely related to a stakeholder's initial willingness to collaborate (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Substantial power imbalances may cause weak commitment, especially for weaker actors, because they may fear that they will get exploited (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015). Once stakeholders find commitment, they are enabled to cross their boundaries and go on a shared path to collective results (Emerson et al., 2012). Commitment is sometimes explained as ownership of the process. This implies a shared **responsibility** to the process and monitor themselves (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Thomson and Perry, 2006). Levels of commitment change over time as levels of trust, internal legitimacy and shared understanding may change, as well as changes in the principled engagement process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Ring and Van de Ven, 1994).

2.2.3 Capacity for Joint Action

Collaboration starts upon the recognition that actors cannot reach their desired goals themselves (Bryson et al., 2015). Thus, collaboration aims to reach goals that could not have been reached separately (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Page, Stone, Bryson, 2015). In order to achieve this the actors involved, together or individually, must have the capacity to collaborate. Emerson et al. (2012) define four elements of capacity for joint action: **procedural and institutional arrangements, leadership, knowledg**e and **resources.**

Institutional Design

In the previous paragraph the importance of the social aspect of collaboration was discussed. This does, however, not downplay the importance of setting up rules and protocols. In a collaborative governance process, **rules, protocols and institutional design** are of crucial importance (Gray and Purdy, 2018; Ansell and Gash, 2007). Institutional arrangements exist because of the repetition of interactions that occurs in collaboration. In order to effectively manage these interactions rules, structures, protocols and practices are set up and emerge (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). Institutional arrangements can be formal and informal. **Formal rules** are decided upon and recorded (e.g. laws and policy documents). Because these rules are written down and all actors can refer to the existence of these rules, following these rules can be formally rewarded or sanctioned by fines or monetary incentives (Lowndes and Roberts, 2013; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Ostrom, 2011). **Informal rules,** also known as **practices**, are rules that are not made explicit by written documents, but can be observed by evaluating the conduct of actors. Actors adapt their behavior according to how others routinely behave in the same setting. Practices show what actors deem appropriate in which setting (Lowndes and Roberts, 2013). What institutional arrangements are present in collaborative processes and how they are formed is influenced by the amount of actors collaborating, the nature of the concerning task, the level of trust between actors and the skills actors possess regarding network-level collaboration (Provan and Kenis, 2008). It is also said to be shaped by context. Especially government policies, mandates and how the relationships between actors were before collaboration are key elements (Bryson et al., 2015; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

An important aspect of institutional arrangements are the establishment of ground rules and protocols that guarantee the fairness, rationality and transparency of the process (Page et al., 2015; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Gray and Purdy, 2018). Edelenbos and Klijn (2007, p. 43) explain this: *"Rules of the game are important for regulating behavior and limiting uncertainties and occasions for opportunistic behavior. Hence, it is not so much the content of agreements that is stressed (as is often emphasized in formal contracts) but the regulation of the process."* Thus, institutional design functions **to help create a collaborative environment** (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Thomson and Perry, 2006). Bentrup (2001) argues that these are not always necessary: only high-conflict require the establishment of ground rules. It is also argued to be crucial that these rules are **clear** for participants to avoid uncertainty on what is deemed appropriate or desirable behavior (Page, 2010; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). The clarity is defined by how consistently the rules are applied (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Besides, rules, role clarity also is said to be essential (Thomson and Perry, 2006; Ansell and Gash, 2007). Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) stress how this is especially important to avoid accountability issues. Because of the interdependence and uncertainty that is typically present in

collaborative governance networks, structures tend not to be very hierarchical and stable; it often is dynamic and subject to changes over time (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Bryson et al., 2005). Gray and Purdy (2018) thus call for flexibility, while maintaining that having too little rules may cause coordination issues.

Leadership

Leadership has received considerable attention for being one of the most important elements of successful collaboration (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Page, 2010; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Leadership in collaborative networks moves away from traditional hierarchical leadership (McGuire and Silvia, 2009; Crosby and Bryson, 2010). Different types of leadership roles are typically needed in collaborative endeavors and these are often fulfilled by different people (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Gray and Purdy, 2018). This means multiple leaders that may succeed each other at one point in time or function alongside each other at once (Bryson et al., 2006; Ansell and Gash, 2007). Literature on (collaborative) networks use a wide array of terms to describe leadership activities. Agranoff and McGuire (2001) distinguish between the activities of activation, framing, mobilizing and synthesizing. Page (2010) identifies agenda framing, convening stakeholders and the structuring of deliberation as the three main leadership activities. Crosby and Bryson (2010) see the necessity of leadership in every step of the collaborative process by describing **integrative leadership.** To fulfill this, the fulfillment of the roles of **sponsors** and **champions** needed (Crosby and Bryson, 2010; Bryson et al., 2006).

Ansell and Gash (2012) note that champion leadership closely resembles facilitative leadership, as is described in their 2007 framework. In this study, attention will be directed at this type of leadership. **Facilitation** focuses on bringing stakeholders together and facilitating the process by ensuring its integrity. It relies heavily on building relationships and maintaining them (Ansell and Gash, 2007). That means that sometimes (weaker) stakeholders require empowering (ibid.). This is said to be especially necessary in case of power asymmetries: leaders can play an important role in identifying imbalanced power relationships and finding ways of shifting this by creating an effective communication infrastructure and involving less powerful stakeholders (Vangen and Huxham, 2003b). Furthermore, leadership activities often include **mediation**. Ansell and Gash (2007) explain this as one step more intrusive than mere facilitation, with a heavy emphasis on ensuring effective communication between conflicting stakeholders (Gray and Purdy, 2018). It is noted in literature that it is important that leaders carrying out mediation activities are a neutral third-party (ibid.), or that have a reputation as an honest broker (Ansell and Gash, 2012; Weber and Khademian, 2008).

Resources

The given that actors are dependent on one another to realize something creates a situation in which actors need to share resources. Collaboration leaves potential for actors to share and combine these resources (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Thomson and Perry, 2006). **Resources** can be defined as the assets, that an organization possesses, that can be used to achieve their goals (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Bryson, Ackermann and Eden, 2007). This includes

knowledge, which is addressed separately here, due to the extensive attention that is paid to this element in collaboration (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Different types of resources are:

- **Financial resources.** Financial resources are not only needed to realize the results of collaboration, but also needed for the organizational structure of collaboration, such as to pay for administrative and organizational support (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).
- **Production resources.** Some physical resources are often needed to provide for results, that are not easily realized by financial support alone (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). This can, for example, be a school building.
- **Competencies.** Competencies consist of abilities, actions they are authorized to perform, technologies or processes that help an organization perform (Bryson et al., 2007). These can be skills and expertise needed to assess information or needed for implementation (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Competencies cross different domains and are specific to the tasks the actor is expected to perform (Mayer et al., 1995; Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007). People are said to base their view on other people's competencies at least partially on their overall reputation or other people's views on competencies (Edelenbos and Klijn, 2007). Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) highlight the importance of having authority to make certain decisions. This can for example be a public agency issuing a permit to hold activities at a certain location. Competencies are typically a lot harder to acquire, and therefore less flexible than other types of resources (Bryson et al., 2007).
- **Legitimacy.** Some actors hold such positions that they can give legitimacy to decisions and results, or withhold this. This, for example, is a politician who can attract extra attention to the collaborative process by supporting the process through media coverage (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016).

Collaboration is often very consuming on resources (Huxham, 2003; Thomson and Perry, 2006), which can have the consequence that stakeholders do not have enough time to engage in collaboration. This can impair the ability of important stakeholders to participate in a meaningful way (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Provan and Kenis (2008) see that collaboration is especially resource-consuming when the collaboration is among many actors and there is a need to build trust. In order to establish collaboration, an adequate **availability of resources** to enable the execution of the planned actions is deemed vital (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Provan and Milward, 1995). Provan and Milward's (1995) study shows that if collaboration occurs is an environment that has scarce resources, the network is likely to be less effective than if it is a resource-rich environment. Also, resources are hardly ever spread evenly. Asymmetries in resources are said to negatively influence effective collaboration (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Bryson et al., 2015). The fairness of the collaborative governance process is defined by how these differences are managed (Emerson et al., 2012).

Knowledge

In today's society, knowledge is dispersed across different actors, and other actors are likely to be unable to access the same information (Ostrom, 2011; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). Interdependence grows because of this, which creates situations in which collaboration is necessary (Emerson, et al, 2012; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). To generate mutual results, knowledge must be shared. In this sense **knowledge** can be regarded as the currency of collaboration (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Complex environments are marked by insufficient knowledge. Knowledge that is present is often contested by other actors (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Ostrom, 2011). Thus, simply

relying on research data to present objective information would not be fruitful in collaboration (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). However, information should be sought: Ostrom (2011) argues that insufficient knowledge incentivizes opportunistic behavior and withholding information. A way to overcome this is searching for new information collectively (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016), or by examining existing information (Gray and Purdy, 2018; Emerson et al., 2012). Emerson and colleagues (2012) call this process finding **shared knowledge**. Finding this is an ongoing process: "*Knowledge, once guarded, must be shared with others; and knowledge jointly needed must be generated by participants working together. Contested knowledge requires full consideration, and incomplete knowledge must be balanced and enhanced with new knowledge. In essence, collaboration requires the aggregation, division, and reassembling of data and information, as well as the generation of new, shared information,"* (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a, p. 71). In this process, additional research plays a more facilitative role (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). When experts are brought to the table, they must have some sort of authoritative status in the eyes of the different actors (ibid.). Also important is that the knowledge is **accessible and understandable** to those that need to take the information into consideration (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Innes and Booher, 1999). Due to the difficulty of the issues discussed in collaborative governance, this often requires some expertise that stakeholders may not possess (Ansell and Gash, 2007).

2.3 Getting Things Done: What Collaboration Produces

2.3.1 Defining the products of collaboration

When a collaborative governance process is initiated, this is usually with a specific purpose in mind (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Collaborative governance dynamics should ultimately develop into specific results. Innes and Booher (1999) argue that it is more likely for high-quality processes to deliver high-quality results. However, what collaboration produces is known to be hard to measure, as collaborative processes are dynamic and objectivity tends to be unattainable due to the complexity of issues (Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos, 2010). For these reasons, it is advised to look at the products of collaboration from different perspectives. One the hand, literature distinguishes between different types of results in length and effect (Innes and Booher, 2003; Thomas and Koontz, 2011; Emerson et al., 2012), but also attention is paid to the different dimensions in which it comes about (Provan and Milward, 2001; Bryson et al., 2015).

Perspectives

It is widely acknowledged that collaborative performance should be evaluated from multiple perspectives (Bryson et al., 2015; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) argue that the actors involved in the evaluation of outcomes are participating actors, actors in the environment who are not actively involved and the researcher itself. Similarly, Provan and Milward (2001) distinguish three levels of analysis for evaluating the results of a collaborative endeavor. These are:

- the community
- the collaborative network itself

- the participating organization.

Provan and Milward (2001) define the **community** level as the broadest level of network analysis and it refers to the community the network is working to serve. Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) emphasize the close relation this has to the **goals** of the collaborative endeavor. The **network** level refers to the collaborative endeavor itself. The idea behind this is that in order to survive the collaboration must establish itself as a well-functioning entity that is recognized as such (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Provan and Milward, 2001; Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016). It is frequently stressed that it is important to take the **participating organization** itself into account as well (Koppenjan, 2008; Provan and Milward, 2001; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015b). This is because organizations are likely to want to get something out of it as well. Koppenjan (2008 p. 702) explains why it is important to take the participating organization actively into account: *"If collaboration has no benefits for some parties, it may still be worthwhile, realizing an improvement for others. When parties are negatively influenced by collaboration or its outcomes, they should be compensated, thus preventing a win–lose situation."*

Types of products of collaboration

In literature evaluating what collaborative endeavors produce, the lines between actions and outcomes are often blurred (Thomas and Koontz, 2011). Several authors, however do distinguish between different aspects of what collaboration produces. Innes and Booher (1999) divide effects into three components over different points in time. They refer to this as **first order effects,** which are immediately identifiable, **second order effects**, that show after the end of the project or outside its boundaries, and **third order effects,** that are more long-term. Thomas and Koontz (2011) differentiate between **outputs,** referring to products or services delivered through collaboration, and **outcomes,** which are the changes outside the process. Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) take a similar approach to the latter and distinguish between **actions** and **outcomes,** but also add in **adaptation.** Adaptation assumes that the actions and outcomes also have an effect on the dynamics of the collaborative process itself (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Bryson et al., 2015). Adaptive capacity, or the ability to learn, is sometimes regarded an outcome as well (Koppenjan, 2008; Bryson et al., 2015). In this study, actions, outcomes and adaptation are elaborated as products of collaboration.

2.3.2 Collaborative Actions

The purpose of collaborative governance of collaborative governance typically is to get something done that could not have been achieved by one actor alone. Actions can be considered as the means to get to the achievement of that purpose (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Although presented separately, collaborative actions and the ultimate outcomes can be hard to isolate from one another (Emerson et al., 2012, Thomas and Koontz, 2011; Innes and Booher, 1999).

Collaborative actions can take many shapes and forms and may vary strongly across different contexts (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Thomas and Koontz (2011) distinguish between intermediate actions, which refers to the outputs early on this process, and end actions, which are the final products

or services delivered. Ideally, actions are **related** to the **shared theory of change** in the sense that they embody the strategic outgrowths of the theory that was formulated (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). This, however, is definitely not always the case. In complex environments insights, preferences and conditions are subject to change to which actions are likely to be adapted. Therefore, *ex ante* formulated goals might lose relevance (Koppenjan, 2008; Bryson et al., 2015). Also stressed by Emerson and Nabatchi (2015b) is that participating organizations will assess whether the collective actions bring about **efficiencies** for their own organizations. That can, for example, entail that an organization used to deliver a certain service, but now that the collaboration was founded, this was replaced by a collective service provision. When it comes to the relation to the community the collaborative effort is trying to serve, **the fairness** of distribution of the actions is mentioned. This revolves around who gets to use the outputs and whether the beneficiaries believe that this is equitable (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015b). Provan and Milward (2001) stress that this is very hard to measure, because viewpoints are likely to differ across different groups in the population.

Collaborative actions, if successful, reinforce collaboration (Emerson et al., 2012). It especially has a positive effect on reinforcing the shared theory of change (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Individuals that see a direct relation between their input and actions tend to see this as an incentive to continue collaborating (Ansell and Gash, 2007).

2.3.3 Outcomes

Outcomes of collaborative governance are the changes that impact the environment in which the collaborative governance takes place (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Outcomes are the effects of the collaborative actions that result from collaborative dynamics (Emerson et al. 2012). They can be tangible, which is easy to recognize and point to, and intangible, which includes social capital (Innes and Booher, 1999). It may take a long for outcomes to emerge, sometimes even after collaboration has ended, but they can also appear in a short-term. How long the outcomes are seen can also differ (Innes and Booher, 1999; Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Because of this, Thomas and Koontz (2011) make a distinction between **intermediate outcomes**, referring to changes outside the process that attribute to eventually attaining a desired result, and **end outcomes**, which they relate to reaching desired goals. Although the importance of having goals in collaboration is often stressed, early fixation should be avoided (Emerson et al., 2012; Koppenjan, 2008). This is due to the given that collaboration often takes place in complex environments, which has an effect on the dynamics within collaboration. This makes outcomes unpredictable (Koppenjan, 2008; Sørensen and Torfing, 2011). Also, collaboration is said to stimulate innovative ideas (Sørensen and Torfing, 2011). Such outcomes cannot be predicted beforehand, as these are fostered by uncertainty (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

Related to a collaboration's shared goals, its **effectiveness** should be evaluated. This relates to how the outcomes relate to what was desired collectively in the first place (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015b). However, how outcomes are perceived and to what extent they matter differs per actor. Therefore, they should be evaluated from different perspectives (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Sørensen and Torfing, 2011). Important to keep in mind here is that stakeholders often collaborate to fulfill their own goals beside working towards the shared goals (McGuire and Silvia, 2009). The idea behind this

partially is that networks can contribute to **enhancing an organization's own outcomes** (Provan and Milward, 2001). If no effects or unintended effects are found, attention should be paid to accounting for this (Emerson et al., 2012). This, however, is very complex because it is difficult to determine who is responsible for what in collaboration (Bryson et al., 2015). On a network-level, an outcome that is often mentioned as crucial is **external legitimacy** (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015b). Contrary to before-mentioned internal legitimacy, external legitimacy refers to how people outside of the endeavor perceive the collaboration.

Achieving outcomes is important for actors to justify continued engagement (Emerson et al., 2012). Positive outcomes increase trust between participating actors: *"the outcome becomes part of the history of the relationship, increasing the chance that partners will have positive expectations about joint actions in the future,"* (Vangen and Huxham, 2003a, p. 11). Positive outcomes, thus, also have a reinforcing effect on the collaborative process. However, a risk lies in this: positive outcomes may cause actors to forget to properly sustain the elements of successful collaboration (Bryson et al., 2006).

2.3.4 Adaptation

Outcomes of collaborative governance may alter the system context, but at the same time the context of collaboration may change as well (Emerson et al., 2012). It is important to assess how well the collaborative governance process and the actors participating in this are able to adapt to changes in system context, because **resilience** is said to affect perceived successful collaboration (Bentrup, 2001). **Adaptation** refers to the potential of making changes in response to the results that were generated in the collaborative process (Emerson and Gerlak, 2014). The ability to learn from the collaborative process and improve the process from that new knowledge is emphasized as a crucial component in collaboration by many (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Thomson and Perry, 2006). Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) argue that adaptation in collaborative governance can occur in three different parts: in the collaborative process itself, among different actors or to the targeted service or resources. In order to sustain a collaborative endeavor must respond to the system context they altered, whether those consequences are desired or not (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

2.4 Successful collaborative governance

Collaborative governance builds on the premise that actors working together can achieve more collectively than they are able to if they were to do it on their own (Huxham, 2003). Thus, it sees the quality of the interaction processes as conditional to achieving success (Gray and Purdy, 2018; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Van Buuren et al., 2012). Yet, collaboration typically takes place in complex environments that are marked by uncertainty, interdependencies and conflicting perceptions. This makes collaboration hard (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016; Huxham, 2003). This reflects in research on collaboration: case studies show that collaborative endeavors are rarely successful (Vangen and Huxham, 2011). It is argued that fairly little attention has been paid in literature to what success in collaborative governance precisely means (Kenis and Provan, 2009; Gunton and Day, 2003; Van

Raaij, 2006). Measuring how successful a network is, is difficult (Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos, 2010). Especially complicating is that in collaboration diverse interests and stakeholders use different perspectives when determining success (Provan and Milward, 2001). Actors have their own habits, goals and expectations when they collaborate. Therefore, their perceptions on the process and the results are bound to be different. Furthermore, collaboration typically is a timely endeavor, which makes it likely that perceptions will change over time (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn, 2010).

Literature on governance tends to look at its **outcomes** when referring to its success (e.g. Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos, 2010; Koppenjan, 2008; Provan and Milward, 2001). Different authors appear to use different criteria when evaluating networks (Van Raaij, 2006). Provan and Milward (2001) point to evaluating the **effectiveness** of a network when looking at success. Alternatively, Ansell (2012) suggests using four criteria formulated by Gunton and Day (2003, p. 9) to evaluate the success of collaborative governance. These are 1) the ability to reach **agreement,** 2) **efficiency** of collaboration in relation to alternative options, 3) **satisfaction of stakeholders** with the process or its outcomes and 4) achievement of **social capital,** referring to enhanced skills or improved relationships among other things. These criteria explicitly include process outcomes. Similarly, Klijn and Koppenjan (2016, p. 255) make a distinction between 1) **content criteria,** referring to goal intertwinement or joint image building, 2) **process criteria**, looking at things as the inclusiveness, accountability, transaction costs) and 3) **network criteria,** which refers to the development of relationships, trust, shared perceptions and internal and external support. Alternatively, Van Raaij's (2006) study shows that network members can form their own norms for assessing the success of the network they are part of, deviating from what is suggested by literature and the goals of the network itself. Furthermore, Kenis and Provan (2009) argue that performance assessment can be done using many different criteria, such as efficiency, goal attainment and survival. In this, no criteria are more valid than others (ibid.). This paper follows this reasoning when looking at how participating actors define success. Thus, perceived success is formed by the norms that participating actors use for assessing the performance of the network (Kenis and Provan, 2009; Van Raaij, 2006).

3. Research Methodology

In this chapter the research methodology is discussed. Firstly, the conceptual framework that was used is presented and described (3.1), after which the operationalization of the core variables is presented (3.2). In the last paragraph (3.3) the methodology is elaborated, consisting of the research design (3.3.1), case selection (3.3.2), the methods of the data collection (3.3.3) and data analysis (3.3.4). Lastly, the quality of the research (3.3.5) is discussed.

3.1 Conceptual Framework

The theoretical chapter explained how collaborative processes work and identified components that are said to lead to success. Figure 3.1 presents an overview of how the different concepts are related to each other. This framework is an adaptation of the work of Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a; 2015b). The concept **process dynamics** consists of three components that interact with each other: principled engagement, shared motivation and capacity for joint action (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). These components reinforce one another, but may also directly impact an actor's perception of the collaboration (Bryson et al., 2015). What emerges from these dynamics are **its products,** consisting of actions, outcomes and adaptation (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015b). How these are regarded and evaluated is important for how **success** is perceived (Provan and Kenis, 2008). The components of this framework are said to work together to create success, as is depicted in the conceptual framework presented in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Conceptual Framework
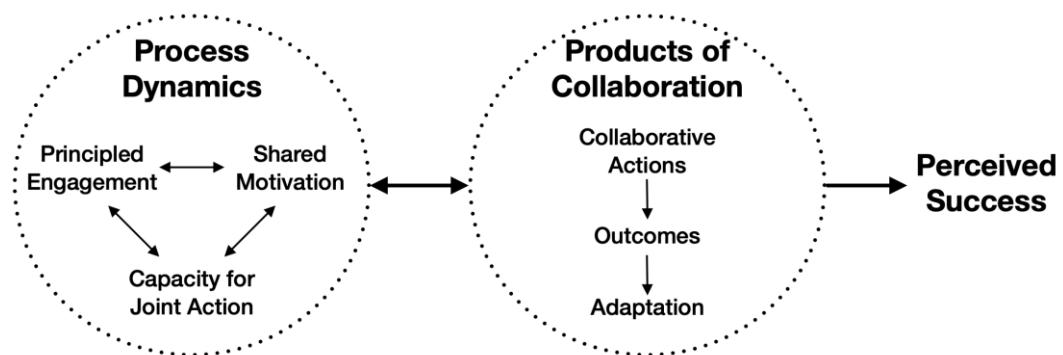
3.2 Operationalization

As presented in the conceptual framework, process dynamics and collaborative results are said to lead to a success. In this paragraph the concepts that were presented in the theoretical framework are translated to operationalized concepts, that were used for the empirical study that was held.

3.2.1 Process Dynamics

The presence of the components and elements of the collaborative governance process are said to lead to collaborative success (Ansell and Gash, 2007). The components **principled engagement, shared motivation** and **capacity for joint action** each consist of several elements (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). The operationalization of these concepts is presented in table 3.1.

TABLE 3.1: OPERATIONALIZATION PROCESS DYNAMICS

Component	Element	Definition	Indicator
Principled Engagement		Iterative process of dialogue that creates presence of principles of effective engagement (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).	- *presence of discovery, definition, deliberation and determinations*
	Discovery	Identification of relevant information and interests (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).	- *Stakeholders reveal their interests, information.*
	Definition	Building shared meaning around the issues that are being addressed by the collaborative endeavor (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).	- *actors find shared meaning and understanding of the problem,* - *boundaries of what will be addressed are drawn.*
	Deliberation	Thoughtful examination of issues (Fung, 2006)	- *participants provide reasoning for arguments* - *participants experience a sense of equality* - *interests of different parties are weighed*
	Determinations	Collective decisions (Emerson et al., 2012).	- *explicit agreement on purpose, tasks,* - *these agreements are acceptable to the parties involved* - *a shared theory of change is formed*
Shared Motivation		Participants' motivation to continue engaging with one another across organizational divides (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).	- *presence of trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy and commitment*
	Trust	Confidence that other actors will refrain from opportunistic behavior (Klijn, Edelenbos, Steijn, 2010).	- *stakeholders regard other stakeholders as trustworthy.* - *stakeholders believe other stakeholders show good intentions* - *stakeholders believe that other stakeholders follow through on plans.*
	Mutual Understanding	Tolerance of differences (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).	- *actors respect the differences of other actors.*
	Internal legitimacy	Belief that the process is worthy and credible (Page et al., 2015).	- *actors see the collaboration as beneficial* - *participants view the the process as worthy of reaching goals.*

Component	Element	Definition	Indicator
			- *participants recognize interdependence in reaching the shared goals.*
Capacity for Joint Action	Commitment	Dedication and responsibility to collaboration and the consequences that this brings about (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).	- *actors feel responsible to contribute to the process.* - *actors show commitment to achieving results.*
		The functional dimension of collaborative dynamics that that enables the shared theory of change to be feasible (Emerson et al., 2012).	- *presence of institutional design, leadership, resources and knowledge.*
	Institutional Design	Protocols that manage the process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).	- *the rules that are present help establish a collaborative environment,* - *clarity of the rules among participants.*
	Leadership	Facilitating role that adapts to the processes' needs that may encourage the presence of the other elements (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Ansell and Gash, 2007)	- *leaders facilitate the process.* - *leaders perform mediating activities in case of conflict.*
	Resources	Intangible or tangible goods, needed to carry out collaborative efforts (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2016).	- *adequate presence of financial resources, production resources, authority or legitimacy to ensure the execution of the planned actions and the sustainability of the process.*
	Knowledge	The generation and sharing of relevant information and expertise (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a)	- *shared knowledge was found.* - *the knowledge was accessible to participants that needed this.*

3.2.2 Products of Collaboration

Collaborative dynamics work in order to ultimately generate products (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015b). Whether this shows desired effects is important for collaborative success. If successful, it reinforces the collaborative process. If the outputs are unsatisfactory it in turn has a diminishing effect on the collaborative process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Table 3.2 presents an overview of the variables and possible indicators.

TABLE 3.2: OPERATIONALIZATION PRODUCTS OF COLLABORATION

Component	Element	Definition	Indicator
Products of Collaboration		The results that emerge from the collaborative process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015b).	*- presence of actions, outcomes and adaptation.*
	Collaborative actions	The means to get to the goal of collaborative governance (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a)	- *related to shared theory of change.* - *bring efficiencies to one's own organization,* - *the actions are regarded fair.*
	Outcomes	The effects of collaborative actions that occur outside of the process (Thomas and Koontz, 2011; Emerson et al., 2012)	- *positive impact on environment* - *positive impact on own organization,* - *external legitimacy is established.*
	Adaptation	The ability to make changes in response to changes in system context that were caused by the results (Emerson and Gerlak, 2014).	- *collaborative process is able to make needed changes (more stakeholders, more resources etc.)*

3.2.3 Perceived Collaborative Success

In complex situations it is extremely difficult to objectively measure the success of collaborative governance. Perceptions on this are likely to differ across different actors and are likely to change over time. Research thus suggests to evaluate perceptions instead (Klijn, Edelenbos, Steijn, 2010). Table 3.3 shows the operationalization of perceived success.

TABLE 3.3: OPERATIONALIZATION PERCEIVED SUCCESS

Component	Definition	Indicators
Perceived success	The norms that participating actors use to assess the quality of the network (Kenis and Provan, 2009; Van Raaij, 2006).	- *stakeholders explain their meaning of success.*

3.3 Methodology

3.3.1 Research Design

In order to answer the research question, an empirical study was held. This research can be typified as a **case study.** Case studies are a method of doing research where the subject of analyses are cases, that are being researched in their natural situation (Van Thiel, 2015; Baxter and Jack, 2008) It entails the detailed and intensive analysis of a unit, which aims to provide an in-depth elucidation of features that are unique to the case (Gerring, 2004). Case study methods are often used in public administration

research (Yin and Heald, 1975; Jensen and Rodgers, 2001; Van Thiel, 2015). One of the reasons behind its popularity is that cases in public administration are often unique in its kind (Van Thiel, 2015).

According to Yin (2003, in: Baxter and Jack, 2008, p. 545) case studies are to be considered when the focus of the study is to find answers to *'how and why questions,'* when the context is believed to be relevant to the studied phenomenon and when the boundaries between context and phenomenon are unclear. In this regard, this approach suits the aims of this study. This study seeks to find out how different elements, that are typically present in collaborative governance processes, and what it produces relate to collaborative success. Furthermore, context needs to be taken into account in order to understand how collaborative governance works (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a; Ansell and Gash, 2007).

Case studies can be approached using both qualitative and quantitative data, and both methods may also be combined (Yin, 1981). Qualitative research, however, is a more common approach (Van Thiel, 2015). A qualitative approach was also taken in this study. Qualitative research provides a more in-depth view on a phenomenon by highlighting different meanings, experiences and different points of view that are given to the phenomenon. The focus lies on studying the experiences people have from their own perspectives and allows the researches to understand the reasoning they make (Boeije and Bleijenbergh, 2019). This enables researches to have a more detailed understanding of existing situations and the context in which these situations take place (Bryman, 2012). An in-depth review of the phenomenon, which signifies case study approaches (Van Thiel, 2015), best suits the nature of the research question, as it seeks to find the perceptions of different actors on the collaborative process.

3.3.2 Case Selection

Case studies are typically signified by the uniqueness of context in which the researched subject takes place (Van Thiel, 2015). According to Boeije and Bleijenberg (2019), an appropriate method of case selection in qualitative research is to decide on theoretical grounds what case allows for the intensive studying of a phenomenon. Based on theories on collaborative governance this research selected its single case based on two criteria: 1) it was a project in which several parties collaborated to improve a public good and 2) overall, the collaborative endeavor is considered successful.

The case that was selected as the subject of the analysis in this research is called De **Rekenfaculteit.** De Rekenfaculteit is a project that offers mathematics tutoring to children in Pendrecht, a neighborhood in the south of Rotterdam. The south of Rotterdam is an area that is known to show strong signs of inequality of opportunity: the relatively large percentage of immigrant families and low education levels are said to lead to poorer school results for the children of the area (Rotterdam, 2016). The Rekenfaculteit offers intensive extracurricular math lessons for four hours a week for one year to children in grade 7 (referring to the Dutch school system, this equals ages 10-12), Research has shown that the outcomes of this program appear to successful: children that follow this program improve their performance on the CITO-test (Van der Most, 2017). By 2019 this program was spread

amongst four primary schools in the Pendrecht area. To realize this, several parties work closely together. This can be typified as what Bryman (2012, p. 70) calls an **exemplifying case:** "*the notion of exemplifying cases implies that cases are often chosen not because they are extreme or unusual in some way but because (...) they will provide suitable context for certain research questions to be answered.* Although, the Rekenfaculteit was the first program in the Netherlands to offer the type of tutoring that it does, it is one of many projects that was set up to fight inequality of opportunity. What makes it a relevant case to study is the given that it is considered successful (e.g. Van Der Most, 2017).

3.3.3 Data Collection

In order to analyze the collaborative process of the Rekenfaculteit context and the course of the collaborative process will first be identified. This together will be used to identify a process and context description. This will generate more understanding of the process. According to Gerring (2004) it is important that when a researcher is analyzing a single unit, it has knowledge of the units that surround this single unit. This forms a basis upon which a data analysis of the collaborative process can take place. The context is discussed in the first paragraph of the findings chapter. After this, the collaborative process dynamics, its products and success perceptions are discussed.

The case was studied using qualitative research methods. Different types of sources are consulted in attempt to answer the empirical sub-questions. The data that is used is purposively selected based on relevance. Relevance here refers to the opportunity that these data have to inform on the research question being investigated (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). These sources were used to elucidate the context surrounding the case and to obtain information on how collaborative governance works in the case presented in this paper. The different types of information sources that will be consulted are:

- *Interviews.*
- *Documents*

Interviews

Interviews are often used as a method of gathering data in qualitative case studies (Van Thiel, 2015). Eighteen interviews were held to provide information about the collaborative governance process and the perceptions on success. The interviewees were selected on based relevance. The interviewees were randomly selected by the researcher, based on a contact list provided by one the Rekenfaculteit site directors. They were first notified of the research by a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee, after which they were invited by the researcher. However, the overall group of interviewees aimed to be as representative of the participating actors as possible. Furthermore, in order to truly understanding the case central in the analysis, **maximum variation sampling** was strived for, because variation across the interviewees gives opportunity to view the case from different angles (Bryman, 2012). With this in mind, the aim was to at least interview two people from each participating organization. This was largely realized. Two to three people from every participating organization were willing to be interviewed for this research. One primary school was not willing to take part. The interviews took place between July and November 2019 and lasted between 25 and 95 minutes. Appendix 1 provides an overview of the interviews that were held, along with corresponding respondent number that were used as reference in the presentation of the findings.

The interviews were conducted using a **semi-structured** approach. A semi-structured interview is centered around a topic list, yet leaves room for new ideas to arise (Van Thiel, 2015). Therefore, prior to the start of the data collection a topic list for the interviews was constructed based on the concepts discussed in the conceptual framework. A topic-list for the interviews can be found in appendix 2.

Documents

The use of of documents as units of analyses in qualitative research has one widely noted advantage. Contrary to other qualitative data, such as interviews, documents are non-reactive. This is because documents are not created for the purpose of being investigated (Bryman, 2012). Van Thiel (2015) argues that using existing materials in research is particularly appropriate for when the researcher is trying to gain more knowledge on the case's history or context. In this research, documents were used to give more information on the latter. These documents were selected based on relevance. The documents consisted of newspaper articles, reports and information that was found on websites of participating organizations.

3.3.4 Data Analysis

After data collection, it is crucial that the collected information is organized. The most common method of doing this is **coding** (Bryman, 2012). Coding is a method in which the researcher repeatedly examines the collected data and assigns codes to phenomena that closely resemble each other (Yin, 2016) All interviews were recorded and then transcribed, after respondents gave permission for this. The transcripts of these interviews and the documents selected for analysis were uploaded to coding application Atlas.Ti. Most of the codes used were based on the operationalization of the concepts that were discussed in the theoretical chapter. Tables 3.1-3.3 offer an overview of the operationalization. By already identifying **dimensions** and setting **indicators** before collecting data, researchers have the space to focus on details within the studied context and compare the different sources of data in the process of analysis (Boeije and Bleijenbergh, 2019). Also, **open coding** was used for the items that could not be assigned to the already established codes. After coding, the entire data set was examined multiple times to filter out inconsistencies in coding. Incoherencies were tried to be solved by reassigning them to existing codes or by establishing new codes. The data that was used was sent to respondents to perform a **member check**. This phenomenon is quite popular among qualitative researchers, because it helps ensure a good correspondence between the researcher's interpretation of data and the perspective of respondents (Bryman, 2012; Boeije and Bleijenbergh, 2019). The coding scheme that was used for analysis can be found in appendix 3.

3.3.5 Quality of Research

Quality of research concerns its objectivity. **Reliability** and **validity** are the two criteria that are traditionally used to assess this (Boeije and Bleijenburgh, 2019). Reliability revolves around whether another researcher would be able to follow precisely the same steps as the researcher did (Van Thiel, 2015). It thus focuses on replicability (Yin and Heald, 1975). Validity concerns *"the integrity of the conclusions that are generated from a piece of research"* (Bryman, 2012, p. 47). This is easier to

identify in quantitative research, because these criteria tend to focus on the quality of the measurements (ibid.). As this is not the main focus of qualitative research, these criteria appear less relevant (Van Thiel, 2015; Bryman, 2012). Therefore, some writers disagree with using reliability and validity as criteria to evaluate the quality of qualitative research, because it is said to not not match its nature (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Van Thiel, 2015; Shenton, 2004). The criticism behind this is that qualitative research in social sciences cannot reveal one absolute truth and that several accounts are possible. Thus, researchers here rely more on persuasiveness rather than proof (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Therefore, Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest using different criteria. They propose using **trustworthiness** and instead, which has been accepted as an adequate alternative by many writers (e.g. Bryman, 2012; Shenton, 2004; Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). However, several researchers suggest a continued use of the criteria of reliability and validity for qualitative research (Bryman, 2012; Yin and Heald, 1975). Despite disagreement on what criteria to use to evaluate the quality of qualitative research, it is, still very important to pay close attention to the quality of qualitative research (Van Thiel, 2015). Boeije and Bleijenbergh (2019, p. 154) see quality of research as "*doing justice to the object of research.*" This refers to that the conclusions of the research must be an adequate representation of reality (Yin, 2016; Boeije and Bleijenburgh, 2019).

Validity

Internal validity, which focuses on whether the researcher measures what they want to measure (Yin and Heald, 1975; Bryman, 2012; Boeije and Bleijenbergh, 2019). It parallels what Guba and Lincoln (1994) call **credibility,** which concerns the acceptability of the research findings (Yin, 2016). This criterium is sometimes considered most important to take into account in qualitative research, because several viewpoints of social reality are studied (Bryman, 2012; Shenton, 2004). This means that the researchers must follow principles of proper data collection and must make sure the findings accurately reflect the reality of the studied case (Yin, 2016). This means that the concepts that are used for operationalization should be 'correct,' which means that they should be derived from comparable studies (Shenton, 2004). The operationalized concepts in this study were derived from literature. Also helpful in achieving internal validity or credibility is **triangulation.** This refers to using multiple methods or sources of data for the study (Bryman, 2012; Van Staa and Evers, 2010). Triangulation enhances the quality of data, because it allows the researcher to evaluate the case from multiple perspectives. In this way, more confirmation of the findings can be attained (Baxter and Jack, 2008). For this research, multiple people were interviewed from every organization involved as well as different types of sources were used: documents and interviews. Performing a **member check** is said as well to contribute to the internal validity or credibility of a study (Bryman, 2012; Boeije and Bleijgenbergh, 2019). This was also done in this research to help ensure its internal validity.

External validity concerns whether the results of the study are in any way generalizable to other situations, beyond the studied context (Yin and Heald, 1975; Bryman, 2012). Bryman (2012) emphasizes that it is unrealistic for a researcher to believe that a case study can serve as a sample to represent something bigger. Instead, the value of qualitative case lies in the richness of empirical data, because of the intensive studying of a unit (Van Thiel, 2015). Because this is a qualitative case study the data obtained is not generalizable. Guba and Lincoln's (1994) alternative of **transferability** is based on other researcher's judgment whether the conclusions are applicable to different contexts.

What this calls for is that the descriptions and data are rich enough for other researchers to decide on the transferability of the conclusions (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009; Bryman, 2012). In this research, attention was paid to covering essential descriptions of context and considerations.

Reliability

Reliability can be regarded as replicability (Yin and Heald, 1975). In qualitative research, this is again not as clear as it is in quantitative research, because again: context and time is different (Van Thiel, 2015). This does not mean that nothing can be done. Reporting is of crucial importance here. This means that it is important that the researcher should make very clear what steps are taken when they do research. This should be reported (Van Thiel, 2015; Bryman, 2012). In this paper, attention was paid to describing every step. Furthermore, using a data base to store data more systematically contributes to ensuring reliability (Baxter and Jack, 2008). Van Thiel (2015, p. 61) also notes the importance of '*inter-researcher reliability.*' This means that discussing considerations and important choices for the research with methodologists or more experienced researchers can enhance the reliability. In this study, important considerations were discussed with the supervisor. The main body of data was gathered through semi-structured interviews. Although the use of a topic list enhances the reliability of a study, the flexible nature of the interviews diminishes the replicability of them (Boeije and Bleijenbergh, 2019).

Furthermore, triangulation can also contribute to more reliable research (Van Staa and Evers, 2010). Different types of sources were used in the analysis: documents and interviews. This contributes to achieving triangulation (Van Staa and Evers, 2010). An attempt was made to interview respondents from different organizations, that hold different positions and that have different background. Also, a relative large amount of people was interviewed. This increases the representativeness of the respondent group and improves triangulation (Van Thiel, 2015).

4. Findings

In this chapter the findings are presented. In the first paragraph, 4.1, the context surrounding the case is described, as well as an introduction of the involved organizations in the Rekenfaculteit program. Next, the three components of process dynamics are discussed (4.2 -4.4). After this, the products of collaboration are elaborated (4.5). Lastly, the perceived success is addressed (4.5). It is important to note that most interviews were held in Dutch. The majority of the quotations that are shown in this chapter are therefore translated from Dutch to English by the researcher.

4.1 Collaboration in Pendrecht

In the Rekenfaculteit project, children in grade 7 of three primary schools in Pendrecht get four hours of mathematics tutoring each week for a year. In these tutoring classes, two students are matched to one tutor. The program's approach and content are heavily inspired by a parallel program that takes place in several cities in the United States, offered by SAGA (R8). Several organizations work together in realization of this project. In this paragraph, the involved stakeholders, the organization of collaboration and the system context are briefly described.

4.1.1 The stakeholders

The Rekenfaculteit program is carried out in collaboration with several stakeholders. Each of these organizations have different roles and levels of responsibility. The different stakeholders in this process are:

- De Rekenfaculteit
- Stichting de Verre Bergen
- Three primary schools
- SAGA
- Kinderfaculteit
- Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht

Rekenfaculteit is the organization responsible for carrying out the program. The organization consists of and a board, three site directors and fourteen tutors. The board consists of three members,, that perform this task on behalf of Stichting De Verre Bergen. These board members also work at Stichting De Verre Bergen (R6; R8). The site directors are responsible for managing the program. According to the site directors the division of roles and tasks was restructured last year. This resulted in two site directors being responsible of managing the program in Pendrecht and one focusing more on the overall organizational aspect (R1-R3). The fourteen tutors are responsible for the teaching. When the program started, it was considered a one-year job, but this has changed into tutors being allowed to stay on longer (R2-R5; R9; R10; R14).

Stichting De Verre Bergen funds the Rekenfaculteit project. Their involvement in the program stems from their involvement in projects with two other organizations in Pendrecht: Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht and Kinderfaculteit (R6-R8). Other than funding it, they are actively involved in the organization of the program and are said to work intensively with Rekenfaculteit site directors (R6; R8). Furthermore, they carry out research for the program (R1; R14).

The program takes place at three **primary schools** in Pendrecht. These are De Beatrix, De Hoeksteen and Over de Slinge, which consists of two separate locations. The tutoring takes place in these school buildings (R2; R8). All grade 7 students (typically age 10-11) receive tutoring for one year. Not everyone in the schools is involved in the collaboration, but named are the (deputy) school directors, grade 7 teachers and to a lesser extent the educational supervisors (R12; R14).

The program's content is inspired by a program in the United States, offered by **SAGA Education.** SAGA's involvement in the Rekenfaculteit project is on a consulting basis in which they exchange knowledge on their program as well as their teaching method (R3; R6; R15; R16).

Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht is Pendrecht's community association. This was the first organization in Pendrecht to start collaborating with Stichting De Verre Bergen (R10). Until last year, the board of this organization also functioned as the board of the Rekenfaculteit (R9; R10). Rekenfaculteit site directors and tutors use Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht's facilities, among which their buildings. These buildings also house the **Kinderfaculteit,** another collaborative program funded by Stichting De Verre Bergen. This project also targets the same children, but focuses on extracurricular activities in the fields of education, creativity and sports (Kinderfaculteit Pendrecht, n.d.a.).

4.1.2 The organization of collaboration

In realization of the collaboration different types of organized meetings take place. Firstly, several times each year board meetings take place. In these meetings, the program and the collaborative process is discussed (R2; R10; R11; R14; R17). Not all stakeholders take part in these meetings. The stakeholders that are present are:
- Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht
- Kinderfaculteit
- Stichting De Verre Bergen
- School directors
- Rekenfaculteit site directors.

Also, every month meetings take place between Rekenfaculteit tutors and site directors and school teachers. In these meetings the progress of the children and collaboration is discussed (R1-R3; R13). Furthermore, SAGA pays annual visits to Pendrecht to evaluate the program and discuss this (R15). Outside of these planned meetings discussion take place on a daily basis (R2).

4.1.3 The context

As the project takes place in Pendrecht, respondents believe that the socioeconomic characteristics of this neighborhood caused the need for intervention. A Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee explains their view on the deterioration of the neighborhood: "*Something really needed to happen in the neighborhood. (…) I witnessed the neighborhood change drastically. The average income now is half of what it used to be.*" - R10. This resulted in fewer opportunities for children in the area: "*Children in Pendrecht have fewer opportunities than average.*" R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

The Rekenfaculteit is not the only initiative in Pendrecht: before the Rekenfaculteit project started several parties had already collaborated for several years. Respondents from Stichting De Verre Bergen, Kinderfaculteit and Rekenfaculteit site directors believe that this collaboration is related to the start of this project. "*And then Stichting De Verre Bergen and Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht said: '(..) we want to offer [the children] more opportunities.' The Rekenfaculteit is an outcome of that.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

4.2 Process Dynamics: Principled Engagement

The process of **principled engagement** is marked by dialogue between stakeholders. The goal of principled engagement is to get to a process in which stakeholders make plans to address matters collectively (Emerson et al., 2012). Four elements of principled engagement indicate the presence of principled engagement:

- discovery
- definition
- deliberation
- determinations.

In this paragraph, the findings of the empirical research concerning **principled engagement** will be discussed, guided by the indicators that were set in the methodological chapter.

4.2.1 Discovery

The first phase of principled engagement, **discovery,** concerns revealing interests and information between stakeholders (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a).

Interests and Information

Nearly all respondents note that the process in which decisions are made starts with **sharing interests and information**. Information and interests are shared both inside and outside of planned meetings. "*We talk to each other a lot. Planned meetings regularly take place. That is where you hear if there any issues to be raised.*" - R10, a Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee. Communication outside of planned meetings is considered important by nearly all respondents. "*I think the collaboration really is built through: the other minute I was sitting with the people from the Kinderfaculteit. Simply discussing: 'how are things going?' 'What has been going on?' The same goes for the teachers. Every*

day we pick up the children from their classrooms. That is the moment you get in touch and tell them: 'this has just happened.'" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

The extent to and frequency in which information and interests are shared has grown over the years. This especially counts for communications between teachers and the Rekenfaculteit tutors and site directors (R1; R2; R6; R8; R11- R13). That is due to the importance of the sharing of information at that level (R1; R3; R5; R11-R13; R17; R18). *"We have to communicate a lot. We work with the kids really intensely and we hear things, we see things and from both parties there needs to be a lot of listening and a lot of communication."* - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Although the situation has improved, it still occurs that the amount of information shared is insufficient, several interviewees argue (R1-R4; R7; R8). Respondents mention that they think this is partially because teachers and directors are too busy. A Rekenfaculteit tutor explains a situation they experienced with a school teacher: "*One the primary schools suffered from a lack of teaching staff. (…) I get that if we need to discuss the math performance of student X, it was not at the top of of their priorities. But maybe it should be."* - R4.

Research findings appear to be at the root of dialogue. Several respondents point out or that these functioned as a base line after which is discussed what to do next (R6-R9; R11; R12; R15; R17; R18). "*Usually it is the case that if we have new knowledge or interim reports (…) we organize a meeting with everyone (..) And then we start thinking very specifically, in collaboration with the schools or project directors from Rekenfaculteit, Kinderfaculteit, about the consequences, recommendations, conclusions. That is very actively discussed and shared."* - R7, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

Conclusion

It appears that the discovery phase is explicitly present in the Rekenfaculteit's collaborative process. In, table 4.1 the indicators are presented. Respondents stress the frequency in which this happens, even outside of planned moments. However, school teachers and directors seem to share a bit less than other organizations and Stichting De Verre Bergen also appears to sometimes remain at a distance.

TABLE 4.1: FINDINGS DISCOVERY

Indicators		Interviewees
Participants reveal interest and information	+	R1-R18
	-	R1-R5; R7; R8

4.2.2 Definition

In the definition phase, shared information and interest are evaluated to build shared meaning and understanding of what the collaborative endeavor is going to address (Emerson et al., 2012). Its presence is indicated by:

- information and interests are assessed to find a shared understanding of the problem,
- boundaries of what the collaborative endeavor is to address are drawn.

Shared Understanding

Respondents point out that in discussions information is assessed to generate a shared understanding of the existing problems. A Rekenfaculteit site director explains: "*It is important to share information. And to test that information: what do they notice? What do we notice? How can we respond to that together?*" - R1. Several respondents believe that a shared understanding of what the program addresses is useful for everyone to understand their tasks and responsibilities (R1; R2; R17). "*We need to make sure that the teachers are aware of the things we are doing. And that we draw one line in this.*" -R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

Mentioned by several respondents is their belief that one of the problems was that research showed that the programs established before the Rekenfaculteit, such as the Kinderfauclteit, began failed to achieve cognitive results among children (R6-R9; R17; R18). A Kinderfaculteit interviewee explains: "*One of the goals of the Kinderfaculteit is that the children would make a jump on a cognitive level besides what they are doing in school. Research then showed that it may help some, but a boost (…) would never be measurable. That means you have to work much more specifically on something to achieve [measurable] cognitive differences.*" - R17.

Boundaries

Nearly all respondents stress that the program helps to address the disadvantaged of the children. A Rekenfaculteit site director explains their view on what the program addresses: "*It started with the Kinderfaculteit. (…) Later on, the Rekenfaculteit was added to diminish social inequality (…) or to get rid of it altogether.*" - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Several respondent note that research findings played a very important role in drawing a boundary at mathematics (R6-R8; R10; R11; R17; R18). "*Research findings showed that the current program, [the Kinderfaculteit], did not suffice [to achieve cognitive skill improvements among children]. 'We need to do more. Are we going to do language or mathematics?' At first schools preferred language. Why we chose mathematics? Partially because language is a very complex issue. (…) A lot more is needed to do something about that. At the same time, mathematics is quite straightforward. Then [SAGA's] program [in the U.S.A.] showed great results. So in that way it was decided that in schools they are focusing on mathematics.*" - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. Another boundary that was drawn was the decision to offer the program to all children in the primary schools in which it takes place (R2; R6; R11; R14). This was done upon wishes of the school directors (R2; R6; R14), a Rekenfaculteit site director describes: "*Here in Pendrecht we said: 'we [offer the program to] all children.' That was because the directors wished that. We still needed to gain ground there. That means you compromise.*" - R2.

Conclusion

The indicators of definition appear present in the Rekenfaculteit process, as the overview in table 4.2 shows. Information and interests are actively discussed and assessed and it seems that a shared understanding of what the program addresses is explicitly present. It appears that boundaries are drawn, which are addressed by many respondents. Again, research findings appear to play a prominent role in this phase.

TABLE 4.2: FINDINGS DEFINITION

Indicators		Interviewees
Shared understanding is found	+	R1-R14; R17
	-	-
Boundaries are drawn	+	R1-R18
	-	-

4.2.3 Deliberation

According to literature, deliberation, which refers to the thoughtful examination of issues, starts as progress is made in the definition phase. Several characteristics of dialogue show the presence of deliberation:

- stakeholders engage in dialogue in which they provide reasoning behind their information and interests
- stakeholders experience a sense of equality,
- different interests are weighed,

Reasoning

In the steps from assessing information and interests to agreeing on steps, discussions take place: "*We really talk about things (...) I think a good dialogue takes place [at planned meetings]. One person is for, the other is against. That is what starts a good discussion.*" - R14, a school director. To arrive at a fruitful discussion several principles of good communication appear to be taken taken into account. "*We think about how we can communicate in a constructive manner.*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. The importance of presenting **reasoning behind their stances** is stressed by several respondents (R4; R6-R12; R14). "*We do that by having conversations. If a Rekenfaculteit site director says: 'we have to do it this way.' Then I want to know why. If we talk to a school director and that person says: 'no, we should do it that way.' Then we want to know the reasoning behind that. In the end we hope to find a connection between all parties that brought about something everyone agrees with. In which everyone shares a feeling that they were heard and things were taken into consideration*" - R6, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. That process sometimes brings about new insights (R9; R14). "*So when we communicate, sometimes I hear things from them and I*

think: I have never looked at it that way. That really is collaboration." - R9, a Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee.

Equality

A sense of equality is felt in discussion (R1; R2; R6-R12; R14). *"Everyone is equal."* - R14, a school director This translates to how information and interests are shared: it is stressed that everyone gets the space to speak (R6; R8; R9; R14). Some stress how equality means that it is important that everyone gets should always listen and take each other seriously (R1; R7; R9; R11; R14). *"You should listen to one another and commit to joined-up thinking."* - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Even though Stichting De Verre Bergen holds a powerful position as sole financier, they are considered to be an equal player in these discussions (R1; R2; R11; R14). *"If we address that [the children] are growing on a socio-emotional level and that we are not measuring that. Then they immediately respond with 'okay, how are going to measure that then?' So they are completely open to [our input].* - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

Weighing Interests

In these discussions, **interests are weighed** (R7; R8; R11; R14; R17). This is examined critically (R1; R6- R8; R14; R17), as a Kinderfaculteit interviewee illustrates: *"[Stichting De Verre Bergen] often [has] that underlying knowledge and the research and theories that they thoroughly examined. We, [the organizations in Pendrecht] are more execution and practice focused. You try to unite that. That clashes from time to time. (…) It works really well that you debate that. (…) If you are able to unite that, I think you are steps ahead."* - R17. In that process the information and interests are adapted to context the capabilities, characteristics and wishes of the different stakeholders (R1; R2; R8; R11; R17). *"You should not do a rigid: 'this is what we want to do and I do not care about what you want.' You should dare to adjust yourself when it is needed."* - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director. It is pointed out that schools are sometimes not critical enough. This is also stressed by one of the school directors (R7; R11). *"[The school directors] hardly pay for anything. That makes it easy to say: 'I think things are going okay.' But you expect a critical stance, a critical partner that really helps think about how to develop this program."* - R7, a Stichting De Verre Bergen interviewee. Furthermore, SAGA Education, Kinderfaculteit and Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht express that they do not feel like their interest should be taken into account too much, considering their limited involvement in the program (R9; R10; R17). *"We do not interfere with content. We do not have that knowledge. You should not want to interfere there."* - R10, a Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht.

Conclusion

The Rekenfaculteit project seems to take principles of deliberation into account, as is shown in table 4.3. The equality of participants is emphasized. Furthermore, it is stressed that everyone shares reasoning behind stances in discussion. Then, interests are weighed. Although having thorough conversations on this is stressed, some argue that schools could sometimes take a more critical stance.

TABLE 4.3: FINDINGS DELIBERATION

Indicators		Interviewees
Sense of equality is felt	+	R1; R2; R6-R12 R14; R17
	-	-
Reasoning behind stances provided	+	R4; R6-R12; R14
	-	-
Interests weighed	+	R1; R2; R6; R7; R8; R11; R12; R14 R17
	-	R7; R9; R10; R11; R17

4.2.4 Determinations

Collaborative governance processes are marked by a large amount of decisions (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Here, they are referred to as **determinations.** Determinations can be categorized into two groups: procedural and substantive determinations. Indicators for its presence are:

- they are explicitly agreed upon,
- they are acceptable to stakeholders,
- a shared theory of change is agreed upon (a shared idea of what is going to be achieved through collaboration and a strategy for this).

Explicit agreements

It seems that the extent to which determinations are **explicitly agreed upon** is not always the same. Differences occur between how procedural and substantive determinations are made. This mostly concerns who is involved in decisions and the amount of influence they have. This, however, does not mean that one, or a few parties have complete control over what is decided. It is emphasized that the project's funder, Stichting De Verre Bergen, seeks agreement between parties (R2; R6-R8; R17). "*You cannot say: 'we decided in top-down manner to do things radically different from what we discussed.' You should do that in deliberation.*" - R7, a Stichting de Verre Bergen employee.

It appears that for **procedural determinations,** it is explicitly agreed upon by the parties that are affected by the decisions. The decision to separate the Kinderfaculteit's and Rekenfaculteit's foundation is a clear example of this: it was explicitly agreed upon by the parties affected by the change (R2; R7- R10; R14; R18). Another recent procedural determination was to schedule regular meetings with teachers for the entire school year (R1- R5).

Substantive determinations seem to have lower levels of **explicit agreement** by all affected parties. For the determinations that concern the organizational aspect of the program, such as the amount of hours the program is taught each week and the year in which the program takes place, explicit agreement is sought (R2; R6-R8; R10). An example is the decision to start with the math tutoring: all the before mentioned parties explicitly agreed to this. *"That really was a collective decision,"* R7, a

Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. However, school teachers and Rekenfaculteit tutors tend to not be involved in such decisions (R4; R5; R12; R13). Both SAGA Educations respondents emphasize that they do not wish to explicitly agree to all determinations, as they see their role as mere advisors (R15; R16). "*You hope that they would take the suggestions. (..) It is up to them to decide if they want to.*" -R16 a SAGA employee. As for the content and approach of the program, it appears that many determinations are inspired by scientific evidence (R2; R7; R8; R11; R15; R17; R18). A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee illustrates: "*The middle road or the right way. (..) You should try to find the best solution.*" - R7. In this, explicit agreement among all involved parties is not sought as frequently (R2; R8; R11; R14). "*In that course of action (the translation of the American program to Dutch context) we did not have that much influence.*" - R11, a school director.

Acceptable agreements

The decision-making process seems to be focused on achieving a certain level of **consensus** (R2; R3; R6-R8; R10; R11; R14; R17). In this, it helps that stakeholders have a shared purpose, interviewees argue (R3; R17): "*We always find a way to work towards agreement, and that is because of the shared goal.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Finding consensus means that compromise is often needed. This requires flexibility (R2; R7; R11) "*In such a collaboration it always kind of is a give and take process. So, if everyone moves along a little bit we can figure things out.*" - R11, a school director. This is a process of mutual adjustment. It is emphasized by school directors that consensus has not always been possible (R11; R14). However, the deliberative process contributes to **accepting** that decisions are taken that they do not completely agree with, several respondents mention (R3; R6; R11; R14). "*When you discuss things with each other and ultimately make decisions. Then you may not completely agree, but you were present when the decisions were made. At a certain point you simply accept that.*" - R11, a school director. It appears important that the decisions are acceptable to all parties (R6-R8; R14). "*That type of agreement. You can only get there by having a lot of conversations with each other.*" - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

Shared theory of change

Nearly all respondents point out that they believe that a broader goal is shared among all organizations and projects in the neighborhood (R1 - R13; R17; R18). "*In the end we are all doing this for the same people. So we share a goal. That creates a connection I believe.*" - R5, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee describes this goal: A belief is shared that the Rekenfaculteit program fits in with this broader goal. Several respondents believe that this goal overlap is a crucial factor connecting organizations (R1-R6; R10; R18). Finding the commonalties in each other's goals is actively discussed. "*I see it as building bridges. You should try to find what connects us rather than what the differences are. If you focus on that, that is how you gain ground within all those organizations.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

Rekenfaculteit site directors (R1-R3) and school directors (R11; R14) say that they are unaware of any agreement on a **common purpose** or **target goals.** They say it is not frequently discussed. "*We have never formulated shared goals. I think for most parties it is more of an implicit thing.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director. On the contrary, two Stichting De Verre Bergen respondents (R7; R8)

do see a target goal formulated: "*We agreed with one another, you should overcome disadvantages [in mathematics performance] and give it an extra boost. That should be strived for.*" - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. Respondents describe efforts made to bring about a shared theory of change (R1; R7). "*The last time [the stakeholders] came together we tried to sharpen the Rekenfaculteit's intervention theory. What ambitions do we have regarding the effects, the development of the children and what is needed?*" - R7, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

Conclusion

Overall, the indicators show that many determinations were made. At least a part of this was explicitly agreed upon. This seems especially the case for procedural determinations. The substantive and procedural determinations that were made appear acceptable, and it is often stressed that that is important to organizations. What may be very important is that there seems to be no definite agreement on a shared theory of change. Table 4.4 offers an overview of the presence of the indicators.

TABLE 4.4: FINDINGS DETERMINATIONS

Indicators		Interviewees
Explicit agreements	+	R1; R2; R6-R10; R14; R17
	-	R1-R5; R7; R8; R11-R16
Acceptable agreements	+	R2; R3; R6-R8; R10; R11; R14; R17
	-	-
Shared theory of change	+	R7; R8
	-	R1- R3; R11; R14

4.2.5 Conclusion

Four elements point towards the presence of principled engagement: **discovery, definition, deliberation** and **determinations.** The previous paragraphs discussed each of these phases in the Rekenfaculteit's collaborative process. All four elements appear present, although not to the same degree. Although the discovery phase is present, as plenty of information and interest is shared, a sentiment is shared among respondents that teachers and school directors sometimes do not share enough information. What is more, interviewees praise the quality of the definition and deliberation phase. The determinations phase seems of lower quality than the other three. Despite the large number of determinations, that were acceptable to respondents, they were not always explicitly agreed upon. Remarkable seems that there is no clear shared theory of change. This is interesting as all organization sharing a common purpose is emphasized by respondents.

4.3 Process Dynamics: Shared Motivation

The shared motivation process is marked by social capital. The idea behind this is that once principled engagement has made steps, organizations build relations with one another and find responsibility towards the process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). The presence of trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy and commitment indicate the presence of shared motivation. In this paragraph, these four element will be discussed. The presentation of these findings are based on the indicators set in the methodological chapter.

4.3.1 Trust

Trust is defined as confidence that other actors will refrain from opportunistic behavior (Klijn, Edelenbos, Steijn, 2010). Indicators of trust are:

- stakeholders regard other stakeholders as trustworthy
- stakeholders believe that the other stakeholders show good intentions,
- stakeholders believe others are able to follow through on plans.

Trustworthiness

On the whole, respondents believe that other stakeholders are **trustworthy.** All parties are deemed trustworthy. "*If there was no trust, we would not be able to collaborate in this way. (..) We have been doing this for six years now, with the same schools, the same parties. Trust levels have to be high.*" - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. However, not all parties trust each other equally. This is partially due to that some parties, such as Rekenfaculteit tutors and Stichting De Verre Bergen, do not collaborate intensively. This is not regarded as a negative thing (R2; R4; R5). A Rekenfaculteit site director explains: "*building trust takes time and interaction. (..) If they continue communicating with just me and using me to communicate their information to the tutors, I do not consider that to be such a bad thing.*" - R2. It is often stressed that it was helpful that there is history of collaboration between many of the stakeholders. This concerns the pre-established collaboration between the schools and Kinderfaculteit and Stichting De Verre Bergen and the collaboration between Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht and other parties (R3; R6; R10; R11). "*Without Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht and Kinderfaculteit the Rekenfaculteit would have had a rockier start.*" - R6, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. This contributed to establishing trust: "*I believe we made a great contribution. We took away some of the distrust that was felt among school directors.*" - R10, a Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee.

Building trust did, however, did not come about very easily and it took considerable time. This was especially the case with teachers, of which some were quite distrusting. (R1-R7; R10; R11). School teachers and tutors stress, however, that this differs per individual (R4; R5; R12; R13)."*The skepticism I am talking about happens on an individual level. If that was not the case the schools would not be working with us.*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. At this moment, it seems that teachers and Rekenfaculteit trust each other a lot more. "*You can notice that they trust us.*" - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Respondents mention that a possible reason for this is that the same

tutors and site directors have worked with the same teachers for a number of years now (R3; R5; R11; R14) "*There is also more trust that comes when you know each other better. And we are in our fifth year.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

Good Intentions

When explaining how trust was built, it is emphasized that showing **good intentions** played a big role. This was especially the case for building trust between teachers and Rekenfaculteit. Interviewees stress that Rekenfaculteit site directors made deliberate efforts to show teachers for what purpose they were there (R1-R3; R5; R10; R15). "*Schools are a little distrusting when you first enter with a whole group that are supposed to do things better. It took us years to show that we want work with teachers instead of replacing them.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit employee. Also for Stichting De Verre Bergen, a belief that they have good intentions is emphasized (R8; R9; R11; R14). It is emphasized that the schools trust each other's intentions, despite being competitors. This is regarded as quite unique (R10; R11). "*We feel relatively little that we are direct competitors.*" - R11, a school director.

Follow through

The last indicator of the presence of trust is that stakeholders **follow through** on plans made. It appears that this is very important in the relationship between De Verre Bergen and Rekenfaculteit site directors: "*I think there is trust. Until right now we have shown that we can do well with the projects and that we know what we are doing with it.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. This shows in how much freedom they leave to site directors in running the program (R1-R3; R6-R9). A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee illustrates this: "*In my opinion Rekenfaculteit [site directors] are managing things well. (…) Rekenfaculteit is facing a nice challenge. They have the freedom to shape their own program and only have to discuss the most important themes with us.*" - R6, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. It appears that respondents share a belief that most stakeholders follow through on their plans, although some are slightly more negative towards school directors and teachers (R2; R3; R7; R14). This concerns them, for example, not showing up to meetings and not replying to calls or emails. It is, however, pointed out that things have improved in the last year (R1; R5). Also, even if stakeholders do not follow through on plans, respondents quickly highlight that they still believe in the stakeholders' good intentions. One of the things that was important in the beginning was the Stichting De Verre Bergen's decision to commit themselves to funding the program for a couple of years (R3; R8; R9). "*In an early stage we said: 'we are committing ourselves for five years.' So I think we are considered a party you can rely on.*" - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

Conclusion

Overall, trust is present in the collaborative process of the Rekenfaculteit. All respondents say that other stakeholders are trustworthy, show good intentions and follow through on plans. According to many respondents, the process of building trust has taken time: "*That process goes step by step. One step forwards, and then sometimes two steps backwards.(..) Then slowly you gain trust.*" - R10, a Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee. Trust levels regarding school directors and teachers seem lower,

due to them sometimes not following through on plans or them having a more distrusting attitude. This, however, has improved over the years. Table 4.5 provides an overview.

TABLE 4.5: FINDINGS TRUST

Indicators		Interviewees
Regard others as trustworthy	+	R1-R18
Good intentions	-	R2; R4-R6; R8; R12; R13
	+	R1-R3; R6; R8; R9-R11; R13-R15
	-	-
Follow through	+	R1; R3; R5-R10; R13; R14; R16
	-	R2; R3; R7; R14

4.3.2 Mutual Understanding

Mutual understanding contrasts with shared understanding, which was discussed in the principled engagement paragraph. Instead, **mutual understanding** highlights differences (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). If actors show that they respect differences in perceptions, interests and values of the other actors, that means that mutual understanding is present.

Respect Differences

Respondents show that they **respect differences** in values, perceptions and interests. "*Everyone can do their own thing, while keeping the bigger picture in mind.*" - R11, a school director. This is shown in different instances. Firstly, it is emphasized that different stakeholders find different things important when it comes to the goals. This especially counts for Stichting De Verre Bergen, as they find achieving measurable results of great importance (R1; R6-R8; R11; R14; R17). Although, stakeholders located in Pendrecht do not attach such value to numbers, they do seem understanding of that De Verre Bergen does find that important (R1; R11; R14; R17). "*That is just what De Verre Bergen stands for, they are focused on the numbers. (…) That is fine.*" - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Also, because De Verre Bergen wanted to do research, schools had to make extra efforts to facilitate the program. School directors were understanding of this (R11; R14). "*They wanted a scientific basis for the project's successes. That was very important to De Verre Bergen. (…) I would say that is collateral damage.*" - R11, a school director. Lastly, people stress that they understand that some schools are under a lot of pressure and that the Rekenfaculteit is not a big priority to them (R2-R4). "*Teachers are really busy and have a full schedule. You should take that into account when you ask them to do something. You need to be understanding of that.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

Conclusion

Overall, mutual understanding appears present, as demonstrated in table 4.6. Respondents show that there is room for differing ideas and values and express these. Even when they do not agree, they quickly stress that they trust other stakeholders and believe in their good intentions. In this sense, it appears closely related to trust.

TABLE 4.6: FINDINGS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING

Indicators		Interviewees
Respect differences	+	R1-R5; R8-R11; R13; R14; R17; R18
	-	-

4.3.3 Internal legitimacy

Internal legitimacy also revolves around trust, but instead of addressing trust in other stakeholders it takes a look at the process as a whole. Indicators for internal legitimacy are:

- participants believe that the process is worthy of reaching goals, or to achieve shared theory of change.
- participants believe the collaborative process is beneficial to themselves.
- participants recognize interdependence in reaching the shared goals.

Process worthy of reaching goals

It is often emphasized by different respondents that stakeholders share the same goals. "*I think everyone is aiming for the same goals, even De Verre Bergen. They (…) did not make such an investment without reason.*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. Respondents from Rekenfaculteit, Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht (R9; R10), Kinderfaculteit, SAGA and a school director say that this means that they want the children in Pendrecht to do better overall (R1-R5; R9-R11; R15; R17; R18). Respondents share a belief that that the current process enables this. "*The goal really is to get the best for the child and [by using this network] we can organize the tutoring classes in such a way that that is best achieved.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

However, respondents from Stichting De Verre Bergen, school teachers and one school director stress that they believe that the main goal is to improve math performance among these children, rather than the overall development (R6-R8; R12-R14). "*The goal is very simple: if you say we are doing [the interventions in Pendrecht] for the broad development of the child. Cognitive development is part of that. A sub-part of that are mathematical skills. That is what the Rekenfaculteit is for.*" R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. Several respondents stress that this is feasible (R1-R8; R12-R14; R17; R18). "*I have a lot of faith and confidence in the Rekenfaculteit project. I can hardly imagine that it would not have any effects if you receive four hours of classes each week in such a small setting.*" - R6, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. Despite recognizing that they believe that process is worthy in order to achieve better cognitive results, three respondents raise questions as to whether this process is the most effective solution in reaching these goals (R7; R11; R14).

Seeing results is said to have helped teachers to see that the process is worthwhile (R4; R5; R8; R12; R13). A Rekenfaculteit tutor and one school teacher point out that in the beginning some teachers did not believe in the process is worthwhile, and this still sometimes happens (R4; R12). A school teacher explains the situation at their school: *"They were very negative about it and did not see the added value of it. They thought of it as an inconvenience and as if the classes were not of enough quality then."* - R12.

Beneficial to Own Organization

It appears that a belief that the program is beneficial to one's own organization is hard to separate from a belief that the actual program is worthy of reaching goals. Not many specify a belief that the program itself will bring any particular benefits to the own organization, other than that they have an interest in that common goal. *"All parties have their own interests and in the end those common interests create a situation in which you say: 'we are going to look into what more we can do together.'"* - R2. SAGA interviewees state that they believe that their participation in collaboration will lead to them improving their consulting skills (R15; R16). One school director points out that they made efforts to estimate whether the organizational costs outweighed the benefits they had to decide whether or not to move forward with the program (R8; R11). Also mentioned as a benefit is the professional development of the tutors, yet this is explicitly related to also helping in improving the quality of the program, thus serving the goal (R3-R5).

Interdependence

All respondents believe that they are interdependent in the collaborative process. That means that they see that collaboration is needed to achieve results (R1-R18). A Rekenfaculteit site director explains how important they believe it is: *"Without collaboration [the organizations] would function like small islands. Everyone would do their own thing. If you do not collaborate, you do not learn. You have to learn from each other. You cannot exchange information. You cannot obtain advice. You work alongside each other. (..) That simply does not work."* - R1. A case in which several respondents point out the importance of recognizing interdependence is the more intense collaboration between teachers and Rekenfaculteit tutors and site directors (R2-R6; R12). A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee illustrates a situation: *"I think that the collaboration is conditional to the results. I think it would create such a bad situation if the schools and the Rekenfaculteit did not collaborate. That would mean that tutors are thrown into a snake pit with a teacher that is constantly looking over their shoulder and that does not really believe in what they do."* - R6. Several respondents point out that this was not immediately recognized by some school teachers back in the beginning of the program, but has since improved (R1; R3; R7; R8; R12; R13). *"You have to be open to it. You should not think: 'that is your business. Figure it out yourselves. If things fail, it is on you." As a person you should see it as something that can only succeed if everyone involved is open to it."* - R13, a school teacher.

Some respondents link interdependence to the common goals (R2-R8; R10; R14; R18). A Rekenfaculteit site director explains how important they believe these goals are: *"People are not always willing to work with you or work with your organization, but they will work toward a greater cause."* - R3. The already established relations between parties prior to the start of the Rekenfaculteit

program are also related to recognizing interdependence (R2; R6; R7; R11). A De Verre Bergen employee says of the organization's involvement in the program: "*Back then [when the program first started] it was still the math program of the Kinderfaculteit. By calling it 'Rekenfaculteit' it may seem as if is separate from the Kinderfaculteit. That is not the case. (…) So why we are involved? It was part of the Kinderfaculteit.*" - R7, a Stichting de Verre Bergen employee.

It is pointed out, however, that Kinderfaculteit (R1; R2; R5; R6; R9; R17; R18) and Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht (R6; R8; R18) are less dependent on the collaborative process than some of the other parties. "*The collaboration is not that intensive. (…) Once you see the program goes well and runs smoothly, [the collaboration] fades a little. That does not mean that there is no attention, but that means you kind of lead your own life.*" - R17, a Kinderfaculteit employee. Three interviews disagree (R7; R8; R10). A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee believes that even though the Rekenfaculteit became a separate foundation, it should still recognize its dependence on the Kinderfaculteit and Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht: "*I think that is important. (…) It should still feel as a part of the entire program for the neighborhood.(…) That is because of ownership. (…) If the program is completely separate, the program may not belong to anyone.*" - R7, a Stichting de Verre Bergen employee. One Rekenfaculteit site director and the two Kinderfaculteit employees believe that even though Rekenfaculteit and Kinderfaculteit are not that interdependent, they should still search for that connection. "*We share the same goals. So the moment you separate that, that 'one plus one equals more than two' gets lost.*" - R18, a Kinderfaculteit employee.

Conclusion

Overall, internal legitimacy is present in the Rekenfaculteit collaborative process. Table 4.7 illustrates this. A school director expresses his view of the overall internal legitimacy: "*In my opinion everyone really sees the benefits of the Rekenfaculteit. Of course, you can thwart, but you put a lot at stake when you do that. Everyone has a lot to gain from the continuation of this project.*" - R11. All respondents believe that the process is worthy of reaching goals. Respondents, however, appear to disagree slightly on what the goals precisely are. Regardless, most respondents do believe that the different goals are feasible. Interdependence is stressed by many as conditional to achieving results. This does not concern all organizations: Kinderfaculteit and Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht are seen as less dependent in this process. It appears that a belief that the program will benefit their own organization is of inferior importance to interviewees. Not many speak of this and, if they do, it is quite immediately related to the common goals of the program.

TABLE 4.7: FINDINGS INTERNAL LEGITIMACY

Indicators		Interviewees
Process worthy	+	R1-R18
	-	R4; R8; R11; R12; R14
Benefits to own organization	+	R2-R5; R8; R11; R15; R16
	-	-
Interdependence	+	R1-R8; R10-R18

Indicators		Interviewees
	-	R1; R2; R5; R6; R8; R17; R18

4.3.4 Commitment

The last element of **shared motivation** is **commitment.** In literature, commitment is considered of crucial importance to successful collaboration, as it enables stakeholders to truly work together to create collective actions (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Indicators of commitment are:

- stakeholders feel committed to achieving results.
- stakeholders feel responsible to contribute,

Felt Commitment

Nearly every respondent expresses that a **motivation to achieve results** is present (R1; R3; R4- R18). This relates to the goal of seeing improvement for the children (R3-R6; R9; R10; R14-R18). "*Everyone is committed to that vision, opportunities for children. I think that that is a connecting factor.*"- R18, a Kinderfaculteit employee. The necessity of this factor is emphasized by several (R3; R4; R14; R15; R17; R18). "*It is all over. It is the core of why we do this work. Because of the kids who are most in need.*" - R15, a SAGA employee. Respondents experience a presence of motivation in every organization, although levels seem to differ. According to respondents, Rekenfaculteit site directors and especially tutors feel particularly motivated (R3-R5; R9; R10; R15; R17). "*I think the tutors are so committed. They care so deeply about watching these kids succeed. They are really committed to that, I think.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Stichting De Verre Bergen also is regarded as motivated. According to respondents, this motivation manifests itself in that they are very approachable and easy to reach (R1; R7; R9; R11; R14).

It is also stressed that school teachers are motivated to achieve results (R3-R5; R12; R14). "*I'm not getting all these emails and all these text messages (…) for the heck of it. These people want to see the kids do better and that is what spurs them forward and makes them want to collaborate more.*" - R3. This, however, is not the case for all school teachers, respondents mention (R4; R5; R11). "*I think overall schools are happy with us (the Rekenfaculteit tutoring) and sometimes you notice an individual and that makes you think: 'you do not express great enthusiasm.*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutors. Although their motivation is stressed by school directors themselves (R11; R14), some respondents question this (R2; R7). "*Every day the math tutoring takes place there, but when it comes to building a community and think about how we can improve the neighborhood, and all its children, together. Then they are more like islands, that do not think about that.*" - R7, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. However, it is pointed out that they do have enough motivation: "*the schools are not forced to take part in the Rekenfaculteit. It is something they want to see in Pendrecht and they want to contribute to. They want that program, that is what I hope at least. And we discuss that of course. If they would say it is too invasive (…) or 'we do not see any results.' Then that is a conversation you ought to have: 'how should collaborate then? Is there a mutual interest we can find? Maybe not.*" - R6, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

Responsibility

Overall, a sense of **responsibility to contribute** to the program is expressed by many (R1-R4; R6-R10; R14). They express that they feel that most other organizations take their responsibilities. Interviewees emphasize that levels are particularly high among Rekenfaculteit employees (R8-R10). A Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee explains this as they describe how much effort they believe Rekenfaculteit employees put into their work: "*If you are not committed, you would not do that.*" - R9. Respondents argue that De Verre Bergen's responsibility primarily shows in financially committing themselves to the program (R1; R3; R6-R9). Some dissatisfaction is expressed regarding the physical presence of Stichting De Verre Bergen in the execution of the program. Although it is stressed that they do contribute greatly to the program, their physical absence is noted by some (R3; R5). "*Caring really facilitates collaboration. What I'd like to see differently: I would love to see them just more present on the day to day. They are very present when it comes to the financial piece and monitoring the budget and more budget issues. (...) On those issues they are very present, but on the day to day not as much.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. This is underlined by Stichting De Verre Bergen: "*We had too little presence in the field.*" -R7, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

School teachers and directors show different levels of responsibility. Respondents express that the level of felt responsibility among school directors is sometimes not enough (R2; R3; R7; R11; R14). Reasons for this sentiment are directors not following up on what they said they would (R2; R3), them not showing up to meetings (R7; R14). A Rekenfaculteit site director explains, as they describe the levels of commitment: "[*The school directors] are probably busy. Let's keep it at that. They are hard to reach. They are not that involved. When we ask them to do something, which we hardly do, it usually does not happen. So that is complicated.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director. This does not go unnoticed by school directors themselves. One (R14) stresses his own school's commitment, but points out that other directors often fail to show up to meetings, and the other explains: "*As schools, I think we act as if we are mere consumers a little too often.*" - R11, a school director. As for teachers, it is stressed that their sense of responsibility differs, but it has certainly improved over the years (R1; R3; R4; R11). Interviewees notice this improvement in that teachers take more responsibility in sharing information. "*Some teachers do that on their own initiative. They keep an eye on things to share. They deliver test results, CITO-results. They reach out to talk about the children.*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. Two interviewees express that they still sometimes experience that they do not feel enough responsibility to contribute to the program. This is mostly due to the busy schedules teachers have (R3; R4). A Rekenfaculteit tutor shares his experience: "*You want to make a circle, (...) but that last piece was missing. There was a gray area. We did not precisely know what was happening in class and what the teacher's plans were there. (...) I think as a school you are responsible [for that].*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor.

Conclusion

Overall, respondents speak positively about the presence of commitment. However, differences between organizations can be noted. It is especially emphasized that school directors, and to a lesser extent school teachers, have lower levels of commitment. Stichting De Verre Bergen is regarded as

committed, as they are considered to take responsibility and to be motivated, but their physical absence is negatively addressed. Respondents, however, do emphasize that the levels of commitment among Rekenfaculteit tutors and site directors are particularly high. Table 4.8 presents an overview.

TABLE 4.8: FINDINGS COMMITMENT

Indicators		Interviewees
Responsibility to contribute	+	R1-R4; R6- 10; R14
	-	R2-R5; R7; R11; R14
Felt commitment	+	R1-R18
	-	R2; R4; R5; R7; R11

4.3.5 Conclusion

Shared motivation concerns the relational aspect of collaboration. It consists of four elements: trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy and commitment. All four elements appear to be present in the Rekenfaculteit. Respondents say that **trust** is present, even though it is said that teachers can come across as a little distrusting and both teachers and school directors sometimes fail to follow through on plans. The second element, **mutual understanding,** seems to be related to trust: if stakeholders disagree on things, respondents say to trust another's good intentions. **Internal legitimacy** also is recognized: it is stressed that the process is worthy of reaching goals, but it appears that respondents sometimes disagree on what goals the program is mainly trying to achieve. Respondents recognize interdependence, but some believe that Vitaal Pendrecht and Kinderfaculteit are not as interdependent in this process. **Commitment** also is positively addressed by respondents: many believe that stakeholders feel responsibility to contribute to the collaboration and see that they are motivated to do so. It is, however, pointed out that this is not always the case for school directors and teachers, as well as for De Verre Bergen, although to a lesser extent. This means that even though school directors and teachers appear to have lower levels of the indicators present, the overall presence of the elements of shared motivated is positively associated by respondents.

4.4 Process Dynamics: Capacity for Joint Action

Unlike principled engagement and shared motivation, which highlight the relational/communicational side of collaboration, the component capacity for joint action addresses the functional side of collaborative governance (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Capacity for joint action consists of institutional design, resources, knowledge and leadership.

4.4.1 Institutional Design

The institutional design of collaborative governance processes tends to be fluid and the amount of rules present tends to differ (Emerson et al., 2012). Institutional design refers to rules and protocols that manage the process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Indicators of institutional design are:

- the rules are clear to participants,
- the rules help establish a collaborative environment

Collaborative environment

It appears that respondents are quite positive about how the existing rules, or the absence of rules, establishes a collaborative environment. Many respondents almost immediately refer to that being the intention of certain rules, such as regularly planned meetings and role divisions. It is stressed by many that the regular meetings that take place are crucial in making sure that everyone is on the same page. "*Those parties are in touch a lot. But these gatherings are the time to get everyone on the same page.*" - R6, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. Also mentioned are the pre-planned monthly meetings between primary school teachers and Rekenfaculteit site directors and tutors. This was done, because it is deemed important that these meetings regularly take place. This is said not have been realized without putting this rule in place (R1-R5; R11; R12). "*From this year on we are planning these (the meetings) ahead structurally. We did that so that teachers could not ignore it.*" - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Many respondents emphasize that they believe that the Rekenfaculteit has fairly little rules. This especially concerns written down rules. Respondents stress that is helps establish a collaborative environment, because the program is very dynamic (R8; R17) and there are high levels of trust (R5; R8; R10). "*We do not have any rules written down (…), because that is not necessary.*" - R10, a Vitaal Pendrecht employee. One Rekenfaculteit site director points out that in some areas too little rules were made (R2). They describe schools cancelling tutoring classes: "*That is practice here. How do you break that? That is very hard.*" - R2.

Clarity

When respondents speak of division of tasks and responsibilities, as well as the planning of meetings, it appears that these rules/norms are clear to them (R1-R8; R10; R14-R17). "*It is just that simple. Responsibilities are very clear.*" - R8, a Verre Bergen. However, when asked, some respondents point out that they do not know much about what rules and norms are put in place (R1; R5; R6; R13). Some partially relate this to that these rules and norms were agreed upon before they joined the program (R1; R5; R6). It seems that clarity is very important to the site directors running the program: all three emphasize that they decided to restructure their division of roles and tasks last year in order to enhance clarity (R1-R3). A Rekenfaculteit site director explains: "*Everyone was doing everything and that becomes chaotic and unclear. I think if you want to be more professional you should say: 'you do this, you do that.' This [clearer division of tasks] was done in an effort to realize that.*" - R2. The recent change that led to Rekenfaculteit establishing a separate foundation and board have caused roles to shift slightly. This has resulted in that it is unclear to some how decisions are to be made now (R1; R2; R7; R8). "*That it was recently transferred into its own foundation still needs time to crystallize.*" - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

Conclusion

It appears that respondents are quite positive about the rules and norms in the collaborative process of the Rekenfaculteit. It is often emphasized that rules serve a specific function. Furthermore, on the

whole respondents believe that the rules and norms are clear. This, however, appears not to count for everyone on the program: some express that they are unaware of specific rules and norms. Table 4.9 illustrates.

TABLE 4.9: FINDINGS INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN

Indicators		Interviewees
Effective management	+	R1-R18
	-	R2
Clarity of the rules	+	R1-R8; R10; R14-R17
	-	R1; R2; R5-R8; R13

4.4.2 Leadership

Leadership receives widespread attention in literature: it is said to be of great importance in achieving successful collaboration. In collaborative governance processes multiple people can take on a leadership role (Bryson et al., 2006; Ansell and Gash, 2007). One leadership role that has received specific attention in collaborative governance literature is facilitative leadership, which is indicated by:

- someone facilitates process
- mediation in case of conflict.

Facilitative role

The Rekenfaculteit program does not have one leader. A school director explains: "*In that sense it is a nice way to collaborate. If you would ask who was leading all this, I would not be able to say it is this one or that one.*" - R11, a school director. Frequently said to fulfill a large part of the leadership of the program are Rekenfaculteit site directors (R1 - R18). De Verre Bergen respondents emphasize that Rekenfaculteit site directors are best suited to serve this role, due to their extensive knowledge on the program (R6; R8). Many respondents appear very satisfied with their leadership style (R3-R18). The **facilitating role** that these site directors take on is stressed (R1-R18). One site director (R2) describes her role as *"building bridges."* Site directors (R1-R3) stress that facilitation is something they have put a lot of effort in over the years, and that it works well now. All other respondents affirm this: "*That is that line connecting the dots I believe. [Rekenfaculteit site directors] make sure that things run smoothly from both sides.*" - R12, a primary school teacher.

Other organizations are also said to fulfill a facilitating role. This, then concerns facilitating the communication between their own organization and the program (R6; R11; R12; R14). This is the case for Stichting De Verre Bergen, but also in the schools. A school director explains that they find this important: "*I cleared someone's schedule so that they could engage in those contacts (with the (Rekenfaculteit, red), but to also gain enthusiasm among teachers.*" - R11. Stimulation is also emphasized by Rekenfaculteit site directors as a part of their leadership role. This is recognized by

other respondents as well (R1-R5;). "*It is a unique program. We try to convey that to teachers, to directors, to students.*" - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. One site director (R3) stresses how important stimulating is in collaboration: "*Starting the year and writing twenty handwritten notes to people. That is where the secret also is I believe.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee praises their effort in how they managed to stimulate collaboration: "*They did a good job.*" - R7.

Mediation

It appears that **mediation** is performed by multiple parties. Again, Rekenfaculteit site directors play a large role in this: "*I would say as far as my leadership, it is a lot of mediation.*" -R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. This then especially concerns mediation between Rekenfaculteit (tutors) and schools (R1-R5; R10; R13) Several respondents stress that they have limited experience with this, because there have not been any cases of serious conflict (R4; R9; R11). In some cases, mediation is best left to De Verre Bergen in order to avoid conflict, several interviewees mention (R2; R6; R11). They think this sometimes is better, because De Verre Bergen holds a powerful position (R2; R6) and they are "*neutral ground.*" - R6, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. A site director explains why it is best to leave it to De Verre Bergen: "*We had to put effort into building that relationship here with the schools and in that sense it is fragile. (…) You do not want such a thing to disturb that.*" - R2.

Conclusion

It appears that respondents are particularly positive about the leadership present in the collaborative process. This especially concerns the Rekenfaculteit facilitation activities, which is praised by all respondents. Mediation activities are mentioned less, but interviewees are positive about it nonetheless: they relate this to an absence of conflict. The table 4.10 offers an overview.

TABLE 4.10: FINDINGS LEADERSHIP

Indicators		Interviewees
Faciliation	+	R1-R18
	-	-
Mediation	+	R1-R6; R9-R11; R13
	-	-

4.4.3 Resources

In order to arrive at joint results, actors use and share resources (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). The presence of enough resources is associated positively with network effectiveness (Provan and Milward, 1995). Different types of resources exist: 1) financial resources, 2) production resources, 3) competencies and 4) legitimacy. The presence of sufficient amounts of these different types enables the execution of the actions.

When it comes to **financial resources,** one stakeholder plays a very big role. Stichting De Verre Bergen is said to fund the entire project (R1; R3-R9; R11; R14 R17). "*De Verre Bergen pays for what we do. So they technically enable all of us to do what we do.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Respondents from both Stichting De Verre Bergen and other organizations do point out that this financial commitment is conditional to the results (R3; R7; R8; R11). "*two years ago they said, we will fund it one more year. But if we do not see the results, then we are going to cut. (…) The fact that we are being funded, I know that is a sign that we are doing a good job.*" -R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Respondents appear quite aware of that Stichting De Verre Bergen, as the sole funder, enables the execution of the program (R3; R5; R7; R8; R17). "*Without De Verre Bergen this [program] would not have existed.*" - R5, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. Because the program is very expensive, the school directors are not sure if Stichting De Verre Bergen will continue funding the program for a long time (R11; R14). One De Verre Bergen respondent raises the question whether the program would continue if the schools would have to contribute financially: "*I wonder what it will be like if they would have to pay. Because then things could get more tense.*" - R7. A school director thinks that that would not be possible, because the schools do not have the financial resources (R14).

As for **production resources**, two organizations are said to play a large role: Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht and the primary schools. The Rekenfaculteit's program uses Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht's facilities (R1; R3-R6; R8-R10). Rekenfaculteit employees express their satisfaction with this (R1-R5). "*That runs smoothly.*" - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. The most important production resource that the schools contribute are their own facilities. They create space within their school buildings for the tutoring to take place. "*The schools are an important partner. That is where the program takes place. Rekenfaculteit does not have its own classroom. We try to do as much as possible within the school buildings.*" - R6, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. Creating enough space for the tutoring has not always been easy (R10; R14). "*Last year we had a big issue with space.*" - R14, a primary school director.

Different parties bring different types of **competencies** and expertise into the collaborative process. SAGA's expertise is deemed very important here (R2; R3; R6; R7; R15; R16). Also mentioned are the contributions that Stichting De Verre Bergen makes for research (R6-R8; R10; R11; R14; R17; R18). Stressed by many are the good skills of Rekenfaculteit tutors and site directors (R6-R10; R14-R16). A SAGA employee explains: "*I perceived that the leaders of that program are very well equipped. They know their students well. They know their tutors well. And that they have all of the capacity they need to able to adapt those materials to their specific program.*" - R15. Interviewees argue that showing competencies that it was a crucial factor in gaining trust from other stakeholders (R1-R3; R5-R9; R15), especially the schools (R1; R4; R7; R9; R13). "*And it comes back to trust I think. Trust is [thinking] (…) 'they are a capable [to teach].*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. Respondents from primary schools, however, emphasize that the quality of tutors tends to differ (R12; R13). "*I think hiring tutors deserves more attention, because I can notice a clear difference (…) I have seen on more than one instance that someone may be good at mathematics or is good at*

explaining things, but lacks affinity with the target audience. That can cause problems." - R13, a primary school teacher. The Kinderfaculteit, and especially Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht, are said to have a lot of expertise about the neighborhood. Several respondents emphasize that this has been important (R1; R6; R7; R9; R10; R18). *"What we know things about is how this [program] can stay linked to this neighborhood."* - R10, a Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee.

Another stakeholder, Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht, has a more **legitimizing** role. Due to their extensive knowledge and powerful position in the neighborhood, they are regarded as an organization that grants legitimacy to the program in this specific neighborhood (R6; R7; R9; R10). *"Vitaal Pendrecht should be seen as review body as in what it is doing for the neighborhood."* - R6, a De Verre Bergen employee.

Conclusion

Overall, respondents are positive about the the availability of resources. Two interviewees (R7; R16) stress how they believe that this is a crucial precondition in the Rekenfaculteit's success. A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee explains their view: *"It is all about creating the right conditions (…) For schools that means that they make classes and class room space available and that they allow the tutors access. The condition that we can create is hiring the right personnel."* - R7. However, questions are raised about the future availability of financial resources as well as the availability of space for the tutoring classes. Respondents also are positive of the different types of expertise and competencies different organizations bring to the table, but schools appear slightly more negative towards the competencies of tutors. Table 4.11 offers an overview.

TABLE 4.11: FINDINGS RESOURCES

Indicators		Interviewees
Financial resources	+	R3-R9; R11; R14; R17
Production resources	-	R7; R11; R14
	+	R1-R10; R11; R12; R14
	-	R10; R14
Competencies	+	R1-R3; R6-R18
Legitimacy	-	R12-R14
	+	R6; R7; R9; R10
	-	-

4.4.4 Knowledge

Although **knowledge** is often considered a resource, it is addressed separately here, due to its importance in complex processes. Knowledge is the sharing of information and expertise relevant to the process (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Indicators of knowledge are:

- knowledge is shared
- this knowledge is accessible to relevant stakeholders.

Shared knowledge

It appears that respondents are quite satisfied with how much knowledge is shared in the program (R1; R3-R8; R12; R17). A reason for this are Stichting De Verre Bergen's continuous efforts to measure performance and back decisions by scientific research (R1; R6-R8; R12; R17). *"I think one of the success factors is that we try to measure everything we can and we make steps based on data and analyses of data."* - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. In this light, two respondents point out that they are disappointed that a research recently failed (R7; R14). Knowledge appears a lot more diverse than just research. A Stichting De Verre Bergen respondent explains: "*I think all parties contribute their expertise within their discipline. For Vitaal Pendrecht that is knowledge on the neighborhood and the people living there. For Kinderfaculteit that concerns a) being an organization in this neighborhood (...) For schools that is their own expertise, didactical and in thinking: (...) 'what do we, as a school, need?' For the Rekenfaculteit that concerns substantive knowledge on high dosage tutoring. (...) For De Verre Bergen that of course is expertise on the organization of such programs."* - R6. Finding shared knowledge happens on a day to day basis between teachers and Rekenfaculteit (R8; R11-R14; R18),

Knowledge is actively sought: if the program itself does not have enough knowledge on things, advice is sought from other parties. This is mainly done by Stichting De Verre Bergen and Rekenfaculteit site directors (R1; R7; R17). "*For example, this afternoon we are meeting with a teacher who has worked in education for 30 years and has focused on language with children. (...) We are doing this to see what we can get out of that and bring into the Rekenfaculteit and to make use of her knowledge and expertise."* - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Exemplifying of how important knowledge is the partnership with SAGA, as they serve to make sure that enough knowledge is present (R3; R6; R7; R15-R17): "o*ur original involvement came with the desire to use our evidence based model from the States for students in the school in Rotterdam."* - R15, a SAGA employee. Rekenfaculteit and De Verre Bergen interviewees appear very satisfied with the presence of this knowledge (R1-R3; R6; R7). "*Most of their advice is really excellent and so we take it willingly. (...) It is an exchange of knowledge, 100%."* R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director.

Accessibility

It appears that active efforts are made to make knowledge accessible to parties. Face to face meetings serve that in particular (R1; R4-R6; R9; R12; R14; R17). "*We regularly discuss the (...) progress of the children and we try to share the results of tests from the teaching method and CITO with each other. Based on that we can find what else is needed."* -R12, a primary school teacher. Also, it is stressed that site visits made be SAGA are very helpful in exchanging knowledge (R3; R6; R8; R15; R16). "*I think (...) the most impactful is when I come for a site visit. (...) I am able to give them very specific feedback on the things they are doing really well and give them some action steps for areas to improve. And also to just be able to talk with the entire group (...) and I am able to give answers*

based on our experience here. So that has really helped to transfer more of the full model from SAGA over to the Rekenfaculteit." - R15, a SAGA employee.

Several respondents argue that the accessibility of certain knowledge has been limited slightly over the last years due to new privacy legislations. This concerns knowledge on individual student cases (R1; R3; R12; R17). *"Because of the new privacy law it is not possible to simply share everything."* - R12, a primary school teacher.

Conclusion

Respondents appear quite satisfied with the levels of knowledge present about the program, although two respondents emphasize their dissatisfaction with a recent research that failed. Table 4.12 provides an overview. Also, due to efforts to regularly meet face to face to exchange knowledge, respondents are satisfied with the accessibility of knowledge. This, however, appears to be limited slightly by recent privacy legislations.

TABLE 4.12: FINDINGS KNOWLEDGE

Indicators		Interviewees
Shared knowledge	+	R1-R8; R12; R15-R17
	-	R7; R14
Accessibility	+	R1-R6; R8; R9; R12; R14-R17
	-	R1; R3; R12; R17

4.4.5 Conclusion

In this paragraph, the four elements of **capacity for joint action** were discussed. These are: institutional design, leadership, knowledge and resources. It appears that overall respondents speak positively of the presence of these elements. First, it is believed that the **institutional design** helps establish a collaborative environment. Respondents are especially positive about the presence of **leadership.** Respondents believe that, at this moment, enough **resources** present to enable the execution of the program. Respondents also believe that adequate shared **knowledge** is present, although is being limited slightly due to recent privacy legislations. Overall, the levels of capacity for joint action appear to be quite high in this collaborative endeavor: all indicators are present and respondents are very positive about this.

4.5 Products of Collaboration

The idea behind collaboration is to ultimately achieve results. The idea behind this is that the three before-discussed components will result in collaborative outputs (Emerson et al., 2012). In this research, the products of collaboration are be divided into actions (4.5.1), outcomes (4.5.2) and adaptation (4.5.3).

4.5.1 Actions

If the goal of collaborative governance is to achieve certain purposes, collaborative actions can be regarded as the means to get to the achievement of those purposes (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Thus, indicators of collaborative actions are:

- that these actions serve to achieve the ultimate goals,
- that they bring about efficiencies to one's own organization,
- that the actions are regarded fair.

Serve the Purpose

Several respondents stress how important they find that all actions are made with the purpose in mind (R3; R6; R8; R18). "*It is a very expensive program. You want to make sure that all these Euros you put into it will actually have have an effect.*" - R8 a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. As mentioned before, it appears that interviewees disagree on what purpose the program mainly focuses: overall well-being of the children or their math performance. One respondent does see that efforts to relate the actions to the goals contributes to the program's success: "*A clear goal for everyone (…) We only drift away from that if we have a very solid reason to do that and adequate argumentation. Not moving away from the goal is one of the most important preconditions of success, I believe.*"- R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

When it comes to the specific outputs of this collaborative endeavor, respondents are quick to point out that they believe that the tutoring classes are most important. This, however, is not just one action: several different actions are said to lead to the realization of these tutoring classes. Overall, it is stressed that the quality of execution is high (R3; R6; R8; R14-R18). "*Over the last four or five years, we have really refined our practice and I like to think that we have gotten a better idea of what the recipe for success is.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. A key component is that the program is a translation of SAGA's U.S. program tailored to Dutch context, interviewees stress (R3; R6-R8; R16). Many respondents point out that they believe that two specific characteristics of the tutoring classes lead to improved results for the children: tutors are able to give more personal attention to the children as well to tailor the classes to the children's needs (R1- R5; R7; R9;-R14; R16-R18)."*I think tutors are able to do individual coaching. They can go deeper into the specific problems an individual is facing. As a teacher you do not have the space to do so.*" - R13, a primary school teacher. Some respondents do, however, emphasize that they believe that the current program still requires improvements (R2; R7; R8; R11): "*When I look at content, I believe this project has lots of areas that require improvements.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Frequently mentioned as a challenge is the linguistic focus that mathematics teachings in the Netherlands have (R7; R8; R11; R15-R17). A school director (R11) believes that the current program is not tailored enough to fit in with that.

Efficiencies to Own Organization

Enhanced **efficiencies** to the primary schools are mentioned. At the beginning of the program the classes that received Rekenfaculteit tutoring was split in two. Because of this, teachers were able to

give more attention to the children that were not part of the program (R13; R14). "*We have good teachers. They only had half of a class of twenty-five. That means more attention [to the children].*" - R14, a school director. The change into the program not being split into two groups also brought about efficiencies, school directors note. Although teachers do not mention this themselves, the school directors (R11; R14) emphasize how they believe that teachers see it as beneficial that some of the math teaching is done by the tutors. A school director explains: "*Organizationally speaking that makes [the program] more appealing (...). Now the teacher has one hour to spare. (...) And you could notice last year, and this year as well, that my colleagues greatly appreciated that.*" - R14. Other organizations do not mention that the program brings about efficiencies to the own organization.

Fairness

The fairness of the actions are not mentioned by many as a way of judging the actions. Some do stress, however, that the choice to offer the program on all schools in Pendrecht was done deliberately. To some, this is stressed as particularly important (R1; R10; R14): "*Rekenfaculteit is not just there for children that are not that good at mathematics, but it is there for all children.*" - R10, a Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee.

Conclusion

On the whole, respondents believe the quality of execution is high and that the interventions that are put in place serve to bring about positive effects for the children. "*I think that everything we put in on the parent front, the teachers front, contributes to how we do at the kids front. So everything that we put in as a team (...) that contributes to our goals being achieved.*" - R3, a Rekenfaculteit site director. The fairness of the actions does not seem very important to respondents. Enhanced efficiencies are noted by only one type of organization: the primary schools. Table 4.13 offers an overview.

TABLE 4.13: FINDINGS COLLABORATIVE ACTIONS

Indicators		Interviewees
Serves the purpose	+	R1-R18
	-	R2; R7; R8; R11; R13; R14
Efficiencies to own organization	+	R11-R14
	-	-
Fairness	+	R1; R10; R14
	-	-

4.5.2 Outcomes

Outcomes are regarded as the effects the collaborative actions have on its environment (Emerson et al., 2012). The outcomes of collaborative governance are not as easy to recognize as the actions it produces (Innes and Booher, 1999), but can still be noticed by:

- that a positive impact on the environment is found,
- that external legitimacy is established,
- that the collaborative endeavor positively contributes to an organization's own outcomes.

Impact on environment

Many respondents point out that they believe that the children make progress. *"I think it is valuable to all children that participate."* - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. The primary school teachers and directors and one Stichting De Verre Bergen respondent disagree and note that not all children benefit from the tutoring (R7; R11-R14). A school teacher explains: "*On average it has a positive effect, but with some children the rewards are a little disappointing."* - R12.

Many point out that they believe that children's **cognitive skills** improve (R1; R3-R6; R8; R11-13; R15; R18). "*Virtually all children improve, often more than on the national average. I mean, a child's performance would improve anyhow if they go to school. But these children grow even more, sometimes at a rate three times higher than national average. Here in Pendrecht they are far below national average. So when you see that, that is amazing."* - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. It appears that the cognitive effects of the Rekenfaculteit are not clear to all. The respondents that express that they do not precisely know this, refer not being aware of measured effects, or not knowing precisely what the Rekenfaculteit has contributed to the end results (R6; R7; R12-R14). A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee explains this: "*When you look at it on the whole, you see that the children become better at mathematics. What I find hard to determine is what it would look like without the Rekenfaculteit."* - R6. Also, two school directors see that children do improve slightly, but believe that the program did not make a big impact on the mathematics performance within their school. This is because they believe that the quality of teaching at their own school was high already (R11; R14). A De Verre Bergen interviewee stresses that they believe that the program should show more cognitive effects: "*Right now, (...) I do not think they are achieving enough. You do see significant development, but I I believe the national average should be achieved, not above average: simply the national average. I do not think there are any solid arguments that could speak for why these children should score below national average when it comes to mathematics."* - R7, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

Furthermore, the effects on socio-emotional side are mentioned by many. "*Rekenfaculteit focuses on mathematics, but besides that there are a lot of other successes. Also on a social aspect. I think you can achieve a lot there and the children can gain a lot of confidence because of the way we interact with them. That is very rewarding to see."* - R5, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. Although many respondents emphasize how important they find this aspect, some believe that the cognitive skill aspect should be thought of as more important (R6; R7; R13; R14). "*I think it is nice if the program is able to show progress on the socio-emotional side. Great, and very important. That has an indirect effect on mathematics. But it would be weird if you would tell children 'you are going to do four hours of extra*

math classes with me. (..) By doing that you will learn how to collaborate.' That would make no sense." - R7, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee.

Furthermore, often mentioned is the effect it has on participating children's parents: it is said to enhance their commitment (R1-R4; R6-R11; R14; R17). "*Sometimes parent gatherings take place, like at the end of the year when the children get a diploma. It is amazing to see the pride of these parents. Parental commitment is high here: nearly all parents show up. That is very special."* - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. Lastly, some respondents note the effects the program has on the neighborhood as a whole (R1; R4; R9; R10; R14). They believe that the neighborhood has improved over the years, partially due to the Rekenfaculteit project, among other initiatives such as Kinderfaculteit. "*I dare to say that it has an effect on the neighborhood because you reach so many people. (…) It is very valuable."* - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor.

Interestingly, several interviewees refer to the program's **efficiency** when they speak of the impact on the environment (R7; R11; R14). When they do this, they question the program's effects in relation to the costs. This then especially concerns the cognitive skill effects the program is showing. The interviewees that question this are also more negative towards the program's outcomes. A school director explains: "*I think it is amazing [what the Rekenfaculteit achieves] (…) But I wonder how long it will continue. I do not see as it as a process that will continue forever (…) because it is nearly impossible to fund. (…) I think it is a lot of money [that goes into it, red]. I wonder if [Stichting De Verre Bergen is] willing to continue spending that."* - R14.

Impact Own Organization

Some positive outcomes to the stakeholders' organizations are mentioned. SAGA employees mention how they believe the collaboration benefits themselves: they learn more about being in a consulting position (R15; R16). Also, the benefits for the tutors are mentioned. The program offers learning opportunities to them which is said to contribute to their professional development (R1-R5; R10). Also mentioned is that the collaborative efforts make it easier for Kinderfaculteit to approach tutors to aid in volunteering for their own program, the Kinderfaculteit (R1; R2; R17; R18). A Rekenfaculteit site director explains how it make the recruitment process easier for Kinderfaculteit staff: "*Finding good teachers (for the Kinderfaculteit courses) is not always easy. And they know the tutors are great and they are here for the right reasons and they can trust that they will do that well."* - R2.

External Legitimacy

External legitimacy is an outcome that is noted by several interviewees. They refer to how the people living in Pendrecht have familiarized with the program (R1; R4; R6; R9; R10). A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee explains: "*The Rekenfaculteit has established as a name in Pendrecht and the people know 'in that grade, you get Rekenfaculteit tutoring.' That is important to us. And parents are so proud when their child can go to the Rekenfaculteit."* - R6.

Conclusion

Overall, respondents see positive outcomes of the Rekenfaculteit, as can be noted in table 4.14. This concerns effects on the socio-emotional as well as cognitive aspects. Respondents disagree on what or if one thing should prevail. Despite seeing positive results, not all respondents appear satisfied: several respondents say that they do not see enough outcomes, struggle to see the direct impact of the Rekenfaculteit or see that not all children benefit. Also interestingly, several interviewees relate the impact on the environment to the program's efficiency and question this: they are unsure if the high costs weigh out the effects it is showing now. Outcomes noted to own organization and external legitimacy appear less important, but are positively associated by interviewees.

TABLE 4.14: FINDINGS OUTCOMES

Indicators		Interviewees
Positive impact environment	+	R1-R18
	-	R6; R7; R11-R14
Positive impact own organization	+	R1-R5; R11; R14-R18
	-	-
External legitimacy	+	R1; R3; R6; R9; R10
	-	-

4.5.3 Adaptation

As a result of collaborative actions and their results, the environment may or may not be altered. In response to this, the collaborative governance process can make changes. This is what adaptation entails (Emerson and Gerlak, 2014).

Changes to the process

It appears that adaptation is found important by respondents. The focus of adapting to changes in the environment is emphasized by several respondents (R1; R6; R8). "*We adapt and anticipate on the things that occur.*" - R1, a Rekenfaculteit site director. But, what appears more important: many respondents believe that the process is designed in such a way that they are constantly working towards improving (R2-R6; R8; R15; R16; R18). "*It is like having a sounding board with all those knobs. We are constantly turning those knobs. (…) Because of that consistent turning it constantly gets a little better. The feedback system, especially with tutors, is helpful in that.*" - R2, a Rekenfaculteit site director. Just how important this is for Rekenfaculteit tutors is stressed by many (R2-R6; R8; R15; R16), but it appears to go beyond tutors: the other organizations are also said to frequently evaluate the program and make changes accordingly. These are De Verre Bergen, primary schools and SAGA (R1-R3; R6-R8; R11; R13-R16).

Because of this focus, adaptations often occur, interviewees emphasize (R1-R3; R8; R13). "*I dare to say (...) that it is becoming more and more of a well-oiled machine, that is being evaluated and improved every year to be used again and then evaluated again. That is how it gets better every year.*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. Some interviewees express how they believe that this is one of the unique factors that explains the functioning of the program (R8; R13; R18). A Kinderfaculteit employee explains their view: "*[Rekenfaculteit employees] are constantly focused on doing things well and improving themselves, that growth mindset (...) That is what makes the quality so high and that the faith within the schools, with us and De Verre Bergen is so high. That ensures that the effects of the Rekenfaculteit for the children are more solid as well.*" - R18. In contrast, one De Verre Bergen employee believes that the program is not adapting enough in some areas, they explain: "*I think you should take a look at examples of children that are not improving (...) And understand more of why that is and see what you can do about that within this program.*" - R7.

Conclusion

Adaptation seems to be found very important by respondents. This concerns the program's ability to change the program based on outcomes or altered context. It is even believed that the program was designed in such a way that this is enabled. Table 4.16 illustrates.

TABLE 4.15: FINDINGS ADAPTATION

Indicators		Interviewees
Ability to make changes to the process	+	R1-R11; R13-R16; R18
	-	R7

4.5.4 Conclusion

Products of collaboration consist of three elements: actions, results and adaptation. Overall, respondents appear positive about this. It appears that respondents are particularly satisfied with how adaptations are made: they point out a culture that is focused on making changes in order to enhance the quality of the process. Respondents are on the one hand very positive about the program's actions: it appears that a belief is shared that the actions serve the purpose, depending on what goals the respondents have in mind, although areas for improvements are noted. Positive outcomes are also noted, but not all respondents appear satisfied. This especially concerns the cognitive skill aspect. Several mention that they believe the program does not have enough effects or that it still fails to help certain groups of children, or they struggle to see the direct contribution of the Rekenfaculteit. Other than that, respondents do appear positive about the results.

4.6 Perceived Success

Successful collaborative governance focuses on guaranteeing the quality of the interaction processes in order to arrive at acceptable solutions (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Van Buuren et al., 2012). In this

paragraph, the ways in which interviewees associate success in light of the project is discussed. The success of the Rekenfaculteit is interpreted in multiple ways by respondents.

Achieving Results

All respondents relate success to **achieving results** (R1-R8; R10-R18). However, respondents show different interpretations of what it means for the Rekenfaculteit to achieve results. Roughly, respondents explain this as a way to measure success in two ways: achieving measurable improvement in mathematical skills among participants and the broad socio-emotional development. Overall, respondents are positive towards the results and believe they are successful. Four, however, seem to disagree slightly: they point out that not all children benefit from the Rekenfaculteit program (R7; R11-R14). A school teacher explains: "*I see that it helps many children. In that I assume that I can link that to the Rekenfaculteit. Other factors might contribute as well of course. And I see that for some children it does not produce any results.*" - R13.

Often mentioned is that success means attaining **measurable results**: improved mathematical skills among children taking part in the program (R1; R3-R8; R13; R14; R17; R18). *"The first thing that comes to mind is improved CITO-test results."* - Respondent 5, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. Overall, respondents are quite positive about the attainment of this in relation to success. Two appear to disagree slightly (R7; R11). Also, a school director explains: "*Mathematics results in itself have not really taken off due to the Rekenfaculteit. On average, the levels here were quite alright already.*" - R11. Also, two point out that they they have not seen any research findings confirming it and that they are curious about this (R13; R14). A school director explains "*Until this point I do [believe it is a success]. But I am so to speak curious about the results [from research] that are coming.*" - R14. Several consider measurable cognitive skill results to be the core of success in the Rekenfaculteit (R6-R8; R13; R14). A Stichting De Verre employee explains their view: *"To me, success (...) relates to the goal of the Rekenfaculteit. That simply is that children improve their mathematical skills. As long as that happens I consider the program to be successful."* - R6.

On the other hand, many believe that success in the Rekenfaculteit also lies in achieving **socio-emotional results** (R1-R5; R7-R14; R15; R17; R18). All interviewees are particularly positive about its success here. This refers to improved confidence in learning (R3; R5; R14; R17; R18), joy in learning (R9; R15) and parent engagement (R3; R11; R17; R18). Several respondents point out that they think the core of the program's success is that the program is able to help in children's overall development (R1-R5; R12; R17; R18). A Rekenfaculteit site director explains their view: "*I think that is when children are able to develop for a year. That does not necessarily have to be on a cognitive level, but that can also be on a socio-emotional level. If we are able to contribute to that I believe it is a success.*" - R1.

External Legitimacy

Another way in which respondents measure success is its **external legitimacy.** Both respondents from Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht, one Rekenfaculteit site director, a school director and a Kinderfaculteit employee define success by highlighting how the results of the program are received

by people that are not involved in the program. This is measured in the popularity of the program in Pendrecht (R7; R9; R10). One interviewee highlights that the support of the neighborhood is crucial for the program's continuation and success (R7). Especially the **enthusiasm of parents** of children participating appears as a way that success is measured (R9; R10). A Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht employee explains: "*[I think it is successful when] I see that parents are satisfied. That parents notice that their child is making that leap forwards. (...) That is when say: 'that is great guys! That is what we are doing all this for!'*" - R9.

Actions

A handful of respondents relate success to the high **quality of execution** of the program. All three believe that that is present in the Rekenfaculteit program (R8; R12; R15). A SAGA interviewee illustrates: "*How do I perceive the success? (..) From the observations that I have done (...) I have seen great success in that I see that the tutors are very well trained and prepared to help accelerate student learning in math.*" - R15.

Adaptation

Two highlight the culture that focuses on **adapting the program** in order to improve the quality of the program as a way of measuring success. Both are positive towards that (R6; R8). A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee explains: "*Success of the Rekenfaculteit means an organization that continually improves itself and I think that is happening quite well now.*" - R6.

Own Organization

Two interviewee explains success as positive results for their **own organization** (R3; R11). In this case, the interviewee refers to the tutors **improving their skills** on the job (R3). A Rekenfaculteit site director illustrates what this means: "*[Success means] success for my team, because I work a lot with my team obviously. You know that is a similar idea, that is that everyone is motivated to keep doing better, to work together (...) Seeing the empowerment of people. For me that a sign of success.*" - R3. Also, a school director explains that they see the program as successful due the tutors taking over some of the workload of the teachers: "*[success lies in] that people come into the schools and that they take on some of the teachers' tasks.*" - R11.

The Process

One respondent links success to **believing in the program** (R8). They describe how the decision to make a separate foundation for the Rekenfaculteit illustrates that: "*We did not create a separate foundation now without reason. That means we really believe in it.*" - R8, a Stichting De Verre Bergen employee. One interviewee relates success to the **strong relationships** in the collaborative endeavor. "*Success for me means that the relationship is strong, so we can all support this child,*" - R3, a site director of The Rekenfaculteit. This view is shared by two Stichting De Verre Bergen employees. They highlight the importance of commitment, especially among schools (R7; R8): "*Everything is*

*focused on getting maximum results with these children." - R8. Overall, both share a belief that that is happening, but acknowledge room for improvements in that area (R3; R7).

Conclusion

Success is measured in different ways by respondents, although all respondents are quick to point towards success meaning achieving results. On the whole, all respondents see results, but find different things most important. The respondents that emphasized the importance of achieving measurable mathematics results as the core of success were employees of Stichting De Verre Bergen, as well as one school director and teacher. Overall, many believe that the program is successful in that area, but some some doubts, as well as others pointing out they have not seen any research findings proving it. Other interviewees seem to find stimulating the general development, meaning both cognitive and emotional, more important. Furthermore, some respondents attach great importance to how the program is appreciated in the neighborhood. This is especially valued by respondents whose organization is located in the area, in particular Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht. What is more, three respondents relate success to the process. In particular, they highlight their own internal legitimacy, felt commitment and strong relationships as ways to measure success. It appears that a belief is shared that that requires room for improvement. Also, adaptive capacity is mentioned as a way to measure success. Both interviewees that mentioned this were positive about that. Quality of execution is also mentioned, referring to how they believe the program upholds a high quality. An overview of the different perceptions of what success means is found in table 4.16.

TABLE 4.16: FINDINGS PERCEIVED SUCCESS

Indicators		Interviewees
Overall results	+	R1-R18
	-	R7; R11-R14
Mathematics	+	R1; R3-R6; R8; R3; R14; R17; R18
	-	R7; R11; *R13; R14**
Socio-economical development	+	R1-R5; R7; R9-R15; R17; R18
External legitimacy	+	R7; R9; R10
Benefits own organization	+	R3; R11
Actions	+	R8; R12; R15
Adaptation	+	R6; R8
Strong relationships	+-	R3
Commitment	+-	R7; R8
Internal legitimacy	+	R8

*: *these interviewees are unsure about whether the program delivers positive mathematics results, because they have not seen any reports.*

5. Analysis

In this chapter the findings that were presented in the previous chapter are compared to the theories presented in the theoretical framework as well as they are held against the conceptual model. Firstly, the findings for process dynamics are briefly discussed (5.1.1) after which the relations between the different variables are addressed (5.1.2). The next paragraph will address the different products of collaboration: actions (5.2.1), outcomes (5.2.2) and adaptation (5.2.3). Lastly, the perceived success (5.3) will be elaborated.

5.1 Process Dynamics

In this paragraph the three components of **process dynamics** are discussed: principled engagement, shared motivation and capacity for joint action. Each of these components are briefly discussed, after which the relations between these components are addressed.

5.1.1 The Components

Principled Engagement

The process of principled engagement consists of four elements: discovery, definition, deliberation and determinations (Emerson et al, 2012). Overall, the findings show a presence of principled engagement, as all of its elements are positively associated by interviewees. They are, however, not all equally as strong. The findings for the first three elements (discovery, definition and deliberation) show that the indicators of each of these elements show quite a close relation to what literature on it states. This does not appear the case for determinations: although respondents frequently emphasize having the same goals in mind, a clear shared theory of change appears absent. This is interesting, because respondents frequently highlight that they believe that "*everyone is aiming for the same thing,*" - R4, a Rekenfaculteit tutor. Furthermore, literature particularly highlights the necessity of establishing a shared theory of change in order to survive (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). Also, respondents seem less positive about the frequency in which school directors and teachers communicate. Although the situation has improved over the years, it is argued that they still sometimes fail to share enough information, and that a more critical stance is expected of school directors in these discussions.

Shared Motivation

The relational aspect of collaboration is discussed in the component shared motivation. It consists of four elements: trust, mutual understanding, internal legitimacy and commitment (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). All four elements appear to be present in the Rekenfaculteit. Interviewees appear to attach great value to the presence of these elements in the collaboration, as it is frequently emphasized that these are crucial for the success of collaboration. This tendency is also described in literature: elements such as trust and commitment are frequently highlighted as crucial in collaborative endeavors (Bryson et al., 2005; Huxham, 2003; Ansell and Gash, 2007). Especially the commitment of Rekenfaculteit site directors and tutors is praised. Although interviewees often

express their satisfaction, they are more critical towards the presence of shared motivation among school directors and teachers. This shows in three elements: trust, internal legitimacy and commitment. Interestingly, school director interviewees say that they are unsure whether the current program is the most effective solution and some respondents point out that they see that teachers sometimes still not believe in the worthiness of the program. The teachers that were interviewed are positive about that, however. Also, a physical absence by Stichting De Verre Bergen is noted by some.

Capacity for Joint Action

In order to bring about collective action, a collaborative endeavor must have the capacity to do so (Emerson et al., 2012). The functional dimension of collaborative process dynamics consists of institutional design, resources, leadership and knowledge. Respondents appear especially positive about these elements, more so than they were about the elements of principled engagement and shared motivation. Although interviewees stress that only a limited amount of rules are put in place, they are positive about how this helps in establishing a collaborative environment. Interviewees praise the quality of the resources. What stands out here was the early commitment of especially financial resources. Stichting De Verre Bergen funds the project, what makes it, considering the high costs, a rather unique situation. However, questions are raised here: several interviewees are unsure if the program will continue for a long time due to the high costs. Furthermore, knowledge appears to play an extensive role in the collaborative process: SAGA's involvement serves as an example here. Lastly, the leadership style of Rekenfaculteit site directors is praised and their importance in enhancing the quality of collaboration is thoroughly emphasized.

Conclusion

All three components show presence in the process. It appears, however, that they are not equal. Interviewees were especially positive about the elements of **capacity for joint action**. These elements were established early on and its quality is praised by interviewees. **Shared motivation** and **principled engagement** are said to have grown considerably over the years. Although both show a strong presence, in both school teachers and directors, and to a lesser extent Stichting De Verre Bergen, are sometimes negatively addressed. Shared motivation appears especially important to interviewees, as they frequently stress this as essential in collaboration.

5.1.2 How the components work together

The different components that form process dynamics do not function separately: literature emphasizes a reinforcing effect between the components, that eventually develop into collaborative actions (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a). This appears to be the case here as well. The three components' functioning cannot neatly be separated from one another. This is elaborated here.

Principled Engagement

The findings show how **principled engagement** has grown over the years. In the process of building principled engagement, one can see the influence of the other components:

- **System context.** The findings show that interviewees are sometimes unsatisfied with the frequency in which school directors and teachers communicate. Respondents argue that this is at least partially due to the high workload schools are experiencing. This shows that context has an effect on collaborative dynamics and should be taken into account, which is confirmed in collaborative governance literature (e.g. Emerson et al, 2012; Ansell and Gash, 2007; Bentrup, 2001).

- **Shared motivation.** The reinforcing effect of shared motivation on the principled engagement dynamics shows in how communication has got easier over the years. Respondents relate this to growing trust, more commitment and higher internal legitimacy. This observation affirms Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh's (2012) statement that shared motivation accelerates the principled engagement process. The lower frequency in which school directors and teachers communicate point towards that shared motivation can also negatively impact the quality of the principled engagement process: some argue that this might be due to school teachers being a little distrusting towards the Rekenfaculteit and school directors and teachers showing less commitment than others.

- **Capacity for joint action.** This component appears to influence principled engagement. The findings show this for both institutional design and leadership: the rules seem to have been set up to guide communication and the Rekenfaculteit site directors' leadership activities appears to have played a crucial role in stimulating communication among organizations. However, one element appears of even higher importance to interviewees. The determining role research findings play in the communicative process is frequently emphasized, indicating an influence of the element knowledge in the principled engagement process.

Shared motivation

Also, **shared motivation** appears to have been influenced by other elements and what happened outside the process dynamics. The findings point towards several things:

- **System context.** The earlier collaboration between the organizations involved in the Rekenfaculteit seems to influence the shared motivation process. Especially the levels of trust were affected by the already established relationships. This, again, shows how context matters (e.g. Bentrup, 2001). However, it to add on to this, it appears in line with what Vangen and Huxham's (2003a) and Ansell and Gash (2007) argue: pre-history of conflict or trust has quite a direct effect on the process.

- **Principled engagement.** It appears that the principled engagement process directly affects the shared motivation process. It is frequently stressed that communication has been key in developing trust and mutual understanding, but also seems to affect internal legitimacy and commitment. This especially counts for the relationship between the school teachers and directors and Rekenfaculteit staff. The findings appear to affirm the reinforcing effect communication has in the process of building relationships in collaborative endeavors, as frequently emphasized in literature (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Emerson et al., 2012; Huxham, 2003). Also, the observation that the program has

not brought forward a clear **shared theory of change** appears to show its effect in shared motivation, in particular in the element of internal legitimacy. Respondents refer to different goals when they address the worthiness of the process in reaching these goals. The findings point towards that respondents do not mind that: they quickly emphasize that they are understanding of the differences in goals, especially regarding Stichting De Verre Bergen's focus on achieving measurable results. Because both mutual understanding and internal legitimacy are positively addressed by interviewees, questions can be raised whether Emerson and Nabatchi's (2015a) claim of the necessity of having a shared theory of change holds for this case.

- **Capacity for joint action.** Two elements of capacity for joint action, leadership and resources, do seem to show an important reinforcing effect. Leaders are said to have helped in stimulating relationships between organizations and enhancing commitment. Resources are said to enhance trust and internal legitimacy: showing competencies is said to have contributed to the school teachers trusting the Rekenfaculteit tutors. This seems in line with what Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn (2010) argue: showing competencies contributes to building trust.

- **Products of collaboration.** What results from collaboration also appear to have had quite an important influence in the shared motivation process. The interviewees stress that trust, internal legitimacy and commitment have got higher over the years. It is believed that seeing the results, referring to both outcomes and the tutoring classes, has been helpful in taking away doubts. This indicates that positive outcomes and actions have a positive effect on shared motivation, which is in line with what literature suggests (Emerson et al., 2012; Vangen and Huxham, 2003a).

Capacity for Joint Action

As mentioned before, the elements of capacity for joint action appear to have a quite strong reinforcing effect on both shared motivation and principled engagement. Overall, it appears that capacity for joint is not reinforced by other components as strongly as the others were, but it does show signs of being influenced:

- **System context.** Three elements (resources, knowledge and leadership) were at least partially established before active progress was made in the other components, seemingly contradicting with what Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) emphasize: capacity for joint action is established after principled engagement and shared motivation. This appears to have been possible due to the previous collaboration. Hereby, it appears to affirm Ansell and Gash's (2007) argument that a prehistory of trust reinforces collaborative dynamics.

- **Principled engagement.** While capacity for joint action reinforces principled engagement quite strongly, it does not same to count as much the other way around. It does show some effects: determinations influence the institutional design. Also, the principled engagement process contributes to finding shared knowledge.

- **Shared motivation.** The influence of shared motivation shows in the capacity for joint action. Firstly, the limited amount of rules present in the program is related to the existing high levels of trust. Also, how committing resources is at least partially dependent on believing in the program is emphasized by the schools and Stichting De Verre Bergen. This seems to underline what Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) argue: without internal legitimacy and commitment, stakeholders are unlikely to commit resources or exchange valuable knowledge.

- **Products of collaboration.** What stands out here is that Stichting De Verre Bergen's financial commitment is conditional to the results: it is mentioned that the funding is conditional to the program achieving goals. The benefits noted to own organization appear to have an influence on the willingness to commit resources and knowledge, as is argued by a school director.

Conclusion

The findings in this paper appear in line with what Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) stress: the components of collaboration reinforce each other. While a reinforcing effect between all component is apparent, capacity for joint action appears to have had an especially strong reinforcing effect on both principled engagement and shared motivation. This is interesting, because the findings show how interviewees were more positive towards capacity for joint action than towards the other two. Also, the elements were established quite early on in the process. This can be regarded as quite unique: De Verre Bergen committed financial resources for the tutoring take place and professional leaders were hired to run the program. Also, the findings show how shared motivation and principled engagement have quite a direct reinforcing effect on one another: shared motivation gets stronger through communication and stronger shared motivation contributes to building principled engagement. Not only components of the process dynamics seem to be of influence. It is also interesting to note that the findings show how products of collaboration, especially outcomes, contribute to building the components. This especially seems to count for shared motivation: the outcomes are said to have had a strong influence in building internal legitimacy among school teachers and directors. What is more, the findings clearly show how context can be an important determining factor in building elements and components. Especially the earlier collaboration between several organizations before this program started appears to have had a strong influence in how the components came about in this process.

5.2 The Products of Collaboration

The process dynamics are supposed to develop into **actions, outcomes** and **adaptation.** This paragraph will revolve around the findings in the light of literature and the relations between the other variables. Unlike in the previous paragraph, in this paragraph the relations between the different variables and the discussed elements are not discussed separately, but dealt with when discussing each element.

5.2.1 Collaborative Actions

Most respondents relate **collaborative actions** to the goals of the program. This closely resembles how Emerson and Nabatchi (2015a) define collaborative actions: the means to get to the goal of the collaborative governance endeavor. Overall, interviewees are quite positive towards the collaborative actions. A clear relation to the absence of a decided shared theory of change can be noticed, however. Interviewees relate it to the goal they believe is the goal of the program. It is interesting to note that the program is said to have brought direct efficiencies to only one type of organization: the primary schools. Furthermore, the fairness of distribution is hardly mentioned by any interviewee in relation

to the quality of the collaborative actions. Literature may explain this: Provan and Milward (2001) argue that the ones judging fairness are recipients of it. In this study, no recipients were interviewed. It appears that the indicator of how action relate to the goals is considered more important by interviewees than other ways of measuring it.

From what it seems, the collaboration is conditional to achieving the actions. All three components of the process dynamics appear to impact the collaborative actions. This especially shows in how interviewees pay special attention to how it is important that the actions relate to the goals of the program. It appears that this would not have been possible without guaranteeing the presence of all three components. A Stichting De Verre Bergen employee explains: *"I think that collaboration is conditional to the results. I think it would create such a bad situation if the schools and the Rekenfaculteit did not collaborate. That would mean that tutors are thrown into a snake pit with a teacher that is constantly looking over their shoulder and that does not really believe in what they do."* - R6. The findings show how the three components work together to create joint actions. Capacity for joint action reinforced shared motivation and leads to more sharing of information and knowledge, and thus reinforced principled engagement. These components in turn reinforce each other. These dynamics impact the quality of the actions. The relationship between SAGA and Rekenfaculteit works as an example here: the shared knowledge that results from the relationship that was built through principled engagement and shared motivation appears to be determining in how the tutoring took shape: the current program is heavily inspired by the SAGA design in the United States.

5.2.2 Outcomes

Outcomes are the effects of collaborative actions that occur outside of the process (Thomas and Koontz, 2011; Emerson et al., 2012). Respondents most directly associate outcomes with a **positive impact** on the environment. Different positive outcomes on the environment are noted by all respondents. Firstly, cognitive skill improvements among the children are mentioned. Many stress that they believe this happens. Due to the absence of results proven by research, four respondents are unsure what contribution the Rekenfaculteit made to this. Also, wo school directors see a minimal impact, as well as two Stichting De Verre Bergen that emphasize a belief that the program should be able to create more impact. It is interesting to note that several respondents that were more negative about the cognitive skill improvements also relate these outcomes to **efficiency.** This deviates from how Emerson and Nabatchi (2015b) suggest to evaluate the outcomes. Many other writers in network literature, however, do emphasize that efficiency is one of many ways to measure outcomes (e.g. Gunton and Day, 2003; Klijn, Edelenbos and Steijn, 2010). Socio-emotional impacts on the children are also stressed as an outcome. Interviewees are positive about this, but four stress that they find improved cognitive skills more important. Also mentioned as outcome is enhanced parental commitment. Furthermore, benefits to the interviewees' **own organizations** are mentioned, although they appear to be of inferior importance to interviewees. **External legitimacy** is also noted, yet seem to be more indirectly associated with outcomes than the other two.

Respondents often state that they believe the noted outcomes are an effect of collaboration, affirming a relationship between the dynamics, actions and outcomes. However, due to the absence of research

confirming a relation between the intervention and improved cognitive results, four interviewees are unsure of what this relation precisely looks like for cognitive skill results. This does not appear the case for the other noted effects, in which most respondents stress a belief that the outcomes are related to the actions. Socio-emotional outcomes work as an example here: interviewees emphasize that these effects are an outcome of the personal attention the tutors give the children in the classes.

5.2.3 Adaptation

Adaptation implies quite a direct relationship with dynamics as it concerns the ability to make changes in response to results (Emerson and Gerlak, 2014). It can concern the ability of the dynamics itself to change based on outcomes and altered context (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015b). Interviewees are quite positive about the adaptive capacity of the program itself: they believe the process is designed in such a way that it works towards continuous improvement. Although the ability to learn from collaboration and make needed changes is emphasized as important in literature (e.g. Thomson and Perry, 2006; Bentrup, 2001), the focus on this within this program appears extensive. Interviewees often refer to making changes to the program in response to the outcomes. Allowing tutors to stay with the program for more than one year works as an example here. This was done because of the observation that children improve more from more experienced teachers. This shows a clear relation between outcomes, adaptation and process dynamics.

5.3 Perceived Success

Collaborative governance builds on the premise that actors working together can achieve more collectively than they would on their own (Ansell and Gash, 2007). Herein lies the foundation of what successful collaborative governance would mean: it focuses on guaranteeing the quality of the interaction processes in order to arrive at acceptable solutions that affect the public (Ansell and Gash, 2007; Van Buuren et al., 2012). Thus, a belief that the program is successful lies in the attainment of positive outcomes. Interviewees most directly associate collaborative success with the **quality of the outcomes**. This is in line with what also occurs in literature (e.g. Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos, 2010; Koppenjan, 2008; Provan and Milward, 2001).

Nearly all respondents almost immediately refer to the results of the program, in this framework discussed as changes to the environment. What this precisely means appears to differ across interviewees. This appears to confirm what Koppenjan (2008) argues: actors are likely to have their own perceptions on the success of the outcomes, even if a joint goal was formulated (although that was not as explicitly the case here). On the one hand, Stichting De Verre Bergen employees and one school director and teacher associate success with achieving **measurable cognitive skill results.** Many interviewees believe this is happening, but two emphasize not seeing any proof of this and two say they believe the impact the program is showing right now is not big enough, and thus question whether they can call it a success in that aspect. It is interesting to note that more interviewees pointed out the absence of research findings proving the impact when speaking of the program's outcomes than when they speak of the program's success. Furthermore, it seems that several interviewees are more critical towards the outcomes than when they are speaking about the program's success. In this,

they explain that they believe the program should show more cognitive skills effects. They do not speak of that when they measure success. On the other hand, Rekenfaculteit site directors and tutors, Kinderfaculteit employees and one school teacher and director from the other school associate it more with **socioeconomic improvements.** A belief that this is happening is shared. This appears to correlate with what these interviewees defined as the goal or purpose of the program. In this sense, collaborative success appears primarily related by respondents as goal attainment, referring to its **effectiveness.** It appears, however, that it does not entirely equal attaining goals: several interviewees that were positive about cognitive skill improvements as a meaning of success, are more negative or hesitant towards those effects when they speak about the outcomes. What is more, it is interesting to point out that efficiency was mentioned by respondents as a way to evaluate the outcomes, yet remains unused directly when they speak of the program's success. What differs from literature (e.g. McGuire and Silvia, 2009) is that only one interviewee directly relates success to seeing **positive outcomes for the individual organizations.** This appears in line with what was mentioned for internal legitimacy: interviewees rarely associate the program as a means of achieving separate goals. In contrast, they do mention positive outcomes for own organization. This may indicate that this is of inferior importance to interviewees. Three mention **external legitimacy,** which was also discussed as an outcome in the findings. Thus, how interviewees define success seems to show overlap with the indicators set for outcomes: a positive impact on the environment, the own organization and external legitimacy. However, the goal attainment, or effectiveness, appears to be of considerably higher importance than the other two. This is in line with the findings for outcomes, although more impacts on the environment were mentioned than what was included in the reasoning behind the Rekenfaculteit's success. Thus, comparing the findings for outcomes and success: one cannot simply argue that positive outcomes and success are the same.

It appears that more ways of success were mentioned than what was considered an outcome in this research. Some interviewees also relate success to the high quality of the execution of the program. The interviewees that mention this say that that is happening, thus it being successful. This appears to resemble what is referred to as **collaborative actions** in this research. Lastly, it is interesting that several associate success with the focus and ability of the program to work towards improving themselves, something they believe contributed to viewing the program as successful. This is discussed in the framework as **adaptation,** which tends to be referred to more as a condition to achieve success rather than being success itself (e.g. Emerson and Gerlak, 2014). However, the findings do show that interviewees believe that the focus on adaptation is one of the key elements of the program and attach great value to it. What is more, respondents refer to elements that were discussed in the **process dynamics.** One mentions the importance of strong relationships, which seems to parallel trust (Emerson and Nabatchi, 2015a), two describe success as commitment and one refers to internal legitimacy: they believe in the program's worthiness in achieving goals. This stands out, because both tend to be described as factors that may directly or indirectly lead to success (Bryson et al., 2006), rather than to be equaled to the meaning of success itself.

Thus, one can see that success has many different meanings for interviewees. Although the impacts on the environment appear a primary way of defining success, different interviewees also relate it to things that go beyond that: sometimes they even go beyond what was named an outcome in this research. This appears to deviate from what is typically used in literature, but that different meanings

to success were noted does not surprise: many authors have argued that stakeholders with diverse interests and perceptions are likely to evaluate their participation, the collaboration and the outcomes in different ways (e.g. Provan and Milward, 2001; Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos, 2010).

6. Conclusion

In this chapter the research question is answered (6.1), after which its broader implications are discussed (6.2). Furthermore, it is important to address the limitations of this research (6.3). To conclude this chapter, several recommendations for science (6.4.1) and practice (6.4.2) are given.

6.1 Conclusion

This study looked into collaborative governance: after exploring theories on process dynamics, its products and success, a case study was held on the Rekenfaculteit. In this program several organizations collaborate in order to offer mathematics tutoring to children in primary schools in Pendrecht. In the findings and analysis process dynamics, the products of collaboration and the perceived success of interviewees were explored, in order to answer the research question:

> How do collaborative governance process dynamics and what collaboration produces relate to its perceived success?

Firstly, it is important to determine the interviewees' perception on the the **process dynamics** in the Rekenfaculteit. This concerns the components principled engagement, which highlights the communicative aspect of collaboration, shared motivation, which addresses the relational dimension, and capacity for joint action, that revolves around the functional dimension of collaboration. The presence of the three components were all positively addressed by interviewees. This especially counts for capacity for joint action: interviewees were very positive about the elements here and believe these were established quickly due to De Verre Bergen's early financial commitment. Overall, interviewees were also positive about the presence of shared motivation and principled engagement, despite recognizing that establishing these took considerably longer. Some issues with regards to especially the schools are said to still play a role. The findings show how strongly the three components are interrelated. Building principled engagement and shared motivation appears to be almost entangled: when one got stronger, so did the other. Capacity for joint action appears to have had a considerable effect on both principled engagement and shared motivation.

Secondly, the **products of collaboration** were explored. Overall, interviewees were positive about the collaborative actions. The findings show how the three components of the process dynamics are conditional to the realization of the actions. It is unclear whether one component has been more important in achieving this than the others: it seems that all were crucial. Outcomes were also thought of in a positive way: many outcomes were noted. The interviewees appeared to attach most value to one indicator: the impact on the environment. It seems that differences exist in what is considered the most important outcome here: socio-emotional development or cognitive skill improvements. Some are unsure about their satisfaction with the latter. For the most part, a clear relation is seen between the actions and the outcomes. What is more, interviewees appear to care much about the adaptive capacity of the program. It is argued that the project extensively focuses on improving itself based on the outcomes and many adaptations to the process and actions are noted.

Lastly, the question remains whether the program is perceived successful and how this is defined. Interviewees mostly explain success as achieving results. How the interviewees explain success here shows overlap with how they explain the outcomes: those who say cognitive development is most important also use that as the most direct way of defining and measuring success. The same goes for those who relate the success of the program to overall development. It appears that interviewees were especially positive about the socio-emotional development of the children, and although they are also positive towards cognitive skill improvements, some are more unsure about how successful they think this aspect is.   Interestingly, some are more critical towards this in relation to the outcomes than they were when they defined its success. External legitimacy is also noted as a way that the success is described. However, the ways in which the interviewees explain success goes beyond just how outcomes were defined in this paper: the quality collaborative actions were mentioned, as well as the program's adaptive capacity. Also, success was related to the process: strong relationships, commitment and internal legitimacy, of which a belief is shared that that is present, while acknowledging room for improvement. Thus, the findings show that overall the Rekenfaculteit program is perceived successful, but what this means differs across interviewees.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these findings is that both collaborative governance dynamics and its products are related to perceived success. From how success is perceived and explained, one can clearly see the marks of both process dynamics and its products, but they appear to relate to success in different ways. The products of collaboration appear to more directly relate to success. This especially counts for outcomes. Success is only limitedly directly related to the actions and adaptation, but they appear also are indirectly related to success by being conditional to achieving the outcomes. The same counts for the process dynamics: although elements of shared motivation were mentioned as a way to define and measure success, it can be concluded that process dynamics are mostly indirectly related to success by being conditional to the actions. All three components of process dynamics were necessary here to eventually obtain success, but for the most part cannot be equaled to success itself. This appears to confirm the idea behind frameworks in collaborative governance literature: process dynamics are conditional to achieving outcomes and without successful outcomes success is not likely (Bryson et al., 2015; Emerson et al., 2012; Thomson and Perry, 2006).

6.2 Implications

This research shows how process dynamics and products of collaboration are necessary for success, although they relate to success in different ways. The way in which these relate to success imply several things.

Firstly, for the most part, process dynamics do not appear to directly lead to success, but are seen as conditional to achieving it. The findings do not show that one component in particular is crucial in achieving success, all three are. It appears that the strong interrelations between different components in collaboration that is emphasized in Emerson and Nabatchi's (2015a) framework at least partially hold true for this case. One can note the strong influence shared motivation and principled engagement have on each other and it does not seem that this process of strengthening one another goes in a sequential way, as implied in other collaborative governance frameworks (e.g. Gray and

Purdy, 2018). The findings point towards how important the early establishment of elements of capacity for joint action were in accelerating the process of building principled engagement and shared motivation. This makes this case quite unique: Stichting De Verre Bergen's financial contributions appear to have been important in this process. This seems to imply that guaranteeing high quality capacity for joint action was conditional to achieving higher levels of principled engagement and shared motivation, although this must be taken with a grain of salt. It cannot be known what would have happened in this particular process had it not had such an early establishment of capacity for joint action. However, since questions are raised about the project's continuation if Stichting De Verre Bergen would stop funding it, it does seem to imply the necessity of this element in this particular collaboration. Furthermore, it appears that shared motivation was already partially established at the very beginning of this process due to the previous collaboration. Drawing conclusion from this, one can note that each component simply cannot work without help of the others, although this study does show the importance of elements of capacity for joint action in accelerating the process of building stronger principled engagement and shared motivation.

Also, the way in which success is defined by interviewees raises a few questions. It is interesting to note that interviewees were sometimes more positive when they spoke of the program's success than they were about the outcomes. Some interviewees note that they believe goals were not achieved, but still emphasize that they think the program is a success. This seems to suggest that they use different standards to assess the two. How the ways in which success is defined is more than just outcomes shows in the findings. This is interesting, because outcomes are often highlighted in literature as the way to measure success (Ansell, 2012; Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos, 2010; Koppenjan, 2008; Provan and Milward, 2001). From how the products of collaboration were reviewed in this study, several ways in which success was explained is not regarded an outcome, but as an element contributing to it. These are strong relationships, collaborative actions and its adaptive capacity. Interestingly, these are all elements that are often regarded as outcomes in network literature. Bryson and colleagues (2015) and Koppenjan (2008) highlight the ability to learn as an outcome rather than a separate entity. The same goes for strong relationships: Gunton and Day (2003), Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) among many others regard this as an important process outcome. The same goes for actions: Thomas and Koontz (2011) frequently emphasize how the lines between actions and outcomes are often unclear in literature evaluating what collaboration produces. This study's findings appear to imply this as well: when measuring success, it appears that these lines become blurrier than how this is thought of in the conceptual framework that was used. It, however, does not downplay the distinction that was made: the findings show elements of shared motivation, actions and adaptation also indirectly contributing to the perception of success.

6.3 Limitations

For this research, a case study approach was chosen. Case studies are often used in public administration research (Van Thiel, 2015). Although the chosen method appeared suited to elucidate the collaborative process of the Rekenfaculteit, the findings presented here show several shortcomings that require addressing. Firstly, the findings in this case study show the interviewees' point of view on the phenomena that were described. It is important to read the findings in that light.

This for example counts for the outcomes: when interviewees describe the outcomes as effective, this does not mean that they are objectively effective.

In addition, when selecting interviewees, it was attempted to interview multiple people from every organization actively involved in the program. This has not not always been possible. One of the primary schools, in which the Rekenfaculteit tutoring takes place, was unable to be reached to participate in this research. This means that one of the organizations that is part of the collaboration was not included in the reflection on the process as described in the findings. Two similar organizations with similar contexts, the other two primary schools, were willing to participate in the research. Thus, although this forms a limitation, at least the perspective of the same type of organization and role in collaboration was included in this research.

Another limitation lies in the same type of organization. For this research, multiple school teachers involved in the program were tried to be reached at random. This proved quite difficult as many did not respond to the invitation or were unable to participate. This may have caused the selection of these interviewees to be slightly biased: it is possible that the teachers that were interviewed have a more negative or positive attitude towards the program than those unwilling to participate. The findings appear to imply that the latter might have been the case, although this cannot be confirmed.

Finally, the chosen research method, a single case study, is not aimed to obtain generalizable results. Instead, the focus lies in the empirical richness of data (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, the findings presented here are not generalizable. However, as discussed in the third chapter, extensive attention was paid in the findings to describe the case as well as the context in which it took place. This is said to help other researchers in determining whether the findings are applicable to other contexts (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009). This, however, does not downplay the implication of generalizability in this research: the findings elucidate this particular case. The findings should be read in that light.

6.4 Recommendations

6.4.1 Science

In this study, several conclusions about collaborative governance and its success were made. Also, this brought about several suggestions for future research:

- This study shows how capacity for joint action played a crucial role in building higher levels of shared motivation and principled engagement. More case studies should be done on the functioning of these elements and the influence they have on each other across different contexts, in order to see if broader conclusions can be drawn on the importance of capacity for joint action.

- The findings imply that context was of influence in establishing the elements of the process dynamics. Due to the scope of this research, these were not reviewed in depth. However, it does seem an interesting direction for future research: what contextual conditions determine the establishment of what elements of collaborative processes and to what extent does this play a role?

- Additional research should be done on what outcomes of collaboration mean. The indicators that were set in this study were inconclusive, as efficiency was mentioned by interviewees despite not

being set as an indicator. More research should be done to elucidate what indicators for outcomes matter in the eyes of participants of collaboration and how that is determined.

- Fairly little attention is paid to the meaning of success in governance literature (Kenis and Provan, 2009; Gunton and Day, 2003; Van Raaij, 2006). This study's findings appear to show that success can mean many different things. Additional research ought to be done to show what marks collaborative success in what contexts and whether this goes beyond outcomes.

6.4.2 Practice

This research shows how successful collaborative governance does not come about easily. However, based on this study's conclusions several recommendations can be made. These recommendations are divided into two groups. On the one hand, several recommendations are made that are useful for the current process, based on challenges or issues that emerged from the findings. These recommendations may be useful for Rekenfaculteit site directors, but also for other organizations involved in the collaboration. They may also be useful for other collaborative processes as well. The second set of recommendations specifically focuses on that: it draws lessons from things that worked especially well in the collaboration that was described in this research, and may be useful for collaborative design elsewhere. When reading this, it is important to keep in mind that the design collaborative processes tend to be very context-specific: what works here does not necessarily mean that it will work the same way elsewhere, but it can serve as inspiration (Bryson et al., 2015).

Recommendations for the current program:

- The findings show that school directors and teachers sometimes share less information and interests and sometimes have the tendency to not follow through on plans. It is frequently emphasized that regularly meeting with school teachers has been helpful in improving this. It may be helpful to regularly schedule such meetings between school directors and Rekenfaculteit site directors as well, outside of the board meetings. In this way, they could more actively discuss progress, expectations and follow up on agreements made.

- Lastly, the findings show how sharing information and interests can be an issue sometimes and that information sometimes does not reach the people that need it. Therefore, it may be worthwhile for Rekenfaculteit site directors to regularly send out newsletters containing an update on relevant information and progress made for all people involved in the Rekenfaculteit, beyond those present at board meetings.

- Furthermore, although the findings show that most interviewees are positive about the outcomes, several appear more critical towards this, as well as some raise questions are raised about the program's long-term continuation due to the high costs. Based on these findings, it may be advisable to discuss the goals and expectations upon which everyone's commitment is based. More awareness on that can avoid possible confusion surrounding this.

- Also, it seems that interviewees find different things important when it comes to the goals of the program. Although it is emphasized that everyone is understanding of differences, it may be helpful to more actively discuss goals with one another. Annual or bi-annual debates or brainstorming

sessions may further stimulate awareness of differences in goals and may contribute to finding new ways of adapting the program to stimulate the achievement of (individual) goals.

Recommendations for design elsewhere:

- The findings show how capacity for joint action played a considerable part in building the other two components of process dynamics. This has possible implications: investing in the functional side of collaboration apparently works well in enhancing the communicative and relational dimensions of collaboration. Thus, if in collaboration similar conditions present themselves (the availability of financial resources), it appears worthwhile to invest in leadership and setting up rules, finding shared knowledge and other types of resources. Although it is sometimes not possible to ensure capacity of joint action without the aid of the other components, this case shows how this can have an effect on collaboration.

- Secondly, it is advisable to actively involve stakeholders every step along the way. The findings show that lower levels of trust and commitment among school teachers were one of the biggest challenges in the earlier years of the program. It appears, however, that the efforts that Rekenfaculteit site directors made to stimulate collaboration amongst teachers paid off: it is frequently emphasized how shared motivation has grown over the years. It is therefore advised to involve everyone from the early stages of collaboration and to invest in stimulating collaboration from the beginning to avoid trouble later on.

- Also, it is advisable have regular face-to-face meetings. It is frequently emphasized how face-to-face meetings are valued in the Rekenfaculteit collaborative process are they have been useful in getting everyone on the same page and in establishing shared motivation. It is therefore advised to keep in mind when collaborating that meeting face-to-face is worthwhile.

- Finally, the adaptive capacity of this program is valued highly by interviewees. It not only works well to improve outcomes, but also seems to enhance the quality of the process dynamics. Drawing from this, it is advised to install mechanisms that work on evaluating the actions, the collaboration and finding areas for improvement. When doing this, it is important to keep in mind that building the components of process dynamics takes considerable time. The same goes for what collaboration produces. It takes time, energy and adaptations in order to evolve from collaboration into success.

7. References

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Appendix 1: Overview Interviewees

Organization	Interviewee	Respondent numbers
De Rekenfaculteit	3 interviews with site directors	R1; R2; R3
	2 interviews with tutors	R4; R5
De Kinderfaculteit	2 interviews	R17; R18
Stichting De Verre Bergen	3 interviews	R6; R7; R8
Vitaal Pendrecht	2 interviews	R9; R10
Primary schools (de Hoeksteen, de Beatrix en Over de Slinge	2 interviews with directors	R11; R14
	2 interviews with teachers	R12; R13
SAGA Innovations	2 interviews	R15; R16

Appendix 2: Interview Topic List

<u>Intro</u>
- role organization
- reason for participating in Rekenfaculteit
- reasons for existence Rekenfaculteit

<u>Success & overall perception</u>
- perception success Rekenfaculteit
- reason for success perception
- vision collaborative process
- success collaborative process

<u>Communication</u>
- description process of communication
- sharing information
- deliberation
- decisions
- shared goals

<u>Relationships</u>
- description of relationships between organizations
- trust
- mutual understanding
- internal legitimacy
- commitment

<u>Capacity</u>
- descriptions contributions different parties
- rules and norms
- leadership
- knowledge

<u>Conclusion</u>
- execution of the program
- perception achievements
- perception important elements for success

Appendix 3: Coding Scheme

- Role
  - Organization
  - Respondent
- Respondent organization
  - Rekenfaculteit
    - Site director
    - Tutor
  - Primary schools
    - Director
    - Teacher
    - Hoeksteen
    - Over de Slinge
    - Beatrix
  - Kinderfaculteit
  - SAGA
  - Stichting De Verre Bergen
  - Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht
- Referred organization
  - Rekenfaculteit
    - Site director
    - Tutor
  - Primary schools
    - Director
    - Teacher
    - Hoeksteen
    - Over de Slinge
    - Beatrix
  - Kinderfaculteit
  - SAGA
  - Stichting De Verre Bergen
  - Stichting Vitaal Pendrecht
- Quality of the outputs
  - Adaptative capacity

- Quality of execution
- Relation input and output
- Effectiveness - socio-emotional
- Effectiveness - measurable results
- Efficiency
- Benefits own organization
- External support
- Quality of the process
  - Satisfaction stakeholder
  - Absence conflict
  - Conflict resolution
  - Ease of communication
  - Commitment
- Principled Engagement
  - Discovery
    - Share information
    - Reveal Interests
    - Seek additional information
  - Definition
    - Shared concepts
    - Boundaries
  - Deliberation
    - Equality
    - Interests weighed
    - Conflict situations
    - Reasoning
  - Determinations
    - Substantive
    - Procedural
    - Quantity
    - Explicit
    - Durable
    - Agreement acceptable
      - Consensus
    - Shared theory of change

- Shared Motivation
    - Trust
        - trustworthy
        - follow through
        - good intentions
        - presence
    - Mutual understanding
        - respect differences
    - Internal legitimacy
        - collaboration beneficial
        - process worthy
        - interdependence
    - Commitment
        - responsibility to contribute
        - motivation to achieve results
- Capacity for joint action
    - Institutional design
        - establish collaborative environment
        - clarity
    - Leadership
        - champion role
            - deploy resources
            - grant authority
            - legitimacy
        - sponsor role
            - facilitate
            - mediate
    - Resources
        - adequate presence
        - financial
        - production
        - authority/ legitimacy
        - competencies
    - Knowledge
        - shared knowledge

- accessible
- Collaborative results
    - Actions
        - related to theory of change
        - efficiencies to own organization
        - fair
    - Outcomes
        - impact environment
        - impact own organization
        - external legitimacy
    - Adaptation
        - process capable of changes
        - sustainable results
- Context
    - balance power and resources
    - effective intervention in U.S.A.
    - media attention
    - network interactions
    - research
    - policy changes
    - prehistory of trust or conflict
    - prior failure
    - socioeconomic and cultural characteristics
    - workload primary schools
    - change vision organizations
- Positive
- Negative
- Changes over time