



COGOV
Grant Agreement No. 770591
SCIENTIFIC REPORT
D.61



Co-Production and Co-Governance: Strategic Management, Public Value and Co-Creation in the Renewal of Public Agencies across Europe

Deliverable 6.1

Scientific Report on the Conditions for Involvement of Professionals in the Strategic Renewal of Local Governments and Public Agencies, possible Impediments and Counteracting Mechanisms

Date of submission: *30 April 2020*

Partners responsible for deliverable: *TIAS/Tilburg University*

Authors:

Wiljan Hendriks

Marlot Kuiper

Nicolette Van Gestel



Funding:

This project has received funding from the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 770591.

The opinions expressed in this document reflect only the author’s view and in no way reflect the European Commission’s opinions. The European Commission is not responsible for any use that may be made of the information it contains.

Project Details:

Grant Agreement Number: 770591

Project Acronym: COGOV

Project Full Title: Co-Production and Co-Governance: Strategic Management, Public Value and Co-Creation in the Renewal of Public Agencies across Europe

Project website: www.cogov.eu

Project Start Date: May 2018 (42 months)

Partners:



EDITION INFORMATION

| VERSION | EDITION DATE | MODIFICATION |
|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 | 16 October 2019 | Interim Report |
| 2 | 30 April 2020 | Deliverable D6.1 |

DISSEMINATION LEVEL

Public X
 Confidential, only for members of the Consortium (including the Commission Services)



Table of Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| 1. Introduction | 4 |
| 2. Methods | 4 |
| 3. Professionals | 11 |
| 4. The context: Public management reform and strategic requirements | 14 |
| 5. Identifying mechanisms encouraging and impeding professionals’ involvement | 20 |
| 6. Motivations of professionals in implementing strategic renewal of public services..... | 23 |
| 7. Promising practices for professionals’ engagement in co-production and co-creation..... | 27 |
| 8. Skills and capabilities of professionals needed for co-production and co-creation | 31 |
| 9. Embedding innovative processes in public administration | 34 |
| 10. Discussion and conclusion | 37 |
| References | 40 |
| Appendices | |
| Appendix A. Interview protocol interviews and focus group sessions..... | 52 |
| Appendix B. Case report Dutch pilot case | 56 |
| Appendix C. French perspective on professionalism | 68 |



1. Introduction

This scientific report [Deliverable 6.1] is produced by the TIAS WP6 team and presents conditions for the involvement of professionals in the strategic renewal of local governments and public agencies, and insights in possible impediments and counteracting mechanisms. The report is an extended and refined version of our ‘interim milestone’ (October 2019). This final scientific report presents our extensive literature review and an analysis of our pilot case.

The report starts with a detailed description of the method we used for our literature review (chapter two). In chapter three, we provide direction concerning the label ‘professional’ as understood and used in this review and work package. The chapters four to nine present the results of our literature review that are structured following the main objectives of WP6. These are:

- Identifying the main legal and strategic requirements (policies, regulations, reforms) framing professional roles in public management reform initiatives
- Identifying mechanisms encouraging and impeding the involvement of professionals in the renewal of local government and public agencies
- Mapping motivations of professionals in implementing strategic renewal processes
- Identifying promising practices for professionals’ engagement with other partners and civil society from their point of view
- Identifying required skills for public servants in co-creation with other parties
- Categorizing how such innovative processes can be embedded in public administrations

In chapter ten we conclude by deriving discussion themes from our literature review that we will take further in our empirical research in WP6. The literature review is the basis for Appendix A (protocols for interviews and focus group sessions), and Appendix B (case report of the Dutch pilot case). Appendix C holds a French perspective on professionalism, provided by our French colleagues in COGOV (AMU).

2. Methods

This literature review forms the basis of WP6 and serves to establish insight into the state-of-art knowledge about engaging professionals in the strategic renewal of public services, to explore its quality and potential, and to identify its limitations. It builds on earlier literature reviews as conducted in WP1, but explicitly focuses on the (changing) role of professionals (Hendrikx & Van Gestel, 2017). The review has its starting point with publications in 2000, as New Public Governance approaches receive (more) attention since the new century (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014; Osborne, 2010). In this chapter, we will describe our research process and share our methodological considerations and choices.



Literature selection

Our literature review is the result of a narrative literature analysis for which we used three sources of ‘key publications’: (I) selected from our *systematic search strategy*; (II) identified through *snowballing*; and (III) a few publications recommended to us by our *COGOV partners* (see figure 1 for the flowchart offering a schematic overview). Below, each of these three sources will be discussed.

I. Systematic Search Strategy

In order to identify key literature, we adopted a systematic search strategy (in line with the chosen approach in WP1). A systematic search helped preventing a selection bias by clearly indicating search terms and in- and exclusion criteria. A systematic approach has been argued to provide the most efficient and high-quality method for identifying and evaluating extensive literatures: “explicit methods used in systematic reviews limit bias and, hopefully, will improve reliability and accuracy of conclusions” (Mulrow, 1994: 597). As we aimed to present the ‘state of the art’ in a concise way, it was important to select the most important literature only. We took the following steps to come to a selection of key publications.

Step 1

The systematic search began with the identification of key words and search terms. The key words were identified and discussed by the TIAS research team, after which input from the other partners was asked to finalize these terms. As the strength of this literature review lies in the combination of two important themes in the literature (professionalism and strategic renewal), the search strategy consisted of a ‘AND’/‘OR’-search (see table 1).

With regard to the ‘professionalism’ search terms, we need to emphasize that in the COGOV project, we adopt an inclusive approach (see chapter three). In scholarly literature, approaches towards ‘professionalism’ differ. Some studies adopt a narrow perspective on professionalism and study what is called ‘classic professionalism’ (related to professions such as medical doctors, lawyers etc.). Others have argued that more occupations can be considered ‘professional’, because of their search for legitimacy through building the capacity to make decisions in a context of ethical and technical uncertainty (e.g. Noordegraaf, 2007). In our search, we used a broad definition of professionals that includes the traditional public servant in a ministry or local government, as well as professionals in the semi-public sector, e.g. in government agencies, public corporations, non-profit organizations, as long as they are affected by, or involved in developing and implementing co-governance, co-production and co-creation of public services.

For the ‘strategic renewal’ search terms, we were most keen to learn about insights with regard to collaborative approaches like collaborative governance or co-creation and co-production. However, acknowledging that these kinds of public management reforms are relatively recent, we decided to include



Managerialism and New Public Management to be able to capture insights on professionalism in relation to reforms in general.

Table 1 - Search Strategy

| Theme | Search/key terms |
|---|---|
| Professionalism | "professional" OR "professionalism" OR "expert worker" OR "knowledge worker" OR "frontline worker" OR "public servant" OR "civil servant" OR "public officer" OR "street level bureaucrat" OR "street-level bureaucrat" |
| "AND" | |
| Strategic renewal of public networks and organizations | "policy reform" OR "public management reform" OR "policy change" OR "policy adaptation" OR "public sector reform" OR "managerialism" OR "New Public Management" OR "NPM" OR "New Public Governance" OR "NPG" OR "collaborative network" OR "public governance" OR "co-governance" OR "co governance" OR "co-production" OR "co production" OR "co-creation" OR "co creation" OR "innovation" OR "policy implementation" |

Step 2

We subsequently used the key terms to perform a general search, a ranked journal specific search and a thematic journal specific search, all focusing on publications from 2000 until 2020. In doing so, our selection covers a scope of 20 years, which allowed for an extensive overview of how recent successive policy reforms have affected professional work, including New Public Governance (Osborne, 2010).

The three ways for searching literature were:

1. General search: we conducted a Web of Science search for which we included journals from a broad variety of categories to capture as many public services as possible. These categories were:

Education educational research; management; sport sciences; business; health care sciences services; public environmental occupational health; social issues; nursing; health policy services; ethics; urban studies; humanities multidisciplinary; public administration; family studies; sociology; social work; law; development studies; primary health care; social sciences interdisciplinary; political science; multidisciplinary sciences; regional urban planning.

We used three cut off points. For 2000-2014 we exported all bibliographical entries with 90 or more citations. Acknowledging that it takes a few years before articles build up a citation score, we exported entries for 2015-2017 with 7 or more citations and exported all entries for 2018-2019.

2. Ranked journal specific search: based on the ISI ranking of public sector journals in 2017, we conducted a journal specific search, including the 15 highest ranked journals (IF >2). We excluded the journal Climate



Policy because of its focus on one specific policy area (see table 2). Many search engines of the proved to be very basic, making it challenging to conduct our AND’/’OR’-search strategy. In most cases, we decided to look for the ‘professionalism’ search terms in the abstract, and for the ‘strategic renewal’ search terms in the full-text.

3. Thematic journal specific search: journals specifically tailored to the study of professions and professionalism have been included, with the minimal requirement that they need to work with a double-blind peer review system to ensure quality. Two thematic journals have been selected: The Journal of Professions and Organisations (JPO) and Professions and Professionalism (P&P).

The table below contains all ISI ranked journals with an impact factor >2. We thus selected the 15 highest journals, leaving out the climate policy sector specific one.

Table 2 - Selected ISI ranked journals (Public Administration) with IF above 2

| Rank | Full Journal Title | Total Cites | Impact Factor |
|------|---|------------------|------------------|
| 1 | PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW | 7,651 | 4.591 |
| 2 | JOURNAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH AND THEORY | 4,543 | 3.907 |
| 3 | GOVERNANCE-AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF POLICY ADMINISTRATION AND INSTITUTIONS | 2,009 | 3.833 |
| 4 | CLIMATE POLICY | 1,755 | 3.832 |
| 5 | JOURNAL OF POLICY ANALYSIS AND MANAGEMENT | 2,390 | 3.444 |
| 6 | Public Management Review | 2,191 | 3.152 |
| 7 | POLICY SCIENCES | 2,224 | 3.023 |
| 8 | JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC POLICY | 3,780 | 2.994 |
| 9 | PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION | 3,447 | 2.870 |
| 10 | POLICY STUDIES JOURNAL | 2,028 | 2.830 |
| 11 | International Public Management Journal | 825 | 2.739 |
| 12 | Regulation & Governance | 938 | 2.735 |
| 13 | AMERICAN REVIEW OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION | 1,430 | 2.466 |
| 14 | Review of Public Personnel Administration | 623 | 2.444 |
| 15 | Public Policy and Administration | 441 | 2.438 |
| 16 | JOURNAL OF SOCIAL POLICY | 1,349 | 2.261 |

Step 3

As initial screening, the sources found were assessed for their potential eligibility based on their title using the wide inclusion criterion ‘professionals in relation to policy reform’. Subsequently, duplicates from the three ways of searching for literature were removed. Then, another round of screening was conducted based



on title and abstract. Ultimately, the corpus of articles was narrowed down to 248. Of these articles, the full-texts were assessed, leading to the identification of 80 key publications.

II. Snowballing

Our second source of publications built directly upon the first source; our systematic search. We checked the references of the key publications of the literature corpus that was acquired through the systematic search. Hence, we identified other key publications that were so far missing. It deserves notice that we identified a substantial number of sources (n=85) that were not part of the results of our literature search. We double-checked for all of these new sources whether they were perhaps part of our initial list of records, and mistakenly left out during our screening. However, this was not the case, leading us to conclude that despite - or maybe because of - using broad search terms, many articles on the role of professionals in processes of strategic renewal did not show up in the results of our systematic search. One explanation for this may be that so far there has not yet established itself an unambiguous discourse on how to speak about professionals in processes of strategic renewal.

Moreover, through this 'snowballing' we identified several sources from before the timespan we used for our systematic search - i.e. from before 2000. Most of these sources helped to acquire a better understanding of the processes of public management reform with which professionals have seen themselves confronted earlier than the ones that strengthened collaborative approaches. Others helped to acquire a better understanding of the concept 'professional'.

III. COGOV Partners

As a third source of publications, we made use of the recommendations by our COGOV partners. This was only a limited amount of sources (n=4), but these included forthcoming or early access publications, allowing us to include the latest state of the art insights into our literature review.

Analysis and reporting

Based on the three sources, a total number of 169 publications composed the literature corpus we used for our narrative literature analysis. Narrative reviews are particularly suited for general an appraisal of previous studies and the current lack of knowledge, and allows us to track the development of concepts and reforms (Greenhalgh et al., 2004; Onwuegbuzie & Frels, 2016). The objectives formulated for WP6 served as our analytical frame.

Based on the first 20 randomly selected sources, we made an inventory in Microsoft Excel about what was being said in each source for each objective. In case nothing was being said, the field for that objective in relation to that particular source was left blank. Based on this inventory, we wrote an initial text for each objective. This already showed us that for the first two objectives, most articles gave some information based



on which we were able to write a first impression. For the remaining four objectives, this proved to be more challenging. From that point onwards, we carried on with our narrative literature analysis, by including our analysis directly in the draft text we had written. In that way, we asked ourselves with each additional source for each objective: does this support, add or contradict what we already have written? In case it endorsed already existing information and arguments, we included the particular source as extra reference; in case it added new information we added new sentences and/or paragraphs to our draft; and in case it contradicted what we already had written we wrote that down accordingly. In this vein, a rich overview of the literature emerged.

Based on the first 100 sources – a mix of sources derived from our literature search and snowballing strategies – we collectively identified the dominant storyline and rewrote our text into a readable and coherent literature review. For objective four for example, this was the point where we decided to limit ourselves to discussing several prominent examples of promising practices as a way to communicate what professionals' engagement can look like in real life. Subsequently, we added a final chapter in which we conducted a first analysis of the results per objective and identified discussion themes and questions that arise from literature. After that, the 'draft literature review' was send out to our COGOV partners, inviting them to provide critical feedback. In general, our COGOV partners were very positive. We processed all the minor revisions they suggested, and then worked to expand our literature review with the 69 remaining sources. We repeated our earlier routine, asking ourselves with each additional source for each objective: does this support, add or contradict what we already have written? In general, the storyline we constructed based on the first 100 sources proved convincing in the light of the additional sources. Nevertheless, this second round of reviewing 69 additional sources enabled us to refine our findings, to include more examples and nuances, and to provide a more thorough discussion.

Based on the literature review, and mainly on the critical discussion and identification of key themes and questions in the last chapter, we formulated the interview questions of the interview protocol and the focus groups (Appendix A.) and constructed the case report of a Dutch pilot case (Appendix B.).

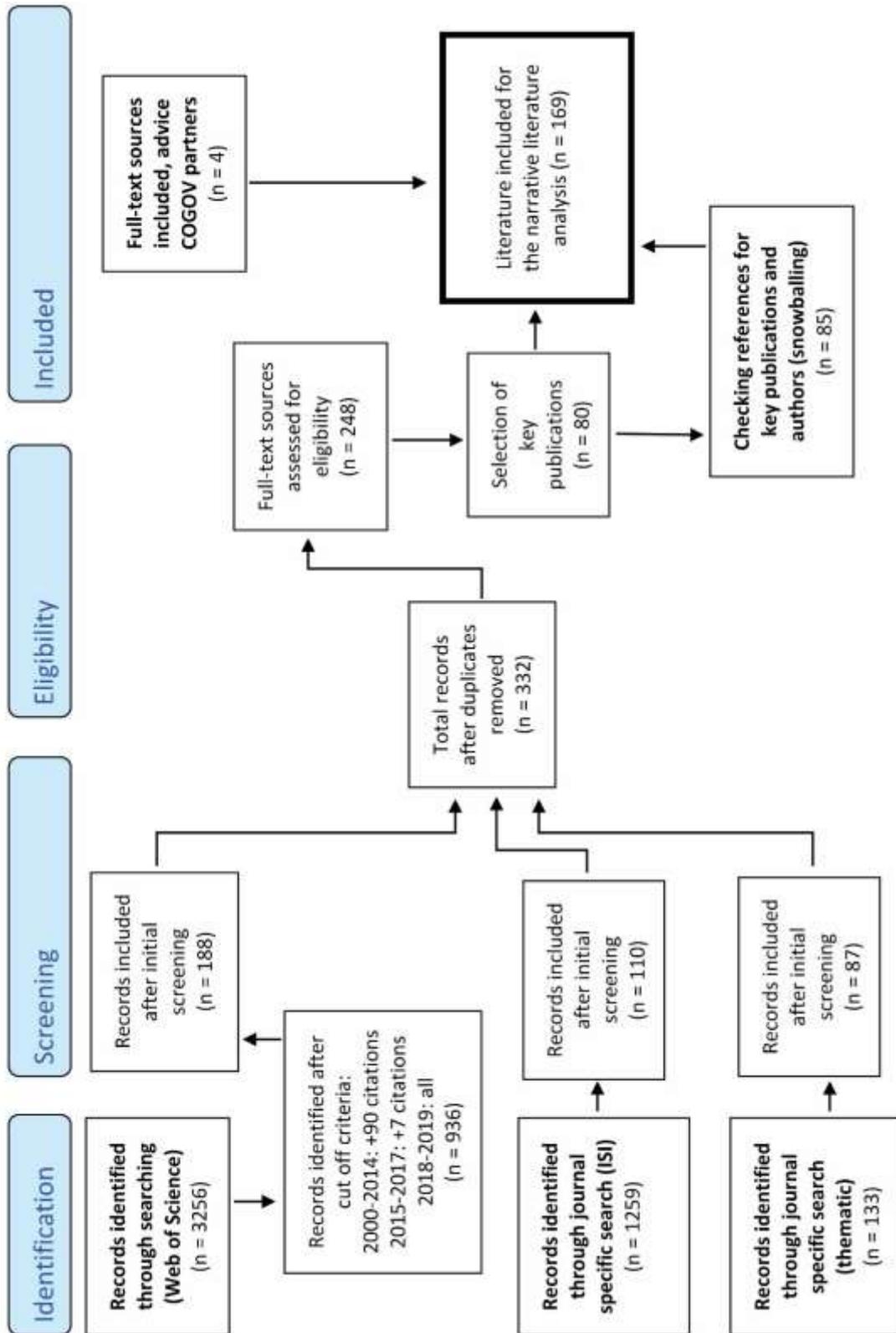


Figure 1 - Flowchart literature selection



3. Professionals

Strategic renewal in the public sector is impossible without the engagement of the professionals that constitute a huge part of its labour force – from teachers to social workers, from clinicians to security officials, from urban planners to firefighters (O’Toole Jr. & Meier, 2015). As Lipsky (2010;1980) already argued, professionals are the ones who actually ‘make’ policies through their crucial role in implementing public policies (Hill, 2003; Hupe, Hill, & Buffat, 2016; Jilke & Tummers, 2018; Zacka, 2017). WP6 takes into consideration the role of professionals as potential change agents in the strategic renewal of local government and public agencies across nations (Leicht, Walter, Sainsaulieu, & Davies, 2009), and the embedding of these approaches for innovation in Public Administration. The literature review presented here covers almost 20 years of studies that teach us about the role of professionals in a context of public management reform. This will allow us to gain a deeper understanding of what governments, public organizations and professionals can do to increase the success of professional engagement and hence the quality of public service delivery.

Before turning to the question how reforms affect professional roles (chapter four), it is however relevant to consider different conceptualizations of professionals, as the concept ‘professional’ is often loosely applied (Wilensky, 1964). In this chapter, we work towards a conceptualization of public professionals for our study. First, we provide some historical background of the ‘professional’ concept, showing that the concept has always been diffuse and debated. Next, we display how public management reforms have further problematized the concept, for instance because of a mingling of logics that have affected the very nature of what it implies to be coined ‘professional’. Lastly, we provide guidance for the use of the concept ‘professional’ in this study, based on significant theoretical insights and aligning with the objectives of WP6.

Classic professionalism

Interestingly, many scholars apply the ‘professional’ label without further explication of its meaning. Indeed, when talking about ‘classic professionalism’, there is some scholarly agreement on its key attributes. Harold Wilensky is argued to be one of the first to coin the ‘professional’ concept in social science research. In his seminal work ‘The professionalization of everyone?’ Wilensky (1964) reflects on the ways in which various occupational groups strive to acquire the status of ‘profession’. Wilensky (1964) distinguishes three major principles – specialized knowledge, a service ideal, and professional autonomy – that have inspired a large body of literature and have been identified in other classical studies in the sociology of professions later on (e.g. Freidson, 2001; Noordegraaf, 2007; Evetts, 2009). Although also ‘minor principles’ can be distinguished (see Trappenburg & Noordegraaf, 2018), these three principles still seem to provide the dominant discourse in current day literature on professionalism.

Firstly, professionals have specialized knowledge. They have acquired a ‘technical base’, a shared expertise through enduring training, which requires ongoing ‘maintenance’. Secondly, professionals ideally share a



‘service ethic’; they know how to act as a professional, according to their professional standards. Codes of ethics for example prescribe appropriate behaviour (Wilensky, 1964). Professionals are expected to make impartial decisions in complex situations (Gardner & Shulman 2005; Wilensky 1964). They are expected to provide public services in a responsible, selfless, and wise manner (Brandsen & Honingh 2013; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017). Thirdly, if professions succeed in establishing a body of knowledge and a service ideal, they may be granted high levels of professional autonomy. Professions exercise control over the content of professional work. They develop professional standards, determine professional qualifications, set up training and education programs, and develop codes of conduct. Individual professionals have the leeway to apply their body of knowledge and make decisions about individual cases (Faulconbridge & Muzio, 2011).

Despite wide scholarly agreement on the key attributes of professionalism, these principles do not provide decisive answers as to which occupational groups can be considered professional, whilst others cannot. Consequently, scholars have used the concept to define occupations as ‘more’ or ‘less’ professional. Medicine and law for example, are often depicted as ‘real’, ‘full’ or ‘classic’ professions, while social workers, police officers and elementary school teachers have been defined as ‘semi-professionals’ – for instance because their knowledge base is considered less ‘esoteric’, or because they exercise less control over the content of their work (Etzioni, 1969). The concept ‘professional’ thus always has been somewhat diffuse. Recent public management reforms have made the question who can be considered ‘professional’ all the more pressing and complicated, as we will detail in the next chapter (four)

Notably, most conceptualizations of ‘professionals’ and ‘professionalism’ are embedded in the Anglo-Saxon literature. Although these characterizations may hold for many (Western) European countries, professionalism has developed differently in other countries, for example in France. Appendix C. describes conceptualizations and developments of professionalism in France, linked to its specific, historical context.

The ‘reconfiguration’ of professionalism

Increasingly, the archetypical model of ‘professionalism’ has come under pressure (Denis, Ferlie & Van Gestel, 2015; Evetts, 2002; Noordegraaf & Steijn, 2013). Various authors (e.g. Brock, 2006; Greenwood & Lachman, 1996; Leicht, 2016) have pointed out important developments that have affected professional work, such as the deregulation of professional markets, financial constraints and cost pressures, complex service demands, technological change and changes in the demands of increasingly knowledgeable clients. These developments have consequences for professional work itself, for professional-employer relations, for professional-client relations, and for the control of work priorities and processes (Evetts, 2011; Noordegraaf, 2016). These accounts of change as found in literature describe a shift from long-time notions like partnership, autonomy and trust to notions of managerialism, standardization, assessment and performance review (Evetts 2011). Consequently, authors refer to a ‘reconfiguration of professionalism’ (Noordegraaf & Steijn, 2013; Noordegraaf, 2016), and changes in ‘professionalism’ have been pointed in different, opposing



directions, ranging from ‘de-professionalization’ to new notions of ‘mixed’ forms of professionalism. For sure, the word is still out on what regulation for professions should look like (Saks, 2014).

There have been claims of ‘de-professionalization’. Freidson (2001: 3) for instance argued that professions “[are] seriously weakened in the name of competition and efficiency” and Evetts (2011) describes that from a traditional point of view professionals are often seen as victims of managerialism who are relatively powerless against demands for more transparency and accountability. More recent theorizations are less pessimistic however. There are accounts of a ‘new professionalism’ and ‘hybrid professionalism’ in which traditional professional logics become mingled with managerial logics (see e.g. Andersson & Liff, 2018; Denis, Ferlie & Van Gestel, 2015; Faulconbridge and Muzio, 2008; Honingh & Kartsen, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2016; Noordegraaf, 2016). Notions of ‘professionals’ and ‘managers’ have become mingled in multiple, complex ways (Kislov, Hodgson, & Boaden, 2016). A lively scholarly debate ensued around the question whether the occupation of ‘manager’ can be considered a ‘profession’, thus speaking of “professional managers” (Reed & Anthony, 1992; Savage et al., 1992; Exworthy & Halford, 1999; see also Noordegraaf & Van der Meulen, 2008). Scholars have described how professionals increasingly become managers, whether or not still performing ‘professional tasks’ at the street-level, such as ‘frontline’ or ‘middle managers’. Here, we will not go into detailed discussions around ‘professional managers’ or ‘professionals versus managers’. Rather, in the next chapter we will provide guidance concerning the use of the professional concept in this study, to be able to empirically trace how roles, relevant knowledge, skills, and expectations of professionals are affected by public management reforms.

Defining ‘public professional’

Taking into consideration the focus on the co-production and co-creation of public services in this study, and the wide group of professionals that is involved in these collaborative approaches, we adopt in our literature review a broad definition of ‘professional’. This implies we not only include ‘full’ professionals such as high-level public servants, medical doctors or lawyers, but also semi-professionals like police officers, teachers, and social workers. We thereby adopt an inclusive approach, from doctors that conjointly produce a treatment strategy with their patients, to municipal architects that create a community building in close cooperation with citizens.

Important to note is that we focus on public professionals, that is, professionals that are mostly employed by a public sector employer who produces a public service. They are what Steen and Tuurnas (2018) call ‘regular producers’ that actually deliver public services, taking direct decisions about individual clients or cases. For example, a police officer decides whether he gives a fine or not, and a school teacher decides whether a student gets suspended from class or not. Also (some) professionals who perform managerial tasks are considered professionals, requiring them to think and act more entrepreneurially (Meynhardt & Diefenbach, 2012). For instance, nurses who are team leaders (‘middle managers’), but are also part time responsible for individual patients also fit within our definition. Those who are managers and do not directly



interfere as professionals with clients or cases (anymore), are beyond the scope of our definition. The same goes for workers in the private sector, despite the fact that they sometimes also represent public policy to citizens (Thomann, Hupe, & Sager, 2017). In this literature review, we will trace what role professionals like teachers, nurses, doctors, health and social workers, civil servants, local authority officials, and the like play in public sector reforms.

4. The context: Public management reform and strategic requirements

Within the timespan of our literature review, the context within which professional work has evolved carries new role expectations for professionals and professional service delivery. While in the early years of the new millennium professionals were predominantly regarded as service-providers, new role expectations started to emerge soon thereafter carrying expectations of professionals as collaborative partners (Ackroyd, Kirkpatrick, & Walker, 2007; Breit, Fossetøl, & Andreassen, 2018; Hendrikx & Van Gestel, 2017). In this chapter, this context in relation to professionalism is elaborated (see table 3). First, we will pay brief attention to the era before 2000 as the starting point of this literature review. This is necessary because looking at how role expectations for professionals have evolved over time is only possible when we know what they are evolving from. Second, we will go into the changes in context that required professionals to become service-providers, deepening our understanding of the different role expectations that came along with these changes. Third, we will zoom in on the most recent changes and their implications for the roles of the professional, turning them into collaborative partners.

Being untouchable: altruist or ‘autocrat’?

In an effort to describe the changes in the roles of professionals, scholars in the field of public administration and public management often make use of the three models of public management that are well-described in literature (Brandsen & Honingh, 2013; Hendrikx & Van Gestel, 2017; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018): Traditional Public Administration (TPA), New Public Management (NPM) and New Public Governance (NPG) (Osborne, 2006). The first of these models – TPA – had its heyday from the 1960s until the late 1970s and is relevant for our understanding of where the roles of professionals have come from. In this model, public service delivery took place along the principles of the Weberian bureaucracy (Osborne, 2006; Van der Steen, Van Twist, & Bressers, 2018). Covered by strong political and societal trust in government as actor that could guarantee the best public service delivery to serve the public good, politics and administration were ideally separated as much as possible (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014). While elected officials set the goals, technical experts were to refine and operationalize these goals (Bryson et al., 2014). Most of these technical experts classify as ‘professional’ in terms of this review.

Although the degree to which professional communities were able to organize and safeguard the content (e.g. knowledge and skills) and control (e.g. training, code of conduct, registration, disciplinary board) of their profession, professionals enjoyed relatively great levels of autonomy within the boundaries set by political



mandates in the era of the TPA model (Bryson et al., 2014; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). Professionals were expected to know what was best for the client-citizen whose needs they defined in their processes of public service delivery. The client-citizen on the other hand was expected to be the passive receiver of the service (Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). In this vein, the professional was the ‘guardian’ of the public interest, fulfilling the role of the benign expert contributing to society (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017). However, already during the TPA regime this view started to tilt towards a more critical perspective, highlighting the self-interest of professionals and scrutinizing their dominance and elitist positions (Freidson, 1970; Schimank, 2015). In the reforms that followed, the focus shifted towards external control over the output of professional service delivery (Steen & Tuurnas, 2018).

Table 3 – Professional role characteristics in relation to the models of public management

| | Professionals as Guardians (TPA) | Professionals as Service Providers (NPM) | Professionals as Collaborative Partners (NPG) |
|---|---|--|--|
| <i>Rationality</i> | Bureaucratic, legalistic, professional | Economic | Collaborative |
| <i>Basis of legitimacy</i> | Procedural, grounded in the professional community | Results-based, grounded in management and organization | Citizen-oriented, grounded in interprofessional and interorganizational networks |
| <i>Core values</i> | Legality, correctness, objectivity, equity, stability | Performance, effectiveness, efficiency, change, flexibility | Diversity, openness and open-endedness, transparency |
| <i>Knowledge and skills</i> | Expert knowledge; bureaucratic skills | Standardized knowledge, protocolized by management ('tick the boxes'); business skills | Process knowledge, relational skills (co-production) |
| <i>Autonomy</i> | Autonomous within political mandates and professional norms | Autonomous within organizational targets and budgets—as long as predefined procedures are followed | Autonomous within boundaries set within a process of deliberation and negotiation |
| <i>Accountability</i> | Accountable to elected officials and professional peers based on rules, inputs and duties | Accountable to management, inspectorates and accreditation boards based on goals and results | Accountable to a multifaceted group of stakeholders, including clients/citizens based on social cohesion and empowerment |
| <i>Professional-client relationship</i> | Top-down one directional | Customer oriented | Collaborative, with empowered users and interdependence |

Informed by Aschhoff and Vogel (2019), Brandsen and Honingh (2013), Hendriks and Van Gestel (2017) and Van Gestel, Kuiper, and Hendriks (2019)



The professional as service-provider

From the 1980s, against a background of a worldwide recession and the rise of neo-liberal political ideology in the Western world, there has been a growing realization that governments and administrative systems in general had become too expensive and would never be able to meet all society's needs (Bryson et al., 2014; Ferlie & Ongaro, 2015; Leicht, Walter, Sainsaulieu, & Davies, 2009). Despite many national variations between western countries in degree and pace (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2017), the focus shifted towards market-based coordination of public service delivery leading to the regime of New Public Management (Bryson et al., 2014; Leicht, 2016; Osborne, 2006). Although literature positions the heyday of NPM in the 1980s and 1990s, our literature review shows that many public management reforms mainly in the first half of our timespan (2000-2010) are still closely associated with it. Nevertheless, despite wide reference to NPM, what this 'model', 'doctrine' or 'regime' exactly entails remains disputed. In general, NPM is regarded as a series of overlapping elements consisting of a cluster of ideas that has been drawn from conceptual frameworks of the private sector (Van der Steen, Van Twist, & Bressers, 2018), including the usage of market mechanisms and contracts, performance measurement for transparency purposes, and the disaggregation of organizational units (Hood, 1991).

This description of NPM clearly shows its broad range of facets which made Ackroyd et al. (2007) question the status of NPM as such, and they wondered if we indeed can speak of a coherent approach regarding the reorganization of professional services (Ackroyd et al. 2007:11). Nevertheless, even though the authors state that there are many facets and 'twists' in reforms there has been "a certain consistency and continuity in the objectives" (Ackroyd et al. 2007:11). Mainly, these objectives revolve around "the adoption of commercial management practices" (Kitchener & Gask, 2003: 20, see also Kitchener, 2002), the "[application of] market-based techniques to public services in order to improve cost efficiency and strengthen result orientation" (Bergh et al. 2015: 190), and the "[promotion of] management, consumerism and competition alongside the previous concern with efficiency" (Butterfield, Edwards, & Woodal, 2004). Interestingly, especially studies that concentrate on recent reforms and look back to NPM to describe where they came from, often refer to rather narrow conceptualizations of NPM. For example, Breit et al. (2018) who focus on what they call 'post-NPM' conceptualize NPM as "reforms that oriented on specialization and single-purpose public service organizations" (Breit et al., 2018: 31, see also Christensen, Fimreite, & Lægreid 2013).

Most studies on the effects of NPM on professional roles and professional work tend to focus on specific domains (e.g. Buchanan, 2015; Croft, Currie, & Lockett, 2015). These studies on 'isolated domains' have produced in-depth insights into the effects on professional work and changing professional roles. Often it is emphasized that NPM reforms took on the monopoly position of professions, diminishing professionals' autonomy by replacing – or counterweighing – a traditional professional logic with a managerial logic (Bévort & Suddaby, 2016; Evetts 2013; Hendrikx & Van Gestel, 2017; Noordegraaf 2007). It therefore comes as no surprise that studies mostly report negative perceptions of professionals (see e.g. Isett, Morrissey, & Topping (2006). "The proponents of NPM seek to replace the logic of professionalism [...] with a countervailing



managerial logic” (Kitchener & Glask, 2003: 21). This means that management was empowered over professionalism (Bryson et al., 2014; Leicht et al. 2009), among others by defining goals for professional work and by capturing professional expert knowledge and skills in protocols and regulations so that managers could monitor and control professionals’ performance (Dent, 2007; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Leicht et al. 2009; Waring & Currie 2009). For example, Bergh et al. (2015) observed how as a result of changed health policy regulations, new patient documentation programs and numerous new guidelines for diagnosis groups found their way in health care work to increase quality and efficiency. They describe how a focus on administrative, organizational and financial tasks and on complying with health policy requirements was added to the first-line managers’ role.

With regard to the impact of NPM reforms on professional roles, literature however warrants caution in two ways. First, although comparative work studying the impact of NPM reforms on professional roles across professional domains and nations remains relatively limited compared to case studies focusing on single professions (Adams, 2015), there are few exceptions (e.g. Ackroyd et al. 2007; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Turner et al., 2016). These studies teach us that although the impact of NPM on professions as described above is true for most professions on a general level, we should be aware of the fact that policy reforms in fact affect professional domains in different ways and to varying degrees (Ackroyd. et al. 2007; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Turner et al., 2016). These differences are often attributed to the dynamics or ‘strength’ of professional communities, with Turner et al. (2016) for example showing in the UK how medical professionals in the NHS were able to resist reforms to much greater extent than managers from the Royal Mail. Or Hendriks and Van Gestel (2017) demonstrating how secondary school teaching in the Netherlands was affected much earlier and stronger by NPM reforms than primary care. Second, despite a wide variety of empirical studies across various sectors having demonstrated the effects of NPM on professional work and professional roles, its impact on professional work remains disputed. Although reforms have had considerable impact, especially on professional autonomy, some authors claim “these changes have been less radical than many assume” (Ackroyd et al. 2007: 21), and others even argue literature depicts changes in and around professional work as “extremely pessimistic” (Farrell & Morris, 2003). Studies that nuance the impact of NPM can be found for example in medicine (Llewellyn, 2001), or social work (Kirkpatrick, 2001).

Nevertheless, despite differences between professional domains and despite the nuance that professional work has not radically changed, most scholars agree that NPM reforms put the output of professional services much more in the lime light (Brandsen & Honingh, 2013; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). In defining the desired output, management’s perspective considering the client as ‘customer’ of professional services gained centrality, reshaping social interaction as relationship between providers and purchasers (Steen & Tuurnas, 2018; Turner, Lourenço, & Allen, 2016) and requiring professionals to gain commercial expertise (Brandsen & Honingh, 2013; Turner et al., 2016). Therefore, NPM role expectations for professionals turned them into ‘service-providers’. However, this does not mean a full replacement of earlier expectations. Literature shows that ‘older patterns’ of public administration are still decisive in shaping service provision (Ackroyd et al., 2007; Farrell & Morris, 2003; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017). In addition, Farrell and Morris



(2003) note that public policy reforms with a focus on ‘marketization’ of the public sector made some scholars start using phrasings like “post-bureaucracy” or “beyond bureaucracy”. However, the authors claim that this phrasing is unjust, as they argue that despite the reduction of governmental hierarchy, reforms paradoxically have increased bureaucratic tendencies for professionals rather than diminished them, for example because more of them started working in a hierarchical relation to management (Farrell & Morris, 2003). Against this background of accumulating and competing TPA and NPM tendencies and expectations, the third model of public administration makes its appearance foreseeing a fundamentally different role for government to which we now turn.

The professional as collaborative partner

Despite efforts to realize public value through coordination by hierarchy (TPA) and market-mechanisms (NPM), many societal challenges did not disappear while new ones and new conditions have emerged (Bryson et al., 2014; Noordegraaf, 2015). For example, access inequality to public health and education services has deepened and the distrust of (governmental) institutions has grown (Bryson et al., 2014). Since the late 1990s, collaborative approaches were revalued because of the recognition by governments that in order to solve public problems and to create public value other private and non-profit actors are key, leading to the regime of New Public Governance (NPG) (Bryson et al., 2014; Osborne, 2006; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018), in which coordination through networks is central (Torfing, 2019). Besides a continuity of studies examining professional work in a context of NPM (e.g. Bergh et al. 2015; Kletz, Hénaut & Sardas, 2014; Strandas, Wackerhausen & Bondas, 2019), mainly in the second half of our timespan (2010-2019), more and more studies look into collaborative approaches that bring along new role expectations for professionals (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019), and new state-professions dynamics (Kjær Joensen, Kousgaard, & Burau, 2014). Despite a variety of terms, including ‘Post-NPM’ (e.g. Breit et al. 2018), ‘multi-level governance’ (e.g. Kuhlmann and Larsen, 2015) or ‘hybrid governance’ (e.g. McDermott et al., 2015), especially three terms are used to describe collaborative approaches within NPG and each term has its own nuance: collaborative governance, co-creation, and co-production.

Collaborative governance, or sometimes ‘co-governance’, refers to the governance constellation in which one or more governmental agencies share their decision-making power with non-state actors, like community organizations or businesses (Ansell & Gash 2008). It is a formal arrangement that seeks to make, implement or manage public policies through deliberation and consensus-seeking (Ansell & Gash 2008). Some scholars stretch the term a bit further, emphasizing that collaborative governance not necessarily has to be formal and state-initiated but can be much more diverse, including private-social partnerships, as long as they are geared towards a public purpose (Emerson et al. 2012). Co-creation has a much stronger focus on the (innovative) output and outcomes of collaboration, whereas collaborative governance is about the participatory process through which two or more public and private actors strive to solve a shared problem (Torfing et al., 2019). Co-creation takes place through mutual learning and the exchange of knowledge and resources, aimed to create public value by collaboratively (re)defining problem definitions, and designing



innovative solutions (Torfing et al., 2019). Finally, co-production is often defined narrower whereas it focusses on service-providers and users who interactively produce and deliver public services (Torfing et al. 2019). Torfing et al. (2019) emphasize that while co-creation is about innovation, co-production is more about services that already exist. Osborne and Strokosch (2013) distinguish different kinds of co-production, ranging from consumer co-production in which users are empowered, to participative co-production in which user participation aims to improve service quality at a strategic level, to enhanced co-production in which user-led innovation is key.

While NPG's collaborative approaches are often met with enthusiasm by policy makers and scholars, we have more to learn about their implications for professional roles (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019). In general, literature shows that collaborative approaches are often thought to increase the effectiveness of public service delivery, to decrease the democratic deficit, to activate citizens and communities, and to add resources to public service delivery (Osborne, Radnor, & Strokosch, 2016). For professionals, they most of all imply that they need to interact and collaborate with users of services, third sector actors and private and public organizations who all have become part of the service process (Brandsen & Honingh, 2013; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). Some studies see collaborative approaches as simple 'add-on' to already existing processes of public service planning and delivery, leaving professionals in control of public service delivery (Osborne et al., 2016). However, other studies take things one step further, arguing that the knowledge and experiences of all actors involved becomes an inherent part of the design and delivery of public services, next to professionals' knowledge and skills (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019; Osborne et al., 2016). In this view, public service users have changed from 'passive consumers' and 'rational customers' to 'inevitable partners' (Steen & Tuurnas, 2018).

The 'inevitable' aspect in the new partner role of users and the new expectations for professionals that come along with that, leads literature to raise at least two points that temper the enthusiasm with which NPG's collaborative approaches are usually met. First, in relation to co-production, Osborne et al. (2016) say it is "the voluntary or involuntary involvement of public service users in any of the design, management, delivery and/or evaluation of public services" (Osborne et al., 2016: 640). The fact that they emphasize the possibility of involuntary involvement points out the potential challenges and difficulties professionals will encounter as collaborative partners (see also Tummers, 2017). Such collaboration simply does not go by itself. Second, collaborative approaches like co-production are not automatically 'good' normatively seen. On the contrary, while they have the potential to lead to processes of co-creation, realizing public value, they can also lead to processes of 'co-destruction' (Osborne et al., 2016), or diminished policy performance (Schalk, 2017). In practice, this means that professionals not only need to collaborate, but they also need to manage the collaboration, ensuring its added value through accountability to its partners and to other stakeholders and society in general (Noordegraaf, 2015; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018; Tuurnas, Stenvall, & Rannisto, 2016).



5. Identifying mechanisms encouraging and impeding professionals' involvement

This chapter explores how professional communities have been involved/engaged in the different reforms, and which drivers and barriers they encounter. Before commencing into an analysis of professional involvement in reforms, we will first turn to the question what 'involvement' actually entails. We will provide some conceptual clarification based on theoretical insights. Thereafter, the three models of public management – TPA, NPM, NPG – are used as a framework to analyse the involvement of professionals throughout public management reforms (Brandsen & Honingh, 2013; Hendrikx & Van Gestel, 2017; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018).

In line with the broader goals of WP6 our focus will especially be on professional involvement in NPG reforms. Still, in order to understand how professional involvement manifests itself in processes towards co-production and co-creation, we will first shortly look into professional involvement in earlier reforms, whereas it has been argued that professional involvement to a great extent depends on the roles and levels of involvement professionals have had in the past (McDermott et al., 2015). We thereto first give a description of professional involvement in policymaking during TPA, followed by a description of this involvement during NPM and then turn to the question how professional involvement has evolved throughout NPG reforms. By doing so, we find that the involvement of professionals in strategic renewal shifted throughout the different episodes. Professional involvement broadly moved from professionals being authoritative and operating solo during TPA, to them being managed and not involved in reforms during the NPM, to them being stakeholders who convene reforms together with other stakeholders during the NPG.

Conceptualizing 'involvement'

The term 'involvement' is often used synonymously with terms like 'engagement' or 'participation' (Staniszewska, Herron-Marx, and Mockford, 2008). It predominantly pops up in studies that deal with 'public' or 'citizen' involvement. Despite its popularity reflected in numerous publications, the concept 'citizen involvement' remains poorly defined and characteristics are rarely specified. When used in studies on co-production of public services (Brandsen & Pestoff 2006; Verschuere, Brandsen, & Pestoff 2012; Voorberg, Bekkers & Tummers, 2014), citizen involvement is understood as "citizens participat[ing] actively in delivering and designing the services they receive" (Brandsen, Verschuere & Steen, 2018:2). In other studies, the meaning of 'involvement' stretches to policy making at the strategic level. In a study on 'public involvement' in health care services, Florin and Dixon (2004) make a distinction between 'patient involvement' which generally refers to the involvement of individual patients in making decisions about their own healthcare, and 'public involvement' that reflects "the involvement of members of the public in strategic decisions about health services and policy at the local or national level" (Florin & Dixon, 2004:159).

Interestingly, professional involvement' has hardly been covered in literature. In studies on the co-production of services, the professionals' perspective is claimed to be understudied (Tuurnas, 2015). In one



of the few studies that explicitly deal with ‘professional involvement’, the authors refer to health educators who as members of their profession should fulfil an active role in processes of policy design (Holtrop, Price & Boardley, 2000). This goes beyond determining the allocation of resources for health education, but includes the larger policy framework at a strategic level. It is exactly this kind of involvement we address in our review.

In this review, we approach ‘professional involvement’ as being involved in shaping the direction of reforms – thus the larger policy framework – in terms of consultation, development of standards and accountability regimes. Holtrop, Price and Boardly (2000) identified various activities presenting different ‘degrees’ of involvement, ranging from identifying sources of information, to communicating policy-related information, to building coalitions and even seeking political office (Holtrop, Price & Boardley, 2000). Within the scope of our review, involvement moves beyond the mere identification or communication of information, but stops before the phase of seeking political office. It is within their professional role that professionals jointly participate in processes of policy making.

TPA: Professionalism as stable governing principle

Prior to the 1980s, the role of professionals in public service organizations was considered ‘clear cut’ (De Boer, Enders & Leisyte, 2007). During the development of western welfare states, professionals generally worked in large-scale bureaucratic public organizations. Mintzberg (1993) calls these ‘professional bureaucracies’. Within these bureaucratic organizations, with hospitals and schools as prime examples, expertise and professional discretion of professionals was left largely unchallenged by either management systems or citizen or client involvement in decision-making (Sehested, 2002). Professionals were not only considered to ‘make’ policies at the street-level (Gofen, 2014; Lipsky, 1980; Zacka, 2017), but also to influence policy at the national level through collective action (Laffin & Entwistle, 2000; Tuurnas, 2015). Under TPA, professional organizations and public sector trade unions were “drawn into the machinery of government at the highest level” (Taylor & Kelly, 2006: 632). Professional involvement in policy making thus is locked-in both at the frontline level through discretion in the application of policies, and at governmental level through institutions like trade unions. Hence, professionalism became an important governing principle in which professionals autonomously determined their working area in public organizations.

NPM: Controlled professionalism

NPM reforms are consensually understood as rupture with the past, or even “a declaration of war on the autonomous professional role” (Sehested, 2002: 1517). ‘Misconduct’ in professional organizations is claimed to be at least one of the instigators of such reforms. Increasingly, professionals were depicted as striving for self-interest and safeguarding their own status and privilege (Broadbent & Laughlin, 2005; Ackroyd et al., 2007; Sehested, 2002). Besides, professional bureaucracies were considered inefficient (Broadbent and Laughlin, 2005). The limited possibilities for interference and control by managers and politicians particularly



raised concerns (McGivern & Ferlie, 2007). Hence, the intention of NPM reforms was to roll back professional dominance in organizations, by delimiting the autonomy and independence of professionals (Ackroyd et al., 2007; Broadbent & Laughlin, 2005; Farrell & Morris, 2003; Sehested, 2002; Skelcher 2000). This was aimed for by marketization and top-down government performance targets (Barry, Chandler, & Clark, 2001; De Boer, Enders & Leisyte, 2007; Tuurnas, 2016). Ackroyd et al. (2007) note how professionals were portrayed as ‘villains’ and public managers and politicians as ‘heroes’. As a consequence, subordination, hierarchy and control replaced professional norms and values as governing principle (Sehested, 2002).

It therefore comes as no surprise that professionals have not been decisive in the direction of the reform. On the contrary, NPM reforms have been imposed on them. The exclusion of professionals from designing the reform made Farrell and Morris (2003: 136-137) quote Ackroyd et al. (1989) who stated: “To put it crudely, professionals would be the ‘losers’ and managers ‘the winners’”. An obvious and popular thesis is that professionals would oppose NPM reforms as they would consider it a threat to their autonomy (Farrell & Morris, 2003; Sehested, 2002). The likelihood of professional opposition against NPM reforms was amplified by the coercive nature of the reform and the fact that the reform was imposed on them Ackroyd et al. (2007:23). In contrast with the TPA model, “professional associations were not involved in the design of policy and in many instances were in fact hardly consulted at all” (Ackroyd et al. 2007:14; see also Barry, Chandler, & Clark, 2001; Laffin & Entwistle 2000). The importance of professionals’ involvement is for example made visible in a study comparing the promotion of NPM quality measures in Israeli and UK healthcare systems, concluding that in the Israeli case the medical profession was completely excluded from the policy process leading to fierce opposition and ultimately the retraction of the reform (Levi, Zehavi, & Chinitz, 2018).

NPG: Co-convening the reform

So far, we have learned that professional communities were dominant in policymaking at both street- and strategic level during the era of the TPA model, but that their authority diminished during the NPM. Professionals were not ‘invited to the table’ when the direction of the reform was decided upon. But what is known about professional involvement in NPG reforms?

Various authors declared that we have entered a ‘post-NPM’ era, dominated by governance and network-style approaches (Van de Walle et al., 2016). To understand the involvement of professionals in such reform, we zoom in at two main drivers for change. First, it is argued that policy decisions in the realm of the NPM made public service delivery more fragmented. As services were no longer delivered just by the public sector, but also by commercial or community organizations on the basis of contracts, government became more obsolete and accountability scattered. Hence, the matter of integration was a main concern behind these reform initiatives (Mulgan, 2005). Secondly, NPG reforms are often portrayed as a response to get grip on ‘wicked issues’. The Tony Blair government is said to be the first who coined the concept of ‘joined-up government’ in 1997, with the main aim to get more grip on ‘wicked issues’ crossing the boundaries of public



sector organizations or policy areas (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007). Hence, networks gained prominence as a way to “overcome the limitations of anarchic market exchange and top-down planning in an increasingly complex and global world” (Jessop 2003: 101–02).

Although the role of professionals in these reforms has seldom been dealt with explicitly (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019), literature seems to suggest professionals fulfil key roles in social innovation (Huq, 2019). Collaboration and horizontal ties between individuals and agencies are often presented as ‘inevitable’ or ‘inescapable’ to overcome fragmentation and to deal with complex issues (Breit et al., 2018). This horizontalization is an important driver of social innovation whereas it implies an entwining of problems by bundling social issues and circulating new language which pushes professionals to come up with new solutions to complex problems (Huq, 2019). Relatedly, reconfiguring arrangements drives innovation whereas it encourages professionals to come up with new practices and to connect previously separate organizations and fields (Huq, 2019). Nevertheless, this does imply that professionals are simply expected to embrace reforms towards processes of co-production (Tuurnas, 2015), despite such reforms putting a ‘double pressure’ on professionals: coming from the top through administrative and political leadership and from the bottom through service users and citizens (Sehested, 2002; Tuurnas, 2015). Therefore, the image arises from literature that the position of professionals is greatly influenced and changed in NPG reforms (Breit et al., 2018; Tuurnas, 2015).

Besides this changed position of professionals in NPG reforms, we can also raise awareness for the role that professionals themselves play in shaping reforms and social innovation. For example, McBeath and Webb (2002) refer to professionals as ‘self-flourishing’ workers to “remind the professional that they play a role in the production and reproduction of the public sphere” with the ability to “affect the structure of social relations contained therein” (McBeath & Webb, 2002: 1015). As such, professionals are network partners who co-create public policies with other stakeholders while the state has a limited role (Klijin, 2008). Taylor and Kelly (2006) raise awareness for the pressure this puts on professionals to better acquaint themselves with the structures of governance and their impact on service delivery at street-level. For as far as the state has a role, literature warns policymakers who seek to encourage social innovation through collaborative approaches that ‘actively waiting’ is key whereas professionals need time to explore and develop their new roles in reforms and social innovation (Huq, 2019).

6. Motivations of professionals in implementing strategic renewal of public services

With regard to collaborative approaches, literature provides little insight into how professionals have experienced reforms that encourage them to take on collaborative roles. More is known about how professionals have experienced reforms that are managerial in nature. In this chapter, we will therefore first pay attention to managerial reforms, to help us gain a deeper understanding of what motivates professionals in general. Then we will turn to what is known about professionals’ motivations towards collaborative



approaches, followed by what the literature teaches us about how professionals cope when confronted with competing demands.

Managerial reform: motivations to resist or to embrace

Although the exact manifestations of managerialism for professional work are time, place and sector bound (Ackroyd et al., 2007; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Leicht et al., 2009; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2017; Turner et al., 2016), NPM changes include disaggregation, meaning the splitting up of large bureaucracies in smaller parts; competition implying a replacement of hierarchical decision-making by market-based decision-making; and incentivization, referring to the introduction of pecuniary and measurable performance incentives (Leicht et al., 2009). For professionals, these new practices have often led to hybrid constellations of work roles (Denis, Ferlie, & Van Gestel, 2015; Falconbridge & Muzio, 2008; Honingh & Karsten, 2007; Kirkpatrick, 2016; Machin, 2017; Noordegraaf, 2016).

In general, literature shows most professionals have a difficult relationship with managerial reforms (Ackroyd et al., 2007; Croft et al., 2015; Leicht et al., 2009). The motivations given by literature for why professionals are against managerial reforms are manifold but they teach us at least three motives professionals especially have to be pitted against reforms. First, literature describes how professionals often feel threatened in their expert positions (McGivern, Currie, Ferlie, Fitzgerald, & Waring, 2015). Having their knowledge standardized and protocolized, professionals see themselves confronted with an empowered management (or other authoritative bodies). This management holds them to account and monitors their performance, requiring them to administer their actions and to meet a priori defined output targets (Bryson et al., 2014; Leicht, 2016; Newman, 2013). According to literature, professionals often experience this as a direct attack on their professional leeway to make judgements and hence on their ability to be professional (Ball, 2003; Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). Second, literature shows that professionals resist reforms that they perceive as being at odds with the content of their professional work. Professionals often feel that the services they deliver do not only not fit into the standardized boxes that they are being forced into, but also that what is being standardized does not cover the full spectrum of professional work. Often those aspects that are hard or impossible to quantify remain out of sight of management and policymakers (Day, Elliot, & Kington, 2005; Hendriks, 2018). While according to professionals themselves, those aspects are crucial preconditions for professional work (Hendriks, 2018, 2019). Third, most prominently featured in literature and arguably overarching the former two (Numerato, Salvatore, & Fattore, 2012), professionals tend to resist reforms when they are perceived as going against the values they have incorporated into their professional identities (Croft et al., 2015; Reay, Goodrick, Waldorff, & Casebeer, 2017). When professionals experience such discrepancies between values, they experience paradoxical identity demands (Ahuja, Nikolova, & Clegg, 2017; Spyridonidis, HENDY, & Barlow, 2015).

Despite the well-described difficulties between professionals and managerial reforms, a small portion of professionals seems positive towards the changes that these reforms have brought about. Professionals



accept reforms for three reasons First, when reforms are perceived as an opportunity to strengthening one's own position, professionals are much keener to adopt changes in their professional roles (Weir et al., 2019). This is for example the case with nurses in France who have embraced new managerial work practices as a means of empowering for profession (Leicht et al., 2009), and with housing professionals in the UK that have seen managerial change as an opportunity to advance their collective interest (Ackroyd et al., 2007). A second motivation can be found on a more individual level. Professionals belonging to the same professional group, are often assumed to share a professional identity. However, studies show that this is not necessarily the case (Canrinus, Helms-Lorenz, Beijaard, Buitink, & Hofman, 2011; Hafferty & Castellani, 2010; Pache & Santos, 2013). While most professionals belonging to the same profession respond in a similar way (Teodoro, 2014), sometimes a few of them are very willing to take on new roles or to embrace new discourses (Llewellyn, 2001; McGivern et al., 2015). Here, the match between individual preferences and new demands plays a huge role in determining how professionals deal with new roles. For example, professionals who are more entrepreneurial by character, seem to embrace managerial demands easier than for professionals in social services (Ackroyd et al., 2007; Llewellyn, 2001). A third kind of motivation that can be found in literature raises awareness for the internal dynamics within professions. When professions are confronted with new role demands, it is not a given that all professionals take on these new roles equally (Askfors & Fornstedt, 2018; Bourgault & Van Dorpe, 2013). Instead, in some professions the senior professionals take on managerial roles thereby 'buffering' their younger peers from managerialism, while creating a 'professional elite' position for themselves whereas they come to manage professional work, colleagues and staff (McGivern et al., 2015). This underscores that individual interpretation and subjectivity matter to understand how new role demands offered by macro-institutional structures play out at micro-level (Bévort & Suddaby, 2016).

Professionals in collaborative approaches

Turning to professionals' motivations with regard to reforms introducing or strengthening collaborative roles, the few sources that address this topic paint a diffuse picture. Although professionals are often assumed not willing to participate in collaborative processes and even to resist such processes because they are thought to limit professional power, literature shows that this aversion is only partly true (Tuurnas, 2015). On the contrary, professionals in general seem to proactively support responsiveness to local needs of clients (McDermott et al., 2015; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018; Van Gestel, Kuiper, & Hendriks, 2019, Weir et al., 2019). The new collaborative role demands require such responsiveness whereas professionals need to organize their service delivery around clients and in collaboration with other stakeholders (Brandsen & Honingh, 2013; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). Hence, although little is yet known about the exact link between collaborative approaches and professionals' identities (Echeverri & Åkesson, 2018), this seems to suggest that collaborative approaches are in the centre of professional values.

Nevertheless, the match between collaborative approaches and professional values does not imply that professionals find it easy to fulfil their new collaborative roles (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019; Tuurnas, 2015; Van



Gestel et al., 2019). On the contrary, it turns out they struggle with collaborative processes because they feel constrained (Van Gestel et al., 2019) or inapt (Tuurnas, 2015) to fulfil these new roles (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019). Consequently, they simply keep applying their familiar professional practices and frames since there is little attention for learning by professionals (Noordegraaf et al., 2016; Tuurnas, 2015). While professionals need to ‘open up’ in order to be able to engage in collaborative processes, their traditional values of ‘equality, representativeness and the neutrality of the public service activities’ come under pressure (Tuurnas, 2015: 592). Moreover, professionals are geared towards offering readymade solutions to citizens/users (Tuurnas, 2015). Hence, professionals need to learn what this ‘opening up’ means and how to accept (experiential) knowledge of clients and others next to their professional knowledge. Especially in a welfare state context this is a challenging task, whereas clients and citizens are per definition seen as ‘objects of care’ rather than equal partners (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019; Tuurnas, 2015).

Coping with collaborative demands

While professionals might have positive attitudes towards collaborative approaches, their participation in them is not a given. Although professionals understand the difficult contexts in which network processes like collaborations occur, they do feel a need to have the distributions of roles clarified and want explicit strategies for supporting implementation (McDermott et al., 2015). However, since these are often lacking, the question comes up what professionals do: how do they cope with collaborative role demands that are added to earlier expectations (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019; Brandsen & Honingh, 2013; Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Jaspers & Steen, 2019)? Although literature is still scarce, three recent empirical papers explicitly study how professionals cope with collaborative practices.

An empirical study by Breit et al. (2018) points towards three strategies that frontline managers develop to deal with collaborative demands. First, in line with Suddaby and Greenwood (2001), ‘commodification’ which is when professionalism is reduced to standardized and protocolized work modes even within collaborative approaches. Second, ‘protection’ which refers to a separation of professional work from administrative practices in order to shield off professional values. This for example happens when professionals apply forms of ‘creative mediation’ to make competing demands manageable (Gleeson & Knights, 2006; Van Gestel et al., 2019). Third, adding to literature on hybrid professionalism, ‘hybridization’ which is when professionals actively seek to conciliate multiple demands by reconstructing them as coherent, for example by incorporating one set of demands as being innately part of another set. Another empirical study by Cooper and Kitchener (2019) identifies a trend towards flattened layers of managerial hierarchies resulting from collaborative approaches. They studied micro practices by middle managers in healthcare, implementing new policy initiatives. Results point to three overarching strategies. Middle managers (1) assess and adjust policy interventions to rework those locally; (2) challenge and manipulate broad policy objectives to prompt their professional teams to engage with the new policy interventions; and (3) observe and audit to enable overseeing progress. Hence, middle managers can be considered important ‘brokers’ in implementing new policies at the frontline. Finally, an empirical study by Jaspers and Steen (2019) shows how public servants



cope with tensions due to conflicting value demands in the coproduction of their services, for example between inclusion and efficiency, or between individual freedom and effectiveness. Interestingly, their empirical study inductively adds a strategy they coin ‘deferred coping’ (Jaspers & Steen, 2019: 13), meaning “people [i.e. professionals] express their hope to use a specific coping strategy in the future but for the time being postpone dealing with the value tension at hand”. For example, because professionals feel that co-producing partners like citizens first need more training and supervision for effective co-production.

Other literature focusses less specifically on coping by professionals in relation to collaborative approaches, and more on coping by professionals in general. Tummers et al. (2015) for instance argue that what professionals do can ultimately be divided into three categories: moving towards clients, moving away from clients, or moving against clients. When professionals move towards clients, they act to serve clients’ needs. This happens for example when they break or bend the rules, or use personal resources to help clients (Tummers et al., 2015; Verhoeven & Van Bochove, 2018). When professionals move away from clients, the opposite happens (Tummers et al., 2015). In this case they for example routinize their interactions with clients, treating all clients in the same way irrespective of clients’ needs (Verhoeven & Van Bochove, 2018). Finally, when professionals move against clients, they actively seek confrontation with them (Tummers et al., 2015). This happens when professionals rigidly follow rules or act aggressively to assert professional control (Verhoeven & Van Bochove, 2018). Additionally, Schott, van Kleef, & Noordegraaf (2015) show that professionals can more easily cope with conflicting demands when they are able to integrate organizational work principles into their professional work. They refer to this type of coping as ‘organizing professionalism’. This is in line with findings discussed by Teelken (2015) who studied professional coping as ‘hybridization’ of individual and organizational level work demands. From this perspective, hybridity thus does not refer to a mingling of professional and managerial logics as is often done in literature (Croft et al., 2015), but to a mingling of demands that are simultaneously present at individual and organization level.

7. Promising practices for professionals’ engagement in co-production and co-creation

In this chapter we explore some promising practices of co-production. We shed light on four cases that were identified as ‘promising’ by their authors, thereby explicitly taking into account the engagement of professionals. In describing the different examples, we will go into the specifics of why such practice has been classified as ‘promising’ by the author(s). However, on a more general note it is important to state in advance we purposively coin the term ‘promising practice’ to avoid ‘best practice’ which often used in public management literature. ‘Best practices’ are usually identified as tools to ‘benchmark’ performance, which should thereby stimulate the improvement of performance (see e.g. Newman et al, 2000). In this review, we explicitly do not look for ‘best practices’, but rather for inspirational, promising practices that can help identify some of the mechanisms underlying success (e.g. why is this a promising practice?) and ultimately help avoid ‘reinventing the wheel’ by learning from real-life examples.



Based on our review, we can conclude that authors in general are very nuanced in their case analyses. Identifying ‘promising cases’ therefore becomes a daunting task, as cases might have their strengths and promising aspects, but pose challenges at the same time. ‘Promising’ therefore almost never means promising in all respects. Secondly, promising cases usually paint a picture within a certain time frame. As we do not (yet) know how such promising practices will evolve, ‘promising’ first and foremost should be understood as ‘promising for now’. That said, we will describe some cases that can identify as promising practice.

Rural community policing in Scotland

The first example originates from a case study done by Fenwick (2012). What makes this case a both promising and remarkable example, is the fact that police officers in this study seem to be able to coproduce police services together with the members of their community in creative ways, while this has not been recognized by them as ‘co-production’.

Fenwick’s case study draws from ethnographic data in rural Scotland where ‘community policing’ is the preferred model of practice. Community policing is intended to promote the active involvement of citizens in problem-solving, to ultimately increase safety and crime prevention in local communities. Interestingly, in this case co-production appears as an inherent part of policing; everyday interactions and deliberations with the ‘service users’ appear to be a critical part of their work “to deal with things” (Fenwick, 2012: 7). Hence, much of the everyday practice of these police officers resonates co-production. Strikingly, “this practice is largely improvised, untrained and unrecognized” (Fenwick, 2012: 8). Interviewees in the case study often referred to their creative ways of service delivery as just their ‘discretion’, while the author recognizes that such practices require, amongst other things, high-skilled communication, inventiveness, and knowledge sources. Besides, much of what police officers do in collaboration with the local community, is beyond what has been codified. The position of the police officers within the community is identified as important factor underlying successful co-production. These rural officers live with their families in the communities they serve. Hence, their practices as law enforcers are tightly entwined with their activities as for example citizen or parent. We might therefore assume that they are skilful in empathizing with different perspectives, which shows a valuable skill in co-producing public services.

Although this case can be typified a promising practice in many respects, also here some challenges were uncovered. The author presented many of the practices of police officers as creative, skilful problem-solving. Community members however, sometimes showed being uncomfortable with such unstandardized practices, and even reported these as ‘unprofessional’ rather than ingenious practices.

Two key lessons can nevertheless be drawn from this promising practice. Firstly, even though the respondents in this case did not use the specific term co-production to describe their work, what they actually were doing very much aligns with co-production principles. Co-production can thus also present in cases that are not necessarily identified likewise. Secondly, despite it has been argued that co-production



will occur more effectively through planning than ‘chance encounters’, Fenwick (2012) shows how such chance encounters matter, and underlines the importance of knowing how to work with all participants in these encounters to coproduce outcomes that build community wellbeing.

Notably, Scottish cases frequently appear in the literature as promising examples of co-production (see e.g. Aulton, 2015; Flemig & Osborne, 2019). Various authors refer to Scotland’s national policy agenda in which collaborative approaches are at the core (‘Christie Commission’, 2001). Not only in policing, but also in for instance social work, reform agendas indicate empowerment of the community and engagement in decision making regarding treatment.

Patient storytelling in England

The second case we introduce here as promising practice, is drawn from a policy review report that was commissioned by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council (Durose et al., 2013). The policy review was conducted between November 2012 and April 2013 with the aim to “uncovering successful examples of co-production from a range of service sectors and countries and the potential for their experience to be replicated in different contexts.” In identifying successful, or ‘promising’ cases, the reviewers identified different dimensions of success. Some cases in the review for instance link co-production to efficiency. As our focus in this review is particularly on the role of professionals, we highlight a case that has been identified as building a credible commitment between front-line professionals and communities (Durose et al., 2013).

A hospital in the North-West of England collected patients’ stories of their experiences with healthcare in the hospital, and shared these with the staff as part of a learning and development program (Cumbria Partnership NHS Foundation Trust, 2012). The aim of sharing these stories was to enhance the understanding of the patient experience from a professionals’ perspective. Consequently, the stories collected were merged into a short film focusing on the question “do you always see the person in the patient?” (Cumbria Partnership, 2012; Durose et al., 2013).

In this case, creative practice was identified as a helpful tool in establishing credible commitment between professionals and citizens. While such ‘creative practice’ can refer to a broad array of activities like music, theatre, photography, art and film, this promising practice only makes use of the latter. It has been argued that creative tools should be tailored to specific communities (Cinderby et al., 2012; Durose et al., 2013). When the creative practice matches the demands from the co-producing partners, as is argued to be the case in this example of the Cumbria Partnership NHS Foundation Trust, creative practice challenges traditional community engagement through ‘gentle disruption’ (Durose et al., 2013).



Co-producing school meal services in Italy

A third promising example we highlight here, originates from a systematic review of empirical cases that was recently conducted by Sicilia et al. (2019). The study resulted in two categories of factors, organizational and process factors that highly determine processes of co-production. In this review, a case study done by Galli et al. (2014) in public schools in Pisa is identified as promising practice.

In their study, Galli et al. (2014) studied the co-production of public school meals. The influence of the public sector in enhancing sustainable consumption has been widely acknowledged. Public school meals are argued to be of particular importance here, as they can educate young people in a sustainable diet. The case study illustrates how a network of stakeholders; i.e. the municipality, the food safety authority, the catering firm, school teachers, and students as the end users of the service, shapes the school meal service. In the delivery of this public service, so called “Canteen Committees”, supportive bodies of representatives at the municipal level, are argued to play an important liaison role between the network partners involved and to “empower consumers in and beyond the classroom and the school canteen” (Galli et al., 2014:1654).

This practice can be typified as promising for two main reasons. Firstly, the co-production of school meals has positive social outcomes. The authors argue how processes of co-production have resulted in higher levels of trust among, for instance, school teachers and parents. The iteration and frequency of co-production is identified as vital success factor (Galli et al., 2014; Sicilia et al., 2019) Secondly, the co-production of school meals is said to have sustainable outcomes. The authors state these practices of co-production facilitate innovation and sustainability on the long run (Galli et al., 2014).

Co-producing ‘Family Villas’ in France

In his study, Boivard (2007) identifies different types of co-production, that vary in the professional-customer relationship. The author describes a range from ‘traditional professional service provision with community consultation’ on the outer left of the spectrum, to ‘community service delivery of co-planned or co-designed services’ at the outer right of the spectrum. For instance, ‘co-delivery of professionally designed services’ and ‘full user/professional co-production’ are positioned at the mid-ranges of the spectrum. Boivard (2007) provides empirical case illustrations, that typify successful examples of each of these relations. The ‘Villa Family project’ is introduced as a successful example of ‘community delivery of professionally planned services’.

The ‘Villa Family’ project was developed to allow elderly people, who cannot stay at home and normally should have entered a nursing home out of town, to live in the familiar surroundings where they have spent most of their lives in a ‘family atmosphere’ (Boivard, 2007). A Villa Family consists of separate apartments in a large house for two families. Each family house hosts three elderly people, who are usually over 80 years old.



As the label indicates, The Villa Family Project, is set-up by professional workers, but once in place, it is run by the community. The project was developed by a private company, Ages&Vie. The company finds a private investor to fund the building of the house. The private investor is in no other way involved than receiving the rental income. Once the building is in place, Ages&Vie arranges the allocation of houses to the elderly. The municipality is involved as mediator in the project. Once a Villa Family is set up, a trust is created in which the mayor, a local doctor, host families, the elderly and their families take part. The trust only interferes in case of conflict, or when an elderly person has to be transferred to specialized care. Besides, the trust has a role in facilitating contact between the community and local services (Boivard, 2007). In terms of co-creation, this project shows how a professionally designed service can be delivered almost entirely by service users and other community members.

The promising practices that were identified through our literature selection, demonstrate a variety of co-producing activities in different countries (Scotland, England, Italy, and France) in different policy domains (policing, healthcare, education, housing), laying bare different mechanisms underlying their success and potential. In the case of rural policing, the inherent close ties between police officers and their community seemed decisive, while the patient story telling in the UK pointed towards creative forms of interaction, the case of public school meals specifically referred to the iteration and frequency of interactions, and the case of family villas emphasizes professional planning of the project. This all the more makes us realize that there is no blueprint for the successful co-production of public services (see also Sicilia et al. 2019). Rather, co-production requires tailoring to the specific needs of the stakeholders in their specific context. The promising examples do show that purposively planned co-production can produce promising results, but these practices might also emerge through daily practices.

8. Skills and capabilities of professionals needed for co-production and co-creation

Professionals fulfil crucial roles in implementing reforms, whereas they basically shape reforms at micro-level (Hupe & Hill, 2016; May & Winter, 2007). However, although reforms carry new expectations for professionals in them, literature pays relatively little attention to what (new) skills professionals need to have to meet these expectations. Moreover, it also remains unclear what policymakers and others can do to ensure professionals' involvement in reforms. This paragraph considers the professional skills and lessons for public services organizations as they can be derived from literature.

Playing their part while managing the game

While the role of expert knowledge has changed in collaborative approaches, professionals must deal with new sources of knowledge besides their own (Glimmerveen, Nies, & Ybema, 2019; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). Through client participation, especially user experience for example has become a crucial part in these approaches (Vanleene, Voets, & Verschuere, 2018), requiring professionals to revalue their own knowledge and to encompass elements derived from experiential learning into their public service delivery (Leemeijer

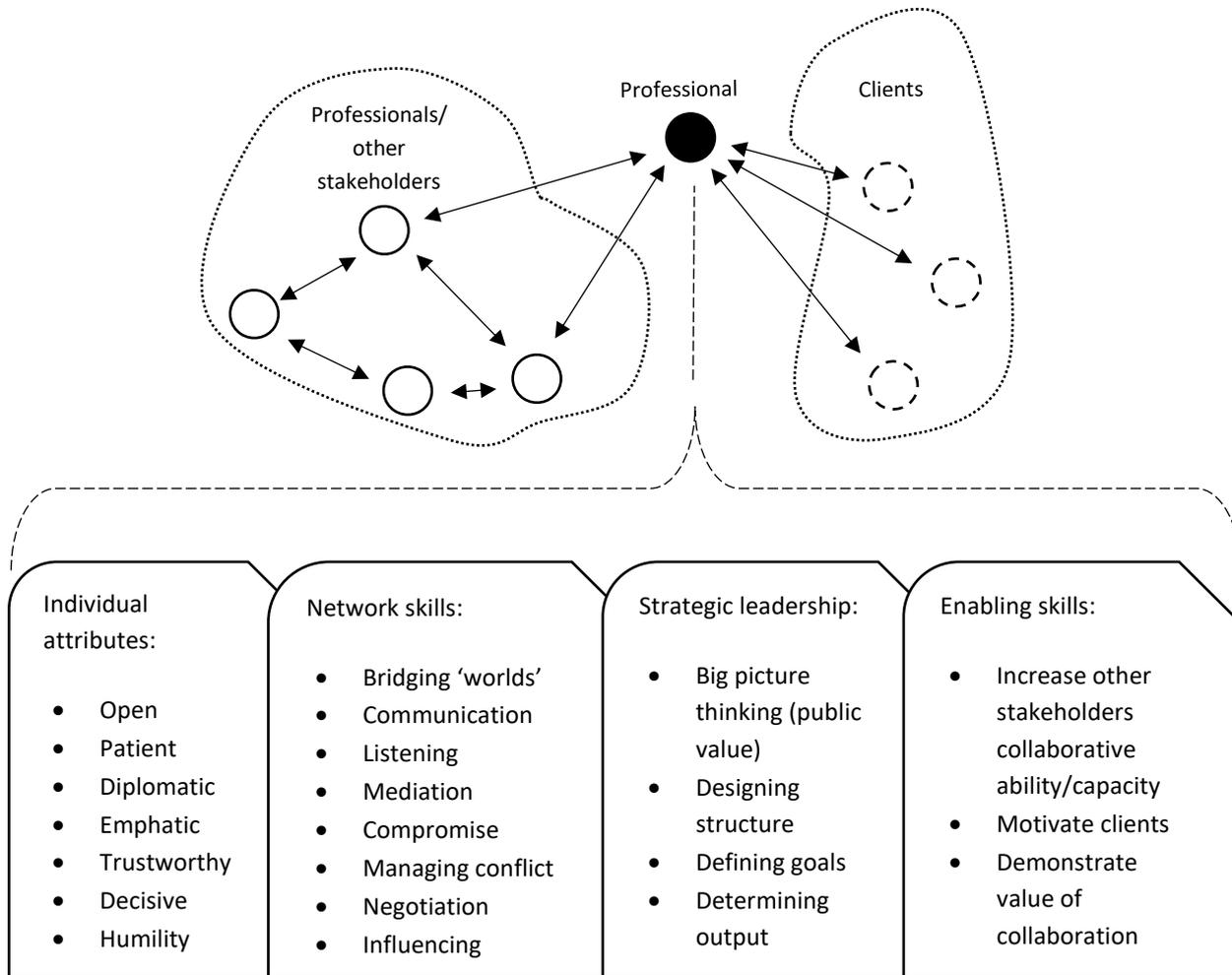


& Trappenburg, 2016). To be able to do so, professionals must acquire new competences that are relational in nature. As some scholars argue, professionals need to be able to be simultaneously ‘friend’, ‘leader’, ‘representative’ and ‘mediator’ (Vanleene, Voets, & Verschuere, 2019). Instead of just being experts who define the needs of their clients, professionals therefore fulfil important roles in more horizontal networks of stakeholders, often requiring ‘boundary spanning’ or ‘brokerage’ capacities to make stakeholders and themselves work effectively and synergistically together (Long, Cunningham, & Braithwaite, 2013; Maaijen et al., 2018). The skills that follow from literature to realize the potential of being collaborative partners roughly fall into at least four categories (see figure 2)

A first set of skills revolves around individual attributes or competences. Professionals need to have many interpersonal competences that enable them to be effective collaborators. Lloyd et al. (2018) for instance performed a meta-analysis of studies on innovation in healthcare and found ‘collaboration’ as crucial trait for innovative practices. These attributes or competences are not fixed qualities like personality traits (O’Leary, Choi, & Gerard, 2012), but can be acquired for example through training and experience. In their study on the implementation of a local welfare program, Cho et al. (2005) found the qualifications and experience of program policy professionals decisive in effective implementation of the program. The most important of these attributes is being ‘open’ or ‘open minded’, meaning being receptive for new ideas, perspectives and/or changes (O’Leary et al., 2012; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). Other attributes are among others being patience, diplomatic and empathetic (O’Leary et al., 2012). All these attributes underline that collaboration with other actors first of all requires professionals to be capable to think beyond their own knowledge and perspectives, and to place oneself in someone else’s position.

Second, literature shows professionals need to be able to ‘manage’ a network or group which is crucial for collaborative approaches to function. This means that professionals need to be able to communicate effectively and to bring together actors from different ‘worlds’ (O’Leary et al., 2012), each having their own logic and identity, helping them understand each other’s language. Acknowledging the difficulty in this, literature shows that collaboration can very well lead to conflict (Kuiper, 2018; O’Leary et al., 2012), for example because actors are involuntarily part of collaborative arrangements (Osborne et al., 2016). As a consequence, professionals need to understand the fine arts of listening, mediating, negotiating, and managing conflict to reach compromises that hold value for all (O’Leary et al., 2012). In these processes, new ‘bridging’ language and discourse can emerge, evoking new élan (Kemp & Rotmans, 2009).

Figure 2 - Skills and capabilities professionals need to co-produce and co-create



Based on O'Leary et al. (2012) and Steen and Tuurnas (2018)

Third, although professionals play an important role by managing the group process behind collaborative arrangements, they have a perhaps even more important role to play as partner within these arrangements, requiring strategic leadership skills (O'Leary et al., 2012). Professionals are expected to keep an eye on the 'big picture', and to develop new 'storylines' that capture the transformative change of the collaborative coalition (Kemp & Rotmans, 2009). This means that they are able to define what public value the collaborative arrangement aims to attain and to design a structure that realizes this aim (Maaijen et al., 2018). To this end, professionals need to develop the capacity to recognize and make use of the assets offered by clients/citizens (Tuurnas, 2015). It is important to acknowledge the complexity of the internal dynamics of agentic groups, whereas agency is a relational and emergent potential of the individual members



of such a group (Tuominen & Lehtonen, 2018). So it is not just about looking at the individual skills of professionals, and to consider them in a summative way; the professional as strategic leader within collaborative approaches needs to consider the synergy (or the opposite) that can develop within and between groups while taking field-level conditions and previous interactions into account (Tuominen & Lehtonen, 2018). It also means that professionals are able to safeguard 'the public value as it is delivered to other clients or stakeholders who do not necessarily engage in the co-production process' (Steen & Tuurnas, 2018: 84).

Finally, while collaboration might seem beneficial for all, this does not mean that every (potential) partner is automatically convinced of its value, or that they have the ability or capacity to collaborate. This requires 'enabling skills' on the side of the professional, to help their collaborative partners to plan, design and deliver within the collaborative arrangements (Steen & Tuurnas, 2018; Verhoeven & Van Bochove). This first of all goes for users who are most often not trained or educated to participate successfully in collaborations with professionals. However, part of these enabling skills is also a form of leadership, especially in relation to politicians (Torfing & Sørensen, 2019). Other part of these skills is more facilitative whereas professionals need to create a free and protective environment in which all partners feel free to think and speak so ideas can emerge and develop (Kemp & Rotmans, 2009).

9. Embedding innovative processes in public administration

The complexities professionals face when engaging in collaborative arrangements cannot simply be solved, nor by themselves, nor by policymakers and politicians. However, this does not mean that policymakers and politicians have no role of importance in enabling professionals to engage and realize the roles they are expected to fulfil (Hendriks & Van Gestel, 2017; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018; Van Gestel, Kuiper, & Hendriks, 2019). The ways in which policymakers and politicians, in collaboration with others like professional educators and professionals themselves, can contribute to professional engagement that follow from literature mostly revolve around micro-level practice, for example skill training (Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). However, literature also indicates meso-level culture change (McDermott et al., 2015) and macro-level strategy development (Scott, 2008), which seem crucial for embedding innovative processes in public administration.

Starting with the micro-level, professionals can be supported by multiple strategies to improve their implementation and improvement capacity. Literature shows that professionals are very often not – or only limitedly – trained to fulfil their new collaborative roles (Tuurnas, 2015), adopting a critical attitude towards the engagement of other stakeholders like citizens (Liao & Ma, 2019). Strategies that serve to support professionals directly include focusing on: 'educational resources', 'training in data management and quality improvement methods', 'providing best practices', and 'the facilitation of networks to enhance peer learning and provide peer support' (McDermott et al., 2015: 333). Local professional associations can fulfil important



roles in this for example by providing professional socialization activities to strengthen professionals' awareness and appreciation of civic engagement practices (Liao & Ma, 2019).

At the same time, professionals need a new repertoire of 'tools' to work with. Collaborative arrangements and their outcomes are often hard to define, leading among others to difficulties in establishing a shared understanding of collaborative processes by all actors involved in public service delivery ranging from politicians to the professionals at the frontline (Tuurnas, 2015). Therefore, appropriate platforms for interaction need to be found or created to go beyond superficial meetings (Tuurnas, 2015), as well as new ways to monitor and evaluate collaborative approaches, their aims and their outcomes.

Besides support and new 'tools', literature shows professionals also need leeway and resources both to experiment with new methods and to build 'bottom-up capacity'. Where collaborative approaches lead to new interactions across sectorial barriers, professionals are confronted with different processes and new methods of public service delivery. Such interactions with professionals from other fields encourage professionals to 'adapt and adopt the learned methods in their own fields of service' (Tuurnas, 2015: 592). However, this does require them to have leeway and resources to experiment with these methods. Furthermore, while nowadays reforms that change the context of professionals are often less top-down oriented than in the past (Bryson et al., 2014), policy makers seem to acknowledge that improving governance not only requires top-down formal regulatory mechanisms. Instead, they need to be complemented by bottom-up capacity building, creating 'hybrid' regulatory control strategies in which professionals are enabled to adopt best practices and to adapt and add to national mandates (McDermott et al., 2015, Weir et al., 2019). Leaving leeway for professionals and persuasion rather than top-down deterrence helps to establish trust and collaboration between stakeholders and is crucial for enabling the coexistence of competing logics (Reay & Hinings, 2009 in McDermott et al., 2015). Under the banner of 'responsive regulation', professionals need to have leeway to build such local improvement capacity, which is necessary to make sure national goals are ultimately translated to fit local contexts (McDermott et al., 2015; Van Gestel & Nyberg, 2009).

As a final micro-level point of attention, Reay et al. (2017) show reforms do not only require professionals to take on new roles, they also require professionals to take on new identities (Aschhoff & Vogel, 2019; Bévort & Suddaby, 2016). After all, taking on new roles inherently implies that professionals need to 'redefine' who they are, leading to new identity 'scripts' (Bévort & Suddaby, 2016). This is not 'new' for collaborative reforms, whereas the same finding already follows from literature studying professionals in relation to managerialism: reforms change bases of legitimacy providing new frames and new categories for professionals, thereby providing new social identities (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006). However, what is 'new' for collaborative reforms is that we now also know that identity projects are in fact delicate processes that require careful identity deconstruction and reconstruction (Hendriks, 2018; Reay et al., 2017). Therefore, it is key that policy makers and politicians acknowledge that public management reforms are in fact 'identity projects' as Meyer and Hammerschmid (2006) say, to make sure that professionals are supported in processes of identity transition and not just required to adopt new practices.



At a more meso-level, cultural change is necessary to embed innovative processes in public administration. Literature shows that learning is vital for collaborative processes. However, knowing how to learn is not something we can take for granted. Literature indicates that managerial and professional cultures in the public sector often hinder collaboration simply because they are not geared towards learning. Therefore, organizations in the public sector need to learn how to learn first (Tuurnas, 2015), both internally and externally (Kvålshaugen, Hydle, & Brehmer, 2015). In this process, it is important to recognize that differences between collaborative approaches exist and that each requires a unique way of learning, because often such differences are not recognized in the rhetoric of collaboration (Tuurnas, 2015). This means that the kind of collaborative approach – e.g. co-production or co-creation – matters for how to learn and what to learn. Attention for learning also implies attention for evaluation. In his study on collaboration in the field of healthcare, Eichbaum (2018) illustrated this argument by showing that professionals are increasingly evaluated on their collaborative attributes, which are considered ‘core competencies’, whilst it remains disputed how such skills actually should be evaluated.

Positive experiences with co-creation can act as ‘learning tools’ and facilitate embedding such practices for organizations. Dalgarno and Oates (2018) describe how micro-level experiences of senior mental health care practitioners, who were also involved in strategic development of their organization, encouraged them to stretch out what they had learned on a micro-level to a more abstract level, leading one of them to say: “I think about how I now verbalise the information I want to give family members and patients in a clinical setting” (Dalgarno and Oates, 2018: 354).

Finally, we can also derive from literature that the embedding of innovative processes involving professionals in public administration requires attention to macro-level strategy development. As Scott (2008) argues, society’s institutions have a regulative (i.e. laws and policies), normative (i.e. conceptions of appropriate behaviour) and cultural-cognitive side (i.e. the content of symbolic systems and categories). For these institutions, professionals are in fact ‘agents’, who define, interpret and apply institutional elements. Yet, professionals are often not recognized for the agentic roles they fulfil. Therefore, when policy paradigms shift, explicit attention for what positions and roles professionals are expected to fulfil should be given in governance structures, assuring the regulative and normative support (including financial incentives) for professionals’ involvement. Professionals are after all the institutional agents that hold the potential to bring about the institutional changes desired by politicians and policy makers. Making explicit use of professionals’ ‘creative ideas’, ‘capacity’ and ‘policy entrepreneurship’ to spread developments (Scott, 2008), but also to inform policy and reforms beforehand, will nurture the occurrence and success institutional innovation.

Focussing on integrated care, Glimmerveen, Nies and Ybema (2019) identify four challenges for embedding collaborative practices on both meso- and macro level. To embed integrated approaches in care delivery, they identified the need to (1) reconcile lay and professional knowledge, (2) reconcile local alignment and central coordination, (3) reconcile citizens’ diversity and their formation as participants, and (4) reconcile the concerns of citizens and organizational members. Hence, embedding innovative processes in public administrations requires attention for transitions at micro- meso-, and macro-level simultaneously.



10. Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter we discuss the main findings of our literature review, structured by the objectives of WP6. Based on the literature review, we have developed themes and topics that structure the interviews and focus group sessions for WP6 (Appendix A.). A case analysis of the Dutch pilot case based on this literature review will be presented in Appendix B.

WP6 objective 1: Framing professional roles related to public management models

The first objective of WP6 was identifying the main legal and strategic reforms and policies framing professional roles in public management reform initiatives. This objective clearly relates to debates in literature about the ‘models’ of public management reform: Traditional Public Administration (TPA), New Public Management (NPM) and New Public Governance/Network Governance (NPG). Following up on descriptions of these models in WP1, our literature review focused on the associated framing of professional roles. Literature shows changing role expectations for professionals over time, as well as the challenge for professionals to combine different (elements of) roles within modern day professional work. It turns out professionals should simultaneously operate as experts providing professional knowledge; as service providers following protocolized procedures; and as collaborative partners, operating in teams, networks and platforms for co-production or co-creation. Keeping in mind that the framing of professional roles can differ across professional groups, public organizations, policy sectors and/or nations, interesting themes for discussion are: How do professionals frame their (changing) role(s) and reform context; are they (un)able to develop new roles, in particular in co-production and co-creation; and which tensions are experienced by professionals when taking up multiple roles?

WP6 objective 2: Drivers and barriers for engaging professionals in strategic renewal for collaboration

In literature we found that the involvement of professionals in strategic renewal shifted throughout the different episodes of TPA, NPM and NPG. Two drivers were perceived particularly important for developing collaborative initiatives: the prevalence of ‘wicked issues’ and the disintegration of public services by NPM-type measures, such as contracting-out, or specific agencies or business-units for special targets. Yet, literature shows that professionals are simply expected to embrace the more recent reforms toward processes of co-production. Despite the main assumption in literature that professionals are key for successful public policy delivery, the role of professionals in reforms for more integrated, ‘holistic’ services has been hardly dealt with. This means that drivers and barriers for engaging professionals in collaborative initiatives are not explicitly revealed in literature. Since collaborative interaction is regarded as a characteristic of NPG and an alternative to NPM, we may be interested in the question: How is collaboration promoted? Are there also new drivers to encourage collaboration, or is it done by means of NPM incentives? And does collaboration affect accountability requirements for professionals?



WP6 objective 3: Mapping motivations of professionals in implementing strategic renewal processes

We found in literature only few leads that tell us what motivates professionals to implement strategic renewal of public services. Most literature dealing with professionals' motivations focusses on reforms that are managerial in nature, and not collaborative. Those sources that do shed some light on this matter seem to suggest that they actually feel motivated by the notion of delivering public services in a responsive manner (McDermott et al., 2015; Steen & Tuurnas, 2018). Collaborative approaches offer such a responsive way whereas the closer interaction with clients enables professionals to get to know their clients' local needs. However, as the same literature also shows, this does not mean that professionals find it easy to fulfil their new collaborative roles. Often they feel 'inapt' to using other sources of knowledge – especially experiential knowledge – next to their professional knowledge (Tuurnas, 2015). The literature review made us wonder: What motivates professionals in implementing strategic renewal and how do they deal with it? Do they feel enhanced by the aims of co-production and co-creation and why? Is collaboration in public services a 'value' that corresponds with professional values? Or do they perceive it as a threat for their professional values and characteristics (e.g. expert knowledge, skills and autonomy) like they did with the values and practices pursued by NPM-reforms? In many cases, professionals (for example, doctors, teachers, police officers) remain responsible for public service decisions, despite co-production/-creation. Professionals thus often wear two hats: they represent their public organizations/the public policy in an 'equal' role as other (private) parties, but they are responsible for the ultimate decisions – and blamed in case of failure. We are interested in how professionals deal with these 'two hats' in implementing NPG-reforms.

WP6 objective 4: Promising practices for professionals' engagement with other partners and civil society

The promising practices we illustrated in this report show a wide diversity of collaborative practices (through informal interactions, through art forms, through formalized network ties), with diverse aims and varying network compositions. In the case of community policing, the professionals recognized citizen interaction and co-production of policing as core characteristics of their work. In the case of patient stories, the explicit aim was to engage patients more in the healthcare process and make professionals more aware of their role therein. The case of school meals showed how collaborate networks are employed to work on wicked policy goals like sustainability. The examples can all be identified as promising practice, but for different reasons. Hence, we can conclude that there is no 'common denominator' for promising practices. The results of our literature review may bring up the following theme for discussion: Which processes seem most appropriate for developing professionals' engagement with co-production and co-creation? Is there an ideal composition of the collaborative team/network, to enhance professional engagement? And how to avoid that collaboration/networking becomes a goal in itself rather than a means?



WP6 objective 5: Required skills for public servants in co-creation with other parties

Collaboration with other actors first of all requires professionals to be capable to think beyond their own knowledge and perspectives, and to place oneself in someone else's position. Moreover, literature showed that professionals should be able to participate in – or 'manage' a network or group by communicating effectively and bringing together various actors from different 'worlds'. They also need strategic leadership skills to help define what public value the collaborative arrangement aims to attain and to design a structure that could realize this aim. Literature so far shows there is little attention in (public) organizations for learning to collaborate, nor for working together as professionals from different backgrounds (training, reflection in action), nor for developing professional skills that are necessary for collaboration with citizens and other partners. Another important notion from the literature is the involvement of the public service users and partners: do professionals feel there is enthusiasm at the other side of the table to collaborate with them? Interesting topics for further study are: How do professionals learn to work together in interdisciplinary teams for public services? And do the expectations of citizens and other partners from professionals in processes of co-creation correspond with the role, knowledge and skills of professionals in the policy/reform they are implementing?

WP6 objective 6: Embedding innovative processes in public administrations

According to literature, innovative processes in public administration that should have a sustainable impact rather than a fragmented and temporal one, need conditions at three levels of strategy and intervention. At the micro-level of daily practices, professionals need leeway to build local capacity for improvement, which is necessary to translate national goals to local contexts. At a meso-level, literature indicates that managerial and professional cultures in the public sector often hinder collaboration simply because they are not geared towards learning. Third, at a macro-level, the governance structure of the policy field and the regulative support and incentives (including finance) should promote innovation rather than obstruct it. This leads to the following topics for discussion: Whether and how do conditions at all three levels of strategy influence professionals to develop and carry out new roles in co-production and co-creation of public services? Are current innovations embedded in public administration? And if not, what are the reasons and how can/should innovation be anchored better?

This scientific report [Deliverable 6.1] by the TIAS WP6 team contains the result of an extensive literature review of 169 sources – mainly scientific peer-reviewed articles – into the conditions for the involvement of professionals in the strategic renewal of local governments and public agencies, and insights in possible impediments and counteracting mechanisms. Structured along the lines of the six objectives of WP6, it provides an in-depth understanding into the state-of-art knowledge about engaging professionals in the strategic renewal of public services, most notably collaborative approaches. While this literature review makes clear that professionals fulfil key roles in processes of strategic renewal, it also shows that there is more to learn about the many nuances of such professional involvement, thereby providing the groundwork



– and encouragement – for our COGOV-partners and us to deepen our understanding empirically by investigating the role of professionals in processes of strategic renewal across Europa leading up to deliverable 6.2. A first dive into empirics can be found in Appendix B where we present a case analysis of the Dutch pilot case for which the themes and topics that structure the interviews and focus group sessions (Appendix A) were derived from this literature review.

References

- Ackroyd, S., Kirkpatrick, I., & Walker, R. M. (2007). Public Management Reform in the UK and Its Consequences for Professional Organization: a Comparative Analysis. *Public Administration*, 85(1), 9-26.
- Adams, T. L. (2015). Sociology of Professions: International Divergences and Research Directions. *Work, Employment & Society*, 29(1), 154-165.
- Ahuja, S., Nikolova, N., & Clegg, S. (2017). Paradoxical identity: The changing nature of architectural work and its relation to architects' identity. *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 4(1), 2-19.
- Ansell, Ch. & Gash, A. (2008). Collaborative Governance in Theory and Practice. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 18(4), 543-571.
- Askfors, Y., & Fornstedt, H. (2018). The clash of managerial and professional logics in public procurement: Implications for innovation in the health-care sector. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 34(1), 78-90.
- Aschhoff, N., & Vogel, R. (2019). Something old, something new, something borrowed: Explaining varieties of professionalism in citizen collaboration through identity theory. *Public Administration*, (97), 703-720.
- Aulton, K. (2015) Co-production and the design of community health and social care services for older people in Scotland (Paper to the International Research Society for Public Management conference, University of Birmingham, April)
- Ball, S. J. (2003). The teacher's soul and the terrors of performativity. *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(2), 215-228.
- Barry, J., Chandler, J., & Clark, H. (2001). Between the ivory tower and the academic assembly line. *Journal of management studies*, 38(1), 88-101.
- Bergh, A. L., Friberg, F., Persson, E., & Dahlborg-Lyckhage, E. (2015). Perpetuating 'New Public Management' at the expense of nurses' patient education: a discourse analysis. *Nursing inquiry*, 22(3), 190-201.
- Bévort, F., & Suddaby, R. (2016). Scripting professional identities: how individuals make sense of contradictory institutional logics. *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 3(1), 17-38.
- Bourgault, J., & Van Dorpe, K. (2013). Managerial reforms, Public Service Bargains and top civil servant identity. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 79(1), 49-70.



- Bovaird, T. (2007). Beyond engagement and participation: User and community coproduction of public services. *Public administration review*, 67(5), 846-860.
- Brandsen, T., & Honingh, M. (2013). Professionals and Shifts in Governance. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 36(12), 876-883.
- Brandsen, T., & Pestoff, V. (2006). Co-production, the third sector and the delivery of public services: An introduction. *Public management review*, 8(4), 493-501.
- Brandsen, T., Verschuere, B. & Steen, T. (Eds.) (2018). *Co-Production and Co-Creation; Engaging Citizens in Public Services*. New York: Routledge.
- Breit, E., Fosseth, K., & Andreassen, T. A. (2018). From pure to hybrid professionalism in post-NPM activation reform: The institutional work of frontline managers. *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 5(1), 28-44.
- Broadbent, J., & Laughlin, R. (2005). Organisational and accounting change: theoretical and empirical reflections and thoughts on a future research agenda. *Journal of Accounting & Organizational Change*, 1(1), 7-25.
- Brock, D. M. (2006). The changing professional organization: A review of competing archetypes. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 8(3), 157-174.
- Bryson, J. M., Crosby, B. C., & Bloomberg, L. (2014). Public Value Governance: Moving Beyond Traditional Public Administration and the New Public Management. *Public Administration Review*, 74(4), 445-456.
- Buchanan, R. (2015). Teacher identity and agency in an era of accountability. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 21(6), 700-719.
- Butterfield, R., Edwards, Ch. & Woodall, J. (2004) The new public management and the UK Police Service. *Public Management Review*, 6(3), 395-415.
- Canrinus, E. T., Helms-Lorenz, M., Beijaard, D., Buitink, J., & Hofman, A. (2011). Profiling teachers' sense of professional identity. *Educational Studies*, 37(5), 593-608.
- Cho, C. L., Kelleher, C. A., Wright, D. S., & Yackee, S. W. (2005). Translating national policy objectives into local achievements across planes of governance and among multiple actors: Second-order devolution and welfare reform implementation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 15(1), 31-54.
- Christensen, T., Fimreite, A.L. & Lægreid P. (2013). Joined-Up Government for Welfare Administration Reform in Norway. *Public Organization Review* 14(4), 556-566.
- Christensen, T., & Lægreid, P. (2007). The whole-of-government approach to public sector reform. *Public administration review*, 67(6), 1059-1066.
- Cinderby, S., Wade, R., Shaw, S. and Hodgson, P. (2012). *Improving Engagement through Spatial and Visualisation Methods*. Swindon: Arts and Humanities Research Council.



- Cooper, S., & Kitchener, M. (2019). The role of middle managers in the implementation of national public policy. *Policy & Politics*, 47(2), 309-330.
- Croft, C., Currie, G., & Lockett, A. (2015). Broken “Two-Way Windows”? an Exploration of Professional Hybrids. *Public Administration*, 93(2), 380-394.
- Cumbria Partnership (2012). *Patients remind NHS staff to see the person in the patient*. Available at: <http://www.cumbriapartnership.nhs.uk/news/patients-remind-nhs-staff-to-see-the-person-in-the-patient.htm>
- Day, C., Elliot, B., & Kington, A. (2005). Reform, standards and teacher identity: Challenges of sustaining commitment. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 21(5), 563-577.
- Dalgarno, M., & Oates, J. (2018). The meaning of co-production for clinicians: An exploratory case study of Practitioner Trainers in one Recovery College. *Journal of psychiatric and mental health nursing*, 25(5-6), 349-357.
- De Boer, H. F., Enders, J., & Leisyte, L. (2007). Public sector reform in Dutch higher education: The organizational transformation of the university. *Public Administration*, 85(1), 27-46.
- Denis, J., Ferlie, E., & Van Gestel, N. M. (2015). Understanding Hybridity in Public Organizations. *Public Administration*, 93(2), 273-289.
- Dent, M. (2007) Patient choice and medicine in health care, *Public Management Review*, 8:3, 449-462
- Durose, C., Mangan, C., Needham, C., Rees, J., & Hilton, M. (2013). *Transforming local public services through co-production*. Swindon: Arts and Humanities Research Council.
- Echeverri, P., & Åkesson, M. (2018). Professional identity in service work: why front-line employees do what they do. *Journal of Service Theory and Practice*, 28(3), 315-335
- Eichbaum, Q. (2018). Collaboration and teamwork in the health professions: rethinking the role of conflict. *Academic Medicine*, 93(4), 574-580.
- Emerson, K., Nabatchi, T. & Balogh, S. (2012). An Integrative Framework for Collaborative Governance, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(1), 1-29.
- Etzioni, A. (1969). *The semi-professions and their organization: teachers, nurses, social workers*. New York: Free Press.
- Evetts, J. (2002). New Directions in State and International Professional Occupations: Discretionary Decision-making and Acquired Regulation. *Work, Employment and Society*, 16(2), 341-353.
- Evetts, J. (2009). New Professionalism and New Public Management: Changes, Continuities and Consequences. *Comparative Sociology*, 8(2), 247-266.
- Evetts, J. (2011). A new professionalism? Challenges and opportunities. *Current Sociology*, 59(4), 406-422.



- Exworthy, M. & Halford, S. (Eds.) (1999). *Professionals and the new managerialism in the public sector*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Farrell, C., & Morris, J. (2003). The 'Neo-Bureaucratic' State: Professionals, Managers and Professional Managers in Schools, General Practices and Social Work. *Organization*, 10(1), 129-156.
- Faulconbridge, J. R., & Muzio, D. (2008). Organizational professionalism in globalizing law firms. *Work, Employment & Society*, 22(1), 7-25.
- Faulconbridge, J. R., & Muzio, D. (2011). Professions in a globalizing world: Towards a transnational sociology of the professions. *International Sociology*, 27(1), 136-152.
- Fenwick, T. (2012). Co-production in Professional Practice: A Sociomaterial Analysis. *Professions and Professionalism*, 2(2), 1-16.
- Ferlie, E., & Ongaro, E. (2015). *Strategic management in public services organizations. Concepts, schools and contemporary issues*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Flemig, S. S., & Osborne, S. (2019). The dynamics of co-production in the context of social care personalisation: Testing theory and practice in a Scottish context. *Journal of Social Policy*, 48(4), 671-697.
- Florin, D. & Dixon, J. (2004). Public involvement in health care. *BMJ*, 328(7432), 159-161.
- Freidson, E. (1970). *Profession of medicine: A study of the sociology of applied knowledge*. New York: Dodd, Mead.
- Freidson, E. (2001). *Professionalism; The Third Logic*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Frisch-Aviram, N., Cohen, N. & Beeri, I. (2018). Low-level bureaucrats, local government regimes and policy entrepreneurship. *Policy Sciences*, 51(1), 39-57.
- Galli, F., Brunori, G., Di Iacovo, F., & Innocenti, S. (2014). Co-producing sustainability: involving parents and civil society in the governance of school meal services. A case study from Pisa, Italy. *Sustainability*, 6(4), 1643-1666.
- Gardner, H., & Shulman, L. S. (2005). The Professions in America Today: Crucial but Fragile. *Daedalus*, 134(3), 13-18.
- Glimmerveen, L., Nies, H., & Ybema, S. (2019). Citizens as active participants in integrated care: Challenging the field's dominant paradigms. *International Journal of Integrated Care*, 19(1).
- Gleeson, D., & Knights, D. (2006). Challenging dualism: Public professionalism in 'troubled'times. *Sociology*, 40(2), 277-295.
- Greenwood, R., & Lachman, R. (1996). Change as an Underlying Theme in Professional Service Organizations: An Introduction. *Organization Studies*, 17(4), 563-572.
- Glimmerveen, L., Nies, H., & Ybema, S. (2019). Citizens as active participants in integrated care: Challenging the field's dominant paradigms. *International Journal of Integrated Care*, 19(1).



- Gofen, A. (2014). Mind the Gap: Dimensions and Influence of Street-Level Divergence, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 24(2), 473-493.
- Hafferty, F. W., & Castellani, B. (2010). The increasing complexities of professionalism. *Academic Medicine: Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges*, 85(2), 288-301.
- Hendriks, W. (2018). Priced not praised: professional identity of GPs within market-oriented healthcare reform. *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 5(1), 12-27.
- Hendriks, W. (2019). What we should do vs what we do: teachers' professional identity in a context of managerial reform. *Educational Studies*, 0(0), xx.
- Hendriks, W., & Van Gestel, N. (2017). The emergence of hybrid professional roles: GPs and secondary school teachers in a context of public sector reform. *Public Management Review*, 19(8), 1105-1123.
- Hill, H. C. (2003). Understanding implementation: Street-level bureaucrats' resources for reform. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 13(3), 265-282.
- Holtrop, J.S., Price, J.H. & Boardley, D.J. (2000). Public Policy Involvement by Health Educators. *American Journal of Health Behavior*, 24(2), 132-142.
- Honingh, M., & Karsten, S. (2007). Marketization in the Dutch vocational education and training sector: Hybrids and their behaviour. *Public Management Review*, 9(1), 135-143.
- Hood, C. (1991). A Public Management For All Seasons? *Public Administration*, 69(1), 3-19.
- Hupe, P. L., & Hill, M. J. (2016). 'And the rest is implementation.' Comparing approaches to what happens in policy processes beyond Great Expectations. *Public Policy and Administration*, 31(2), 103-121.
- Hupe, P., Hill, M., & Buffat, A. (Eds.). (2016). *Understanding street-level bureaucracy*. Bristol, UK/Chicago, US: Policy Press.
- Huq, J.-L. (2019). Conditioning a Professional Exchange Field for Social Innovation. *Business & Society*, 58(5), 1047-1082.
- Isett, K. R., Morrissey, J. P., & Topping, S. (2006). Systems ideologies and street-level bureaucrats: Policy change and perceptions of quality in a behavioral health care system. *Public Administration Review*, 66(2), 217-227.
- Jaspers, S., & Steen, T. (2019). Realizing public values: enhancement or obstruction? Exploring value tensions and coping strategies in the co-production of social care. *Public Management Review*, 21(4), 606-627.
- Kemp, R., & Rotmans, J. (2009). Transitioning policy: Co-production of a new strategic framework for energy innovation policy in the Netherlands. *Policy Sciences*, 42(4), 303-322.
- Kislov, R., Hodgson, D., & Boaden, R. (2016). Professionals as knowledge brokers: The limits of authority in healthcare collaboration. *Public Administration*, 94(2), 472-489.



- Kjær Joensen, A.S., Kousgaard, M.B., & Burau, V. (2014). Pur Kjær at the Local Policy Level: A Comparative Case Study. *Professions and Professionalism*, 4(3).
- Kuiper, M. (2018). Connective routines: How medical professionals work with safety checklists. *Professions and Professionalism*, 8(1), e2251-e2251.
- Liao, Y., & Ma, L. (2019). Do professional associations make a difference?: linking municipal managers' association participation and attitudes toward citizen participation. *Public Management Review*, 21(12), 1824-1847.
- Jessop, B. (2003). Governance and meta-governance: On reflexivity, requisite variety and requisite irony. In Bang, H.P. (Ed.). *Governance as social and political communication* (pp. 101-117). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Jilke, S. & Tummers, L.G. (2018) Which Clients are Deserving of Help? : A Theoretical Model and Experimental Test. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 28(2), 226-238.
- Kirkpatrick, I. (2016). Hybrid managers and professional leadership. In M. Dent, I. L. Bourgeault, J.-L. Denis, & E. Kuhlmann (Eds.). *The Routledge Companion to the Professions and Professionalism* (pp. 175-187). London & New York: Routledge.
- Kirkpatrick, I. (2001). "The Lure of manageability": Exploring the limits and unintended consequences of performance management in professional social services. Paper presented to the 17th EGOS Colloquium, Lyon, July.
- Kitchener, M. & Gask, L. (2003). NPM merger mania Lessons from an early case. *Public Management Review*, 5(1), 19-44.
- Kitchener, M. (2002). Mobilizing the logic of managerialism in professional fields: The case of academic health centre mergers. *Organization studies*, 23(3), 391-420.
- Kletz, F., Hénaut, L., & Sardas, J.-C. (2014). New public management and the professions within cultural organizations: one hybridization may hide another. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 80(1), 89-109.
- Klijn, E. H. (2008). Governance and governance networks in Europe: An assessment of ten years of research on the theme. *Public Management Review*, 10(4), 505-525.
- Kuhlmann, E. & Larsen, Ch. (2015). Why we need multi-level health workforce governance: Case studies from nursing and medicine in Germany. *Health Policy*, 119(12), 1636-1644.
- Kvålshaugen, R., Hydle, K.M., & Brehmer, P-O. (2015). Innovative capabilities in international professional service firms: enabling trade-offs between past, present, and future service provision. *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 2(2), 148-167,
- Laffin, M., & Entwistle, T. (2000). New problems, old professions? The changing national world of the local government professions. *Policy & Politics*, 28(2), 207-220.



- Leemeijer, A., & Trappenburg, M. (2016). Patient centered professionalism? Patient participation in Dutch mental health professional frameworks. *Professions and Professionalism*, 6(2), 1-19.
- Leicht, K. T. (2016). Market fundamentalism, cultural fragmentation, post-modern skepticism, and the future of professional work. *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 3(1), 103-117.
- Leicht, K. T., Walter, T., Sainsaulieu, I., & Davies, S. (2009). New Public Management and New Professionalism across Nations and Contexts. *Current Sociology*, 57(4), 581-605.
- Levi, B., Zehavi, A., & Chinitz, D. (2018). Taking the measure of the profession: Physician associations in the measurement age. *Health Policy*, 122(7), 746-754.
- Lipsky, M. (1980). *Street-Level Bureaucracy; Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services* (2010th ed.). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Llewellyn, S. (2001). "Two-way windows": Clinicians as Medical Managers. *Organization Studies*, 22(4), 593-623.
- Lloyd, S., Low, S., Win, S. L., Fitzgerald, G., Cliff, C., & Collie, J. (2018). The Ingredients for Innovation: impacts for practice and the education of health service managers. *Asia Pacific Journal of Health Management*, 13(2), 1.
- Long, J. C., Cunningham, F. C., & Braithwaite, J. (2013). Bridges, brokers and boundary spanners in collaborative networks: A systematic review. *BMC Health Services Research*, 13(158), 1-13.
- Maaijen, M.M.H., Felder, M.M., De Bont, A.A.A. & Bal, R. (2018). Mapmaking and the (re)organization of professional practice: a case study of Dutch primary care. *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 5(3), 230-247.
- Machin, D. (2017). The hybrid professional: an examination of how educational leaders relate to, with and through managerialism. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 39(4), 518-534.
- May, P. J. J., & Winter, S. C. C. (2007). Politicians, Managers, and Street-Level Bureaucrats: Influences on Policy Implementation. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 19(3), 453-476.
- McBeath, G. and Webb, A. (2002), Virtue ethics and social work: being lucky, realistic and not doing ones duty, *British Journal of Social Work*, 32(8), 1015-1036.
- McDermott, A. M., Hamel, L. M., Steel, D., Flood, P. C., & Mckee, L. (2015). Hybrid Healthcare Governance for Improvement? Combining Top-Down and Bottom-Up Approaches To Public Sector Regulation. *Public Administration*, 93(2), 324-344.
- McGivern, G., Currie, G., Ferlie, E., Fitzgerald, L., & Waring, J. (2015). Hybrid Manager-Professionals' Identity Work: the Maintenance and Hybridization of Medical Professionalism in Managerial Contexts. *Public Administration*, 93(2), 412-432.



- McGivern, G., & Ferlie, E. (2007). Playing tick-box games: Interrelating defences in professional appraisal. *Human Relations*, 60(9), 1361-1385.
- Meynhardt, T. & Diefenbach, F.E. (2012). What Drives Entrepreneurial Orientation in the Public Sector? Evidence from Germany's Federal Labor Agency, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 22(4), 761-792.
- Mintzberg, H. (1993). *Structure in fives: Designing effective organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, US: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Mulgan, G. (2005). *Joined-Up Government: Past, present, and future*. In Bogdanor (ed.) *Joined-up government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Newman, J. (2013). Professional, power and the reform of services. In M. Noordegraaf & B. Steijn (Eds.), *Professionals under Pressure; The Reconfiguration of Professional Work in Changing Public Services* (pp. 41-53). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Newman, J., Raine, J., & Skelcher, C. (2000). *Innovation and best practice in local government: A research report*. London: Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions.
- Noordegraaf, M. (2007). From "Pure" to "Hybrid" Professionalism: Present-Day Professionalism in Ambiguous Public Domains. *Administration & Society*, 39(6), 761-785.
- Noordegraaf, M. (2015). Hybrid professionalism and beyond:(new) forms of public professionalism in changing organizational and societal contexts. *Journal of professions and organization*, 2(2), 187-206.
- Noordegraaf, M. (2016). *Public Management Reform and Public Professionalism*. In S. Van de Walle & S. Groeneveld (Eds.), *Theory and practice of public sector reform* (pp. 194-220). London: Routledge.
- Noordegraaf, M. (2016). Reconfiguring Professional Work: Changing Forms of Professionalism in Public Services. *Administration and Society*, 48(7), 783-810.
- Noordegraaf, M., Schneider, M. M. E., Van Rensen, E. L. J., & Boselie, J. P. P. E. F. (2016). Cultural complementarity: reshaping professional and organizational logics in developing frontline medical leadership. *Public Management Review*, 18(8), 1111-1137.
- Noordegraaf, M., & Steijn, B. (2013). Introduction. In M. Noordegraaf & B. Steijn (Eds.), *Professionals under Pressure; The Reconfiguration of Professional Work in Changing Public Services* (pp. 11-20). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Noordegraaf, M., & Van der Meulen, M. (2008). Professional power play: Organizing management in health care. *Public Administration*, 86(4), 1055-1069.
- Numerato, D., Salvatore, D., & Fattore, G. (2012). The impact of management on medical professionalism: A review. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 34(4), 626-644.



- O’Leary, R., Choi, Y., & Gerard, C. M. (2012). The Skill Set of the Successful Collaborator. *Public Administration Review*, 72(1), 70-83.
- Osborne, S.P. (2006). The New Public Governance? *Public Management Review*, 8(3), 377-387.
- Osborne, S.P., & Strokosch, K. (2013). It Takes Two to Tango? Understanding the Co-Production of Public Services by Integrating the Services Management and Public Administration Perspectives. *British Journal of Management* 24(S1), S31- S47.
- Osborne, S. P., Radnor, Z., & Strokosch, K. (2016). Co-Production and the Co-Creation of Value in Public Services: A suitable case for treatment? *Public Management Review*, 18(5), 639-653.
- O’Toole Jr., L.J. & Meier, K.J. (2015). Public Management, Context, and Performance: In Quest of a More General Theory. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 25(1), 237-256.
- Scottish Government (‘Christie Commission’). (2001), *Commission on the Future Delivery of Public Services*, Edinburgh: Scottish Government.
- Pache, A., & Santos, F. (2013). Embedded in hybrid contexts: How individuals in organizations respond to competing institutional logics. In Lounsbury, M. & Boxenbaum, E. (Ed.) *Institutional Logics in Action, Part B* (Research in the Sociology of Organizations, Vol. 39 Part B) (pp. 3-35). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Pollitt, C., & Bouckaert, G. (2017). *Public management reform, a comparative analysis: into the age of austerity* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reay, T., Goodrick, E., Waldorff, S., & Casebeer, A. (2017). Getting Leopards to Change their Spots: Co-Creating a New Professional Role Identity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 60(4), 1043-1070.
- Reed, M. & Anthony, P. (1992). Professionalizing management an managing professionalization: British management in the 1980s. *Journal of Management Studies*, 29(5), 591-613.
- Schott, C., Van Kleef, D., & Noordegraaf, M. (2016). Confused Professionals?: Capacities to cope with pressures on professional work. *Public Management Review*, 18(4), 583-610.
- Saks, M. (2014). Regulating the English healthcare professions: Zoos, circuses or safari parks? *Journal of Professions and Organization*, 1(1), 84–98
- Savage, M. , Barlow, J. , Dickens, P. & Fielding, T. (1992). *Property, Bureaucracy and Culture: Middle Class Formation in Contemporary Britain*. London: Routledge.
- Schalk, J. (2017). Linking Stakeholder Involvement to Policy Performance: Nonlinear Effects in Dutch Local Government Policy Making. *American Review of Public Administration*, 47(4) 479-495.
- Schimank, U. (2015). “New public management” as de-professionalization - conceptual reflections with some applications to school teachers. In T. Klenk & S. Pavolini (Eds.), *Restructuring welfare governance:*



- Marketization, Managerialism, and Welfare state professionalism* (pp. 183-199). Cheltham, UK & Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Scott, W. R. (2008). Lords of the Dance: Professionals as Institutional Agents. *Organization Studies*, 29(2), 219-238.
- Sehested, K. (2002). How new public management reforms challenge the roles of professionals. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 25(12), 1513-1537.
- Sicilia, M., Sancino, A., Nabatchi, T., and Guarini, E. (2019) Facilitating co-production in public services: management implications from a systematic literature review. *Public Money & Management*, 39(4), 233-240.
- Skelcher, C. (2000). Changing images of the state: overloaded, hollowed-out, congested. *Public policy and administration*, 15(3), 3-19.
- Spyridonidis, D., Hendy, J., & Barlow, J. (2015). Understanding Hybrid Roles: the Role of Identity Processes Amongst Physicians. *Public Administration*, 93(2), 395-411.
- Staniszewska, S., Herron-Marx, S. & Mockford, C. (2008). Measuring the impact of patient and public involvement: the need for an evidence base. *Int J Qual Health Care*, 20(6), 373-4.
- Steckler, A., Dawson, L., Goodman, R. M., & Epstein, N. (1987). Policy advocacy: Three emerging roles for health education. *Advances in health education and promotion*, 2, 5-27.
- Steen, T., & Tuurnas, S. (2018). The Roles of the Professional in Co-Production and Co-Creation Processes. In T. Brandsen, B. Verschuere, & T. Steen (Eds.), *Co-Production and Co-Creation; Engaging Citizens in Public Services* (pp. 80-92). New York: Routledge.
- Strandas, M., Wackerhausen, S. & Bondas, T. (2019). Gaming the system to care for patients: a focused ethnography in Norwegian public home care. *BMC Health Serv Res.* 19(1), 121.
- Suddaby, R., & Greenwood, R. (2001). Colonizing Knowledge: Commodification as a Dynamic of Jurisdictional Expansion in Professional Service Firms. *Human Relations*, 54(7), 933-953.
- Taylor, I., & Kelly, J. (2006). Professionals, discretion and public sector reform in the UK: re-visiting Lipsky. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 19(7), 629-642.
- Teelken, C. (2015). Hybridity, coping mechanisms, and academic performance management: Comparing three countries. *Public Administration*, 93(2), 307-323.
- Teodoro, M.P. (2014). When Professionals Lead: Executive Management, Normative Isomorphism, and Policy Implementation. *Journal of Public Administration Research And Theory*, 24(4), 983-1004.
- Thomann, E., Hupe, P. & Sager, F. (2017). Serving many masters: Public accountability in private policy implementation. *Governance*, 31(2), 299-319.



- Torfig, J. (2019). Collaborative innovation in the public sector: the argument. *Public Management Review*, 21(1), 1-11.
- Torfig, J., & Sørensen, E. (2019). Interactive Political Leadership in Theory and Practice : How Elected Politicians May Benefit from Co-Creating Public Value Outcomes. *Administrative Sciences*, 9(51), 1-17.
- Torfig, J., Sørensen, E., & Røiseland, A. (2019). Transforming the Public Sector Into an Arena for Co-Creation: Barriers, Drivers, Benefits, and Ways Forward. *Administration & Society*, 51(5), 795--825.
- Trappenburg, M., & Noordegraaf, M. (2018). Fighting the Enemy Within? Challenging Minor Principles of Professionalism in Care and Welfare. *Professions and Professionalism*, 8(2), e2265-e2265.
- Tummers, L.G. (2017). The Relationship Between Coping and Job Performance. *Journal of Public Administration Research And Theory*, 27(1), 150-162.
- Tummers, L.G., & Bekkers, V. J. J. M. (2014). Policy Implementation, Street-level Bureaucracy, and the Importance of Discretion. *Public Management Review*, 16(4), 527-547.
- Tummers, L.G., Bekkers, V., Vink, E., & Musheno, M. (2015). Coping During Public Service Delivery: A Conceptualization and Systematic Review of the Literature, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 25(4), 1099--1126.
- Tuominen, T. M., & Lehtonen, M. H. (2018). The Emergence of Transformative Agency in Professional Work. *Organization Studies*, 39(11), 1601--1624.
- Turner, S., Lourenço, A., & Allen, P. (2016). Hybrids and professional communities: comparing UK reforms in healthcare, broadcasting and postal services. *Public Administration*, 94(3), 700-716.
- Tuurnas, S. (2015). Learning to co-produce? The perspective of public service professionals. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 28(7), 583-598.
- Tuurnas, S., Stenvall, J., & Rannisto, P.-H. (2016). The impact of co-production on frontline accountability: the case of the conciliation service. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 82(1), 131--149
- Van de Walle, S., Hammerschmid, G., Andrews, R., & Bezes, P. (2016). Introduction: public administration reforms in Europe. In Van de Walle, S., Hammerschmid, G., Andrews, R., & Bezes, P. (Eds.), *Public Administration Reforms in Europe*. Chaltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Van der Steen, M., Van Twist, M. J. W., & Bressers, D. (2018). The Sedimentation of Public Values: How a Variety of Governance Perspectives Guide the Practical Actions of Civil Servants. *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 38(4), 387--414.
- Van Gestel, N. M., Kuiper, M., & Hendriks, W. (2019). Changed Roles and Strategies of Professionals in the (co)Production of Public Services. *Administrative Sciences*, 9(59), 1-15.
- Vanleene, D., Voets, J. & Verschuere, B. (2018). The Co-production of a Community: Engaging Citizens in Derelict Neighbourhoods. *Voluntas*, 29, 201-221.



- Vanleene, D., Voets, J., & Verschuere, B. (2019). The co-production of public value in community development: can street-level professionals make a difference? *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 0(0), 1-17.
- Verhoeven, I., & Van Bochove, M. (2018). Moving Away, Toward, and Against: How Front-line Workers Cope with Substitution by Volunteers in Dutch Care and Welfare Services. *Journal of Social Policy*, 47(4), 783-801.
- Verschuere, B., Brandsen, T., & Pestoff, V. (2012). Co-production: The state of the art in research and the future agenda. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 23(4), 1083-1101.
- Voorberg, W. H., Bekkers, V. J., & Tummers, L. G. (2015). A systematic review of co-creation and co-production: Embarking on the social innovation journey. *Public Management Review*, 17(9), 1333-1357.
- Waring, J., & Currie, G. (2009). Managing Expert Knowledge: Organizational Challenges and Managerial Futures for the UK Medical Profession. *Organization Studies*, 30(7), 755-778.
- Weir, N.M., Newham, R., Dunlop, E. & Bennie, M. (2019). Factors influencing national implementation of innovations within community pharmacy: a systematic review applying the Consolidated Framework for Implementation Research. *Implementation Science*, 14(21), 1-16.
- Wilensky, H. L. (1964). The Professionalization of Everyone? *American Journal of Sociology*, 70(2), 137-158.
- Zacka, B. (2017). *When the State Meets the Street. Public Service and Moral Agency*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.



Appendix A. Interview protocol interviews and focus group sessions

COGOV-WP6 - Interview protocol semi-structured interview lead professional/manager

BEFORE (5 min)

The COGOV project is an EU Horizon-2020 funded project on strategic renewal of public agencies across Europe, emphasizing collaboration with stakeholders within and outside government. Within this project, we explore the conditions for the involvement of professionals in these processes of strategic renewal, and aim to gain insight in possible impediments and counteracting mechanisms.

To realize our aims, we first hold interviews with lead professionals/managers. The purpose of these interviews is to learn more about the organization and its context, and to explore what is expected of professionals and how they deal with it from a manager's perspective. The topics discussed in these interviews will serve as preparation for the focus group interviews with professionals.

With regard to what you tell today, confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed. Your answers cannot be traced back to individuals in our report and will only be used for the purpose of this research. For research purposes, we would like to audio record this interview. ****Ask permission and start recording.****

SECTION A - OPENING (5 min)

1. Could you please describe your current work role within the agency/institution?
2. What would you say is the main mission of your organization?

SECTION B - MAIN CHANGES IN PROFESSIONAL'S WORK (15 min)

3. Can you describe the most important changes that have occurred in your organization recently, in terms of policies and regulations? (national, organizational)
4. What (new) roles are expected from professionals?
5. Would you say professionals in your organization are stimulated towards collaboration, with each other? If so, could you describe this collaborative practice?
6. Are professionals in your organization expected to collaborate with citizens and/or other stakeholders outside your organization? How?

SECTION C - HOW PROFESSIONALS DEAL WITH POLICY REFORMS (15 min)

7. How do old and new roles for professionals go together and/or conflict?
8. In terms of *actions*, how would you say professionals deal with new challenges to collaborate in- and externally in their daily work?



9. From your perspective, how would you describe the motivation of professionals to engage in collaborative interactions?
10. What are barriers for professionals to engage in processes of collaboration?
11. How do collaborative approaches fit or conflict with their professional characteristics (expert knowledge, autonomy, professional ethics)?

SECTION D - HOW TO IMPROVE PUBLIC SERVICES (15 min)

12. What types of services are best to be renewed based on co-creation principles? And what types are not? Could you explain why? (think of context, organizational or procedural aspects)
13. What skills, support, and resources do professionals need to successfully co-produce public services?
14. What is needed to embed collaborative approaches in the work of the organization?
15. Could you provide us with an example of successful or promising co-production practices within your organization? What makes this a success?

SECTION E - CONCLUSION AND WRAP UP (5 min)

16. Are there issues/topics regarding collaborative interaction that you deem noteworthy but we have not covered so far?

**** Summarize the most important themes that were discussed. Thank respondent for participation.****



COGOV-WP6 - Interview protocol & format focus group interviews professionals

BEFORE (5 min)

The COGOV project is an EU Horizon-2020 funded project on strategic renewal of public agencies across Europe, emphasizing collaboration with stakeholders within and outside government. Within this project, we among others explore the conditions for the involvement of professionals in these processes of strategic renewal, and aim to gain insight in possible impediments and counteracting mechanisms.

To realize our aims, we hold focus group interviews. The purpose of these focus groups is to learn more about new professional roles, to identify barriers and drivers for the involvement of professionals in processes of strategic renewal, and to gain a good understanding of what professionals need when working together with other stakeholders.¹

With regard to what you tell today, confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed. Your answers cannot be traced back to individuals in our report and will only be used for the purpose of this research. For research purposes, we would like to audio record this interview. ****Ask permission and start recording.****

SECTION A – THINK, PAIR, SHARE (10 min individual + 10 min with your neighbour)

****As first activity, professionals who are taking part in the focus groups are invited to take the first 10 minutes to reflect on the main topics of the focus group meeting (topics 1, 2 and 3 correspond with sections B, C and D). This reflection needs to be individual and professionals are kindly asked to write down their answers. These answers are collected by the research team and serve as additional data.****

1. Could you please describe your current work role within the agency/institution?
2. What would you say is the main mission of your organization?
3. TOPIC 1: What are the main changes in your professional work? (following legal/policy reform requirements)
4. TOPIC 2: How do you deal with these changes? (E.g. do you succeed in fulfilling the required roles? What are your coping strategies?)
5. TOPIC 3: How do you believe the process of (co-)creation can be improved?

****Following up on individual reflection, please let the professionals share their answers with their neighbour (10 min.)**

¹ To prepare the respondents for the focus group, you can use the introductory slides (additional document) to inform them about TPA/NPM/NPG (as a framework) and a spectrum of strategies (Oliver, 1991).



(START GROUP DISCUSSION)

SECTION B - MAIN CHANGES IN PROFESSIONAL'S WORK (20 min)

6. Can you describe the most important changes that have occurred in your organization recently, in terms of policies and regulations? (national, organizational)
7. What (different) professional roles are expected from you?
8. What do you see as the value of collaborative approaches?
9. Do you have a voice in how and with whom collaborative interaction is organized?

SECTION C - HOW PROFESSIONALS DEAL WITH POLICY REFORMS (20 min)

10. How do you deal with multiple roles? (e.g. expert, service provider, network manager)
11. What do you think your collaborative partners expect from you in co-creation? (other organizations, citizens, clients etc.)
12. How does this correspond with your responsibility in collaborating with multiple stakeholders in service delivery?
13. What are drivers and barriers to engage in processes of co-creation?

SECTION D - HOW TO IMPROVE PUBLIC SERVICES (20 min)

14. Are there particular tasks/services within your job that are (best) suited for co-creation? (Please identify specific features of the tasks/services as such, as well as contextual, organizational and/or procedural aspects that make them suitable for co-creation).
15. Do you think that there are specific tasks/services within your job that cannot and/or should not be renewed on the basis of co-creation principles? If so, please explain why.
16. What skills, resources, other conditions do you need to successfully co-create public services?
17. Could you provide us with an example of successful or promising collaborative practices within your organization/you were involved in? What makes this a success?
18. What is needed to embed collaborative approaches in your organization?

SECTION E - CONCLUSION AND WRAP UP (10 min)

19. Are there issues/topics regarding co-creation that you deem noteworthy but we haven't covered so far?

** Summarize the most important themes that were discussed. Thank respondents for participation.**



Appendix B. Case report Dutch pilot case

Introduction

Our pilot case is a medium-large municipality with 54.331 inhabitants (2019), located in the urban west of the Netherlands. The case is focused on the social policy for the residents of the municipality who are dependent on social assistance. Recently, the municipal social service opted for a new, more personalized approach of their clients. Professionals in social policy are encouraged to discuss tailor-made solutions with their clients, share knowledge with other professionals, and collaborate with stakeholders outside local government, e.g. organisations for care, schools, and housing corporations. Professionals should also develop further contacts with employers to (re-)integrate clients at the labour market. With the new approach, the municipality aims to strengthen the policy focus on the ‘participation’ of clients of social policy, preferably through paid work. The municipality has set up a new project for this purpose, ‘Refresh yourself’, which should give a boost to reducing unemployment, in particular of vulnerable people. The project started 1 October 2019 and is scheduled for 15 months.

The research focus in this case is, in line with WP6, on the engagement of professionals in the strategic renewal of public organizations. Data are derived from an interview with the project manager for the new approach at the municipal department of social services, and a focus group session with professionals in social policy (November 26, 2019). Additional information came from the organization’s website, a local newspaper, and national websites (legal requirements, evaluation studies of the national reform). The project manager in this case previously worked in social policy at other municipalities and was involved in the evaluation (2019) of the major reform in national social policy which is the context of this case (Participation Act, 2015). Participants of the focus group were 10 semi-professionals in local social policy. They all work in social policy, but specific tasks differ (employment services, youth care, family counselling, policy information, long term care, debt counselling, school and social work, and coordination of external collaboration).

We used protocols for the interview and focus group session, stressing three main topics (see Appendix A): What are the main changes in your professional work? How do you deal with these changes? and How do you believe the process of (co-)creation can be improved? In the group session, professionals were first asked to write down their answers to these topics; then share their answers in pairs, followed by a group discussion. Both the interview with the manager and the focus group session were recorded.

The WP6 objectives and our literature review were the starting point for the data collection and analysis. In the case report, for each WP6 objective, we took the points of discussion in chapter 10 of our literature review as a basis for analysis, and paid attention to the view of the manager/organization and the perspectives of professionals on their (new) roles, strategies and practices, and conditions for embedding innovation (as summarized in table 1).



Table 1 – Engaging professionals in the strategic renewal of public organizations: the Dutch pilot case

| WP6 Research objectives | | View of the manager | Views of professionals |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|--|---|
| 1a | Legal and strategic demands | <p>Legal/strategic demands (national level): Participation Act 2015. Decentralization of social policy to municipalities; merging target groups; reducing budget.</p> <p>Strategic demand (local level): More investment in ‘activation’ of citizens that rely on social assistance (as well as of other citizens without a paid job).</p> | The legal and strategic demands are viewed as a move from TPA/NPM to NPG: from a ‘control- and rule-based’ system toward co-creation, and from outsourcing to integrated services. Initially, however, the introduction of the new Act created more focus on rules and collaboration was hard to achieve. |
| 1b | Professional roles | Professionals should provide integrated services (for job finding, care and law enforcement); co-create with clients, and collaborate within- and outside local government. | Strong acceptance of more collaboration, within- and outside local government. Accumulation of TPA/NPM - and NPG-related roles (guardian, service provider, and network partner), creating pressures. |
| 2a | Drivers | Financial accountability, to prevent budget shortage; (social) participation | Client focus, to improve life and enhance job chances of (vulnerable) citizens |
| 2b | Barriers | <p>Legal complexity, limited organizational control of efficiency and impact.</p> <p>Integrated services: better to split up?</p> <p>Disconnected ICT systems</p> | Difficult start of collaborating across professional and organizational borders; financial resources are still separated, complicates collaboration; |
| 3 | Motivations of professionals | Most professionals do not adhere to the policy goal of ‘participation’, in terms of pushing clients to a paid job. They have their own, diverse policy interpretations and lack ‘shared values’ | Professionals feel positive about a personal and collaborative approach in social policy. They support ‘integrated services’, but not everyone appreciates the consequences for their own job. They wonder how ‘equal’ are collaborative partners? |
| 4 | Promising practices | The upcoming project ‘Refresh yourself’, 150 citizens will receive a new approach | Long term investments in clients, moving along - rather than imposing; teamwork |
| 5 | Required skills | Ability to motivate/activate clients, in particular for a paid job. Willingness to share knowledge; to learn and develop creative solutions | Communication skills to collaborate with external parties. Capacity to operate in networks and openness to complementary knowledge. |



| | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| 6 | Conditions for embedding innovation | More (local) political and managerial guidance, setting clear policy targets; professionals should share knowledge and develop new collaborative routines. | Integrate finance (not just services); change regulation to increase impact; policy makers need more accurate knowledge of clients and policy implementation; long term perspective is needed on costs and benefits. |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|--|

1. Identifying the main legal and strategic requirements (policies, regulations, reforms) framing professional roles in public management reform initiatives

Legal requirements in this case are derived from the Participation Act (2015). The Participation Act (further) decentralized social policy to municipalities. The purpose was to get as many people as possible into a job on the regular labour market, including people with disabilities. Municipalities received more instruments to support people who are dependent on social assistance to get a paid job, i.e. by wage subsidies. Given the legal requirements, professionals should increase their efforts for ‘participation’, also for vulnerable people, and intensify collaboration with clients, and colleagues within and beyond professional and organizational borders. The Participation Act was accompanied by strong budget cuts, implying that professionals were encouraged to increase their performance, but with less means.

At first, strategic demands of the municipality focused on establishing a healthy financial situation. The action plan formulated in 2017 to eliminate the large deficit due to social assistance benefits has worked: in 2018 there was no longer a deficit in the local budget. The number of people living on benefits in the municipality has been decreased by an improving economy with more demand for workers. As of 1 January 2019, however, 480 residents were still on welfare. Although the percentage of households with social assistance in this municipality is the lowest in the region, and among the top 10 lowest in the country, the municipality aims to further reduce the number of people on welfare support in the coming years (Houkes, 2019). It therefore initiated the project ‘Refresh yourself’, and appointed a project manager for it (see introduction).

Based on our literature review, we asked how professionals frame their (changing) role(s) and reform context, and how they develop new roles, in particular in co-production and co-creation? Which tensions are experienced by professionals when taking up multiple roles?

Professionals in our pilot case emphasize that more and different roles were imposed on them over the past few years, relating to both TPA/NPM and NPG reform ideas. Professionals reveal they now should not only guide their clients by applying rules, e.g. for income protection (as in TPA), or provide specialized services according to management targets (NPM), but they are also expected to co-create with clients in defining problems and finding solutions; and collaborate in teams and networks beyond professional and organizational borders (NPG).



Professionals believe that the different and more intense role requirements are challenging. They feel more pressure, in particular to bear responsibility for taking decisions beyond their initial sub policy area, dealing with a larger target group in a wider field of social services. For example, services that previously were offered outside local government are now ‘insourced’ (i.e. debt counselling) and have become part of the ‘integrated services’. In addition, professionals are responsible now for a larger and more diverse group of clients. As one professional explained a larger case load: *“My work has mainly become more extensive. In the past, I only offered help to people with disabilities, but since 2015 my target group has expanded to all adults and youngsters.”* Moreover, the involvement of professionals in client cases seems more intense than in the past: *“My coordinating role within families is more prominent. I now stay involved longer with families, if necessary.”* Having more different roles and responsibilities is also illustrated by another professional in our group session: *“I have changed from a purely executive role to also a coordinating role.”* Change is also acknowledged in the way professionals have to carry out their roles. For example, ‘coordination’ should avoid command and control. As illustrated by a professional, she has to coordinate: *“Not from a distance and from control, but in a co-creative manner.”*

The manager in this case also recognizes that professionals need to combine multiple roles, and doubts if this is workable. She notices that professionals are required to *“strictly comply with regulations, but also provide care and attention”*. In her view, this combination is hard to deliver. Moreover, the manager believes the legal and strategic demands cause growing complexity in professionals’ roles, which is very hard to deal with: *“I’m increasingly shocked by how many financially detailed rules there are. As a professional, you have to take into account the law, you have to look at the policy measures and then you also have case law. And this context changes almost every week.”*

Summarizing, both professionals and the manager frame the role of professionals as broader, more diverse and increasingly complex in the context of legal and strategic requirements. Professionals face tensions when taking up new and multiple roles: a complex regulation, diverse social problems, and more responsibility for a broader target group.

2. Identifying mechanisms encouraging and impeding the involvement of professionals in the renewal of local government and public agencies

As mentioned in our literature review with respect to the second WP6 objective, drivers and barriers for engaging professionals in collaborative initiatives are not explicitly revealed in literature. We thus asked in our protocols how professionals dealt with the legal and strategic requirements, and which drivers and barriers they faced. An interesting point for discussion from our literature review is that collaborative interaction is usually viewed a characteristic of NPG and an alternative to NPM. But how is collaboration promoted? Are there also new drivers to encourage collaboration, or is it done by means of NPM incentives? And does collaboration affect accountability requirements for professionals?



Professionals in our case described that ‘collaboration’ was not a common practice in the past. Before 2015, they were used to focus on the individual relationship with their own clients, where they apply social policy rules and tend to work on their own. Yet, the professionals in our case seem to embrace the new collaborative approach. As one professional expresses, collaboration has advantages, both for clients and herself: *“Collaboration provides a better connection and at the same time increases your own knowledge.”* Also, professionals recognize the benefits for citizens from collaboration with organizations outside the municipality, i.e. care organizations, housing corporations, etc. Interestingly, some professionals notice that collaboration with external partners is easier to establish than with other departments within the municipal bureaucracy.

From the perspective of the manager in this case, collaboration is promoted from a top-down perspective and in line with TPA/NPM ideas. The manager clearly states that she prefers to have a central policy target, set by the organization. This target should not be negotiable for professionals in her view; they should only discuss the “how”. According to the manager: *“I always say: the goal is non-negotiable. Yet, we do need to talk about the route and the instruments you need to realize it.”* She suggests that professionals should discuss their individual policy interpretations and develop ‘shared values’, which sounds as a bottom-up approach. But at the same time the manager stresses that these policy interpretations and ‘shared values’ should be in line with the organizational policy. The manager also severely doubts whether the NPG-related idea of ‘integrated services’ will work, while it seems hard to combine personal assistance to citizens with law enforcement. Professionals in our case also say they feel less comfortable in combining these two tasks.

Currently, professionals in this case do not seem to struggle with complex accountability requirements. Traditionally they have a large freedom to operate, and despite the complex legal and strategic requirements and following pressures, the professionals seem to create their own space to do what they feel is necessary. As one of them said about the past and present: *“We actually had no rules at all. And the credo is still ‘we do what it takes’.”* The professionals view their relatively large autonomy as an important condition to carry out the new approach in social policy, to develop more collaboration and tailor-made solutions (see also 6.). Yet, the budget cuts that went along with the 2015-reform (Participation Act) and the fragmented financing (e.g. different for social assistance and long-term care) are viewed to be an important barrier, impeding strategic renewal of the municipality in social policy.

The manager in this case mentions a barrier in the three incongruent ICT systems that are used in the municipal social policy. The multiple systems create a lot of extra work for professionals in her view. As the manager says: *“It really is a barrier if this takes so much effort and frustration ...”* Surprisingly, professionals haven’t mentioned this barrier in our conversation; they may circumvent the problem by using their personal contacts, which is possible in a local setting.

In sum, professionals deal with the legal and strategic requirements by protecting their autonomy. This does not entirely match with the manager’s top down promotion of collaboration. Professionals feel happy with the NPG-ideas for collaboration and tailor-made solutions, and see their professional autonomy as



precondition to carry out this new approach. So far, collaboration has not affected accountability requirements for professionals. Severe barriers that are considered to hinder co-creation are the regulative and financial structures (see also 6.)

3. Mapping motivations of professionals in implementing strategic renewal processes

Most literature dealing with professionals' motivations is focused on reforms that are managerial in nature, and not collaborative. The few available sources that go into reforms that promote collaboration, suggest that professionals feel motivated to collaborate with their clients and other parties while this may improve their insight in the clients' local needs. However, this does not imply that professionals find it easy to fulfil their new collaborative roles, and accept other knowledge beyond their own professional know-how. Asking what motivates professionals in implementing strategic renewal processes, and based on our literature review, we are interested whether collaboration in public services is a 'value' that corresponds with professional values?

In our case, there is a broad support among professionals for co-creation with clients. The professionals in our case support the new approach for tailor-made solutions and believe this is much more effective than just applying rules. As one of them said: *"I always wanted to take a closer look at the person. This now fits in with the new approach and is different from putting someone in a particular funnel and thus arriving at a solution."* Professionals also underpin the importance of 'integrated services', collaborating with other organizations in care, debt counselling, housing etc. to improve the life of clients and support their participation. They believe their expertise is still relevant in collaborative efforts (NPG), and they do not feel threatened by partners in networks who have different knowledge. They emphasize they have a responsibility in keeping their expertise relevant; to express their vision and seek for compromise. Yet, this does not necessarily imply enthusiasm about the consequences of 'integrated services' for their own job. As one professional said: *"Basically I like to take an integrated approach, in the interest of the client and the municipality, but it is not the work I want to do."* Feelings among professionals about the consequences for their own work are mixed, with collaboration taking time and effort. As one professional expressed: *"The first six months I avoided what I didn't know and what was unclear. I stand up for my profession as a social worker, my own professional vision. But now I also seek the compromise between my vision as a social worker and that from other professionals and organizations."*

The manager's impression is that professionals are merely engaged to protect the social assistance of citizens rather than focus on the policy aim of 'participation', preferably by a paid job. In line with the manager's preference for a central policy target, she is critical on professional autonomy. In her view, professionals should not have different policy interpretations, and she is missing 'shared values'. On the other hand, the manager recognizes that professionals in this case are supporting each other, and form a close group. She seems to be frustrated that it is hard to get grip on their work as a manager. As she observes: *"They contact each other quite often, they support each other, but they all do what they think is best."* The manager also



sees that the professionals know their clients very well. Yet, she wants them to share knowledge about individual cases. She views her own role as *“I am here to bring them into the mode of collaboration”*, while the professionals claim they already collaborate.

Another theme based on literature is that professionals often wear two hats in collaborative interaction, representing their public organizations/the public policy in an ‘equal’ role in networks, but responsible for the ultimate decisions – and blamed in case of failure. Professionals in our case wonder whether the municipality can be an ‘equal’ partner in collaborative networks, because the municipality is the one who usually pays for policy decisions. The suggested ‘equal’ relationships in networks with partners outside local government are not in line with the unequal financial responsibilities. As one professional illustrated the conflict in her network, which is a collaboration with schools for special education: *“On the one hand there is this idea of collaborating as joint partners, but on the other hand it also much about “who pays” and the schools are dependent on the municipality. So the question is: how equal is this relationship?”*

Recapitulating, professionals feel motivated to collaborate with their clients and other parties while they believe that co-creation allows for a better match with clients’ needs. Co-creation thus seems in line with their professional values. Yet, this does not imply that professionals find it easy to fulfil their new collaborative roles (see also 1. & 2.), or that they all appreciate the consequences for their own job (some do/some do not). The manager’s view on professionals’ motivation sharply contrasts with the professionals’ support for NPG-reform. She believes professionals each have their own shop, and her role is to let them collaborate. The manager’s perspective seems inspired by TPA/NPM ideas for a top down approach, central goals and close monitoring.

4. Identifying promising practices for professionals’ engagement with other partners and civil society from their point of view

The promising practices that we discussed in our literature review show a wide diversity of collaborative interactions, with diverse aims and varying network compositions. Based on these examples, a general formula for success seems absent. Following up on our literature review, we therefore asked which change process seems most appropriate for developing professionals’ engagement with co-production and co-creation? What would be an ideal composition of the collaborative team/network to enhance professional engagement? And how to avoid that collaboration/networking becomes a goal in itself rather than a means?

In this pilot case, the answer from professionals is clearly in line with NPG-ideas: they emphasize that promising practices are long-term investments in clients to support their development. They find this approach more effective than just imposing rules and sanctions. They also agree with the importance of professional teamwork, and the added value of a broader set of disciplinary and organizational perspectives, which increases the impact of social policy. Thus, basically, the professionals in our case are positive about working with other partners and civil society (see also 1.-3.).



However, they also point out some unforeseen consequences. For example, the new setting of integrated services is sometimes at the expense of traditional integrated services. As one professional explains: *“The most important change is the merging of multiple services into integrated services. This means for us we should get used to a new job, constant changes, setting up policy, new work processes, new colleagues, different tasks. At the same time, we are losing the well-functioning existing forms of cooperation, e.g. with the consultation center, the GPs.”* This quote shows that it is not easy to develop an ideal composition of the network/team, because setting up new collaborative relationships often destroys or weakens others.

Another unforeseen effect that some professionals bring forward is that a department or network of bundled services, covering more professionals, organizations and social problems, may sometimes create higher barriers for citizens. As one professional outlines: *“I see that the collaboration between the various parties is getting better and better. Certainly, since the core team works within the municipality, mutual cooperation has improved a lot. At the same time, I see that the distance to the citizens is increasing; I think we were more accessible as a small department of social work in the past.”*

Other professionals in this case view a positive impact of integrated services: *“I noticed that the service actually came closer to the citizen and is better tailored.”* The different opinions illustrate that an ideal composition of integrated services and the network/team is difficult to establish.

The manager in this case sees the new project “Refresh yourself” as a promising practice; an alternative to poor practices that she has seen in other municipalities. For example, “A plan for every customer” was a project around 2000 where the focus was purely on instruments rather than output and outcome. The manager has also seen some good examples elsewhere, such as working intensively with companies to help clients of social policy to find a job. Placing trust in the jobseeker has proven to lead to more job placements. According to the manager, however, such promising practices require a clear central strategy. The manager says about the municipality where she works now: *“There is no clear assignment. The first challenge is thus formulating a strategy. We need to put a dot on the horizon, to know where we are going.”* In the manager’s view, the role of professionals in developing this strategy is secondary. She hopes strategy development can be done in good consultation with professionals, but she sees a strong role for managers to steer and *“take the professionals along in the new approach”*.

Summarizing, the professionals and the manager in this case have diverging perspectives on the ideal change process for developing professionals’ engagement with co-production and co-creation (bottom up versus top down). They both have some doubts about an ideal composition of the collaborative team/network, and like to avoid that collaboration becomes a goal in itself rather than a means.

5. Identifying required skills for public servants in co-creation with other parties

Collaboration with stakeholders outside public organizations requires professionals to think beyond their own knowledge and perspectives, and to ‘manage’ a network or group by communicating effectively and



bringing together actors from different ‘worlds’. So far, literature shows little attention for learning to collaborate in multi-disciplinary teams, or working together with clients. An interesting theme for discussion is thus how professionals are prepared for operating in the new role(s)? We also wonder if role expectations of citizens and other partners correspond with the skills of professionals in implementing the policy?

In our pilot case, some professionals illustrate the difficulties of working in multi-disciplinary teams, where people represent different policy subfields, and may hold different perspectives on clients and their problems. Collaboration in these multi-disciplinary teams – for instance, in so called neighbourhood teams – was viewed less effective in this case during the first period, in particular because it was not easy to develop mutual understanding. As one professional expressed: *“It really was a clash of cultures the first year.”*

The general attitude of professionals toward network collaboration is however positive. As one professional said: *“Networks are crucial, we need our partners to realize our municipal policy. We should look at common interests.”* Another professional argues: *“We should further improve our contacts with network partners to enhance collaborative solutions.”* And a third colleague observes: *“I believe networking and seeking cooperation is an added value. I feel positive about it, and I really like it.”* Although all professionals participate in networks, they were not prepared for it, and most of them learned by doing. Initially, in 2015, the switch from specialist to generalist was promoted for every professional, but the professionals recognized the drawbacks and chose for a different model: *“In 2015 it was initially decided that every employee in the municipal core team should be a generalist. This meant that some processes took a long time and/or clients did not receive the appropriate support. Now everyone can do where his / her expertise lies and colleagues are supported when they receive questions beyond their expertise.”*

Interestingly, professionals in our case are most focused on improving collaboration with people outside local government. In contrast, the project manager in our case stresses the importance of internal collaboration. She believes the professionals work too individually and the manager wants the municipality to speak with one voice to clients: *“I think it would be good if we know who is in contact with the jobseeker at what time, and I would also be very happy if that goes with one message.”* The manager thus believes that professionals in this case should improve their ability to motivate/activate clients, in particular to lead them to a paid job; and two-third of the professionals does not have the right focus in her view.

In sum, professionals do not seem to be prepared for operating in the new role(s) for co-creation and networking by training. They have to learn the new skills on the job, and learn from each other in multi-disciplinary teams. Yet, the focus group session is perceived as another opportunity to reflect on this topic and exchange ideas and experiences.

6. Categorising how such innovative processes can be embedded in public administrations

Concluding from our literature review, if innovative processes in public administration should have a sustainable impact rather than a fragmented and temporal one, we need conditions at three levels of



strategy and intervention. At the micro-level of daily practices, professionals should have leeway to translate national goals to local contexts. At a meso-level, literature indicates that managerial and professional cultures in the public sector often hinder collaboration simply because they are not geared towards learning. Third, at a macro-level, the governance structure of the policy field and the regulative support and incentives (including finance) should promote innovation rather than obstruct it. An interesting discussion theme is thus whether conditions at these three levels are available so that professionals could develop and carry out their new roles in co-production and co-creation of public services? Another crucial theme is how current innovations can be embedded in public administration?

Both the professionals in the focus group session and the project manager in this case expressed that conditions for embedding innovation are not yet fulfilled. The project manager in our case who was earlier involved in the national evaluation of Dutch social policy reform, is pessimistic about embedding innovations in public administration: *“The effect of good examples in the country is zero.”* The remedy for this municipality, according to the manager, is that policy targets should be clearer and more shared by professionals. The manager is critical on professional autonomy; she believes the municipality should increase the monitoring of professional work and impact, as a first step to create sustainable practices.

The professionals in our case say that at the macro-level they need better rules that support the policy goal of ‘participation’ through a paid job. Currently, it is financially more attractive for clients to keep social assistance than to accept a (low paid) job, because they then lose other subsidies and do not improve their income. Professionals also experience tensions between the policy aim for a personalized, tailored approach for ‘participation’, and the current system where only three (low-ranked) job opportunities are offered that often do not match the clients’ needs. As one professional complained: *“I am asked to set goals with my clients. I want to find a solution together with the client; find a job that is also nice for her to do. I don't want to impose on her that after 35 years in the office she now has to clean up leaves. But I also have to deal with the rules.”* When she discussed the case of this client with her manager, he pointed to the three job options (cleaning leaves, being a language buddy, or work in a bicycle shed) that should be filled by clients of social policy.

At the meso-level, professionals in our focus group believe that politicians and managers need a more realistic perspective on clients’ situations, their wishes and opportunities. They say that policy-makers and managers tend to overestimate the (financial) possibilities of clients and the options of families and neighbourhoods to take care. As one professional said: *“The policy idea of self-support of clients and environment is nice, but it is difficult to implement in practice. It is not often that the client can fix the problem itself, or the network can do that.”* That policy-makers have overstated expectations of self-reliance of clients and their families and wider environment is confirmed by the national policy evaluation of the Participation Act (SCP, 2019). Professionals also mention that politicians and managers often do not trust clients, which does not correspond with their own view and experience. Where the professionals in this case assume the clients’ good intentions, the government takes into account that people just want to take advantage of social security. As one professional said: *“I feel that policy is written from the point of view that citizens want to*



abuse schemes. This does not correspond with my experience; I think that most citizens want to contribute to a solution, to function as independently as possible.” Professionals thus emphasize there is a gap between the policy assumptions and their professional experience.

At the micro-level of daily practices, the professionals in our case are satisfied with having leeway to act according to what they believe is necessary. The professionals view their discretion as crucial to continue with co-creation and co-production in public administration. As one of them said: *“It is important that trust is given to professionals to do it their way, even when we know that it may cost more money when I am spending more time. But in the long run, I really think it's cheaper, because we're more likely to overcome social problems.”* Most professionals seem satisfied with their current professional autonomy; yet, the project manager is aiming for serious restrictions, paradoxically in order to let them collaborate.

To conclude this analysis

This pilot case analysis is an example of how to apply the literature review for the analysis of data from the WP6 cases in different countries. We used the WP6 objectives as our structure for the data analysis and the themes at the end of our literature review (chapter 10) as a basis for discussion. Although the empirical picture is nuanced, we may draw a few conclusions from this particular case about ‘engaging professionals in the strategic renewal of public services’.

Firstly, professionals seem to feel comfortable with the (NPG-) idea of defining problems and developing solutions together with clients. They are less positive about the TPA/NPM based approach of applying uniform rules and management targets. Thus, where it probably was more difficult to engage them in an NPM-type of reform, their involvement is more natural given the NPG-paradigm. The focus in NPG on co-creation with clients is in line with how the professionals in this case prefer to do their work. In more abstract terms, the success of engaging professionals in the strategic renewal of public services seems dependent on how well-aligned strategic reform is with professional norms, which is apparently stronger for NPG- rather than NPM-based reform.

Secondly, another important element of NPG – the network orientation – is also accepted by the professionals in this case, but with more mixed feelings. Although most professionals like to work in teams with people from other departments and organizations, and view progress in mutual understanding and better solutions, they also notice drawbacks. For example, they mention the loss of former relationships that worked well in their view; and feel the burden of more responsibility in taking decisions with/for a larger and more diverse group of clients. It also emerged that learning to cooperate in the networks took a considerable amount of time before it became effective and the horizontal ‘equal’ relationships in the network model do not fit with a situation in which the local government is the sole financier. Engaging professionals in multi-disciplinary teams is easier in the professionals’ view when local government is accepted as the network leader, which seems a hybrid model of TPA/NPM and NPG.



Thirdly, in this case the manager's view often does not correspond with the view of professionals. It seems as if the manager prefers to have more grip from management on professional work, with a 'clear strategy' and 'shared values' designed by 'the organization', while the professionals view their freedom to operate as crucial in delivering co-creative, tailor-made services. Interestingly, while often the professionals are viewed in literature as the ones who 'resist' reforms; in the NPG-era it seems as if the management is more resistant and prefers to keep/or return to previously popular models as TPA and NPM. Yet, it is also important to mention that both professionals and the manager in this case view some similar problems/barriers for social policy: the regulative context that is far too complex, the continuous changes and budget cuts, and policymakers that seem to know little about the world of clients and implementation.

References

Houkes, P. (2019). Tekort op bijstand weggewerkt. Retrieved from <https://pijnacker-nootdorp-actueel.nl/tekort-op-bijstand-weggewerkt/>, published 25 February 2019.

Participatiewet [Participation Act]. (2015, January 1). Retrieved from <https://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0015703/2015-01-01/1>

Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP). (2019). *Final evaluation of the Participation Act*. The Hague: SCP. Retrieved from <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/rapporten/2019/11/20/eindevaluatie-van-de-participatiewet-scp>



Appendix C. French perspective on professionalism

Djelloul Arezki (AMU), Mathilde Dougados (AMU), Khaled Sabouné (AMU), Edina Soldo (AMU).

From a French perspective, we must consider the historical characteristics justifying the existence of specificities related to professions in the public sector. We could go back to the sixteenth century, when Europe was divided between reformation and counter-reformation, and France was under an absolute monarchy, wherein a “catholic” professional model prevailed (Dubar et al., 2015), in which professions are organized and coordinated in centralized institutions. The seventeenth century gave birth to trades in a new form: the *Corps d’Etat*. The French state built the professions model to meet his needs, under his control. Therefore, since the creation of *ingénieur du Roy* (engineer of the king) with Vauban, the professions model persisted and evolved.

Nowadays, *Grandes écoles* (high schools) still exist in France and maintain their role: training the professionals needed by the state, becoming part of the national elite. Engineers trained in those *Grandes écoles* reflect the considerable influence of the state over professionals, especially in specific fields which require prestigious specialized schools (Polytechnique, Ecole des Mines, ENS, etc). This influence is still significant in the private sector, and even more ascertainable in the public sector. In fact, a lot of administrations have their own schools for the top management. It is the case for general administration with l’*Ecole Nationale d’Administration* (ENA) or the *Instituts Régionaux d’Administration* (IRA), and for more specific sector like the *Ecole de la santé* for hospitals. It shows the process of administration’s professionalization (Dubar et al., 2015). Furthermore, the French literature on professionals in the public sector underlines another point: a public servant has often a professional identity, although he is not always a professional himself. The promotion of public service ideology, since the last century, has led to a professional ideology. If *stricto sensu* all public servants are not professionals, some of them are part of a collective identity shared by a lot of civil servants, which unite them in a new form of professional identity (Kouadio & Emery, 2018).

The existence of French specificities extends to the application of a “*New public management à la française*” (Minvielle, 2006). The specificities of the French centralized state did not allow to fully implement the NPM principles through the reforms that were intended to, and were not consistent with the autonomy required from the organizations in this paradigm. Public professionals are specifically affected by these reforms and are considered as high vulnerability agent in regard of neo-managerial reforms (Bezès et al., 2011). Professionals tend to refuse managerial logics (Zeller, 2015), associated with a decrease in their autonomy and power (Arezki, et al., 2017) because of the importance of those elements in the professional identity construct. Furthermore, current public management reforms appeared in opposition with public professionals’ values, geared towards users more than cost reducing. Principles and tools from *New public management* led to protests by public professionals especially in the healthcare sector, but also in post-secondary education, which led to protests against the *Loi relative aux Libertés et Responsabilités des*



Universités (Freedom and autonomy of universities Act) (Bezes et al, 2011). Therefore, as in Great Britain, a few French publications with cause depict the frontal opposition between neoliberal reforms and public sectors professions (Gori et al, 2009).

Even if the dualism between professionalism and managerialism seems outdated, private sectors principles and tools are not welcomed by professionals in the French public administration and led to a lot of suffering (Abord de Chatillon & Desmarais, 2012). Therefore, a French conceptualization of public professionals has been developed. French public officials can belong to three categories. Category A includes professionals such as senior civil servants and strategic agents such as university professors, doctors and chief of staff. Category B includes middle managers who may be quasi-professional. Finally, category C includes operational actors.

References

Abord de Châtillon E., Desmarais C. (2012), Le Nouveau Management Public est-il pathogène ?, *Management International*, 16(3), 10-24.

Arezki, D., Olivaux, M., & Keramidas, O. (2017). L'éthique du care, levier de la mobilisation collective des agents hospitaliers. Le cas du pôle gériatrie d'un Centre Hospitalier Régional Universitaire (CHRU). *RIMHE: Revue Interdisciplinaire Management, Homme Entreprise*, (1), 51-76.

Bezes, P., Demazière, D., Bianic, T. L., Paradeise, C., Normand, R., Benamouzig, D., ... & Evetts, J. (2011). New Public Management et professions dans l'État: au-delà des oppositions, quelles recompositions?. *Sociologie du travail*, 53(3), 293-348.

Dubar, C., Tripier, P., Boussard, V. (2015). *Sociologie des professions*. Armand Colin.

Gori, R., Cassin, B., & Laval, C. (2009). L'appel des appels. *Pour une insurrection des consciences. Mille et une nuits, Paris*.

Kouadio, A.B., Emery, Y. (2018) Comprendre le désengagement pour éclairer l'engagement au travail : une étude exploratoire des agents publics helvétiques. *La Revue des conditions de travail – ANACT*, (8), 73-84.

Minvielle, E. (2006). New public management à la française: The case of regional hospital agencies. *Public Administration Review*, 66(5), 753-763.

Zeller C. (2015), *Mobilisation collective des professionnels et représentations sociales de la performance organisationnelle : le cas des enseignants-chercheurs dans les universités françaises*, Thèse de doctorat en Sciences de Gestion, IMPGT, CERAM.



D.61
SCIENTIFIC REPORT
COGOV – Grant Agreement No. 770591

