

NEEDLES IN HAYSTACKS

Finding a way forward for cross-sectoral youth policy



Youth Knowledge #21

Youth Partnership

Partnership between the European Commission
and the Council of Europe in the field of youth



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NEEDLES IN HAYSTACKS

Finding a way forward for cross-sectoral youth policy

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Council of Europe / European Commission

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Editorial

Magda Nico and Marti Taru

It seems fair to say that everyone in the youth field, and perhaps some people outside the field, have heard of “cross-sectoral youth policy” (CSYP). The defining feature of the idea can be easily grasped: (young) lives are cross-sectoral by nature, and youth policy also needs to be so. This appears to be as clear and easy as ABC. In European countries as well as at the level of the European Commission, cross-sectoralism is taken as one of the underlying principles in the field of youth. However, when one departs from the level of general ideas and starts looking into this topic in a more concrete manner, one can easily be confused by the functional multiplicity of cross-sectoralism in the field of youth. To look to the past to try and make sense of how cross-sectoralism has developed only compounds the problem. Across European countries, the youth field indeed constitutes a haystack consisting of and hiding numerous ways of implementing the principle of cross-sectoralism. Different countries and organisations institutionalise it differently and form different institutional (governmental and non-governmental) applications based on it. There is also a lot of variation in the histories of the emergence of CSYP – in the processes of gradual integration and implementation of this principle at national and local levels. In parallel with the practical and day-to-day implementation of cross-sectoralism are ongoing processes of monitoring, evaluating and rethinking.

For those participating in peer-learning exercises on youth policies,¹ and in other exchanges of knowledge and good practice in the youth field, for instance, the volume and variety of the ways of integrating this principle in the youth field “machine” is even more evident. Indeed, in these contexts, it is not only the ideas of CSYP but also the variety of practices (including everything from emergence to evaluation and repetition) at national and at local levels and their level of success and sustainability that is shared and cherished. Factors behind success are analysed so that opportunities for transferring a policy measure from one setting to another can go through a preliminary evaluation.

But this knowledge sharing that empowers participants and the exchange of good (and bad) practices that helps build a common understanding of the main values and practices is clearly not enough to impact the youth sector in all countries. The written word travels faster. This book seeks to take advantage of this, as was clearly stated in the open call for participation on this book, in two ways. Firstly, by increasing the availability of literature on cross-sectoralism in the youth field, which to date has been rather scant, consisting of reports written in national languages and using different approaches and concepts. Making this literature available will hopefully support the development of a common understanding of what CSYP means in different countries and settings. On the other hand, the book intends to provide a set

1. Many of which were developed by or with the collaboration of the Partnership between the Council of Europe and the European Commission in the field of youth.

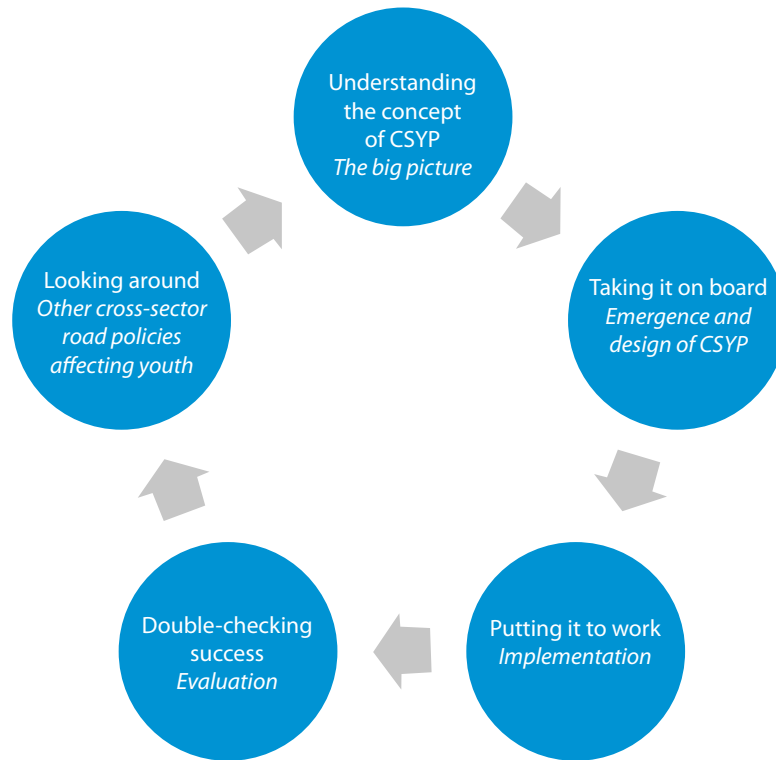
of comparable reports and testimonials of concrete experiences of cross-sectoral youth practices, which could be useful for practical purposes.

Secondly, the book intends to provide some instruments of reflection, design and implementation that could be useful to bring about improvement in young people's lives. Obviously, variations across European countries and settings within countries are large enough to preclude a "one size fits all" solution that can be copied and implemented anywhere. Each country needs to develop working solutions itself; the chapters in this book can provide analytical tools that have the potential to be useful in these processes.

Our previous understanding of CSYP development and implementation underpins the general framework of the book, in which all contributions were invited to "auto-position". This is based on the idea that the efficacy and sustainability of CSYP and co-operation are dependent on how synchronised the various levels of functioning are, from the legal and formal framework to interpersonal and interinstitutional relations. This led to several themes, one of which is certainly bottom-up policy processes (involving young people themselves, or non-governmental organisations that represent them or act on their behalf, or based on local realities) versus a top-down design of youth policies (or public policies that address the young, being designed with more general goals in mind and from a more general perspective). Another theme inherent to CSYP, by definition, revolves around the subject areas of professionals, organisations and ministries involved in collaboration. A third theme is essentially discussions on the need for complex systems of CSYP that encapsulate both vertical and horizontal channels of communication and collaboration.

The outline of the book then emerged from the chapters selected following the open call to contributors. It is organised in four blocks of knowledge that follow, in a way, a chronological yet circular nature (see Figure 1). The first one, with contributions from some members of the editorial team, tries to provide the big (European) picture of CSYP, namely to offer an insight into how official documents and reports produced by key agents in the European youth field reflect and propose understandings of CSYP. The second section is dedicated to the presentation of processes of emergence and design of CSYP, namely the approach they were conceived under (top-down or bottom-up) and personal and institutional (local or national) efforts towards their success. The third section zooms in on the concrete implementation challenges, successes and failures, and strategies for better functionality and efficacy of CSYP when put into practice. The identification of these issues is mostly done a posteriori, namely in evaluation processes made by external bodies. Finally, the fourth section deals with cross-sectoral policy that, without being necessarily or primarily youth-based or youth-led, as a result of its own transversal nature, ends up affecting and targeting youth-related issues in particular. In the editorial team's understanding, these should also be considered CSYP or, at the very least, CSYP has to learn from more generalist cross-sectoral policy. This would help us update our policies and practices, really taking into account other sectors' experiences. Isn't that what cross-sectorality is all about?

Figure 1: Steps in CSYP development



The book reflects the diversity of actors involved in the youth field (policy makers, youth researchers, youth workers and workers in the field of youth). It is our desire that these professionals as well as other people interested in the youth field (students, stakeholders, leaders of European institutions, etc.) find in this book a valuable apparatus of knowledge about cross-sectoral policy on behalf of the younger generations.

Part I

**Taking a step back
to see the big picture –
The haystack**

Introduction

Magda Nico²

Life is a tragedy when seen in close-up, but a comedy in long-shot.
(Charlie Chaplin, 1889-1977)

There are many examples both in real and academic life where shifting the scale of observation significantly changes our views, opinions or understandings. The same is true with understandings and opinions on cross-sectoral policy and practice. We hypothesise that what is considered the “haystack” and the “needles” depends strongly on the scale of observation rather than our specific positioning in the youth field, derived from our professional identity (as researchers, youth workers, policy makers, young people, etc.). What we intend to provide with the first part of this book is an overview of the “haystack”, as constituted by national or local CSYP and practices. The idea is then to provide a “common ground” to the reception of the chapters of this book, each using a specific national or local example and/or a particular theoretical or practical argument. This intended common ground derives from the research of members of the editorial team and, in a way, influences the very nature of the book. The meta-argument of this first part is that the differences between two apparently competing views – local versus structural, national versus European, top-down versus bottom-up – are the result of analytical positions, the result of the shift in the lens and in the window of observation. They do not need to be understood as rival views, but rather as complementary ones.

This is achieved in two ways. My own chapter starts this overview by analysing the relevant, at a European level, documents on cross-sectoral policy. My argument is that it would be difficult, not to mention rather inconclusive, to look for specific “needles” – cross-sectoral practices – if we haven’t yet spotted the “haystack”: the cross-sectoral policy arena. The argument is that without understanding the European political and discursive context, one cannot aim at providing a first draft of a map of CSYP, or develop comparative exercises among these different national experiences. This is not, however, denying the importance of bottom-up processes; rather, it is to underline the fact that these policies at a European level influence and contextualise the emergence and development of CSYP at national or local levels. The former end up influencing the latter anyway, in the circular movement presented in the editorial to this book.

The material used was mainly that produced in co-operation with the European Union (EU), the work of the Council of Europe and the experiences of cross-sectoral co-operation of a number of specific countries (more specifically the youth policy reviews developed by international teams on behalf of the Council of Europe). The analysis of the material allows me to conclude that CSYP means different things in

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different contexts, documents and organisations (and to researchers). Understanding can vary between vertical levels of communication (between a youth ministry or its equivalent and young people, namely through non-governmental organisations), and horizontal communication (between a youth ministry or its equivalent and other ministries). The use of the concept can vary from “CSYP as a principle” (used as an umbrella expression to argue that any policy that concerns young people has to be drawn up having in mind every other sector), to “CSYP as collaboration or co-ordination” (which implies very different responsibilities and power resources for the ministry responsible for youth or its equivalent), to “CSYP as the approach using cross-cutting issues” as directly implied in youth policy. Analysis of the youth policy reviews also confirmed, implicitly and explicitly, this lack of conceptual consensus around the term “CSYP” and the variable attribution of the term “cross-cutting issue” to specific youth issues. This lack of precision is considered counterproductive for the exchange of good practices between countries, the analysis of the recurrence of certain issues across time, and ultimately also for the development and implementation of CSYP itself, as it makes the aforementioned “common ground” difficult to pinpoint.

Marti Taru’s chapter follows a different approach and methodology, albeit with a similar goal. It departs from the very idea of existing conceptual and definitional clarity, stating that “when we look at the field of youth and public policy, we notice that the situation is far from clear even at the level of core terms like ‘youth policy’, ‘youth work’, and perhaps ‘youth’ itself”. Taru’s approach to this clarification is to develop three major pillars in the development of CSYP, namely the development of public policy addressing young people at a European level; the development of cross-sectoral co-operation in public administration systems at a European level; and the experiences and views of people working directly in the youth field in national administrations. By separating, in a way, these three aspects, Taru is indeed arguing that the CSYP concept is a recent invention and basically a result of other, more structural, developments in public administration systems.

The opinions and recommendations of CSYP practitioners are the cherry on top of this argument. These participants’ inside information is a valuable source of data on the “practical” definitions of CSYP. Among the emergent ideas that came out of the youth policy seminars held in 2015 we find: the need to avoid a gap between CSYP (national) development and its (local) implementation; the need to measure and monitor the success/impact of the objectives proposed by each cross-sectoral policy; the need to open the policy design and implementation arena to young people, fostering their participation from the very beginning, and also the trust between (young) people and institutions; and the need to open and actively maintain channels of communication and co-operation between sectors, among other important issues.

Together, what these two chapters show is that although there is a lack of clarity as well as misconceptions about what CSYP is and what it can be in each country or political climate, and that although there is a lack of institutional memory within and between sectors in this regard and a difficulty in learning from the past and reinventing the future of CSYP, there is a strong consensus in the youth community about what it should not be and how it should not function. This is as good a starting point, or consensual common ground, as any other.

Chapter 1

A primary look at secondary data – CSYP in official documents

*Magda Nico*³

Introduction: rising against “grounded cross-sectoral policy theory”⁴

Starting this book with an analysis of the documents on cross-sectoral policy is not an innocent choice, but rather an analytical statement, which can be expressed in metaphorical, chronological and political terms. Metaphorically, one can argue that it would be difficult to look for specific “needles” if we haven’t even spotted the “haystack”. In fact, in terms of understanding a phenomenon or a process, “zoom-in to zoom-out” strategies rarely work. Without understanding the European political and discourse context first, how could one aim at drawing a first draft of a map of cross-sectoral youth policies, how could one develop comparative exercises using these different national experiences, how could one subsequently create channels of communication and common understandings on CSYP? How would one look for and identify the needles – the design, implementation and evaluation of these policies – without even acknowledging the amplitude of the meanings and practices they represent, that is the haystack (among many other haystacks or policy arenas, not necessarily youth-related)? National and local cross-sectoral youth policies are in this sense microcosms of the official European discourses disseminated, and the consensuses reached, on this topic. The level to which these microcosms are developed and adapted to national specificities, hurdles and potentialities is a different analytical level. Not only different, but of utmost importance. So much so that most of this book is indeed dedicated to presenting and discussing these aspects (see Parts II, III and IV).

But for now, and taking a chronological approach, one can accept as a premise that the European discourse on cross-sectoral policy is the first (published, accessible, public) material that can be analysed. This is so even if this published discourse may ultimately have been the result of bottom-up processes, of youth lobbies – namely youth organisations, youth workers or any other stakeholders – in decision making, in policy making or in changing the official and politically correct discourse on the need to develop CSYP. These processes, the “meta-causes” of the production of

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4. This chapter is based on Nico (2014).

the published documents, are not analysed here. Official and key documents thus become, in chronological terms, the first analysable data. This is not the same as arguing, however, that they are the spontaneous cause of the production of CSYP resolutions and guidelines at the European level.

Finally, from a political, policy or ideological point of view, European-level discourse represents a meta-discourse that is not easily integrated into a linear, bottom-up process. It might, instead, if not determine the creation, at least influence and contextualise the emergence, development or change of CSYP at national or local level. National bodies may import different aspects of these discourses into their laws, pacts, acts or implementation strategies, but the fact that more or less explicit European guidelines exist in this regard is not something that can be ignored by the key stakeholders –youth workers, researchers or policy makers.

As many of the following chapters demonstrate, and hopefully the reception and use of this book will also validate, the approach towards CSYP should not be one based on “grounded theory”. Grounded theory is a social science theory based on the belief and practice that knowledge must emerge exclusively and directly from the data rather than be based on preconceptions or “pre-knowledge”. It is the result of an inductive process derived from a corpus of data, knowledge or experience. Analysing the documents (first) is, in this sense, a statement that youth policy design or analysis cannot opt for pre-knowledge. Ignorance is not bliss.

On the other hand, CSYP should not be understood in an administrative vacuum. Public administrations increasingly design and handle cross-sectoral governmental strategies in approaching several societal issues and sectors, not only or mainly with the youth sector. The shifts from bureaucracy to “new public management” and subsequently to “new governance” have increased and been mainstreamed to variable degrees in Europe, with several instruments being found adequate for cross-sectoral policy design in general, such as: networks as governance models; co-operation and collaboration as a governance mechanism; formal and informal agreements as preferred legal instruments; and interorganisational focus within sectors/policy coalitions as the preferred organisational scope (Steurer 2007: 208). Even though this chapter does not provide an analysis of the interface between the changes in the discourse on CSYP and these important changes in public administration, a reading should not avoid taking into account this wider context.

This text thus contributes an analysis and understanding of the discourses by key European agents in the youth field as regards CSYP and aims at contributing to the creation of a general and common understanding of both the homogeneity and the heterogeneity in the CSYP concept.⁵

Data and methodology

An overview of existing information on cross-sectoral policy co-operation was provided, mainly based on the material produced in co-operation with the EU, the work of the Council of Europe and the experiences of cross-sectoral co-operation in a number of specific countries (more specifically, the youth policy reviews

5. What it does not do is analyse national specificities, namely welfare states’ traditions and practices, public administration hierarchies and networks, and the role of youth in that regard.

developed by international teams on behalf of the Council of Europe). Key documents were collected, and a selection was subjected to thematic content analysis using the software MAXQDA®. This analysis has two focuses. One is on the formal importance and political recognition provided by European institutions to the cross-sectoral area of youth policy (analysis of official documents). The second is on the approaches and issues regarding national operationalisation of CSYP (from emergence to implementation). Each focus uses specific documents that are available, and available in English (Table 1).

Documents used for this purpose were mainly from the United Nations and the European institutions, including the EU and the Council of Europe in particular (which involved a greater variety of authors and types of documents, and aimed to cover the main agents of political expression in the youth field, such as the European Youth Forum, the Council of Europe and the European Commission) (Table 1). This respects the analysis of the formal and political importance attributed to CSYP. A classification of possible models of CSYP is proposed in this regard, as part of an attempt to organise the heterogeneity discovered.

As mentioned, a second goal consists in analysing the operationalisation of CSYP at the national level. Not all European countries are included since their inclusion depended on the availability of data and reports in English. The main set of documents used in this analysis comprises the youth policy reviews published by the Council of Europe, particularly content related to cross-cutting issues and that presented in the policy review's recommendations. This respects the concrete national experiences as they are interpreted by the international team responsible for the reviews. A multi-layered classification of the cross-cutting issues is also proposed in this regard, as a result of the critical analysis developed.

Table 1: Scope and type of documents collected in relation to CSYP

	Scope	Author	Policy	Policy review	Total
Analysis of the formal importance	International	United Nations	20		20
	European	European Commission	7		7
		Council of Europe	3		3
		Youth Forum	1		1
Analysis of national operationalisation	Country-level	Council of Europe		21	21

CSYP: what does it mean?

The international context and intertwined ambition

The importance of CSYP has been analysed in two contexts. In the international context, we note that from an early stage, the United Nations has: recognised the importance of “national youth policies and programmes of an intersectoral nature”; tried to identify their development on a national basis; and requested more research, monitoring and identification of good practices in CSYP at national level (made especially evident in the quote above). The UN has been promoting national youth “policies that are cross-sectoral and integrated” since the International Youth Year 1985 and since at least 1999 it has been recognised as one of the “priority youth issues for the 21st century”:

It would be interesting to see more evaluation of this improvement. What are the outcomes of those policies? What progress has been made? What are the obstacles encountered? What new approaches are needed to better address the concerns of youth in the context of an integrated and cross-sectoral national youth policy? It would be a service to countries and the international community to devote the necessary resources towards a comprehensive analysis of this experience.⁶

The content of the references to CSYP in the documents on youth produced by the UN is nonetheless quite diverse (see Table 2).

Table 2: Number of references to CSYP in UN policy documents on youth

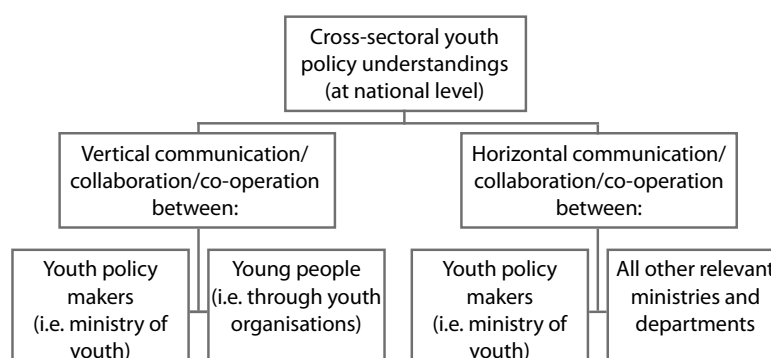
	1979	1997	1999	2000	2001	2002	2004	2005	2006	2008	2010	2012
Resolutions	0			0		3	1	0		0	1	0
Implementations		12	10		6			0	0	0	1	1
Evaluations								3				

The first point to be noted is that the understandings of CSYP used in the resolutions and in the implementation reports are quite different. In the resolutions, two definitions are attached to CSYP: one focusing on communication and collaboration between the youth organisation sector (the voice of young people) and the policy-making sector, the other referring more to interministerial or inter-departmental collaboration (Figure 2). In this sense, in some resolution documents it is argued that “cross-sectoral youth policies should take into consideration the empowerment and full and effective participation of young people, and their role as a resource and as independent decision makers in all sectors of society”,⁷ which implies that there should be communication between the governmental and non-governmental sector. On the other hand, other documents stress the participation of other – more horizontally situated – partners such as:

6. Implementation of the World Programme of Action for Youth, to the Year 2000 and Beyond, by the General Assembly Economic and Social Council, United Nations, 1999.
7. Resolutions of the General Assembly on policies and programmes involving youth, United Nations, 2002.

Member States, United Nations bodies, specialised agencies, regional commissions and intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations concerned, in particular youth organisations, to make every possible effort to implement the World Programme of Action, aiming at cross-sectoral youth policies, by integrating a youth perspective into all planning and decision-making processes relevant to youth⁸

Figure 2: The two main understandings of CSYP at national level



This dichotomy is at the very core of the conceptual confusion around exactly what CSYP is – and subsequently should be (Figure 2). Stating that these two approaches do not necessarily overlap is not, evidently, equivalent to arguing that they do not or should not co-exist and interact, in effective and efficient ways, depending on national specificities. Horizontal and vertical cross-sectoral policies and practices can and in some cases should co-exist, but their meanings and manifestations are different and pose distinct challenges. This is a problem that is underestimated in the implementation reports of the UN. Although there is a great effort to promote the idea of designing CSYP, the reality departs from the very ambitious ideal of CSYP that includes the two distinct views mentioned above (Figure 2). Basically, this promotes the ideal that youth policy should be built on a “multilevel and cross-sectoral basis”, therefore including “participation of youth-related departments and ministries, national non-governmental youth organisations and the private sector”⁹. This would represent a much more complex cross-sectoral system than most countries can handle, at least at once or in administrative and organisational vacuums. The development of CSYP could in fact integrate these two levels of communication and collaboration but it is somewhat naïve to believe that all countries have the conditions and the resources to create and maintain the structures to make this happen. The development of cross-sectoral policy can be done gradually, beginning for instance with one level and adding the second when appropriate.

8. Resolution 56/177 of the General Assembly on policies and programmes involving youth, United Nations, 2004.

9. Implementation of the World Programme of Action for Youth, to the Year 2000 and Beyond, by the General Assembly Economic and Social Council, United Nations, 1997.

The European context and conceptual confusion

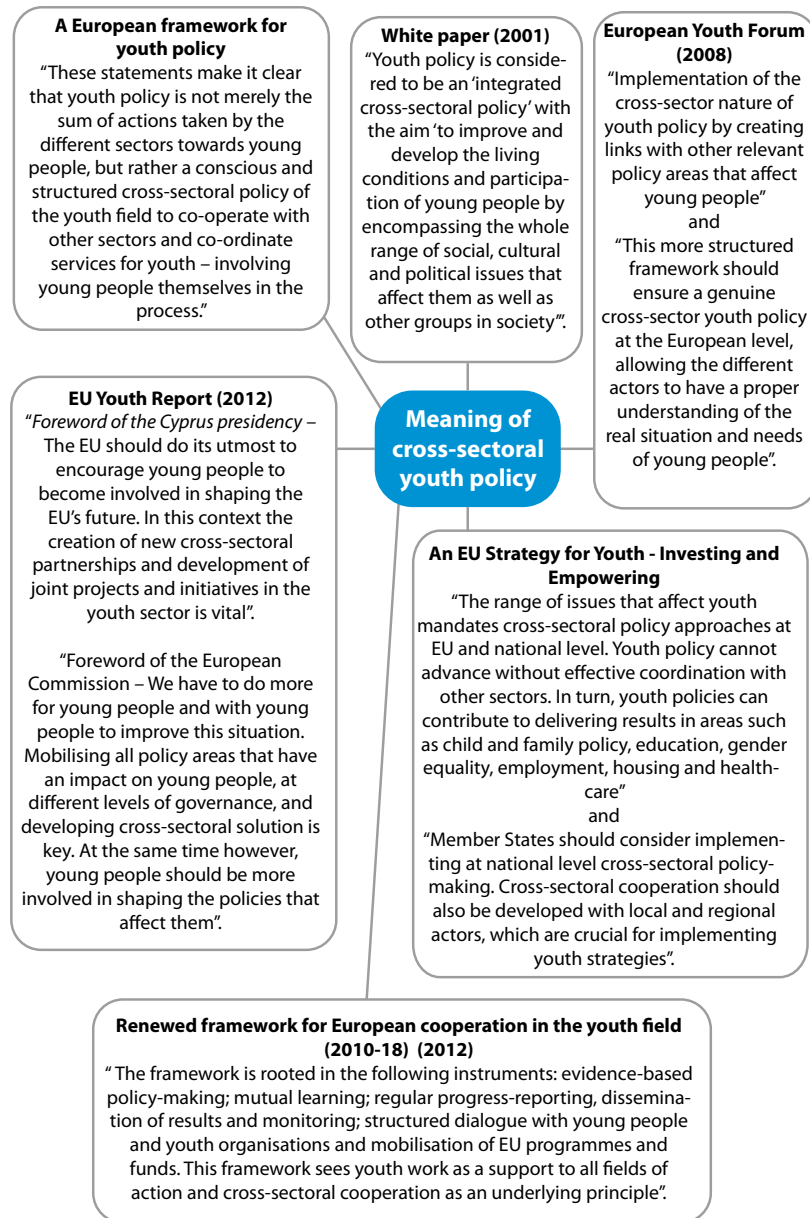
The cross-sectoral aspect as a natural and consensual principle of youth policy

In a comparative analysis of the meanings and importance attributed to CSYP at the European level, we can observe that although there is consensus in the youth field that the design of youth policy must be broad, multidimensional, holistic, integrated and cross-sectoral, the practical meanings associated with this vary considerably (Figure 3). In short, it is clear that youth policy is much more than youth policy per se, and that it must collaborate with, communicate, encompass, integrate or lead a set of coherent plans, actions, programmes and policies that are, in principle, the formal or legal responsibility of other sectors. But again, it also becomes clear that collaboration, communication and integration, etc. are treated as mutually equivalent, thus taking the very concept for granted and approaching it only as an intention, ambition or target, rather than as a method, plan or process (Figure 2):

Youth Policy is a cross-sector, integrated policy aimed at young people, with young people and starting from the needs of young people. Its aim is to improve and develop the living conditions and participation of young people, encompassing the whole range of social, cultural and political issues affecting them and other groups in the society. (European Youth Forum Perspective on European Youth Policy, Lithuania, 1998).

In all documents and statements about CSYP its importance is underlined, and there are some documents that encompass all that is being said about it, for example in their forewords. The 2012 EU Youth Report is a case in point. Characteristics such as “vital” or “key” are used to describe the “creation of new cross-sectoral partnerships and development of joint projects and initiatives in the youth sector” (by the Cyprus presidency) and the development of “cross-sectoral solutions” (European Commission 2012). Other documents, for instance, use the cross-sectoral issue merely as an inherent characteristic of youth policy, a “principle”, or something that is part of the very nature of youth policy. This is the case in the definition of youth policy made in the European Commission’s 2001 White Paper, where it is stated that “youth policy is considered to be an ‘integrated cross-sectoral policy’ with the aim, ‘to improve and develop the living conditions and participation of young people by encompassing the whole range of social, cultural and political issues that affect them as well as other groups in society’” (European Commission 2001), or in the case of the renewed framework for European co-operation in the youth field a decade later, where it is stated that the “framework sees youth work (1) as a support to all fields of action and cross-sectoral co-operation as an underlying principle” (European Commission 2012b: 6).

Figure 3: Meanings of CSYP in key documents (a summary)



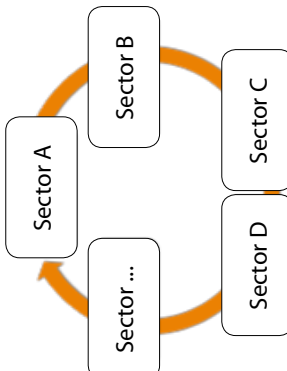
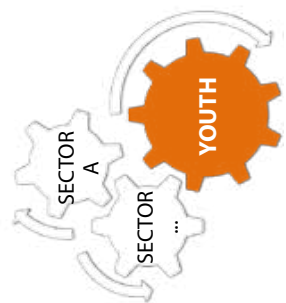
“Cross-sectoral” policy as an umbrella for different systems of collaboration and interaction

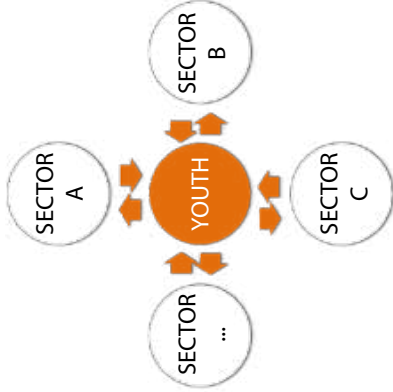
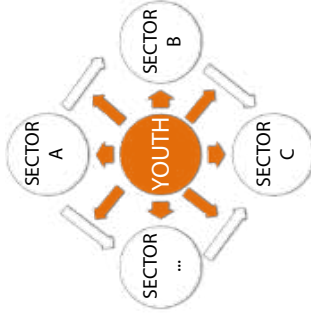
There is a general consensus on the importance of the cross-sectoral nature of youth policy. But this is not the case when it comes to:

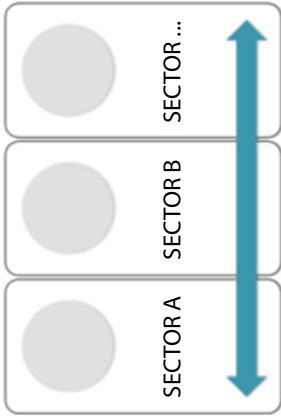
- ▶ the content of CSYP;
- ▶ the role of youth policy in other sectors (visible, for instance, in the statement “a structured cross-sectoral policy of the youth field to co-operate with other sectors and co-ordinate services for youth – involving young people themselves in the process”, A European framework for youth policy by Lasse Suriala, and “Implementation of the cross-sector nature of youth policy by creating links with other relevant policy areas that affect young people”, European Youth Forum 2008);
- ▶ the levels of governance involved (e.g. “Cross-sectoral co-operation should also be developed with local and regional actors”, European Youth Forum, 2008; and “Mobilising all policy areas that have an impact on young people, at different levels of governance, and developing cross-sectoral solutions is key”, European Commission 2012a).

Taking into account the heterogeneity of the meanings and understandings of CSYP in key documents by key actors in the field of youth, and the need to tackle and map this heterogeneity, Table 3 is an attempt to summarise, organise and separate the different paradigms and definitions.

Table 3: The nature, missions, definitions and issues of CSYP

Nature and mission		The field of CSYP		Narrow definitions and some issues		Mechanism – Example	
As a principle				Youth policy			
		Transversal	<p>Youth concerns all other sectors</p> <p>"The Ministers responsible for youth policy should also ensure that youth-related concerns are taken into account in these other policies" (European Commission 2001).</p> <p>This would imply a kind of "supervision" role of the ministries responsible for youth, which is inconsistent with the position they usually occupy within the formal hierarchy. This is therefore extremely ambitious.</p> <p>This principle would imply the existence of information on what sectors to select for specific policies, on what occasions, with what urgency, and when this transversality would take place. It is therefore too abstract.</p>				Youth sector as an element in other sectors.
		Integrated	<p>Youth is part of an interdependent system</p> <p>Therefore both youth policy and each other policy have to ensure their effective and coherent co-existence.</p> <p>This would imply a mutual and regular co-consultation to avoid overlapping or disconnected goals.</p> <p>These consultations would imply that every sector or office is prepared to collect and organise, on a regular basis, relevant information.</p> <p>A policy based on this principle would be extremely dependent on national organisational structures.</p>				Youth sector as one of the cogs of the system.

Cross-sectoral	
As a process with fixed roles	<p>Youth as one of the peer actors and an equal partner</p> <p>In this version of CSYP the relations are bilateral. The youth sector would share "information and competences, objectives and goals, and also results" with each one of the other relevant sectors (Motamed-Afshari 2014).</p> <p>This "intersectoral co-operation" implies "recognised relationships formed to take short or long-term actions that are effective, efficient or sustainable" (ibid.).</p> <p>This would mean that the collaboration would be fragmented in pairs, and much potential for conjoint solutions could be wasted. A possible solution would be the creation of an "interministerial working group as a part of the structure to develop a national youth policy" (Denstad 2009).</p>
	<p>Collaboration/co-operation</p>  <p>Each pair of issues is tackled one at a time</p>
	<p>Youth leading the way for youth policy</p> <p>The main difference between this kind of CSYP and the previous one has to do with the role that the youth ministry is able and willing to perform. With the right means and resources, bilateral relations would be transformed into multilateral ones.</p>
	<p>Co-ordination</p>  <p>A system that works independently of the issue placed in the centre.</p>

<p>Process with flexible roles</p> <p><i>"Back to basics"</i></p>	<p>Cross-cutting issues</p> <p>The rule is that there is no rule One size does not fit all</p> <p>The placement within sectors of each issue that, for different reasons, concerns youth is difficult to establish. Some might be disputed across sectors while others might be (unfairly) left for the youth sector to deal with. This also varies across countries.</p> <p>This is one of the reasons why although all youth issues are cross-cutting by nature, each one implies a different:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • presence or relevance in each country; • urgency in each country or region; • power relation with other governmental sectors; • dependency on the work with and by non-governmental organisations (NGOs); • set of associations for prevention, intervention or sustainability; • partnership possibilities and constraints. <p>This definition would imply a de-standardisation of youth policies at a national level, which might be looked at, from a European perspective, as a negative thing. However, doing so ensures that the following is taken into account:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • organisational structure of each country; • priorities of each country; • complexity of each cross-cutting issue; • variety of combinations of barriers to social inclusion experienced at an individual level; • respect for the main principle mentioned above, that youth policy is by nature (and must be in practice) cross-sectoral.
<div data-bbox="381 450 663 866">  </div> <p>Multipled for each cross-cutting issue.</p> <p>Each cross-cutting issue could demand a different approach and strategy (co-ordination, collaboration, etc.).</p>	

How can it be put into practice?

The nature of youth policy as a cross-cutting issue makes it more difficult to determine a specific angle that is wide enough to embrace the breadth of the matter but can, at the same time, penetrate its surface. (Reiter et al. 2008: 37)

To better grasp how this importance has been operationalised in the design, review, evaluation and monitoring of youth policy it is necessary to analyse other sources of data, leaving the definitions and intentions, for now, behind. The main documents used for this purpose are the youth policy reviews developed by international teams on behalf of the Council of Europe. Looking at these documents as a whole, we can see that the topics are usually referred to as dimensions that can be divided between “domains” and “issues”. This is also visible in the first volume of *Supporting young people in Europe: principles, policy and practice* (Williamson 2002b), where the dimensions of youth policy are divided into key domains (such as education, training and employment; youth work and non-formal education; health; housing; social protection; family policy and child welfare; leisure and culture; youth justice; national defence and military service) and key issues (such as participation and citizenship; combating social exclusion and promoting inclusion; information, multiculturalism and minorities; mobility and internationalism; safety and protection; equal opportunities). The “issues” – the term that is the most used to categorise youth-related topics – can then be divided or referred to as “government-identified issues”, “issues identified by the international team”, “key issues”, “transversal issues” and, finally, “cross-cutting issues”.

But more important than the variety of terms used is the heterogeneity of how they are put together. The combinations are extremely variable, from cases with no sub-organisation at all, to cases where the categories the different kinds of “issues” are put into are quite numerous and detailed – these may or may not include “cross-cutting issues”. Some examples of this heterogeneity can be found in Table 4. This variability in the combinations of terms used reveals not only the natural and expected differences between the issues analysed in each policy review, but also the lack of consensus on terms made explicit by the authors of the reports, to a large extent as a consequence of national specificities. This lack of conceptual and analytical de-standardisation and oscillation is counterproductive for:

- ▶ the exchange of good practices between countries (horizontal comparisons);
- ▶ analysing the recurrence of certain issues across time (diachronic comparisons);
- ▶ the development and implementation of CSYP itself.

Table 4: Examples of the heterogeneity of the levels of categorisation of “youth issues” in the youth policy reviews (Council of Europe)

Level of categorisation of “issues”	Youth policy review reports
Lowest level (only one category of issues)	The Lithuania review report (2003), where the topics are presented solely within the umbrella of “general issues”, taking a more descriptive approach.
Low level (two categories of issues)	The Albania review report (2010), where the issues are divided into those identified by the government and those identified by the international team. This approach implicitly questions the specific priority issues identified by the government.
High level (two complex categories of issues)	The Ukraine review report (2013), where the issues are organised into “priority themes” and “cross-cutting themes”.
Highest level (four complex categories of issues)	The Moldova review report (2009), where the youth issues are categorised into key issues, other issues, transversal issues and cross-cutting issues.

The most important aspect of this conceptual and analytical heterogeneity is that even in the cases where issues are not identified as “cross-cutting” their complexity and multi-dimensionality are also considered. While “domains” are more easily thought of as having administrative equivalents (ministries, for example), “issues”, whatever the terminology used, are always more detailed and complex. So there are three types of issues considered: single topics, conjoint topics and cross-cutting topics (Figures 4, 6 and 5, respectively). It is worth noting however that even when youth issues are not referred to as being cross-cutting or transversal, there are few review reports where these are not paired with others. For this reason, “single” youth topics represent the minority among the three types mentioned. With this reference, and with the exception of once-used single topics such as accommodation, justice, entrepreneurship and housing, among others,¹⁰ the few remaining single topics are hegemonic in the field. This hegemony is justified by the importance of topics such as education or employment, which are the most frequent, or by the link to the heart and identity of “youth policy” and also “youth work”, as is the case of “non-formal learning” (Figure 4). This in some sense also reflects the hegemony in social sciences studies of the transitions to adulthood – the transition from school to work and the sociological proposition of schooling or knowledge as a mechanism for ascendant social mobility and the mitigation of social inequalities.

10. The particular and one-time emphasis of which might be explained by a national specificity – for instance the cases of “housing” in Luxembourg, “relationships with the others” in Spain, or “drug problems” in the Netherlands.

Figure 4: Word cloud of the terms used to refer to single youth topics or subjects in the youth policy reviews (Council of Europe)



Source: indexes of youth policy reviews (word cloud made by author)

As mentioned above, single topics represent a minority, but so do cross-cutting or transversal ones. As may be noted in Figure 5, there is no consensus around what a cross-cutting topic is, as all expressions have only been used on one occasion (or in one review report). This underlies the previous conclusion about the lack of terminological, conceptual and analytical consensus, which makes the accumulation of knowledge and the comparability of (good) practices extremely difficult. In an effort to cluster these once-used cross-cutting topics together, one could consider cross-cutting clusters of:

- ▶ (new manifestations of old) inequality topics including gender inequalities; social inclusion; urban-rural division; migration; diversity and discrimination; poverty; and children's rights;
- ▶ classic youth policy topic combinations including culture, leisure and sports; participation and citizenship; justice; health and risk; and education and employment;
- ▶ youth policy development topics including strategic planning; competitions v. co-operation; capacity building; and youth information. These would refer to the changes that youth policy itself would have to make, from within, to gain capacity to implement the changes mentioned in the preceding points.

Figure 5: Word cloud of the terms used to refer to cross-cutting topics or subjects in the youth policy reviews (Council of Europe)

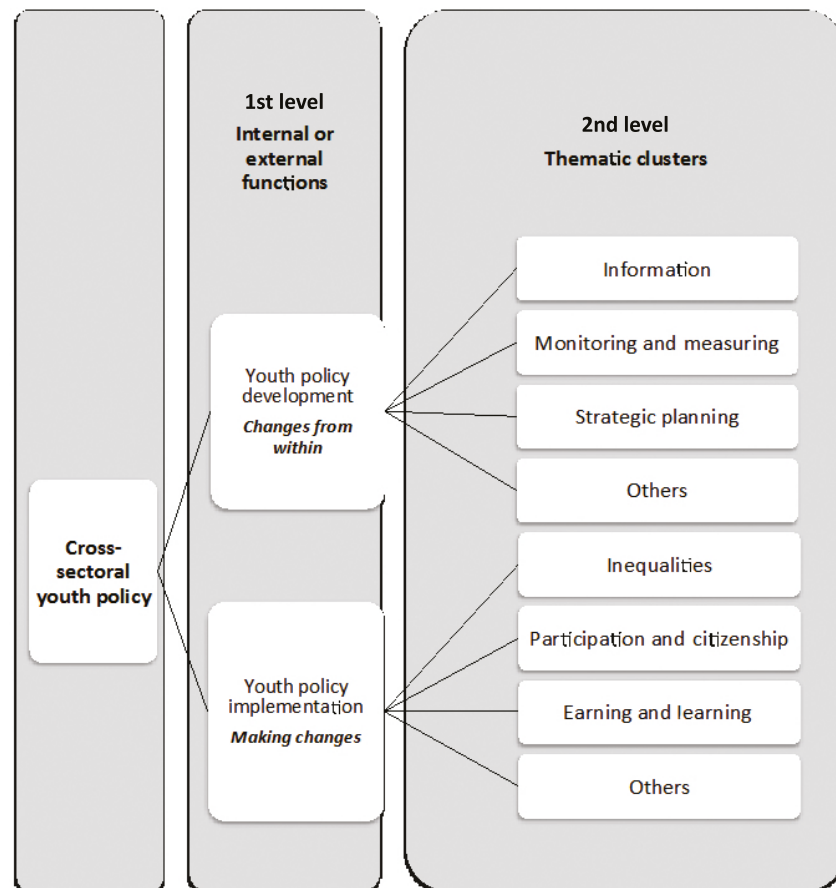


Source: indexes of youth policy reviews (word cloud made by author)

By now it is clear that the most common types of issues referred to and analysed in the youth policy review reports are the conjoint or combined issues. In this group the variety of topics is wider and the consensus around some of them is clearer (Figure 6). They are cross-cutting topics not by name but by nature, and they might reflect the most current partnerships between sectors or ministries. These are issues – often with separate administrative agencies, such as ministries – that interact meaningfully with others, in such a way that the measures, programmes and policies that involve them must be necessarily planned, designed and implemented by more than one sector, agency or organisation. They are cross-cutting issues because they are complex and represent conjoint, combined or overlapping processes of social inclusion, exclusion or transitions to adulthood. Even so, there are some issues that are at the centre of these interactions, and others that are more on the periphery or that function more as “satellite issues”. The centre and periphery identified in the terms used to refer to conjoint youth topics or subjects in the youth policy reviews (Council of Europe) (Figure 6) also reflect the centre and periphery of the sociology of youth, interdisciplinary youth studies and the sociology of the transitions to adulthood. The issues at the centre of the combined issues, the ones that are mentioned the most and that have a greater variety of “satellite issues”, are education, employment, health, leisure, justice and crime, participation, non-formal learning and citizenship.

A meta-analysis of this would confirm the idea of a better conceptual definition, on the one hand, and a thorough clustering of issues, on the other. This categorisation would have to be a multilevel one, as illustrated in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Levels implied in a more clear definition and classification of cross-cutting issues



Concluding notes

From the resolutions and implementation documents of the UN to the main official documents produced in the European framework, it is clear that CSYP means different things in different contexts, documents and organisations (not to mention among researchers). One can identify three diverse approaches.

In the first approach, some cases involve vertical communication (between a youth ministry or its equivalent and young people, namely through NGOs), while others have horizontal communication (between a youth ministry or its equivalent and other ministries).

In the second approach, the use of the idea of “cross-sectoral” youth policy can vary: it can mean “CSYP as principle”, that is, an umbrella expression to argue that any policy that concerns young people has to be drawn up keeping in mind every other sector.

This principle is well established, but that is not enough. It has to “work”. And as a system, there are also many conceptual confusions and redundancies. CSYP can also mean collaboration or co-ordination – which imply very different responsibilities and power resources for the ministry responsible for youth or its equivalent – or it can “solely” (and this is the proposal of this chapter) approach the many cross-cutting issues implied in youth policy directly. The use of an approach based on this last concept – which is more or less what is done in the Council of Europe youth policy reviews – would imply a de-standardisation of youth policies at a national level, but it would ensure that the following is taken into account: the organisational structure of each country, the priorities of each country, the complexity of each cross-cutting issue and the variety of combinations of barriers to social inclusion experienced at an individual level.

Based on the third possible approach, the analysis of the youth policy reviews also confirmed, implicitly and explicitly, this lack of conceptual consensus around the term “CSYP” and the variable attribution of the term “cross-cutting issue” to specific youth issues.

Ultimately, this lack of precision is counterproductive for the exchange of good practices between countries, the analysis of the recurrence of certain issues across time, and also the development and implementation of CSYP itself.

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Chapter 2

Integrated youth policy – Riding the wave of cross-sectoralism

*Marti Taru*¹¹

Introduction

It is advisable to stick to clear definitions, especially when addressing complex topics. Indeed, clarifying and defining the subject as well as the terms used in reference to it is a proven way to deal efficiently with challenges. In addition to providing clarity, the strategy also provides actors with shared understandings, which is a prerequisite to communicating effectively. However, when we look at the field of youth and public policy, we notice that the situation is far from clear even at the level of core terms like “youth policy”, “youth work”, and perhaps “youth” itself. Understandings about youth, youth work and public policy are diverse and vary across countries and policy fields; in general, there are no shared understandings of the core terms among actors and stakeholders in the youth field. There is no commonly agreed and recognised definition of what CSYP is. Nevertheless, there is a wealth of visions, models and practices at national as well as at European level as to what it should or could be, and in what direction and how it should be developed. Under these circumstances it would be helpful to be aware of the main building blocks of CSYP. This chapter will look into three aspects:

- ▶ the development of public policy addressing young people at European level;
- ▶ the development of cross-sectoral co-operation in public administration systems;
- ▶ the experiences and views of people working directly in the youth field in national administrations.

Hence, this chapter sets out to capture the state of play in CSYP both through the prism of concepts that help us understand youth policy and through the eyes of youth policy makers and practitioners.

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Youth and public policy, and youth policy

Public policy measures have been targeting young people as a social category since at least the 19th century, when youth began to be seen as a distinct social category. Modern ideas of youth policy emerged after the Second World War, in connection with the development of a social welfare state. In the international organisation that today is known as the EU, the first signs of the beginnings of (integrated or cross-sectoral) youth policy can be seen in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The field gained significant momentum in the 1990s in the context of European social, employment and economic policy development aimed at increasing the international competitiveness of the EU, which also formed a more general context of CSYP development (Chisholm 1995; Haar and Copeland 2011). Youth policy initiatives have been significantly influenced by an EU economic and social agenda that set as a main policy goal the fight against poverty or social exclusion (Colley 2007). There have been similar developments in the framework of the Council of Europe. However, over the last few decades, the socio-economic situation of and outlook for young people globally, including in European countries, has been deteriorating. This has led to discussions on whether the intergenerational contract still holds or if we are witnessing intergenerational conflict. Both these developments can be seen as underlying factors as to why the EU, at the level of the European Commission as well as at the level of member states, has started to pay more attention to the well-being and future of young people.

Youth policy in the Council of Europe has had a different focus: it has emphasised youth participation at organisational, community and societal level, as well as the importance of democratic and civil society movements (Eberhard 2002). Though socio-economic integration of young people with vulnerable social backgrounds has not been the only goal in European policy documents, it has remained a central concern in European youth policy since the beginning of the 21st century (Bois-Reymond 2009; Kutsar and Helve 2012).

In the process of developing and promoting CSYP, the European Commission and Council of Europe have played a significant role in shaping policies that affect young people in EU member states. The European Economic Commission's support to bilateral and multilateral co-operation programmes, mostly in the field of education, began in the 1970s but a more significant shift towards co-ordination of activities in the policy areas that influence the well-being and integration of young people became more pronounced in 1990, and especially after the turn of the millennium, when an open method of co-ordination began to be implemented in the youth sector (European Commission 2006; Williamson 2007; Wallace and Bendit 2009).

On a global scale, the Council of Europe and the EU have been among the forerunners in the development of CSYP. Following the initiatives mentioned earlier, the Council of Europe initiated its youth policy reviews series. The first report, on Finland, was published in 1999 and the latest, in 2015, was on Greece, bringing the total number of reports to 20. Co-operation between the Council of Europe and the European Commission in the field of youth was undertaken in 1998, leading to the founding of the European Knowledge Centre for Youth Policy (EKCY) in

2005. The EKCYP is an online database¹² intended to provide the youth sector with a single access point to reliable knowledge and information about the situation of young people across Europe. It aims at enhancing knowledge transfers between the fields of research, policy and practice through the collection and dissemination of information about youth policy, research and practice in Europe and beyond. A comparative look at other countries, using the national youth policy reviews database developed by Youthpolicy.org, reveals that development of youth policy worldwide has gained momentum only in the last decade, although there are countries where a dedicated approach to policies influencing young people has existed earlier (Youth Policy Labs).¹³

Cross-sectorality

As a term, the word “sector” may refer either to sectors of public policy (e.g. education, health, employment) or to wider societal sectors (e.g. public sector, not-for-profit sector, business sector). Its concrete meaning depends on the context where it is used. In the context of European CSYP, the term “sector” is commonly used in the former meaning, referring to different policy sectors, to different ministries and/or to different departments within a ministry. However, in the context of youth and public policy and youth policy, sometimes it is used in the latter sense, too. To blur things further, “cross-sectoral” in “cross-sectoral youth policy” may refer also to vertical co-operation, for instance between central government and municipalities or between central government and organisations to implement a policy measure where there is no co-operation across sectoral borders at all. For the sake of clarity of concepts and the quality of the discussion it would be advisable to define the term “sector”. This exercise, however, goes beyond the scope of this chapter. As a result, the term “sector” carries three different meanings in this chapter:

- ▶ in paragraphs introducing concepts of cross-sectorality, “sector” is used predominantly in the wider meaning, referring to societal sectors;
- ▶ in introducing youth policy, it has predominantly the meaning of co-operation between ministries;
- ▶ in the section reporting opinions and recommendations of officials, it carries both meanings (albeit officials tend to use it in the narrower meaning) and also reflects vertical co-operation.

In public administration in general, cross-sectorality is a relatively new phenomenon. The Weberian state model, whereby the political system, the state and the political and administrative elite carried out a central and monopolistic role in the provision of public services, with the emphasis on how to improve the functioning of the “machinery”, served well until the last quarter of the 20th century. In the 1980s, New Public Management (NPM) entered the scene. NPM is an umbrella

12. EKCYP homepage, available at <http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/knowledge/-ekcyp>, accessed 11 June 2017.

13. Youth Policy Labs, available at www.youthpolicy.org/nationalyouthpolicies, accessed 11 June 2017.

term for a wide spectrum of developments across space and time. Before this term became widely used, other labels were used to name the new model of public sector management, such as managerialism, market-based public administration, the post-bureaucratic paradigm and entrepreneurial government. As these terms suggest, the new approach to public management was essentially oriented to results, outputs and outcomes, and putting clients at the centre. It focuses on management by objectives and performance management, the use of the market and market-type mechanisms in place of a centralised command-and-control style of regulation, competition and choice, and devolution with a better matching of authority, responsibility and accountability (Katsamunskas 2012). This new approach to organising public services is associated with UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, US President Ronald Reagan and the New Zealand Labour Government of the mid-1980s (Pollitt and Dan 2011: 4).

In parallel with the emergence of NPM in Anglo-American countries, countries in continental Europe have been going through slightly different changes (Katsamunskas 2012), and many core EU countries (e.g. Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Finland, Sweden) have to a lesser degree institutionalised NPM. They have, rather, chosen the path of modernising and reforming the traditional Weberian state. The changes involved are fairly similar to what happens within the new governance paradigm, although the role of the state remains more significant. It features the following characteristics (ibid.: 78-81):

- ▶ a relatively modest use of market mechanisms; market mechanisms are used in combination with an increasing quality of public sector services;
- ▶ supplementation, not replacement, of the role of representative democracy by a range of devices for consultations with, and the direct representation of, citizens' views (this aspect being more visible in the northern European states and Germany at the local level than in Belgium, France or Italy);
- ▶ modernisation of legislation to encourage a greater orientation towards the achievement of results rather than merely the correct following of procedure, a shift from *ex ante* and process evaluation to *ex post* and outcome evaluation;
- ▶ a professionalisation of the public service, so that the "bureaucrat" becomes not simply an expert in the law relevant to his or her sphere of activity, but also a professional manager, oriented to meeting the needs of his or her citizens/users.

At the end of the 20th century other ideas gained momentum and started shaping public administration. Significant among these were broader citizen participation in governance, active participation of NGOs, polycentric democracy, transparency, accountability, zero corruption and increased interinstitutional co-operation (Guogis, Smalskys and Ferraz: 55-62). Whether this change is best viewed as an entirely new paradigm of public administration or rather a modification of already-existing models of NPM is open to discussion. In any case, this set of ideas entered the scene at the beginning of the 21st century under the labels "New Public Service", "New Public Governance" and "Post-NPM Governance", indicating a significant change (Xu, Sun

and Si 2015; Christensen 2012). The new approach has several defining features distinguishing it from earlier paradigms (Xu, Sun and Si 2015):

- ▶ wider dispersion of power: in addition to the government and the market, other organisations in society also have the right to participate in public affairs management, living the democratic ideals of involving target groups and stakeholders in policy processes;
- ▶ a change from big and powerful central government to the “co-ordinating government”, which is rather “small” and predominantly co-ordinates social interests, builds dialogue platforms and integrates public resources;
- ▶ complex networks: in terms of the practical development and implementation of policies, New Public Governance means complex networks linking different actors, differentiating it from the single-line structure of traditional administration and the government-market dual structure of NPM. The members of this network include a full range of actors active in society: government and public organisations, market and for-profit firms, NGOs and community organisations, and individual citizens. The networks play a crucial role in sharing and pooling resources, building trust between actors and, through this, providing public goods and services not to make profit but to solve social problems through voluntary co-operation.

Relatively recent research done on public administration reforms in Europe shows that the reforms that can primarily be associated with NPM, such as privatisation or outsourcing, are not high on the political agenda. The most important trends in European public administrations are reforms aiming to increase collaboration and co-operation between different public sector actors, as well as transparency and open government, and digital or e-government. This indicates that continental Europe states, too, are transiting towards the paradigm of governance, away from classical public administration (Hammerschmid et al. 2013: 60-1).

As the reader can see, two general sets of circumstances and processes have influenced and induced public policy measures in connection with young people: the political goals of the EU and the socio-economic situation of young people. While the EU strives to become the most competitive region in the world, the situation of young people, especially in the labour market, has been deteriorating over the last few decades. This is a result of the globalisation and liberalisation of trade, production and mobility on the one hand and a shift away from the social welfare state on the other. These goals and developments are not mutually reinforcing; to reduce their incommensurability, the situation of youth needs be addressed using public policy measures that support their development and help integrate them into society. It remains to be confirmed through research, but as a hypothesis we can guess that these circumstances have been significant triggering factors that have released policy initiatives to improve the situation of young people in society. At this point, this hypothesis is taken as an explanation of the initiatives of the European Commission in intensifying public policy measures addressing the situation of young people in the EU.

These policy initiatives have been released at a time when the public sector in general has been moving towards increased involvement of citizens, NGOs, target groups and stakeholders in policy processes; towards networks and pooling resources; and towards identifying and pursuing common interests instead of centrally set goals and methods. It is only natural that under these circumstances, the emerging policy responses that address the situation of young people have been emphasising co-operation between different actors, inclusion of young people and other stakeholders in the policy process, and seeing the goodwill of participants as a central ingredient of the process. As a part of this larger project and process, young people are seen as justified participants in policy, and policy frameworks themselves are shifting away from centrally organised hierarchical organisations towards polycentric and flat organisations consisting of many smaller actors.

The next section provides an overview of how youth policy practitioners perceive the current situation and what their recommendations are to improve the situation. Perhaps not surprisingly, their opinions and recommendations align well with NPM as well as the ideas of New Public Governance.

Opinions and recommendations of CSYP practitioners

This section is based on two CSYP seminars held in 2015. The seminars were organised in the framework of the first EU Work Plan on Youth as a tool to develop a strategic vision of European youth policy and help implement the EU Youth Strategy. CSYP making is one of the central topics of the Work Plan. In that framework, the youth ministries from Latvia and Luxembourg, which took on the joint presidency of the Council of European Youth Ministers, jointly organised a peer-learning exercise on this topic. The first seminar took place in Luxembourg in June 2015 and the second seminar in Riga, Latvia, in November 2015.

In the first seminar, 13 EU member states were represented by public sector officials or people from similar positions in the youth field.¹⁴ These were people in positions that had responsibility to develop and implement CSYP in a specific country or community. In the Riga seminar, the same countries were represented (except for Ireland)¹⁵ by two ministerial officials from each country but the selection of personnel was based on a different criterion: one participant was a public sector official from an institution responsible for CSYP while the other participant was a public sector official from another policy field crucial for developing and implementing CSYP.

The first seminar asked what should or could be appropriate goals and methods in the pursuit of taking integrated youth policy a step further. The Riga seminar aimed to enhance cross-sectoral policy co-operation through peer learning of concrete examples from different countries. The two seminars were tightly knit together. Both sought to contribute to the practical development of CSYP at the level below international level, which is more general than the organisational level. Depending on the country, this may involve national, regional, community, municipal and also

14. Belgium (all three communities), Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, France, Germany, Slovak Republic, Sweden, Luxembourg, Ireland.

15. Belgium (all three communities), Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, France, Germany, Slovak Republic, Sweden, Luxembourg.

organisational levels. In addition to the common general goal, the seminars had their own focal points, too. While the first seminar had a more general objective, the Riga seminar looked into the practical aspects of making CSYP happen in real life.

One of the points participants made was that it was important to avoid a gap between CSYP development and implementation. Since CSYP development happens at the national level and implementation of youth policy measures may take place at the local level, co-operation and contacts between the central administration and local level are of utmost importance. When implementation is planned, then monitoring and evaluation of policy measures should be integrated into action plans from the beginning. CSYP objectives should be formulated in such a way that they are measurable. The Riga seminar's participants suggested that responsibility for CSYP be shared between the political and executive level, with communication of responsibility at all stages of the process. Indeed, this point links directly with a characteristic of contemporary public administration, where it is held that planning and implementation should be integrated, not separated. The expectation that the divide between strategic planning at top political and administrative levels and implementation at departmental and grass-roots level should be eliminated as much as possible is fully in line with new ideas of how public administration should be organised and working.

The measurability requirement led to consideration of the role of knowledge and evidence in the CSYP process. CSYP objectives need to be measurable. Keeping in mind that decisions are based on political choices as well as on empirical evidence, it is recommended that CSYP be based on comprehensive knowledge gathering (scientific and experiential), both in the planning and implementing phases. The implementing process needs to be monitored, and results need to be evaluated. The collected knowledge should be used in a neutral, transparent and honest manner. The evidence used in CSYP can be scientific (collected by researchers), but it can also be collected from practitioners and young people, based on their daily life experiences. Indeed, in the NPM paradigm, policy measures need to be justified – meaning that the outcomes and impacts of a policy measure should be identifiable and measurable through evidence. Also, policy initiatives need to be justified by the characteristics of their target group. In the case of young people this means that overviews of the situation of young people in society should be based on research using quality information and policy measures should be evaluated so that their impact – what changes as a result of implementing a policy measure – is known. This requires the involvement of research professionals and academia in policy processes. This recommendation received a lot of attention from participants of the Riga seminar. In general, it was maintained that ministries should make use of expertise and research and not rely only on their analysis departments. More concretely, participants saw the need for an effective and usable dashboard of youth indicators and evidence-based and impartial evaluation of policy measures. For that, they recommended building connections with national statistics offices; including research in youth policy developer groups; arranging opportunities for ministerial analysts to work with university researchers; and involving ministerial personnel in youth research networks and think tanks.

The participation of young people starts from the understanding that policy makers should consider young people as experts on their lives. The mentioned outcomes of youth participation included the potential to reduce prejudices and stereotypes, build trust and create positive relationships between young people and decision makers. It was suggested that young people be kept constantly informed about opportunities and limitations, and involved in processes and results. For that purpose, it is necessary to develop methodologies to reach as many young people as possible, from diverse backgrounds, at all levels of the CSYP process. Youth NGOs and youth work stakeholders should be involved not only in consultations but also in the implementation of CSYP. Participation of young people should be ongoing and long term as well as embedded in the implementation of CSYP. Participative CSYP should be comprehensive and broad-based in the sense that it should include not only policy issues that are directly related to young people (youth policy issues) but also issues from other policy fields, which are more indirectly linked to young people. The seminar in Riga reiterated the need to include young people and youth workers (practitioners) as citizens in youth policy processes. Young people should be involved in planning strategies, and there should be exchange of information between youth policy actors and young people. In addition to face-to-face meetings, online tools could be used. It was suggested that youth involvement could be most effective at local and regional level.

This recommendation resonates with a pillar of the new governance paradigm – that more intensive involvement of a wide spectrum of NGOs and other non-public sector organisations in the policy process is one of the driving forces behind instituting the New Public Governance paradigm. While in general strengthening of civil society means increased citizen participation in policy processes, in the case of CSYP this means youth involvement as well as involvement of youth work practitioners in policy processes on an equal footing with other actors.

The stance that young people should be partners in policy processes takes us to a more general theme of stakeholder and partner involvement, and their roles and responsibilities in the CSYP process. For CSYP to be successful, appropriate partners need to be involved in the process. This implies the identification of the right partners and building common understandings between them. In this respect, two dimensions can be distinguished:

- ▶ the horizontal dimension referring to actors from the public and private sector (e.g. businesses, NGOs);
- ▶ the vertical dimension, referring to co-operation with regional and local levels to ensure that CSYP measures are implemented.

The whole CSYP process should be based on co-operation with stakeholders and partners. For that to be successful, stakeholders and organisations from different levels of decision making should have clear roles. Also, all actors and stakeholders should be prepared and trained to be effectively involved in the CSYP process. As a concrete proposal, participants of the Riga seminar suggested signing a memorandum of co-operation between youth field actors and business/employers' associations.

According to seminar participants, public policy processes around young people should be framed by legal acts to support CSYP by defining rights and responsibilities and the roles of different actors in developing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating national strategies and action plans in the youth field. There should be a way to revise strategies and action plans so they incorporate developments in cross-sectoral dynamics. This recommendation is well in line with the argument presented in the introductory section of this chapter – that policy making needs be a flexible process that takes into account the opinions of different stakeholder groups as well as changing circumstances. Indeed, this recommendation takes us to the very core of the new governance paradigm, where the central role of the “big” state is replaced by the “small” state, which supports and co-ordinates actors and stakeholders. A legal framework is a prerequisite for building frameworks of actors – but not much more is needed on the part of the state, according to the new governance paradigm.

The basis for co-operation on CSYP should be a win-win situation, whereby every participant gains something. Representatives from different policy fields and partners have different interests, expectations, needs and attitudes. To make participation in the CSYP process attractive, these varying interests and backgrounds need to be taken into account. This can be addressed when developing CSYP goals, strategies and action plans. According to seminar participants, having a win-win situation as a goal is the only way to create a sense of ownership of CSYP and develop the stakeholders’ relationship with the youth sector. Meeting challenges and resolving problems is a significant part of voluntary engagement and co-operation when working to bring about change. Thus the practical lessons of implementing CSYP mesh well with the new governance paradigm in this respect, too.

Participants of the Riga seminar suggested addressing the issue of communication separately, though evidently it cuts across many aspects of CSYP. For instance, co-operation between sectors and becoming aware of each other’s specificities could not happen without intensive communication. To a large extent, communication refers to information exchange between different groups involved in and at different stages of the policy process. That this activity was separately spelled out indicates its significance and signals that it needs to be given special attention. Indeed, no networks can be born or maintained without communication among its members. The Riga seminar participants recommended carrying out a series of activities to increase awareness of the specifics of different policy domains so as to end with a win-win situation. These concrete recommendations included carrying out a mapping exercise that would provide an overview of partners’ work plans, resources, restrictions and other specifics. Another recommendation was to develop information networks between ministries through different formats like expert groups, special conferences, seminars or round tables. Thirdly, participants recommended setting up smaller working groups in order to focus on a specific topic. Also, setting up ad hoc expert groups might be in order. For sharing best and next practices, experiences and knowledge, the organisation of regional meetings was proposed. Finally, it was stressed that clear facilitation of all these processes, events and meetings is a necessity.

Though a perceived win-win situation is a prerequisite for co-operation on CSYP, trust between people and institutions is the lubricant that makes the system run

smoothly. Trust evolves when structures, processes, decisions and outcomes are transparent to everyone, in all respects. In addition to formal aspects, personal relationships between participating people also need to be good, and the motivation of individual participants to participate needs to be high.

Conclusions

This chapter looked into the processes behind the emergence and development of CSYP in EU countries as well as the efforts made in pushing it forward as a separate field of policy. Structural factors shaping the emergence and development of CSYP include the deteriorating socio-economic situation of young people, EU aspirations related to development and well-being, the increasing significance of civil society and transformation of the public administration system.

In 2015, two seminars on CSYP were held in Luxembourg and in Latvia with the participation of 12 EU member states. The main goal of the seminars was to develop recommendations for advancing CSYP in EU member states. While the recommendations are useful for advancing CSYP, they also reveal the current “state of play” in this policy field. Judging by the recommendations, it can be said that the CSYP field fits well into more general public policy reforms in EU countries. On the other hand, it means that CSYP should follow the common rules of public administration. As the results from the two seminars show, CSYP displays features that are compatible with contemporary public administration standards, and appears to be leaning towards the continental model of public administration, which retains features of traditional public administration but uses modern governance methods extensively. Co-operation with NGOs and other non-public organisations was not stressed, rather the idea of co-operation with other governmental and other public organisations was at the fore. Participants discussed several features mentioned as prerequisites for developing CSYP. Public policy measures addressing young people from different angles need to be planned and implemented in integrated ways. Also, the policy measures, ideally, are evidence-based. An integrated manner of planning and implementing means also that all significant stakeholder groups, including young people, are involved in policy processes. The involvement of stakeholders means there is effective communication among stakeholder groups and actors and this communication leads to shared objectives and win-win situations, where everybody gains something. Win-win situations form the basis for a common identity and ownership of the CSYP field. The entire complex of actors, actions and networks needs to be framed by an adequate legal framework, which would define the roles of each stakeholder. This framework should be adjustable, in order to meet the needs arising from concrete circumstances that may change over time and vary across challenges.

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Part II

Processes of emergence and design of CSYP

Introduction

Marti Taru

In the long history of humankind (and animal kind, too) those who learned to collaborate and improvise most effectively have prevailed.

Charles Darwin

The second part of this book is compiled of chapters that look at CSYP through the lenses of development and change. They narrate the story of the emergence and development of CSYP both by providing a description of its development as (continuous) change over time and by providing snapshots of certain moments of the process. The authors also present some ideas on causal factors behind the developments and specify factors and conditions that are either favourable or unfavourable for the implementation of cross-sectoral co-operation between actors involved in the youth field. The snapshots provide us with descriptions of how the system is functioning now, and in some cases also how it was functioning earlier.

Approaching CSYP from this angle alerts the reader to several aspects characteristic to cross-sectoral collaboration in the youth field. It takes time for effective working relationships of cross-sectoral collaboration in the youth field to develop, decades even. As illustrated by the cases of Eastern Partnership countries, this does not happen overnight at the command of political or administrative leaders.

As the chapters show, the development of CSYP is to be seen as an evolutionary process. Three main factors stand out in this process: the influence of supranational organisations like the EU and of individual countries; the influence of the public administration system in general; and the influence of people who have been actively engaged in activities addressing (often vulnerable) young people. The sequence of the chapters in this part follows – or represents – the general logic of the development of CSYP: from early, minimal signs towards an effectively functioning system.

The chapter by Behrooz Motamed-Afshari and Maksymilian Fras, “CSYP collaboration in Eastern Partnership countries – A stony path!”, looks at youth policy in the Eastern Partnership region: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Of the six countries, three – Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine – signed EU Association Agreements in 2014. The authors describe the situation in the six countries in some detail and conclude that the majority of the national youth policy instruments in Eastern Partnership countries have a rather questionable impact on young people. While the large majority of recently adopted youth policy documents underline the importance of mainstreaming youth issues across relevant sectors, the implementation of CSYP approaches in real life encounters serious problems at various administrative levels. The authors identify five essential problematic areas: a lack of wider understanding of cross-sectorality; low capacity of line ministries; unclear or missing definitions of CSYP; poor implementation mechanisms (notably evaluation and monitoring); and insufficient participation of young people and non-governmental stakeholders across the entire policy cycle.

The chapter by Anne Kivimäe, “Youth policy in relation – Drawing on Estonian experiences”, describes a gradual increase in cross-sectoral co-operation in the field of youth in Estonia. One can identify three factors: the positive influence of the EU, which advocated setting up a unit responsible for youth policy; then, the gradually increasing importance of co-operation between ministries in general; and, finally, the values and practices of youth work. These factors have led to a whole-of-government approach in the youth field, starting from 2011-12. Also, the chapter describes larger instances of cross-sectoral co-operation in the youth field in Estonia in recent years.

The chapter by Tanja Dibou, “CSYP threat or opportunity? Exploring cross-sectoralism in youth policy in Estonia”, offers the point of view of civil servants and experts. Interviews revealed that they consider legal youth field documents to be an important tool for advancing cross-sectoral co-operation in the field. Among other instruments that support co-operation between stakeholders, meetings, round tables and discussions of strategic issues and decisions were mentioned. Institutional rigidity and the confused identity of youth policy are cited as the main factors inhibiting co-operation. In general, the chapter focuses on ministerial-level factors behind the development of cross-sectoral collaboration in the youth field.

The chapter by Howard Williamson, “A precarious equilibrium – Working together in youth policy and practice”, provides valuable insights into developing co-operation in the youth field at two levels – local and national – and a link between them in the United Kingdom. It starts by describing how the co-operation of different agencies at local, municipal level increased to provide young people with more adequate support and then proceeds to look into a raft of interventions designed to support young people, especially those at risk and marginalised, at national level. There is also a valuable and detailed analysis of a range of factors either hindering or supporting collaboration between experts of different professions and between ministerial departments, which have significant impact on the lives of young people.

“Local integrated youth policies – What are the benefits at community level?”, by Marie Dumollard and Patricia Loncle, begins by noting that in France, cross-sectoral co-operation in the public policy areas addressing young people has a long history that has gained momentum since the 1980s and 1990s. The authors present variable patterns of youth policy co-operation in urban settlements. Here, successful co-operation rests on four values: legitimacy; awareness of the underlying values; resources allocated; and long-term planning and implementation of integrated policies. The authors ask: to what extent does cross-sectoral co-operation indeed constitute a better way of supporting young people in their transition into adulthood?

The chapters in this part provide valuable insights into the evolution and current state of CSYP, and the reader gains an overview of factors inhibiting and supporting cross-sectoral co-operation in the youth field. Equally valuable are the analytical perspectives suggested, which can be used for analysis of youth policy in other countries.

Chapter 3

CSYP collaboration in Eastern Partnership countries – A stony path!

Behrooz Motamed-Afshari¹⁶ and Max Fras¹⁷

Background

Youth policy in the Eastern Partnership region is a highly dynamic policy area, mainly due to the activities of central governments. The legal basis for youth policy, principally in the form of government policy documents, and activities undertaken by the central administrative institutions of each Eastern Partnership state, has grown considerably over the last couple of years. The main developments include an increased focus on youth-related policies among central government institutions, increased funding for youth policy implementation and the creation of new institutional frameworks for youth policy. All six countries of the region are currently in the process of implementing a series of updated national youth programmes and youth policy strategies. What is more, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, having signed EU Association Agreements in 2014, are now in the process of ratifying or preparing new youth laws in line with the relevant EU Association Agreement provisions.

This chapter builds on the findings of the Eastern Partnership Youth Policy Analytic Report (EYPAR), commissioned by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations (DG-NEAR) in 2015.¹⁸ It aims to analyse developments in CSYP co-operation in the Eastern Partnership region in order to identify strengths, weaknesses and challenges ahead. It looks at the present situation in each country and builds a regional comparison outlining the key instruments of and existing approaches to CSYP in the Eastern Partnership region.

Methods

The research underpinning this chapter is based on a mixture of qualitative and quantitative methods. It covers a review of existing youth policy documents issued by Eastern Partnership governments (partially conducted within EYPAR), eliciting

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18. EYPAR was drafted under supervision by the authors of this chapter, with additional fieldwork and desk research conducted by six national youth policy experts: Arsen Simonyan (Armenia), Pervana Mammadova (Azerbaijan), Olga Khabibulina (Belarus), Giorgi Kakulia (Georgia), Alexandru Coica (Moldova) and Evgeniia Petrivska (Ukraine). A draft summary of the report can be found here: http://eapyouth.eu/sites/default/files/documents/summary_eastern_partnership_youth_policy_report.pdf, accessed 29 May 2017.

Eastern Partnership governments' understanding of core policy instruments and their actions in the fields of education, employment and social inclusion; a review of documents produced by international organisations active in the youth policy field in Eastern Partnership countries (including the Council of Europe, the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Children's Fund, the World Bank and the European Commission); a series of semi-structured background and individual interviews with key stakeholders (line ministries, youth organisations, young people) at national level (also conducted within EYPAR). The chapter also builds on contributions received from Eastern Partnership government representatives dealing with youth policy matters, conveyed at the Eastern Partnership Youth Regional Unit (EPYRU) final conference in Kyiv in November 2015.¹⁹

Country situations

Armenia

The development of youth policy in the Republic of Armenia was aligned with the development of the youth sector in general in the mid-1990s and was for the most part driven by youth NGOs and student organisations. Before that time, both due to a severe economic and social crisis in Armenia and a general lack of capacity in public policy making, the youth sector and young people had not been a policy priority. A major change emerged in 1995, when a specialist ministry in charge of youth was created, and youth issues came to the government's attention. This was followed by the establishment of the National Youth Council of Armenia in 1997 and adoption of the Concept on State Youth Policy in 1998, which was the main youth policy document in Armenia for a long time. Two youth policy strategies for the periods 2005-07 and 2008-12 as well as a work plan providing for the realisation of the Strategy of State Youth Policy for 2009-12 followed (Council of Europe/European Commission 2011). The second and most recent National Youth Policy Concept Paper 2015-25 was adopted on 14 December 2014²⁰ while the current National Youth Policy Strategy, adopted on 27 December 2012, covers the 2013-17 period.²¹

Although no comprehensive definition of CSYP exists in Armenia, between 2009 and 2012 CSYP co-operation rested mainly in the hands of the Council on National Youth Policy chaired by the prime minister (*ibid.*). The council was established in 2009 to support the design and implementation of national youth policy (youth policy evaluation was not mentioned in the statutes as a function of the council), encourage youth involvement in different spheres of public life and assist youth organisations with their activities. It was evenly composed of representatives of youth NGOs and state bodies dealing with youth affairs. Through this mechanism the principle of co-management was practised with relative success throughout all the major processes of national youth policy development and implementation until 2012, when the council ceased to operate for unknown reasons. Some of the key

19. Final Conference Agenda, available at <http://eapyouth.eu/en/epyr-final-project-conference-youth-policy-way-forward-eastern-partnership-countries-agenda>, accessed 29 May 2017.

20. Available at www.minsportyouth.am/category/yntacik-tsragrer.html, accessed 12 October 2016.

21. Available at www.youthpolicy.org/national/Armenia_2013_National_Youth_Policy_Strategy.pdf, accessed 29 May 2017.

reforms in youth policy development in Armenia were in fact a result of the council, since it was the major CSYP mechanism. As it was considered to demonstrate good practice in the Armenian context, there is high motivation on the part of major stakeholders at programme level to reactivate the council.

For now, however, cross-sectoral co-operation in Armenia takes place (according to official information) mostly through interministerial high-level councils and working groups that no longer directly and permanently include representatives of young people. Working groups composed of representatives from different departments of the respective ministries are assigned by the councils to implement their decisions and develop work plans. The councils themselves are usually composed of deputy ministers of the respective ministry. Examples of themes and issues considered by such councils and working groups include a healthy lifestyle, trafficking, HIV and gender equality. A lack of publicly accessible data hinders the assessment of the efficiency of these councils (Government of Armenia 2011).

Ad hoc co-operation between governmental institutions, youth organisations and the private sector occurs sporadically, especially in the fields of employment and education, but it is not sustainable in terms of planning the financial inputs necessary for the implementation of projects across sectors. This is mainly caused by the very limited national budget allocated to youth issues (across all sectors), low capacities of line ministries²² and recurring changes of priority both at governmental level and among international donors.

There are no other major mechanisms for mainstreaming youth policy across different policy sectors in Armenia. International organisations often encourage co-operation between different sectors on a project basis. As a result, most cross-sectoral programmes related to youth are financed by international organisations.

What is more, no comprehensive mechanisms for measuring the impact of youth policy co-operation are in place in Armenia. The action plan of the current National Youth Policy Strategy does not include information regarding expected or planned outcomes, and there are no qualitative indicators (except for some financial and technical indicators) for monitoring and evaluation. Such deficiencies considerably hinder proper measurement of the effectiveness and efficiency of youth policy in Armenia. Monitoring occurs mostly at project level (including occasional project visits by the Ministry of Sport and Youth Affairs (MSY) and primarily within the framework of grants provided to NGOs through the Cragrer.am online granting system,²³ which itself lacks a comprehensive monitoring and evaluation system).

Azerbaijan

Youth policy in Azerbaijan is considered a key policy priority by the government and an important part of public policy with strong support from key state institutions, including a range of legal instruments and financial measures. To name a few, the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Tourism was established in 1994, 2 February was

22. Armenian State Budget 2016, available at www.parliament.am/draft_docs5/K-862/K-862_orenq.pdf, accessed 29 May 2017.

23. See <http://erit.am/programs>, accessed 29 May 2017.

declared a “Day of Azerbaijani Youth” in 1997 and a decree “On state youth policy”²⁴ entered into force in 1999, featuring a set of youth-relevant policy areas including education, upbringing, health and the intellectual and moral development of youth. This was followed by the adoption of the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan “On the youth policy” in 2002.²⁵ According to this the Ministry of Youth and Sports is the main public body responsible for implementation of the youth policy. The law defines further main principles, purposes, directions, organisations and legal grounds, and co-ordinates co-operation between youth institutions.

Youth policy is defined as “a system of measures aimed at creating a state of socio-political, socio-economic, organizational and legal conditions and safeguards to ensure the full development of youth, its active participation in society”²⁶ The order “On approval of the Azerbaijani Youth State Programme (2005-2009)”²⁷ aimed to improve the support provided to youth, resulting in the reorganisation of the Ministry of Youth and Sports in 2006. With a budget of 80 million AZN (about €70 million), the Azerbaijani Youth State Programme (2011-2015) succeeded the Azerbaijani Youth State Programme (2005-2009), which had a budget of 8.5 million AZN – a significant increase and a substantial amount by regional standards. It aimed at further development of youth policy in the Republic of Azerbaijan, the creation of favourable conditions for the active participation of youth, improving employment of young specialists and ensuring solutions for other socio-economic problems.

The Azerbaijani Youth State Programme (2016-2020) is meant to support the Youth Development Strategy 2015-2025.²⁸ Although funding for youth policy-related activities at central level in Azerbaijan is significantly higher than in other Eastern Partnership countries, the line ministry remains weak compared to other central government ministries, and youth policy is on the sidelines of social and cultural policy domains in the state budget 2016.

There is no official mechanism for cross-sectoral mainstreaming of youth issues in Azerbaijan, and also no official definition of CSYP. However, the Ministry of Youth and Sports employs the term “cross-sectoral co-operation” on an ad hoc basis, using different approaches such as interministerial co-operation or intersectoral actions and co-operation.²⁹ An Inter-agency Co-ordination Council on youth, including representatives from relevant governmental agencies and organisations (a model similar to that developed in Armenia and Georgia), is considered by the ministry to be a key instrument for mainstreaming youth across the sectors under the last cycle of the Youth State Programme (2011-15). The Co-ordination Council created for the implementation of the state programme consists of managerial officials (56

24. See www.mfa.gov.az/en/content/122, accessed 29 May 2017.

25. See <http://youthfoundation.az/youthpolicy>, accessed 29 May 2017.

26. Reviews on youth policies and youth work in the countries of South East Europe, Eastern Europe & Caucasus - Azerbaijan, Council of Europe/European Union 2011, page 5.

27. See <http://cis-legislation.com/document.fwx?rgn=20223>, accessed 29 May 2017.

28. See https://azertag.az/ru/xeber/Rasporyazhenie_Prezidenta_Azerbaidzhanskoi_Respublikob_utverzhenii_Strategii_razvitiya_azerbaidzhanskoi_molodezhi_v_2015_2025_godah-829662, accessed 12 October 2016.

29. Azerbaijani Coordination Council on Youth Affairs, see www.gencler2011-2015.az/shura.html, accessed 29 May 2017.

members from 32 state institutions) of relevant state agencies and public organisations. The work of the Co-ordination Council is co-ordinated by the Ministry of Youth and Sports, which also facilitates the involvement of relevant international and non-governmental organisations, scientific research institutions and so-called “creative unions” towards the implementation of the Youth State Programme.

However, lack of information on regular co-operation mechanisms between all stakeholders and the decision-making process makes it impossible to assess the efficiency of the Co-ordination Council. The Ministry of Youth and Sports claims it is not in a position to develop an evaluation and monitoring plan in order to assess activities, and generally reports a lack of documentation of good practices and the need to improve capacities in evaluation and monitoring with specific regard to projects and activities implemented under the Youth State Programme. To this end, despite the relatively high budget made available for the programme, youth policy evaluation in Azerbaijan remains irregular. No permanent mechanisms are in place to evaluate the quality, processes and outcomes of the youth policy and co-operation across sectors. Sporadic measures include organising a youth forum every three years as well as some irregular online questionnaires. According to the Ministry of Youth and Sports, these measures are considered to provide evidence for the purpose of policy making and are hence often conducted during the preparation phase of new strategies and actions.

Belarus

The development of youth policy is tied to the history of the country’s sovereignty: 1990 saw the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, following which Belarus signed the UN Convention on Children’s Rights.³⁰ Both events led to the adoption of a range of documents proclaiming the importance of Belarusian youth policy, with the UN Convention becoming the basis for developing policy targeting youth and children. The Law on General Principles of the State Youth Policy in Belarus³¹ was adopted in 1992. In May 2004, the Department of Youth Affairs of the Ministry of Education was established, and it remains the main co-ordination body for state youth policy in Belarus. Youth policy was introduced by the Law on the Basis for the State Youth Policy of the Republic of Belarus No. 65-3 in 2009,³² with its main directions corresponding with the wider National Strategy for Sustainable Development for the period to 2020 of the Republic of Belarus.³³

The national programme Youth of Belarus for the period from 2006 to 2010 was, according to the Council of Europe’s 2011 youth policy analysis,³⁴ the main mechanism for the implementation of state youth policy for a long time. The concept for

30. For a list of signatories to the UN Convention on Children’s Rights, see https://treaties.un.org/pages/viewdetails.aspx?src=ind&mtdsg_no=iv-11&chapter=4&clang=_en, accessed 12 October 2016.

31. On General Framework for State Youth Policy in Republic of Belarus, *Belarus Supreme Council Bulletin*, 1992, No. 19, p. 304.

32. See www.pravo.by/world_of_law/text.asp?RN=H10900065, accessed 29 May 2017.

33. See www.un.by/pdf/OON_sMall.pdf, accessed 29 May 2017.

34. Reviews on youth policies and youth work in the countries of South East Europe, Eastern Europe & Caucasus - Republic of Belarus, Council of Europe/European Union, 2011, p. 3.

a new state programme for the period 2016 to 2020 was approved in March 2016.³⁵ State youth policy has a specific ideological position on the role and place young people are supposed to have in society while promoting a centralised approach to all government executive bodies.

CSYP has not been officially defined in Belarus. The Department of Youth Affairs at the Ministry of Education, however, claims to use cross-sectoral co-operation approaches with other relevant ministries when needed through “intersectoral actions” focusing on specific themes (e.g. education, gender and employment). No official data is available on how such co-operation is developed or implemented and to what extent the representatives of young people are involved in this process. The major co-operation partner of youth policy implementation in Belarus is the Belarusian Republican Youth Union (BRSM), which is the largest youth organisation in the country, with around 500 000 members. In 2014, the BRSM received 98.65% of the total allocated budget for youth, making it the main stakeholder in the implementation of youth policy in Belarus.³⁶

Georgia

Development of youth policy in post-Soviet Georgia started in 1994 with the creation of the first governmental structure responsible for development of youth policy in Georgia – the Department of Youth Affairs of the Republic of Georgia. Although it has been operating for a relatively short period it has led to the creation of the only legal foundations of youth policy in Georgia.³⁷ Due to Georgia’s socio-economic problems as well as its territorial conflicts, youth was for many years not considered a policy priority. The situation has changed with the establishment of the new Ministry of Sport and Youth (MSY) in 2010. By 2011, the ministry had already begun an inclusive preparation process for a new state youth policy, engaging a wide range of government ministries, youth organisations, local governments, international organisations and researchers, combined with a number of research activities on the basis of existing data, strategies and programmes at both national and local level. The draft youth policy document was adopted twice within two years (2012 and 2014) due to a change of government.³⁸ The document gives specific emphasis to youth with fewer opportunities and those with special needs, in line with the following strategic directions and areas: participation, education, employment and mobility, health, special support and protection. Despite a dynamic legal and institutional framework, the Georgian MSY remains among the smallest ministries, with limited capacity and a budget of under 100 million GEL (about €38 million), placing it among the lowest five ministerial budgets in 2016 (Civil.ge 2016).

35. Resolution on the approval of the state programme Education and Youth Policy for 2016-2020, see <https://cis-legislation.com/document.fwx?rgn=85258>, accessed 29 May 2017.

36. See www.youthpolicy.org/factsheets/country/belarus, accessed 29 May 2017.

37. The Law concerning state support to children and youth unions (1999) and the Law concerning the protection of under-age children from harmful influence (2001), see <http://msy.gov.ge>, accessed 12 October 2016.

38. The Georgian National Youth Policy Document, see <https://go.coe.int/jjlgK>, accessed 29 May 2017; National Youth Policy Document (Resolution No. 1608), see <http://msy.gov.ge> and National Youth Policy Document (Decree No. 553), see <http://msy.gov.ge>, both accessed 29 May 2017.

Cross-sectoral co-operation (and an official definition thereof) is embedded within the national youth policy document. It highlights the importance of involving all state institutions in the implementation of youth policy within their scope of competences. The main institution responsible for mainstreaming youth issues across different policy sectors is the Interagency Co-ordination Council (ICC), which was initially created for the purpose of revising the youth policy document in 2013 and was later tasked with developing and administering the Youth Policy Action Plan 2015-2020.³⁹ The ICC is composed of representatives of all line ministries and, on request, members of parliament, as well as UN Population Fund and UN Children's Fund representatives. The MSY is in charge of leading and co-ordinating the work of the ICC (UNICEF 2014). In addition, the ICC can invite – without a right to vote – experts, members of parliament, representatives of governmental entities of Georgia and other organisations such as the representatives of youth organisations to its working meetings.

A long-term strategic approach to back up cross-sectoral policy co-operation is absent. This is rooted both in a general lack of motivation and experience in political rivalries hindering cross-sectoral policy co-operation. The MSY, however, rarely invokes its right to involve other stakeholders in youth policy matters, not least due to struggles with internal management and capacity issues. Further, the ICC's lack of mechanisms for assessing its own impact and outcomes as well to publicly report its conclusions makes it rather non-transparent and ineffective. To this end, collaboration across the sectors in Georgia remains mostly intersectoral or inter-ministerial and takes place only when needed. These are usually one-off or ad hoc actions with the aim of increasing the efficiency of certain measures or for greater equity in a certain sector.

Moldova

Development of youth policy in Moldova began in the mid-1990s, at a time when Soviet-style administrative structures, forms of support and methods of organising youth events were still in place. Since then different public bodies, often with a very limited mandate, have been in charge of youth policy. The Law on Youth was adopted in 1999 by the Parliament of Moldova and became the general basis for the development of the youth sector.⁴⁰ The law underlines the need for developing appropriate facilities for youth at state level as well as the establishment of specific authorities, structures, strategies and programmes in support of youth. The first National Youth Strategy of Moldova was approved in 2003 and renewed twice in 2009 and 2014. The current National Strategy for Youth Sector Development is valid until 2020.⁴¹ According to the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the main stimuli for youth policy development in Moldova are best practices and trends at the EU and Council of Europe level; in some cases, authorities try to adapt good practices also from neighbouring countries within the Commonwealth of Independent States

39. See <http://msy.gov.ge>, accessed 29 May 2017.

40. Available at <http://lex.justice.md/md/311644>, accessed 29 May 2017.

41. Available at www.mts.gov.md/sites/default/files/document/attachments/strategia_nationala_de_dezvoltare_a_sectorului_de_tineret_pentru_anii_2014-2020_0.pdf, accessed 12 October 2016.

(CIS). The ministry also states that the latest initiatives in the youth sector were based on recommendations made by the Council of Europe in 2008 as a result of a youth policy review exercise in Moldova.

In Moldova, a Governmental Committee on Youth Policies was created in 2011 for the purpose of ensuring co-operation at cross-sectoral level and developing a dialogue mechanism with youth and other important stakeholders. Despite a good framework and design, and a general description of what cross-sectoral policy should be, its functioning is limited by the availability and agenda of the Moldovan Prime Minister. Lack of political will and interest in co-operation within a coalition government (regardless of the theme and targeted area) has considerably lowered the impact and outreach of any cross-sectoral initiative. Furthermore, the lack of a common budget for the implementation of the youth strategy and the action plan further lower the efficiency of cross-sectoral co-operation as all institutions involved in cross-sectoral actions have to fund their implementation separately. The Ministry of Youth and Sports, officially in charge of co-ordination of cross-sectoral co-operation, suffers from capacity and staffing problems. This severely influences the impact and scope of their activities in the implementation of the youth strategy across sectors. The ministry has launched several programmes with the aim of supporting young people at cross-sectoral level, but due to lack of genuine interministerial co-operation and involvement of the civic sector they have not been followed through (Government of Moldova 2015).

Political instability, too, has meant that none of the strategies have been fully implemented or evaluated. The Government of Moldova has been dismissed twice already since the elections in November 2014, and this had a severe impact on the establishment of the budget for 2016. The budget for the Ministry of Youth and Sports remains very low and it struggles to assert its importance within the government, which is confirmed by the merging of youth-related expenses with cultural and sports affairs in the 2016 state budget.⁴²

Ukraine

The term “state youth policy” is formalised at the legislative level and was officially defined in the Declaration on the General Principles of the State Youth Policy in Ukraine in 1992.⁴³ This serves as the legislative basis for further development of state youth policy and practical activities of government bodies and state administration organs in promoting the development of Ukrainian youth. The Law on Youth Socialisation and Development (1993, renewed in 2014)⁴⁴ outlines the parameters for the implementation of youth policy and includes key organisational, socio-economic, legal and political principles for the socialisation of youth.

The Youth Policy Strategy (2013-2020) was adopted by decree of the President of Ukraine in 2013.⁴⁵ Its main purpose is to put in place an enabling environment for the

42. Available at [http://mf.gov.md/files/files/Legea%20bugetului%20de%20stat%20pe%20anul%202016%20nr_154%20din%2001%20iulie%202016%20\(ro\).pdf](http://mf.gov.md/files/files/Legea%20bugetului%20de%20stat%20pe%20anul%202016%20nr_154%20din%2001%20iulie%202016%20(ro).pdf), accessed 29 May 2017.

43. See <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2859-xii>, accessed 12 October 2016.

44. Available at <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2998-12>, accessed 29 May 2017.

45. Available at <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/532/2013>, accessed 12 October 2016.

“intellectual, moral and physical” development of youth, for ensuring its participation in the development and implementation of youth policy from national through local levels, and to increase the labour market competitiveness of Ukrainian youth.

The State Target Social Programme Youth of Ukraine for the period 2016-20⁴⁶ was approved in February 2016 and is based on the Youth Policy Strategy. It contains tasks and activities for the implementation of the Youth of Ukraine programme and serves as the State Youth Policy Action Plan for the period up to 2020.

In Ukraine, CSYP has not been defined in relevant laws or any other legal acts. However, the Youth of Ukraine programme identifies the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine as the focal point for co-ordination of cross-sectoral state youth policy activities. The ministry itself faces serious capacity and underfunding issues, with most of its budget – which is a fraction of that of other central administrative bodies – spent on sports rather than youth activities.⁴⁷

At present (as of September 2016), only one interagency working group has been established at central governmental level dealing with youth issues, namely “national-patriotic education”, while four interagency groups currently work under the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Ukraine: on housing, employment, improvement of the youth legal framework, as well as a commission in charge of identifying youth programmes. The interagency working groups are responsible for preparing recommendations for new co-operation strategies across the sectors but do not have a particular decision-making role. The lack of funding for the implementation of interagency activities is often a key barrier for any line ministry to implement recommendations made through interagency co-operation.

Conclusions

Within the rushed attempt to catch up with European countries that have a longer track record of youth policy developments, CSYP co-operation in Eastern Partnership states is lagging behind other policy tools and instruments, not least because such collaboration lacks a common and broad understanding across relevant line ministries, a clear enabling legal framework for co-operation and a stable basis outside and beyond youth policy.

As explained above, the majority of national youth policy instruments in Eastern Partnership countries have at least a declared cross-sectoral dimension within youth policy, but have a questionable impact on young people. Line ministries are well aware of the necessity for government ministries, departments and agencies to closely and frequently consult one another in order to adequately address a wide spectrum of youth needs with regard to areas such as employment, education, culture, health and justice. However, while a large majority of recently adopted youth policy documents underline the importance of mainstreaming youth issues

46. Available at <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/148-2016-%D0%BF/print1473413024037658>, accessed 29 May 2017.

47. Ukraine State Budget 2016, available at <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/80-19/page3?text=%EC%EE%EB%EE%E4>, accessed 29 May 2017.

across relevant sectors, the implementation of CSYP approaches encounters serious problems at various levels.

On the basis of youth policy analysis across six Eastern Partnership countries, five essential problematic areas can be identified: lack of wider understanding of cross-sectorality; low capacity of line ministries; unclear or missing definitions; poor implementation mechanisms (notably evaluation and monitoring); and insufficient participation of young people and non-governmental stakeholders across the entire policy cycle.

Lack of a wider understanding of cross-sectorality

All CSYP initiatives described above either come out of the youth sector – usually, the line ministry in charge of youth – or are a result of a national youth strategy. Even if the said strategy was at some point co-ordinated by central institutions (e.g. the prime minister's office), it is then spearheaded by a single ministry or department. This is not a problem in itself, but is symptomatic of a general lack of cross-sectoral co-operation in policy matters in the region. Due to this, any cross-sectoral initiative faces a double barrier. First, a general lack of understanding and motivation for cross-sectoral policy making, and secondly, a low awareness of youth policy and its place in public policy has to be reaffirmed by the institution in question – usually the line ministry for youth, itself suffering from low capacity (see below).

Low capacity of line ministry/unit

Despite numerous efforts in recent years to mainstream youth policy making and improve co-operation across different sectors, the line ministries in charge of youth policy face considerable difficulties in development and implementation of adequate cross-sectoral frameworks. This is due to a range of capacity-related issues.

Line ministries or departments responsible for youth policy in Eastern Partnership countries are small and suffer low capacity compared with other ministries. Often, they were set up in the process of democratic transition in the 1990s, and had little experience or influence at national and central level. Co-operation with regional and local authorities is a critical weakness across the Eastern Partnership region, creating considerable capacity gaps and strategic asymmetries when it comes to transformation of national policy at the local level. Due to fast-paced external influences and demands, be it as a result of EU association processes or legal pre-conditions set by international donors for funding, the nature and the process of developing policies and strategies rarely follows a natural and organic flow, and hence lacks broader inclusion and consultation of all stakeholders, particularly representatives of youth organisations. This results in a lack of ownership of policies and strategies among key stakeholders, including the line ministries themselves. Further, it is not uncommon to see cross-sectoral collaboration stemming from funding requirements rigidly demanded by the international donor community rather than as a result of the implementing institutions' initiative.

Due to low capacity and low prioritisation among government departments, line ministries in charge of youth are often most vulnerable at times of change and political instability. They face strong political headwinds and managerial disruption.

Although specialist staff in charge of youth and youth policy are often highly experienced and motivated, as the number of senior posts is limited, staff retention is low and personnel changes frequent. Furthermore, due to low budgets, planning and budgeting policy remains a challenge (with the notable exception of Azerbaijan). Prioritisation of other, larger policy briefs such as employment or education results in a lack of interest in co-operation at other ministries.

The reality of recent years, particularly in Georgia and Moldova, shows that lack of political will and interest in intra-coalitional co-operation within the government can, regardless of the policy area in question, considerably challenge imminent or even previously approved decisions on co-operation between different ministries. Under such circumstances smaller ministries – like most youth line ministries – are considered a low priority.

Definition and regulation of CSYP missing (or incomplete)

In the region, only Georgia has a relatively comprehensive definition of CSYP co-operation embedded in legislation.⁴⁸ All the rest have either incomplete or missing definitions and regulatory frameworks. Due to a short history of cross-sectoral work and a lack of a wider understanding of the importance of cross-sectoral work, CSYP is most commonly limited to interministerial co-operation. This means that co-operation is only effective at the level of central government ministries and not wider “sectors” involved in or affected by youth policy. Interministerial co-operation in the Eastern Partnership countries can be divided into two categories: temporary and permanent.

Temporary co-operation

Temporary interministerial co-operation usually lasts between one month and one year with the following typical objectives:

- ▶ launch and supervision of a national competition or government-appointed activity (e.g. Year of Youth or a national competition dedicated to young people);
- ▶ the creation of state programmes and strategies for youth, within which institutions only rarely co-operate in the implementation of activities under the respective programmes and strategies;
- ▶ implementation of national youth policy awareness-raising campaigns and activities in the areas of culture, education, social issues, sports and health;
- ▶ the drawing up of youth policy legislative and regulatory documents, legislative acts and papers;

Youth organisations and civil society are rarely involved in this type of co-operation or serve only as service providers. Due to lack of comprehensive reporting no clear

48. State's Youth Policy Document, Georgia, available at http://msy.gov.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&id=210, accessed 29 May 2017.

mechanisms ensuring visibility or evaluation of this format of co-operation could be identified, thus obscuring the impact.

Permanent co-operation

Four out of six countries in the Eastern Partnership region have established intergovernmental committees for youth policy (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Moldova) with the overall aim of supporting youth policy co-operation across different policy sectors within both the governmental and non-governmental sectors. Cross-sectoral and interministerial co-ordination is often limited to mere technical co-operation with a focus on three areas:

- ▶ creation, implementation and evaluation of state targeted programmes and strategies for youth, including legislative and regulatory acts;
- ▶ launch and supervision of national competitions and government-appointed activities;
- ▶ co-operation in the framework of cultural, educational, social, political, sporting and recreational activities and preventative measures.

Other stakeholders such as civil society organisations and youth NGOs are only sporadically involved, mostly at their own request, and are not considered an inherent part of permanent co-operation. Co-operation structures often lack tools as well as mechanisms to ensure long-term and regular co-operation while their activities lack comprehensive research on youth needs. Lack of co-operation and common action planning often results in the provision of very similar or even identical activities.

Poor implementation, lack of an evidence base, monitoring and evaluation

Implementation and co-ordination mechanisms, including those aiming to ensure cross-sectoral policy co-operation, vary greatly from country to country. All in all, a significant lack of proper co-ordination of youth matters across different policy areas can be observed.

As shown above, the legal and regulatory framework of youth policy in the Eastern Partnership countries has changed significantly over the last five years and is still changing. The legal changes, however, have not been matched by capacity growth at key institutions or in implementation procedures. Key documents such as youth policy concepts as well as youth strategies are (in theory) of good overall quality, but the practical implementation of these policies is patchy and lacks clear structure. A general lack of evaluation and monitoring mechanisms (including the capacity for them) in all Eastern Partnership countries' youth policies significantly hinders the assessment of cross-sectoral policy implementation and in turn its future development based on evidence and lessons learned.

Mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation of existing state programmes, strategies and activities are often nominally part of administrative procedures but have significant shortcomings, especially with regard to the indicators that are to be measured. There is very limited evidence of permanent mechanisms for continued collection of

data and monitoring of youth policy or evaluation of youth policy action plans and collaboration activities across sectors. Despite measures in the Eastern Partnership countries to establish monitoring plans with the aim of collecting relevant data on a regular basis and publicly publishing available statistics on youth, a huge gap in capacities and competences has been identified within the respective institutions. Both governmental and non-governmental institutions involved in policy development and implementation have clearly declared their lack of basic expertise and capacity in conducting monitoring and evaluation as well as processing and interpreting data.⁴⁹ To this end, relevant information has been taken from external sources such as surveys made available by or produced in co-operation with UN agencies and other national and international institutions on issues directly or indirectly related to youth. Such frameworks, however helpful, are often outdated and unsustainable as they depend on external institutions' agendas, goals and funding.

Lack of co-operation and direct involvement of young people and non-governmental actors, notably civil society, across the policy cycle

Despite a number of initiatives aimed at improving youth participation by partly involving youth in the policy creation process, the situation remains unsatisfactory in many respects. Most participation measures are ad hoc and do not follow long-term strategies. Due to the lack of accurate reporting, their impact on future policy development is unknown.

There is very little evidence of meaningful and responsible participation of young people in policy making and no evidence of their involvement in monitoring and evaluation of youth policy with and for youth. In most cases youth play only a consultative role or are engaged in policy implementation through very limited and non-transparent grant scheme opportunities. Endeavours to proactively reach out to young people do not cover many different youth categories, as they often address students, nor are they comprehensive, as they neglect non-active and non-organised youth and a range of independent stakeholders. Youth policy is seen as a governmental issue and the responsibility of the state. This often results in a lack of co-operation at different levels, and the inability to adopt a multi-stakeholder approach.

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Chapter 4

Youth policy in relations – Drawing on Estonian experiences

Anne Kivimäe⁵⁰

Introduction

The nature and conceptualisation of youth policy, and the challenges of implementation, offer a rich source for discussion. Looking at its cross-sectoral content, aims and functions opens up additional avenues. This chapter tries to add to the discussion by drawing on Estonian experiences of developing and implementing integrated youth policy goals.

Since 2006, when it was first described in a national policy document, Estonian youth policy development has taken an integrated policy approach as a principle in the youth field.⁵¹ The experience of developing youth policy and implementing cross-sectoral initiatives in the context of growing a whole-of-government approach to public policy provide the opportunity to highlight some gains and risks for the youth field.

This chapter describes how youth work and the development of integrated youth policy have been linked positively, and looks at what “integrated youth policy” means in theory and practice. It considers how the changes in the public sector have affected youth policy and its integrated nature in Estonia. Viable and less viable avenues for further thinking are also explored. Youth policy is viewed from an administrative angle and therefore the issues that are raised are primarily concerned with the public sector. The chapter is based on the author’s personal experience as the head of the youth affairs department in the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research from 2004 to 2015, along with analyses of relevant documents.

Solid youth work system as a basis for integrated youth policy

The first official paper that stated the nature of an integrated youth policy and the aim to develop it in Estonia was a policy plan for youth work in 2006.⁵² By that time,

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51. Note on terminology: in the text the terms “youth field” and “youth sector” are used as synonyms, based on the Estonian language, where one would use in both cases the same word – “noortevaldkond”. However, in time the content of this term has developed in Estonia, from covering only youth work to including both youth work and youth policy.

52. Noorsootöö Strateegia 2006-2013, available at www.hm.ee/sites/default/files/noorsootoo_strateegia_0.pdf, accessed 30 May 2017.

however, Estonia had been developing for 15 years its own modern (i.e. after restoration of independence in 1991) approach to youth work. During those years many important building blocks of the youth field were put in place and developed, as described briefly in the following sections.

Active players and institutions

By 2006 youth and youth work NGOs and their umbrella organisations were active in the field. Local youth work providers were established and became increasingly active, including youth centres, information centres, hobby schools (institutions specialising in art, music, sports, etc.) and youth workers were working in formal education settings (mostly general education schools).

Legal framework and administration for the youth sector

The legal framework was established for youth work primarily with the adoption of the Youth Work Act in 1999⁵³ and the development of the first professional standard for youth workers in 2002. The administrative division of tasks was established together with a youth department in the Ministry of Education and its implementing agency, the Estonian Youth Work Centre. There were civil servants responsible for youth issues at the county level and in many municipalities, in some of them specialist youth units were established.

Dedicated budget

Already at the early stages there were resources assigned for the youth field in the state budget, such as the annual grant scheme for youth NGOs, open youth centres and information centres. Many local governments had established budgets for local youth work mostly to ensure day-to-day operations of youth work structures. A special measure to support youth infrastructure from the EU Regional Development Fund was first piloted in the period 2004-06. Investments in youth infrastructure, namely youth centres, information centres and hobby schools, helped to highlight and support the commitment of local governments to youth work (who owned the buildings and therefore also applied for support).

Established international co-operation

Co-operation with other countries (bilaterally and multilaterally) and co-operation in the framework of the Council of Europe and, increasingly, in the EU (which Estonia joined in 2004) was by that time recognised as an important part of youth work in Estonia supporting the development of policies, concepts and approaches. EU youth programmes (namely the consecutively established programmes – Youth for Europe, YOUTH, Youth in Action, currently the youth-specific part of ERASMUS+⁵⁴) and the well-functioning implementation agency in Estonia provided real opportunities

53. See www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/116062016006 (English version of the Youth Work Act available at www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/ee/Riigikogu/act/520062016006/consolide), both accessed 30 May 2017.

54. Regulation No. 1288/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 11 December 2013 establishing “Erasmus+”: the Union programme for education, training, youth and sport and repealing Decisions No. 1719/2006/EC, No. 1720/2006/EC and No. 1298/2008/EC, see <http://data.europa.eu/eli/reg/2013/1288/oj>, accessed 30 May 2017.

for international experience and learning for people and organisations active in youth work.

Recognised importance of youth research

Youth research was recognised in legal terms as one area of the youth field with the adoption of the youth work law in 1999, where it was highlighted as a field that could be financed from the state budget (paragraph 14 of the Youth Work Act). The priorities to support the development of youth research were defined already in the first policy plan in the youth field in 2001. There were also state-level initiatives to support institutionalisation and practice-policy-research co-operation within the youth field.

In summary following the restoration of independence, the youth field in Estonia redefined itself with regards to its values, content and institutions over these 15 years. The youth field became a field with people, funding, structures and roles that would play out locally, in communities, but also within other policy fields at governmental level. Especially significant was the fact that there were real jobs and salaries for youth workers together with opportunities to obtain formal education as a youth worker. It also meant that relationships were formed (and put to the test) between youth workers, as professionals of a specific field providing opportunities for non-formal education, co-operation and participation for youth, and professionals from other fields such as education, law enforcement and social services. Within the youth work field, it meant that the main focus by 2005/06 had shifted from discussions about what youth work is, which institutions are part of the field, and what they are doing with and for young people, to the question of what quality is in youth work, how to measure and research its effects, and how to develop policy for youth together with policy for youth work.

The emergence of an integrated approach

The Youth Work Strategy 2006-2013⁵⁵ that was approved by the government illustrated these developments well. The strategy continued to pay attention to the importance of developing the youth work structure further (e.g. by setting a goal to increase investment in youth infrastructure and describing services to be provided by institutions). It also put forward the need to develop training, quality and monitoring systems in youth work. In addition, it defined, for the first time, the meaning and aims of youth policy together with the need for an integrated approach to develop it:

As the courses of young people's development are very diverse and full of influencing factors, youth policy has to be a horizontal policy and reflect different aspects of young people's living. It is essential to highlight the actions targeted at young people in different policy domains, e.g. employment, education, culture policies, as well as to develop the activities that result from the actual needs and challenges of young people, i.e. co-ordinated and purposeful action in different spheres of life, or integrated youth policy.

In addition to stating the main aims of the youth policy, the document defined the principles an integrated youth policy is based on, with the starting point being the

55. Noorsootöö Strateegia 2006-2013, available at www.hm.ee/sites/default/files/noorsootoo_strateegia_0.pdf, accessed 30 May 2017.

young person and his or her actual situation, interests and needs, and moving on to youth participation and co-operation between different areas.

Describing how integrated youth policy became a goal in the youth field helps to illustrate one factor evident in developing a cross-sectoral approach in Estonia. The initiative to officially define youth policy together with its integrated nature (as a field with connections and mutual dependencies with other fields) came from the youth work sector, in the framework of developing a youth work strategy by those responsible for and active in the policy and practice of youth work in Estonia. The legal definition and goals of an “integrated youth policy”, as cited above, therefore came from the definitions, meanings, values, policy goals and practice of youth work. In order for youth policy to be defined and conceptualised, first an understanding about youth work, its stakeholders, practices, values, etc., was established. It was also important to build up an image of youth work as a specific sector – with concepts, approaches, structures, jobs and salaries together with self-identity and its own attributes. This also enabled the youth sector to create a status of being a partner (if perhaps not an equal one) where budgets, roles or priorities were discussed, especially at the governmental level.

This chapter argues that the recognition and visibility of youth policy as a public policy field in Estonia, including a formal definition of youth policy along with the introduction of the term “integrated youth policy”, would not have been possible but for the initiative of the youth work sector – at least not by 2006. Moreover, it argues that the internal growth of the youth work sector, from the dispersed offers of activities for youth in various settings in 1991 to a professional field with a legal and administrative framework, a developed training system and established institutional arrangement by 2006, was essential for the emergence of the concept of integrated youth policy in Estonia.

This understanding of the need for solid basis first and wide concepts later brings to mind a quotation by Thomas Fuller: “But he had caught a great cold, had he had no other clothes to wear than the skin of a bear not yet killed”.⁵⁶

From youth work-led policy definitions to youth work-led implementation

As the youth work sector had a central role in initiating and formulating youth policy and promoting an integrated approach in Estonia, it also took on the responsibility of finding practical ways to implement the vision defined in the Youth Work Strategy.

There is plentiful information available (mostly from implementation plans, their yearly reports and the final report) about the hundreds of practical steps taken from 2006 to 2013 to implement the whole strategy – covering all 32 measures and their implementation activities, ranging from local projects to national financial support schemes and changes in the legislation. The practical implementation of the integrated policy approach defined in the strategy in 2006 was to take place with the

56. “The history of the worthies of England. Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller”, available at https://openlibrary.org/books/OL14013447M/The_history_of_the_worthies_of_England, accessed 30 May 2017.

help of enhanced co-operation between different sectors, both at local and national level. In the final report it is stated that there was significant success in achieving an integrated youth policy, and examples are provided to illustrate cross-sectoral co-operation during the period 2006-13. However, "the principles of the integrated youth policy have not been fully put in practice".⁵⁷

As the final report does not elaborate on the relative success of activities undertaken, the following example describes one of the most prominent initiatives implemented in the framework – Children and Youth at Risk – that put the concept of integrated youth policy into practice. The programme was a united effort of five different policy areas – crime prevention, youth justice, child protection, education and youth work – and the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Research. The Ministry of Finance had a role as well, but the programme was financed mostly by a grant from the European Economic Area, specifically Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. The programme was initiated and led by the youth field, and the management (including budgeting) of the whole programme was entrusted to the Estonian Youth Work Centre. It was one of the first programmes in the practice of Estonian youth policy that was initiated, managed and implemented with the real and intensive co-operation of stakeholders responsible for policies in education, the youth field, child protection, crime prevention and the justice system. During the programme, a reform of child protection services together with drafting the new law on child protection was initiated, the system of working with young offenders was reformed, and the provision of counselling in the formal education system was restructured. These reforms were not all directly part of the programme, but were most definitely influenced by the activities and co-operation under the programme. There is a long list of projects that were developed and implemented supporting and developing the work of youth organisations, youth centres, local governments, schools, parents and families, etc.⁵⁸ Some of the projects provided an important impulse for making youth work in Estonia more inclusive and open but also more capable of providing youth work opportunities for different groups of youth. Examples include the Support Programme for Children at Risk through Youth Centres⁵⁹ and the HUKK-AP project (Involvement of Organisations Working in the Area of Hobby Education for Young People), which aimed at developing a more inclusive approach to hobby education.⁶⁰

The impact on different policy areas of the programme Children and Youth at Risk, which held its final conference in July 2016, are yet to be analysed. However, when discussing the experience as a practical case of implementing a cross-sectoral initiative in Estonia, some points can be made in relation to the youth field.

57. See www.hm.ee/sites/default/files/noorsootoo_strateegia_l6pparuanne_vv_parandatud_noortearv.pdf, accessed 30 May 2017.

58. A detailed overview of the programme in English is available at www.entk.ee/riskilapsedjanoored/en, accessed 30 May 2017.

59. See <http://ank.ee/avaleht/index.php/riskinoorte-toetusprogramm-noortekeskustes/english>, accessed 30 May 2017.

60. For more on HUKK-AP, see <http://mitteformaalne.ee/koolitusprojektid/hukk-ap-projekt/in-english>, accessed 30 May 2017.

Cross-sectoral co-operation led by the youth sector is one way to introduce and develop a better understanding of the principles and values of the youth field. It gives youth work and youth workers as well as their cause visibility, and the opportunity to be “at the table”, when discussions about important changes or developments in different areas that affect youth take place. It was in the context of this programme, that one of the managers of a youth work project under the programme and a long-term leader in developing youth work described a moment of accomplishment, when after years of co-operation one of the sceptics from another field admitted seeing the purpose of youth work after all.

Siurala (2012: 109) has argued that one of the reasons for the failures in integrated policy plans seems to be that “the youth sector as the process owner within the administration (of the state or municipality) has been too insignificant to drive the processes through”. He also uses an example to illustrate that, under the leadership of a small sector (youth work), the described plan would not have attracted the other sectors or policy makers and that working in conjunction with a bigger department, youth work had better chances to be recognised and to get its programmes and messages through (Siurala 2015: 54).

The experience from the cross-sectoral programme in Estonia described above supports the understanding that working together helps in gaining recognition of and funding for ideas of youth work. However, the capacity of the youth field to guide the process is more related to a top-level mandate, financial arrangements and management instruments than to the size or significance of youth the sector among other policy fields.

Changes in public governance as factors influencing CSYP

Policy making and making policy work in the youth field is in any case part of the “bigger picture”. This picture can be of how one country has decided to develop, implement and evaluate all of its policies. On the international level, it is a collage of many, sometimes remarkably different, pictures.

Estonia has been developing its public service and administration at governmental, regional and local levels intensively in the 25 years since the restoration of independence in August 1991. From building up a system of laws, division of responsibilities, approaches to strategic planning and budgeting to e-government, e-citizenship and e-Estonia as a brand, the development has been tremendous. This has not left the youth sector untouched; the changes in the public sector in Estonia have had a very important influence on how youth policy and youth work has developed. It could be argued that changes in policy planning and delivery are in fact increasingly shaping the scope and nature of the youth field.

Perhaps only a few countries can relate to the Estonian experience in developing public services (due to the historical similarities), but the issues raised in the public sector that derive from developments in technology, changes in public resources and the ever-growing need to become more efficient, evidence- and knowledge-based, are not unique to Estonia.

In 2011, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) presented a review of public governance in Estonia. It declared the need for a strong whole-of-government approach that could be achieved via a roadmap provided by a common agenda supported by business and society, “where horizontal co-ordination and integration are embedded in the process of policy design and implementation that helps a government respond to complexity”. The review stated that there seems to be readiness among senior public administration officials for “making structures more flexible, improving communication, overcoming inter-ministerial/inter-agency barriers, making strategic planning more cross-sectoral, and matching implementation structures to issues rather than the other way around” (OECD 2011: 7). The drive towards a whole-of-government approach in the Estonian public sector has by now been equipped with several implementation instruments such as changes in strategic planning (introducing a more integrated, but also hierarchical, system of aims and objectives for different policy areas); budgeting (introducing more flexible budgeting based on policy programmes); and evaluation (developing performance frameworks for policy programmes and policies), to name a few.

These developments in public governance have also influenced processes in and raised challenges for the youth field. Besides the more commonly discussed issues – like the challenges related to good indicators that describe results in the youth field, or labelling youth work merely as a measure for different objectives (e.g. the fight against unemployment, drugs, crime etc.) – the development of a whole-of-government approach has thrown up challenges which have a new significance for the youth field.

For example, the question of how youth policy can fit into the hierarchical construction of policy aims along with all the different policy areas, and compete for budgets and recognition based on these aims, has become increasingly important, considering the growing need to provide evidence of the influence and efficiency of youth policy measures in relation to stated aims.

More centralised strategies and integrated policy planning contributes towards more coherent policies for youth at national level. However, practice at the local level is not directly part of these changes. This is especially significant for youth work in Estonia, as the responsibility for the provision of youth work lies with autonomous local governments that are also employers for most youth workers. Given the differences between the municipalities and the growing variety of actors providing youth work at local level (an increasing number of offers are being provided by businesses and NGOs, for example), real opportunities for youth work can be remarkably different at the local level from central-level policy objectives. The gap between policies at governmental level and practice at the local level might be widening, as cross-sectoral co-operation opportunities, the instruments available and results expected are different at central and local-level and between different municipalities. The OECD review (2011) described this issue as important for the implementation of the whole-of-government approach, while outlining the variety of tools available for enhanced central/local-level co-ordination. However, the implications of using tools such as legislation, contracts, performance measurements, standards and indicator systems to deliver youth policy goals have to be carefully considered in relation to

many important core principles in youth policy, such as youth participation and the actual needs and realities of young people.

The drive for integrated policy in all areas has also brought more stakeholders into the youth policy field. As plans and processes can be developed in relative freedom from a sector-centred viewpoint, a variety of possible process-owners emerge. In Estonia there have been cases of youth work programmes being initiated at the governmental level by ministries not responsible for youth work, which could be seen as a good example of the recognition of youth work and successful implementation of CSYP, as long as such initiatives do not disregard existing youth work and the youth policy framework. A contributing element to this development could be a practice used sometimes in the Estonian public sector to import initiatives and ready-to-use programmes into different policy areas, including initiatives for youth. As such, this has been critiqued for a “McDonald’s-style” approach, wherein a franchise and its recipes are brought in and delivered wholesale without any real analysis of the context, needs, possible impacts or resources available in the long term (Savi 2015).

To sum up this discussion about aspects of inserting more co-operation into the public sector and public services delivery in Estonia – that is, developing a whole-of-government approach – one can see its importance to the real delivery of integrated youth policy or CSYP. The Estonian experience highlights challenges with the hierarchy of aims in public policies; the risk of widening the gap between policy and practice; the risk of youth work being “hijacked” by initiatives (including Big Mac-types) that do not take principles and values on board; and the drive towards standardised processes and performance indicators. On the other hand, these developments can also support ways towards further recognition and visibility, opportunities for new resources and incentives for improving youth services. However, when trying to deliver integrated youth policy within a cross-sectoral public policy framework, it is important to keep the youth-centred, voluntary, participatory and partnership-based value set of youth field constantly under attention.

Avenues for thought

The discussion about how to achieve the goals of youth work and youth policy, and how and what kinds of relationships to establish with other policy domains – that is, how to develop and implement CSYP – is, considering different national contexts, a collection of many appropriate approaches. This chapter has tried to illustrate this position while describing some of the specific realities for Estonian youth policy development. It is therefore not a discussion about universal definitions and common models for planning and delivering CSYP that this section focuses on; rather, it seeks to add some avenues for thought to a collection of approaches about the development and delivery of youth policies.

Turning it around

The difficulties and opportunities involved in trying to achieve the aims of the youth field in co-operation with a number of partners have led to the idea of turning it around and starting discussions of the cross-sectoral co-operation from real-life circumstances of young people instead of planning activities together.

The idea stems from discussions that focused on young people's everyday trajectories between school, home, youth clubs, etc., as the centre for developing plans about implementing youth work goals. If the aim is to prevent exclusion and provide opportunities for personal development, then transportation issues, facilities, youth workers, methods, etc., are all part of the solution. In this view, the borders between different local municipalities or between institutions belong to different sectors, or differences in youth work provision do not matter any more. A pilot project has been set up in Estonia recently, where the Estonian Youth Work Centre, along with the Ministry of Education and Research, collaborate in supporting groups of local governments (with their composition based on young people's real-life trajectories) to evaluate, develop and design services for youth. Participation is voluntary for the municipalities. Training and planning support, together with funding for youth work, are available, and solutions from different sectors are being deployed to the benefit of youth work.

The main idea is not to create a new model for cross-sectoral co-operation, but rather an illustration of an approach, to come at a task from a different angle. This can avoid some problems until new experience of co-operation makes it possible to provide suitable solutions for them.

YPaaS

In IT there is a concept of service-oriented architecture that includes infrastructure as a service (IaaS) and basically sees "everything as a service" (EaaS). For example the cloud service – an online service that abstracts the user from the details of infrastructure. In May 2016, at a conference in Tallinn on using big data for policy making, Estonian e-thinking leader, Taavi Kotka, provoked the audience with an idea about public services redefined by opportunities provided by technology, calling it "country as a service" (CaaS). The idea lies in interpreting global trends in the employment market as proof that "there is no single best place for everything", and that technology already allows for an online workforce and structures for every solution, including public services.

The idea of "youth policy as a service" (YPaaS) emerged after being inspired (if not convinced) by this approach. One can imagine crowdsourced data analyses of youth situations with co-created solutions (by an online workforce of specialists from different professions and with the inclusion of young people) to problems defined as a priority for communities, countries or globally. This could allow a vast number of youth researchers, youth workers, young people, also teachers, social workers and so on to participate in defining, developing, designing and evaluating bits of youth policy objectives at a national or international level. The technology for creating an "ecosystem" for services of this type already exists. Delivering activities would still be a task fulfilled in real, not virtual, reality. However, the problems of interagency and intersectoral co-operation may find very pragmatic solutions if placed in a field defined by technological borders and rules.

Perhaps "thinking in the cloud(s)" describes this line of thought well. We should accept the fact that technology offers a large range of new opportunities, and consider whether the youth field is currently really benefitting from these developments.

Diplomacy – An old new idea for cross-sectoral co-operation

Due to the administrative perspective employed, this chapter has not paid much attention to the fact that any form of co-operation involves people (and their personalities). The OECD noted in its review of Estonian public governance that “formal co-ordination mechanisms are more limited in small states, and there is a tendency for structures to adapt to individuals rather than individuals to fit in formal organisational frameworks” (2011: 21). While the review highlights the importance of personalities, especially in small states, one may consider that personal relationships are important in any system. More than 30 years ago, Weatherspoon and Williamson concluded with regard to a youth and community work project in Cardiff (UK) that “it would seem that the key-word in considering interagency relations is diplomacy” (1985: 27).

Perhaps there is room for new or additional ways to think about opportunities for ideas, models and solutions for CSYP, starting with (re)thinking the position of a civil servant, youth worker or a project leader who is trying to develop and/or implement a cross-sectoral initiative as a person acting firstly in the area of diplomacy (in the sense of mastering the art and practice of conducting negotiations), not on behalf of states but of young people and the aims of youth policy. The vast number of instruments and concepts in diplomacy (e.g. arbitration, mediation, realpolitik, informal and cultural diplomacy) could provide food for thought and the models needed for more success in cross-sectoral co-operation.

Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on Estonian experience to illustrate that the discussion about CSYP has to do with the traditions, history and development of the youth field and public governance of specific countries. Retrospectively, one could conclude that the Estonian experience, where a solid base of modern youth work practice together with a legal and financial framework was in place before integrated youth policy was set as a goal in 2006, served as a good platform for the youth field to mesh itself with the shift in the public sector towards the whole-of-government approach that began in 2011/12. Youth-sector-led horizontal initiatives that were implemented provided a first-hand opportunity to learn about possible gains and risks, which, together with continuing investments into structures, training and quality systems in the youth field, provided a foundation for some success with the youth policy goals.

This also provides grounds to argue that given the impact of country contexts and the different ways that are working in order to achieve the results, CSYP would not gain from universal definitions, models and standards. Discussing how youth policy can be effective across sectors and at different levels, taking into consideration technological innovations, etc. while still holding true to a youth-centred value set, is a multidimensional task in line with ground realities. The question of synchronisation is therefore a question of compatibility, akin to an ecosystem where the aim is not to come up with an exact tune but a harmony.

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Chapter 5

Exploring integrated CSYP in Estonia⁶¹

Tanja Dibou⁶²

Introduction: the main pillars of CSYP

Young people today are not a homogenous group. They have different interests and needs that vary depending on their age, sex, (sub)culture, ethnic or religious background, education and economic status. Contemporary youth policy needs to take this variety into account in order to better target different groups. In addition, the issues that need to be tackled by youth policy are often cross-cutting. Such pluralism and interdependence suggest a need to revise current governance models to better address new challenges.

Currently, the main issue of youth policy implementation is the problem of organising efficient interaction between different institutions and stakeholders across levels and sectors. An analysis of existing CSYP practice is needed to consider, in particular, the main barriers and solutions.

This chapter is based on an analysis of youth policy documents, and semi-structured interviews and focus groups with civil servants and institutional experts from the youth field in Estonia. It aims to present the dimensions of integrated youth policy in Estonia and map the main actors. It also explores how public servants active in the youth field understand youth policy, particularly CSYP, and compares their perceptions with that found in EU youth policy agendas and documents.

Today, the most common position of youth policy practitioners is that youth policy is not a separate policy area. As UNESCO proclaims:

Every country needs effective strategies able to help young people to make the right choices, protect them from exploitation and neglect and ensure their participation in all spheres of society. To address some of these issues and, more importantly, to take a strong stand in support of their young people, each country is urged to develop a long-term, consensus-based, integrated and cross-sectoral youth policy. (2004: 6)

The World Bank, too, sees a cross-sectoral approach in the youth field as a key element for developing successful youth policy. According to its World Development Report 2007, “a successful youth policy requires working across many sectors to develop one coherent, holistic and intersectoral strategy, with clear priorities and measures

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for concrete action" (World Bank 2007: 211). Youth policy can be understood as a complex activity that aims to create favourable conditions for the development of the younger generation and to help young people adjust to public and private life (Lisovski 1996).

The EU has encouraged its member states to undertake measures to develop a cross-sectoral approach to policy making that perceives young people as a resource. Importantly, within this framework young people and youth NGOs are seen to be involved in decision making on issues that affect them (Denstad 2009: 9). The CSYP approach has been actively promoted by the EU since it released its White Paper on Youth in November 2001. The White Paper set out a framework of co-operation wherein the open method of co-ordination was introduced as the main instrument for developing and implementing CSYP (Mairesse 2009: 15). Accordingly, the youth dimension should be integrated in the following policy areas: employment and social integration, the fight against racism and xenophobia, education, lifelong learning and mobility. The European Youth Pact of 2005 re-emphasised the need to integrate the youth dimension in all policy areas that are linked to young people. In relation to the horizontal dimension in EU youth policy, we must also take note of the EU Youth Strategy 2010-2018, which proposes a cross-sectoral approach through both short and long-term actions involving all key policy areas that affect young people. Implementation and co-ordination of CSYP are the key themes of EU youth policy administrative evaluation. A survey on youth policy implementation in the EU member states conducted in 2012 provides a general overview of how the member states and participating non-EU countries structure their youth policy in terms of legislation, policy strategies and interministerial co-operation (European Commission 2012).

Despite the centrality of the cross-sectoral strategy to EU youth policy, implementation faces difficulties as no EU country has managed to integrate all its youth affairs with all other relevant sectors. For instance, in some EU members youth work is institutionally separated from education and training and from labour market policies. It might also be the case that other core themes are not integrated with each other. Such core issues include youth work with its culture and leisure-oriented offers, youth information, political education, health education, holiday camps and international exchanges (Walther, Hejl and Jensen 2002). In some countries, youth policy also includes the field of child and youth care, which in most other countries is subsumed under either social or health services.

Wallace and Bendit (2009) have attempted to classify different youth policies in the EU by their level of decentralisation and how different institutions and actors are involved. They acknowledge that the level of decentralisation and co-operation between institutions in the youth field depends on historical and cultural developments that arise out of institutional variations such as the role of civil society in youth policy. The concept of youth itself influences the institutions and actors involved in youth policy. Where young people are seen as a problem, there is a focus on issues such as unemployment, homelessness, AIDS, drug abuse and prevention of youth delinquency, and youth policy measures that target young people are often dictated by actors from the social, employment, health and criminal sectors, among others. In countries where young people are seen as a resource, there is a strong emphasis on helping to develop young people as a resource for themselves or as a resource

for society as a whole, with a focus on education, training and the participation of young people in society. Such youth policies are mainly determined by institutions and actors from the education sector. Additionally, youth policy is conceived as a means to promote youth autonomy and their political and social participation as active citizens (ibid.: 443-6).

However, in both cases, the main idea behind organising youth policy is to involve various actors and institutions in the field as much as possible, in order to prevent problems and provide solutions in the case of youth as a problem and provide favourable opportunities and environments in the case of youth as a resource.

Wallace and Bendit also differentiate between countries with large and small youth sectors. Countries with a major youth sector are those where youth policy is primarily concentrated within the boundaries of a well-defined and well-organised set of institutions. In countries where the youth sector is small, it is divided between a number of traditional sectors such as education, employment, urban planning and so on. This pattern implies that the responsibility for youth issues lies in different ministries and organisations, although there may be some kind of co-ordination of youth issues. There are also countries where a special youth sector does not exist at all and where youth policy is fractured into different administrative sectors without a co-ordinating centre (ibid.: 449).

Practical implementation of CSYP is a challenge, too. Denstad (2009) has argued that it is important to anchor the responsibility for youth policy at the ministerial level and have a special unit within the ministry given the concrete task of overseeing and monitoring the implementation of CSYP. This unit should be responsible for submitting regular monitoring reports to the youth minister. It is important that there is regular and constructive dialogue between the different ministries and the political will and ability to implement the youth strategy (ibid.: 61). Effectiveness of youth policy implementation lies in ownership, interest and responsibility (ibid.: 10). Ensuring wide ownership of the strategy – both within government and among youth NGOs – is absolutely crucial for guaranteeing implementation of the strategy (ibid: 55). Strong ownership of youth policy can be ensured if stakeholders have a responsibility and interest. Siurala (2005: 34) argues that the main mechanisms to manage integrated youth policy across various levels and sectors are a youth policy plan; co-ordination by a body or a person responsible for youth affairs; administrative capacity to run a co-ordinated project; and youth representation mechanisms such as youth councils/parliaments, youth hearings/panels; and youth studies/surveys.

However, CSYP is still in an early phase of development, and is vulnerable. Siurala (2012: 109) argues that integrated youth policy has not been successful because of implementation problems. He blames the failures of integrated youth policy on the fact that: it has been too global and abstract; the youth sector as the process owner within administration (of the state or the municipality) has been too insignificant to drive the process through; the involvement of stakeholders (departments, politicians, young people) has been insufficient; the links to budgetary processes and to government/city council priority programmes are missing. In addition, co-operation between stakeholders is limited if youth policy stakeholders are restricted to working to organisational targets or duties and are unable to allocate time to participate

in networking and interaction, for instance with parents, local youth organisations and other relevant agencies and societal structures, or develop links with other stakeholders who are interested in or affected by young people (Sapin 2013: 9).

In the following sections, I will explore how CSYP is described in Estonia by paying specific attention to the perceptions of youth policy stakeholders, whose way of thinking affects the further development of co-operation in the youth field.

CSYP in Estonia: an empirical exploration

This analysis of the Estonian experience of implementing CSYP is based on legislation and interviews. For the former, sectoral development plans in the youth field of Estonia were examined in order to map a model of youth policy in Estonia, incorporating the stakeholders who play a crucial role in providing youth services. Interviews were also conducted in 2013, including 11 individual semi-structured interviews and one focus group interview with Estonian civil servants and experts from organisations working in the field of youth affairs at EU, national, regional and local levels. The individual and focus group interviews enabled a study of the Estonian experience of CSYP implementation reflecting the following aspects: the contribution and role of the main stakeholders in developing youth policy in Estonia; knowledge and understanding of stakeholders about integrated youth policy; and co-operation between stakeholders in providing youth services in Estonia.

The development of sustainable vertical and horizontal co-operation between stakeholders depends not only on formal decision making and legislation, but also on the perceptions of a range of stakeholders involved in the process of implementation. These perceptions can be seen as the “hidden guidance” for co-operation between various stakeholders. Therefore an analysis of stakeholder perceptions opens up new horizons for a better understanding of what has been done in the field and what needs to be improved.

The focus group was made up of 12 representatives of youth associations and youth organisations at local level. The focus group took place at the end of 2013, the year the Estonian Youth Strategy 2006-2013⁶³ was renewed and replaced by the Youth Field Development Plan 2014-2020.⁶⁴

The formulation of a cross-sectoral approach to youth policy at national level began in Estonia before it joined the EU. It was influenced by the White Paper on Youth as well as earlier bilateral and multilateral contacts, study visits and exchange of staff and youth groups aiming at gaining experience and forming opinions on solutions for youth work and youth policies (Council of Europe 2001: 32). Estonia has also actively used experience from the Nordic countries. An important element of its success has been good investment in international contacts and co-operation,

63. Republic of Estonia Ministry of Education and Research. The Estonian Youth Work Strategy 2006-2013 (in Estonian: Noorsootöö Strateegia 2006-2013), www.hm.ee/sites/default/files/noorsootoo_strateegia_eng.pdf.

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whereby civil servants, youth workers and other professionals had access to peers from other countries (ibid.: 37).

The Estonian Youth Work Strategy 2006-2013 is the first official document that outlined principles for increased co-operation and the co-ordination of activities in different policy areas for the purpose of creating CSYP for Estonia. The Estonian Youth Work Strategy 2006-2013 also spelled out the principles of integrated youth policy, which should be based on:

- ▶ young people's actual situations, interests and needs;
- ▶ youth participation;
- ▶ co-operation between different areas.

According to the Youth Work Strategy, youth policy is defined as: "a more extensive area – unified approach to all activities targeted at young people in all areas concerning their life." In a wider sense, it means that:

as the courses of young people's development are very diverse and full of influencing factors, youth policy has to be a horizontal policy and reflect different aspects of young people's living. It is essential to highlight the actions targeted at young people, e.g. employment, education, culture policies as well as the activities targeted at the actual needs and challenges of young people, i.e. co-ordinated and purposeful action in different spheres of life, or integrated youth policy.

As the result of an integrated youth policy, a young person is expected to get the experiences that will enable successful management of the challenges, choices and opportunities ahead, including: participation opportunities and experience; studying; creativity and possibility of self-expression; information and guidance; experience in social membership; safety and welfare; prevention of problems and support in dealing with them. The development of an integrated youth policy requires the creation of a co-operation network at local level, and improvement of the co-operation of the concerned ministries.

Box 1: Interviewees on integrated youth policy in Estonia

"Integrated youth policy is actually a networking of various stakeholders. That does not mean that only the youth worker is running around and delivering youth services, but other actors also need to be actively engaged in the process, such as teachers, social workers, child protection workers, police, no matter who, everybody relating to young people." (Representative of a youth workers' union)

"Integrated youth policy is youth policy that takes into account the particular needs and desires of young people. Young people themselves are part of the system, they also work on suitable solutions for youth issues." (Representative of the Sport and Youth Department of Tallinn Municipality)

“Integrated youth policy, in my opinion, is where young people’s wishes and needs are in first place. It is a youth-oriented policy.” (Representative of the Foundation Archimedes)

“Integrated youth policy can be achieved only through active co-operation. I see it as a close collaboration between different sectors, and I think that this co-operation needs to be co-ordinated by one responsible institution.” (Representative of the Ministry of Social Affairs)

“Integrated youth policy means for me the situation when formal and non-formal education are working closely for youth needs.” (Representative of the Ministry of Culture)

“Integrated means all youth policy is not directed towards a specific group as young people, but takes into account the broader picture of youth development. For me, this is not a fixed action of one or two stakeholders, rather various stakeholders agree on an overall common vision on how to solve problems and provide responses in close co-operation. An integrated approach will work if all stakeholders share common values concerning what a better future for young people is.” (Representative of the Estonian Youth Work Centre)

What does CSYP in Estonia look like, according to the perceptions of public officials? The idea of a cross-sectoral approach was understandable to most of the interviewees and members of the focus group. According to the interviewees, an integrated approach in the youth policy refers to three components, namely co-operation between stakeholders, networking and youth opinions being taken into account. The interview excerpts in Box 1 illustrate this stance.

The next question to be explored concerns the main youth policy actors and domains in Estonia. In the Youth Work Strategy, the following policy domains are mentioned: education, employment, health, culture, society, family, environment, crime prevention and national defence. In practical terms, the age of young people is one of the decisive factors for a number of policy domains where young people are included as a special social group. Other factors that influence whether a young person needs some sort of attention from the public policy domain could include socio-economic background, health/disability and cultural background. The dominant youth policy stakeholders at the national levels are the Ministry of Education and Research, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Culture. Table 5 provides an overview of the main areas of responsibility of the ministries.

Table 5: Target groups and public policy domains at national level in Estonia

Age group	Youth issues, needs and interests	Key ministries engaged in resolving the issues of youth age groups
10-14	Friends, pocket money, school, entertainment, relations with the other sex, health issues	Ministry of Education and Research, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Social Affairs
15-19	Sexual life, health, crime, education, labour market integration/getting a job, active civic participation, violence prevention, military service	Ministry of Education and Research, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior
20-24	Learning mobility, autonomy, money and housing, job seeking, time management, entrepreneurship, family, health, children, military service	Ministry of Education and Research, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign affairs, Ministry of Economic Affairs and Communications

At the structural level, the drafting and adopting of sectoral development plans and strategies as well their implementation is framed by the State Budget Act,⁶⁵ which creates a legal environment that encourages collaboration between ministries and ministerial departments. The need to collaborate in the process of developing a sectoral development plan is stipulated also in the by-law “Types of strategic development plans. The order of drafting, updating, implementing, evaluation and reporting on development plans”.⁶⁶ The by-law clarifies strategic documents that need to be taken into account when drafting a development plan: national development plans aimed at increasing competitiveness of the Republic of Estonia and Republic of Estonia Government action plan. These documents are to be taken into account also in development plans and policy programmes targeting young people. Because development plans and policy programmes make claims on the state budget, all development plans are reviewed by the Ministry of Finance, which has the final word in deciding the exact costs of a plan or a programme. This also means that rather than just the Ministry of Education and Research, it is the Ministry of Finance that plays a role in co-ordinating youth policies.

Several sectoral development plans and policy programmes address the needs of society in connection with young people and the needs of young people separately. These grew out of sectoral responsibilities that have direct relevance either predominantly for young people (Youth Field Development Plan 2014-2020, Ministry of Education and Research) or also for young people (e.g. Child and Family Development

65. State Gazette I, 30 December 2015, 68, State Budget Act, available at www.riigiteataja.ee/en/eli/ee/529022016004/consolide/current, accessed 31 May 2017.

66. State Gazette I, 14 October 2014, 10, “Types of strategic development plans. The order of drafting, updating, implementing, evaluation and reporting on development plans”, available at www.riigiteataja.ee/akt/114102014010?leiaKehtiv, accessed 31 May 2017 (translations by the author).

Plan 2012-2020, Ministry of Social Affairs), or by definition, cover a large part of the youth population (Violence Prevention Strategy 2015-2020, Ministry of Justice, and the Lifelong Learning Strategy 2020, Ministry of Education and Research).

The new Youth Field Development Plan 2014-2020 was developed to increase the quality of CSYP in Estonia. The crucial differences with the previous Estonian Youth Strategy (2006-2013) include a changing understanding about the concept of youth policy and youth work. In the Youth Field Development Plan, there is no concrete division between youth policy and youth work. The new concept is a youth field that includes both dimensions of youth policy and youth work (Haridus- ja Teadusministeerium 2013a). The Youth Field Development Plan also stresses the institutional role in co-operation and notes the main actors responsible for implementing CSYP. That means ensuring that specific institutions responsible for youth affairs have the administrative capacity to run a co-ordinated project. Hopefully, the current plan will be more successfully implemented by all interested actors in youth development. Youth policy in Estonia is decentralised between central and local government levels, where different stakeholders are simultaneously involved. The national youth policy of Estonia, as the youth policy of an EU member state, is seen as a system of complex interactions between national and EU stakeholders in the youth field, so the governance model of Estonian youth policy includes three levels: the EU, the national level and the local level.

Before each budgeting period, general youth policy objectives are specified and priorities are set on the basis of national and European development plans as well as the internal logic of development within the field of youth policy and youth work. Activities and financial appropriations in the implementation plan are developed in co-operation with a range of organisations active in the youth field (Bart et al. 2013:86). One good example of co-operation in the context of common financing of EU and national funds is the programme Developing Youth Work Quality, financed by the European Social Fund and the Republic of Estonia for the period 2008-13. The European Economic Area grant programme Children and Youth at Risk is also an example of a programme implemented jointly by three ministries: the Ministry of Education and Research, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Social Affairs. The Estonian Youth Work Centre is the Programme Operator Implementing Agency.

The Ministry of Education and Research is the government's co-ordinating ministry for youth policy, while other ministries involved in CSYP include the Ministry of Social Affairs (social welfare services and transfers, child protection, [un]employment [Youth Guarantee], health issues and health counselling); the Ministry of the Interior (community cohesiveness, security and social participation); the Ministry of Justice (work with juvenile delinquents on re-socialisation, co-ordinating legislation, evidence-based policy making and evaluation, crime prevention); the Ministry of Culture (sports clubs, cross-cultural activities, intercultural integration); and the Ministry of Defence (Defence League youth corps, which are supported significantly by the Defence League, are among the largest youth organisations).

As there are many institutions that play an important role in youth policy, youth field experts did not give concrete answers in their interviews regarding what the components of youth policy are and how cross-sectoral co-operation can be

implemented. But the respondents noted that at national level, there is still a lack of interaction between ministries. General attitudes about co-operation, as characterised by respondents, are listed in Box 2.

Box 2: Interviewees on co-operation

“Co-operation is based on the exchange of information, that means people are coming together to exchange information or to discuss the problems of youth in the area and make suggestions for further improvement.” (Permanent Representative of Estonia to the EU in Youth Affairs)

“Co-operation is more random in nature, rather than systemic. This means that co-operation largely depends on the situation and the emerging problem.” (Representative of the Tallinn Youth Council)

“Co-operation is short term in nature and very often based on a special project’s objective.” (Representative of the Ministry of Culture)

“Co-operation quite often depends on individual initiatives.” (Representative of the Estonian Youth Workers’ Union)

“Co-operation is very much based on the previous contacts.” (Representative of Tartu Municipality).

“Co-operation exists at a modest level. Every organisation has its own goals and priorities, which sometimes do not match with others.” (Representative of the Ministry of Education and Research)

“Co-operation is initiated by the actor directly involved in solving a specific issue or achieving a goal. When the goal is reached, the working group is dissolved.” (Representative of the Estonian Open Youth Centre)

“Our co-operation is usually based on the projects that we are interested in implementing. A good project cannot be realised without partners, so we involve partners and the projects stimulate us to co-operate.” (Representative of a local youth centre)

The general attitudes of the respondents about co-operation suggest a lack of sustainable co-operation between various stakeholders. Mostly, co-operation exists between stakeholders in the youth sector, but there are fewer stakeholders from other sectors involved. Establishing long-term and stable co-operation between organisations from different sectors remains challenging.

According to the respondents, the main barriers to co-operation are institutional rigidity, as officials tend to be focused on formalities and specific perceptions of their responsibilities, and to some extent the confused identities of youth policy, as each institution has its own understanding of the field and its objectives. Some respondents stressed that young people are still not the priority for politicians and many structural or institutional arrangements are quite new in the Estonian youth policy context. Therefore the relationships between institutions in the field are not

yet settled, which strongly influences the further development of co-operation between various stakeholders.

The interviewees also pointed out several mechanisms that have already linked stakeholders, such as common meetings, discussions, working groups and projects (Box 3).

Box 3: Links between youth policy stakeholders

“Co-operation takes place through various discussions, working groups.”
(Representative of the Ministry of Social Affairs)

“Our basic co-operation forms are seminars, meetings, training, study visits.”
(Representative of the Estonian National Youth Council).

“We have a lot of international projects and partners. At national level, we co-operate widely in a variety of policy workshops, in strategic discussions.”
(Representative of Foundation Innove)

“We have very good co-operation with youth centres and the network has regular meetings twice a year.” (Representative of the Estonian Youth Workers’ Union)

The respondents found that for better co-operation between ministries, it might be possible to establish an interministerial working group consisting of experts from different ministries who are familiar with the youth policy development process and who work for regular and constructive interministerial dialogue. Strategic documents would be more useful for co-operation if they included a common vision and description of mechanisms for involving different stakeholders in youth policy development.

To conclude, the respondents outlined the strengths and shortcomings of stakeholder co-operation. They had a shared understanding that youth needs special attention, and felt that the main strengths of youth policy in Estonia lie in:

- ▶ the inclusion of the youth dimension in a number of legislative acts and government programmes;
- ▶ the existence of an Estonian Youth Work Strategy 2006-2013 and Youth Work Act that focus on youth participation through various youth organisations;
- ▶ the increasing role of youth NGOs in policy making;
- ▶ the development of new institutions and mechanisms for interaction between NGOs and the government (umbrella organisations, common meetings, working groups, etc.); for instance, the NGO Association of Estonian Open Youth Centres works to develop the youth work field and actively co-operates with state and local authorities and youth organisations in Estonia;
- ▶ a variety of resources for financing the youth field (state budget, local municipalities, etc.).

The main shortcomings were identified as:

- ▶ a lack of sustainable co-operation between youth NGOs and government institutions;
- ▶ a lack of involvement of stakeholders from other sectors in youth affairs;
- ▶ a lack participation of youth in the decision-making process;
- ▶ a lack of allocated sums for the youth field, tending towards irregular and quite often project-based funding;
- ▶ the Russian-speaking youth minority, youth with disabilities and youth at risk appear to be ignored by society and policy makers in comparison to their peers;
- ▶ a large geographical variation in the availability of youth services and information.

It is very important to appreciate the respondents' clear understanding of their personal and organisational roles in advancing integrated CSYP. Bringing together different institutions and different fields is not an easy thing, and respondents mentioned the importance of partnerships, requiring close co-operation and binding instruments. Most respondents acknowledged that co-operation is key for the successful implementation of youth policy. Indeed, most co-operate at least to some degree. They defined three different modes of operation.

- ▶ A: the institution works independently, does not co-operate with others (2 respondents out of 23);
- ▶ B: the institution works with specific partners and rarely engages new partners (15 out of 23);
- ▶ C: the institution works with a range of partners and is active in engaging new partners (6 out of 23).

Respondents from categories A and B were mostly from institutions at the state level, namely ministries. Respondents from category C were mostly from organisations working with youth affairs at local level. It is worth noting that co-operation occurs more often between actors at the same level of government and within one policy domain, in particular education and the youth work sector. Only two respondents said that they do not co-operate and the stakeholders said they try to co-operate with a wide range of partners, including co-operation on a vertical dimension.

Conclusions

CSYP is seen today as a solution to the increasing diversification of youth groups and the complexity and variety of youth issues. There is no universally accepted definition of cross-sectoral integrated policy making and service delivery in the youth sector. It is seen as a system of complex interactions between national, transnational and supranational actors from various policy sectors.

For a better understanding of the framework of co-operation between various stakeholders in youth policy, the chapter attempted to give an overview of CSYP in Estonia from the point of view of civil servants and experts who work in the youth field. Interviews revealed that a certain basis for successful cross-sectoral collaboration in the youth field exists – a ministerial-level strategic plan with clear priorities and an action plan, also indicating responsible institutions and main stakeholders, has been adopted: the Estonian Youth Field Development Plan 2014-2020. Compared to the Estonian Youth Work Strategy 2006-2013, the new development plan is more concrete and pinpoints the responsibilities of the main stakeholders such as the Ministry of Education and Research, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Culture. The respondents also defined the main instruments that support co-operation between stakeholders, such as meetings, round tables and discussions of strategic issues and decisions. Interviewees also suggested the idea of an interministerial working group consisting of experts from different ministries.

The analysis of existing practice of CSYP in Estonia shows that the main barriers are institutional rigidity and the confused identity of youth policy, as each institution has its own understanding of the field and its objectives. Therefore it is essential to involve all youth field stakeholders and actors in policy processes so that they develop a sense of their ownership of CSYP. For that, it will be necessary to add concrete tools and mechanisms to involve and work cross-sectorally with different stakeholders in the name of developing youth policy further.

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Chapter 6

A precarious equilibrium – Working together in youth policy and practice

Howard Williamson⁶⁷

Introduction

In the context of the increasing use of the concept of “cross-sectoral” youth policy and contemporary analysis of loosely and often rather lazily used expressions such as “transversal” and “integrated”, to describe various forms of exchange and collaboration between and beyond governmental youth policy domains (Nico 2016), few have endeavoured to trace the origins of such terms, either in policy or practice. Certainly the political rhetoric of avoiding duplication and strengthening co-operation has been with us for over 50 years, at levels of governance that have had limited purchase in the “real world”. The United Nations, for example, has been exhorting “cross-sectoral co-operation” since the 1960s. On the ground, however, the genesis of “interagency” practice in the youth field is difficult to determine.

In the UK, a key early advocate of integrated youth policy and practice at the local level later became, in 1997, a senior British government minister. He led the establishment of the first legislation to require a “cross-sectoral” approach to youth offending. This chapter is, in part, autobiographical, for I was involved in his work almost from the start. Prior to his role in national politics, Alun Michael (today in his 70s, recently re-elected in 2016 as Police and Crime Commissioner for South Wales, and still advocating stronger collaboration between different agencies and public authorities) had been a local politician and a practising youth and community worker. I met him in 1976 and we have worked together ever since. He was involved, at the time, in a project on working together for children and their families (Kahan 1977). In the evidence he provided 30 years later to the House of Commons Justice Select Committee as part of its inquiry on “justice reinvestment” and the value of working together, Michael related that starting point and raised the critical question:

there were some tremendous models of very effective work and joint working and sharing and all the rest of it. However, it comes and it goes – it is a policy one moment, it is an intervention, it is a team here – but actually moving it from projects or examples of good practice to universality is surely what our inquiry is about - how you get that strategic change? I do not get from the evidence yet a sense... of how you make that leap. I think that is what we are looking for, is it not? (House of Commons 2008: Q.353, 73)

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Michael was making the point that there are intermittent illustrations of effective “cross-sectoral” practice but that these had rarely, if ever, converted successfully into coherent and sustainable strategy and policy. He was well placed to make this point. As a youth and community worker (his formal designation was Area Community Tutor, a local authority post with a broad remit but which might be understood as a co-ordinating community development role) in the 1970s, he had interpreted Kahan’s groundbreaking report to apply it less in social work (the primary focus of Kahan’s work) and more in youth and community work. He brought agencies together and developed a raft of interventions designed to support young people, especially those who were at risk and marginalised (the majority in the community context in which this work was carried out – see Williamson 2004). As a UK Government Minister of State at the Home Office (the Justice Ministry) from 1997 to 1998, he oversaw the first national legislation (for England and Wales) that brought together key agencies to address and reduce youth crime: to be, as Tony Blair, by then the prime minister, had put it earlier, both “tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime”. As First Secretary (*de facto* prime minister) in 1999 of the inaugural Welsh Assembly Government, he backed what was arguably the first CSYP in the world, identifying a framework of opportunities and experiences for young people and the partnerships required to deliver them in the report “Extending entitlement: supporting young people in Wales” (National Assembly for Wales 2000).⁶⁸ Youth offending, after all, is not resolved through criminal justice but through appropriate educational and health provision. Information, advice and guidance is not solely the prerogative, or responsibility, of a “careers” service. Currently, in a climate of draconian cuts throughout many parts of the UK to traditional municipal youth work, Michael is championing exploring and experimenting with new forms of collaboration, not least through the policing resources he controls in South Wales in order to sustain safe communities and ensure positive opportunities and experiences for young people.

It was my collaboration with Michael that later enabled me to introduce ideas – in both policy and practice – about cross-sectoral collaboration within the youth sector in Europe. An early European youth policy framework (to which I made a significant contribution), was ratified by the European Steering Group on Youth (CDEJ 2002) and bears a striking resemblance to Extending Entitlement, the devolved Welsh Assembly’s youth strategy at the time (indeed, it draws heavily from it).

This chapter revisits the initial project on which we collaborated on the development of “an interagency approach to youth and community work in an area of social deprivation” (Williamson and Weatherspoon 1985a, 1985b). The chapter provides a foundation and cornerstone for many current debates. It will describe, briefly, what such a project achieved (and signal what it did not). More analytically, it will consider why such collaboration, however “formalised” and “institutionalised”, invariably continues to rest on a “precarious equilibrium” of organisational, professional and personal relationships.

The original project

Emerging from Kahan’s 1977 study was the conviction, across the political spectrum, both nationally and locally, that there needed to be more robust collaborative

68. A central tenet was no new structures, no new professions – just better working together.

interagency approaches to the problems both faced and caused by young people. The political left saw such development as humanitarian, democratic and effective in meeting need; the political right could detect money-saving and anti-bureaucratic possibilities. In Wales, Michael – as both a youth worker and a local politician – seized the baton embracing such innovation. He maintained that youth work had the potential if perhaps not always the capacity to move from the sidelines and the shadows to centre stage, and to co-ordinate and develop professional work with, and provision for, young people at the local level. This was a position later recognised and promoted, though little came of it, in national reports on youth work in both England (Department of Education and Science 1982) and Wales (Welsh Office 1984).

The Ely Youth and Community Project was established in 1976. It was led by Michael, whose job description was certainly to do with making direct and indirect provision for young people on a huge “deprived” social housing estate. Significantly, however, three of the six purposes of the project were to do with what might be described as “cross-sectoral” work:

- ▶ intra-departmental liaison and co-ordination: between youth work, community work and adult education;
- ▶ intercommunity work: connecting professional activity with local people in the planning of local initiatives;
- ▶ interagency liaison and collaboration: between a range of professionals involved in voluntary (NGO) and statutory agencies working with young people and the community.

For this chapter, it is the latter that is most pertinent, though these three goals were inextricably linked, with the first serving as the central hub for wider development and the second bringing local “voice” to the table of professional decision making.

Over the next few years, the project drew in funding from a huge range of sources, steadily harnessed the interest and commitment of virtually all relevant agencies (anchored in a monthly lunchtime meeting of the Action Group of Professional Workers in Ely), and developed a mosaic of community-based interventions generally directed towards the needs of children and young people. This included an annual working holiday (what might be called, elsewhere in Europe, a work camp) for young people at risk of offending, summer play schemes and holiday clubs, a community festival, “motivation courses” for 16 to 19-year-olds not in education, employment or training (how pioneering was that!), experimental adult education courses, support for young people’s enterprise through the development of a co-operative (see Williamson 1987), and the refurbishment of changing rooms for a local football field through a youth training and job creation programme. This was all over and above what might be called “routine” youth and community work practice. Furthermore, the bringing together of, *inter alia*, teachers, the police, social workers, housing officials, youth justice workers, leaders of faith groups and local NGO workers also helped to cement other initiatives and even individual interventions on the periphery of the community project.

Beyond collaborative planning and delivery, many of the activities described above were linked together in other ways. Young people who had attended the “heritage camp” (which involved working on the coastal path that now runs the length of the entire coast of Wales) sometimes helped with play schemes and the community festival, which had themselves been identified through interprofessional dialogue or through more general youth work provision. For a few years, the festival included a contribution from the Welsh National Opera – “taking opera to the people” by “bringing opera down to earth” – that presented a performance developed from stories written by residents who had recently taken adult literacy classes. Local people were part of the cast.⁶⁹

All this suggests an impressive achievement, forged and fomented through the energy, vision and commitment of Michael. In one sense, that is certainly true. One cannot fail to be impressed with the lists of those who made some contribution to some element of the project. Beyond the involvement of statutory agencies such as education (schools, youth work, adult learning), social and probation services, the police, health and housing services, the churches were very closely engaged, as were a range of voluntary agencies, businesses, and social and sports clubs.

It would be easy, however, to romanticise and over-celebrate such a development. Faultlines ran through the evolution of the project right from the start. These will be explored below. Suffice it to say here that all elements of the project were both sustained and obstructed in the context of the shifting sands of organisational, professional and personal (inter)-relationships – cross-sectoral practice rested on a very “precarious equilibrium” throughout.

The policy

Twenty years later, Alun Michael MP was Minister of State at the Home Office. The New Labour government of 1997 had “hit the ground running” and there were new plans for youth justice. Michael was at the very centre of those reforms. The 1998 Crime and Disorder Act established “youth offending teams” (YOTs). The legislation placed a statutory responsibility on every local authority (municipality) to constitute YOTs through core contributions, in cash or in kind, from five public agencies: education, health, social services, the police and the probation service. These were required to work together with one sole objective: the prevention of further offending.

There is little doubt that Michael modelled his vision for YOTs on his experience 20 years earlier in Ely. Just as he, almost single-handedly, had fostered and co-ordinated increasingly collaborative practice, the policy co-ordination for youth justice was placed in the hands of an arms-length government agency, the Youth Justice Board (YJB). The YJB had two responsibilities: to monitor the working of the youth justice system and to advise the Home Secretary. To that end, it framed the work of YOTs throughout England and Wales in relation to young people at risk of entering the criminal justice system, community-based support and supervision of those already in it, constructive approaches to working with young people in

69. The unfolding enthusiasm for the “opera project” amongst local people led to the formation of the Ely Opera Society in 1985 – something that would have been inconceivable a decade earlier.

custody, and ensuring effective resettlement and reintegration of those leaving the system. To achieve those objectives, the YJB itself, at the level of both governance and strategic planning, was composed of people from very diverse professional backgrounds. The YJB, appointed by ministers, consisted of national “experts” from, for example, the worlds of housing, politics, media and communications, ethnic relations, local government, the judiciary, education, children’s charities, young people⁷⁰ and health (especially substance misuse and mental health). Senior officers of the YJB, responsible for prevention and early intervention, sentencing and diversion, custody and resettlement, came from social work, policing, housing and other career pathways. All the major committees of the YJB involved senior officials (civil servants) from across government departments and chief officers or senior staff from relevant national NGOs.

There were many reflections of Michael’s former practice within this national youth policy framework, the first that had ever – by law – required a cross-sectoral approach. There was a focus on early identification and early intervention, on constructive diversionary and personal development opportunities, and on suitable stepping stones to productive destinations.

Few contested the vision. Nor had they in Ely. Many, however, questioned the efficacy of a cross-sectoral approach – the extent to which professional principles might be compromised, the possibilities of professional boundaries being threatened, the “equality” of the contributions being made, the shared understanding of the job to be done, and so on.

The YOTs were composed not just of the five “statutory” agencies but often also included youth workers, housing workers (accommodation officers) and others, as well as “partner” agencies from the voluntary (NGO) sector – drugs workers, learning mentors and activity providers. Just like the Action Group for Professional Workers in Ely, these different practitioners, and their policy-making bosses, did not always see “eye to eye”. Local authority youth workers, for example, operating according to the sanctity of the principle of the “voluntary relationship”, often found it difficult having to work with young people on a statutory court order. However, because they were sometimes required to do so, they could not – unlike some practitioners in Ely – quietly withdraw from such engagement. Nevertheless, the same constellation of issues, challenges, dilemmas and contradictions that presented in what was, arguably, the first concerted attempt to establish workable “cross-sectoral” policy in the youth field at national level had already been experienced in Michael’s first foray into such arrangements at the local level two decades previously.

The pinch points and the issues

The evaluation of the Ely Youth and Community Project took over two years, leading to a 700-page analysis of the complexities of attempts to promote, consolidate and sustain cross-sectoral and interprofessional practice (Williamson and Weatherspoon 1985a). It was a two-and-a-half-year research project funded by the UK Government’s Department of Education and Science. It used mixed methods including participant

70. I was appointed as a member of the Youth Justice Board in 2001 and served until 2008.

observation at professional meetings, a community survey, semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders, discussions with the young people involved and attendance at a host of events. I was the full-time research officer and I had a part-time research assistant.

A much shorter 100-page “user friendly” version of the evaluation, drawing out salient points in often bullet-point form, was also produced (Williamson and Weatherspoon 1985b). Just five pages of this document (pp. 23-27) are dedicated to a consideration of what are called “interagency issues”, yet they appear to have stood the test of time. They draw together the key elements discussed and evidenced much more intensely in the full evaluation report. They remain issues that demand careful and considered attention if sustainable CSYP and practice is to be achieved.

Purpose?

Rhetorically invoking the value of collaborative policy and practice does not take things very far in the cut-throat and competitive world of politics. Clarity over purpose is essential. In Ely, different professional groups came together to:

- ▶ formulate policy – particularly around priority target groups, types of practice and geographical areas on an estate with a population of 35 000 people;
- ▶ allocate resources;
- ▶ lobby for resources;
- ▶ monitor and evaluate existing provision;
- ▶ plan new provision;
- ▶ collect and exchange information;
- ▶ become more familiar with other people, projects and programmes operating on the same patch.

Such collaborative work focused, differentially, on professional workers (*who* needed to be involved), policy priorities and development (*where* resources and attention were needed, in terms of social groups and geographical areas), processes by which such policy ideas and decisions could or would be implemented (*how* things should evolve) and practice (*what* needed to happen). Purpose dictates and directs the level of representation required and the types of agencies that need to be involved. If the collaborative activity is essentially about setting the strategic direction of the project (a high-level task, whether at local or national level), then it needs a wide range of organisational involvement and the participation of individuals with decision-making authority. If, on the other hand, collaboration is more about addressing, for example, more concrete practical challenges (say, speeding up mental health services for young offenders), then that suggests different parameters for cross-sectoral work, involving a smaller number of professionals or departments (such as, in this example, health, justice, social services and perhaps education).

Obstacles

Such questions prevail at local and national levels and at all points in between. But, as the Ely study clearly demonstrates, some general problems and obstacles immediately rear their head:

- ▶ boundaries differ;
- ▶ bureaucracies differentially dictate different methods of work;
- ▶ structures permit differential degrees of professional autonomy;
- ▶ managers have different senses of the value of collaborative work;
- ▶ statutory priorities come first;
- ▶ professional ethics may vary and can be disputed.

All of these factors are signals as to why cross-sectoral engagement might not prevail. There will always be these kinds of structural obstacles to effective collaboration. They can, however, be minimised to some extent, though the political will is often absent. In a key UK Government report on young people, for example, around the time of the youth justice reforms, a central recommendation was that there should be some common modules of professional training for all those working with young people (e.g. police officers, primary care health practitioners, youth workers, teachers) (Social Exclusion Unit 2000). The idea was to secure more shared understandings about young people, their needs and professional responses prior to those individuals venturing into the field. But nothing ever came of the recommendations. Similarly, shared boundaries would also strengthen the potential for collaborative practice, but at both local and national levels, health, justice, education and other sectors often work within quite different territorial borders.

Commitment

These prospective obstacles can provide grounds for avoidance tactics for those who do not wish to commit to cross-sectoral engagement. The Ely study revealed very variable levels of commitment among those who had the option of strengthening their commitment to interagency practice or stepping to one side.⁷¹ The study suggested some “ideal types” in terms of participation in cross-sectoral and interprofessional practice:

- ▶ core participants;
- ▶ peripheral participants;
- ▶ drifters;
- ▶ non-participants.

71. This is almost certainly why Alun Michael felt that a statutory obligation was the only way both to enable and ensure full agency commitment to the YOTs.

Core participants expressed strong commitment to the principle as well as the practice of interagency work, and were able to engage fully with development on that front on account of organisational licence (or at least tolerance) and sufficient professional autonomy, as well as personal motivation. Peripheral participants were also interested in interagency approaches but more constrained, for a variety of reasons, from full involvement. Drifters were those who drifted in and out of interagency groups for different reasons: ambivalence about the value and merits of interagency practice; self-interest – participating only when there was very clearly something “in it for them”; disinterest – participating only as a result of pressure “from above” or when it seemed politic to do so; and competing pressures, such as wider occupational or personal demands. Non-participants avoided engagement in interagency policy and practice at the local level because they saw no value in doing so; because there was personal animosity or antipathy towards other participants; or because they lacked the necessary organisational freedom or professional autonomy to play a part.

Such a typology, and the explanations and rationale that lie behind it, is readily transplantable to national contexts at both political and policy levels. Politicians themselves are fickle actors in cross-sectoral development, however much they may subscribe to the rhetoric. Civil servants may also pay lip service to it, yet ultimately are often more concerned about and committed to the effective working of their own departments, particularly if their own ministers appear lukewarm about collaboration with other parts of government.

Ground rules

The Ely study pointed to the need for some essential ground rules if there was to be any chance of effective interagency development. Interagency work (like cross-sectoral policy development) is, after all, grounded in reciprocal relationships – working together. Three fundamental ground rules were identified:

- ▶ exchange;
- ▶ reciprocity;
- ▶ diplomacy.

The sharing of ideas, information and effort can run very close to testing professional ethical codes of practice around principles such as confidentiality (Biestek 1961). Yet open and transparent exchange is a critical starting point if appropriate and meaningful collaborative strategies and tactics are to be established. This is closely connected to the idea of reciprocity and the need for willingness to give and receive for mutual benefit. And successful interagency practice also needs to be anchored within a strong framework of diplomacy: a willingness to respect, if not necessarily accept, the different priorities and perspectives held by those from different sectors and organisations.

Vulnerabilities

It was this tripod of ground rules that produced a more calibrated and informed understanding of the vulnerabilities to which interagency activity is likely to be

subjected. When those ground rules are put in jeopardy, the precarious equilibrium on which interagency/cross-sectoral collaboration is invariably constructed comes to be exposed. It is a precarious equilibrium because it rests firmly on the changing perceptions both of those involved and of the organisations from which they come.

There will always be questions about the dividend that accrues vis-à-vis the investment that is expended. This is the potential downside of ideas concerning exchange and reciprocity: the sense that effort is not being matched or reciprocated by others. Equal contributions may not be necessary or required, but expectations concerning involvement and contributions need to be clarified and agreed on at an early stage, and reviewed regularly to ensure that the implicit contract is being upheld to the satisfaction of all parties.

Invariably, there are underlying suspicions of “colonisation” (the subordination of one professional agenda by another), raising questions – whatever the plausibility of research evidence – about the extent to which, for example, health and justice professionals should be working on agendas around personal development or educational achievement.

Not only is there often a concern about colonisation but there is also a related concern about “dilution”: the compromises and mutuality that are essential to interagency co-operation may be seen as a challenge to the distinctiveness of professional responsibility and expertise. As a professional colleague put it to me recently, the quest is for a fruit cocktail (the deliberate combination of different professional strengths), not a fruit purée (the churning of all professional expertise into one). Or, as I wrote in 1985: “Interagency approaches are about finding common ground and developing common strategies within that common ground, not turning everyone into community workers” (Williamson and Weatherspoon 1985b: 25).

Competing perspectives

Interagency work is imbued with competing perspectives. What one partner may suspect is an attempt at colonisation may be viewed by another as a concerted and legitimate attempt to maximise and co-ordinate the use of existing resources, producing forms of collaborative practice that are more effective than the sum of their parts. What may be seen as the undesirable, even pernicious, erosion of specific professionalisms may equally be viewed as the necessary and timely breakdown of obstructive professional barriers.

Many of the issues with interagency work are similarly double-edged, and heavily dependent on individual or organisational perceptions. Where these morph into negative combinations, the precarious equilibrium on which interagency relations are invariably based may be irretrievably undermined.

The history of CSYP and practice is equally fragile. There have been many short-lived attempts to “work together” across Europe, but these are invariably susceptible to changes in the political wind (elections and a change of government), if not changes in ministerial portfolios during the tenure of the same government. I recall a breakfast conversation in Norway with a senior civil servant from Sweden. She was applauding the UK’s Children and Young People’s Unit as an exemplary model of

cross-governmental co-operation in the field of youth policy. I asked when she had visited, because the unit had already been abolished! What was designed as a 10-year initiative, launched at high level in 2000 by one youth minister, was abandoned and abolished in 2003 by the next youth minister; it had not been his idea and he did not like the criticism that was being directed at him by its advisory board.⁷² The statutory requirement to “come together”, instituted by Alun Michael in 1998, may not have wholly pre-empted such fickle and precipitous exercising of the ministerial prerogative, but it is a rare example of some level of stability and sustainability in cross-sectoral activity; 19 years on, though often rebranded as youth offending services or now merged with wider local authority youth services, the YOTs established by the Crime and Disorder Act continue to operate with their five core contributors (education, police, health, social services and probation) at their heart.

Constraints

Prospects for interagency work at the local level and, arguably, cross-sectoral activity at the national level, are nevertheless generally and routinely constrained at three levels:

- ▶ organisational/departmental (political);
- ▶ professional;
- ▶ personal.

Senior officers (and ministers) will often, at least rhetorically, commend closer collaborative action with others. Professionals on the ground usually, and more concretely, witness its merits. However, there is usually rather less appetite for such collaboration within the body of the organisational machine. The focus there is on the distinctive priorities and targets of the organisation, on which it can be judged, measured, remunerated and recognised. These are much harder to define in relation to the blurred boundaries that characterise collaboration. The “core business” of organisations (and government departments) invariably takes precedence, especially in times of austerity and regardless of political invocations to do “more for less” and to “think differently about service provision”. Such organisational dictates then undoubtedly limit individual capacity to participate in interagency policy and practice.

Similar constraints derive from professional responsibilities and priorities. Needless to say, professionals from different sectors generally value and defend their distinctive “bodies of knowledge”, which are themselves often rooted in specific codes of practice and ethics. Some “street workers” (detached youth workers) in parts of Europe, for example, are bound by commitments to “professional secrecy”. This is hardly a recipe for collaborative action, though it may bring other strengths to youth work practice. In Ely, it was professional duties rather than professional principle that constrained involvement in interagency development. Invariably, this development, at least partially, had to take place on top of core professional responsibilities (teaching,

72. The minister was responsible both for children's rights and youth justice, the contradictions surrounding which were palpable. Representatives from the children and youth sectors on the Ministerial Advisory Group, including myself, were eager to admonish him for his attendance at a UN children's event while simultaneously advocating the use of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs) for “children” under 18.

community policing, casework, direct youth work, housing management) and there were always risks that those core professional obligations would – as they would have to – take precedence over more collaborative commitments.

The fact that collaborative work often demanded involvement over and above the “routine” working week put pressure on individuals’ personal lives. Some used domestic and personal pressures as a convenient way of avoiding full engagement with interagency developments; for others, those pressures meant that limited engagement was unavoidable.

This triangle of constraints conspired in different ways to affect the promise of the interagency work that took place in Ely. Some key individuals were simply unable to play a full part, sometimes because of personal circumstances, occasionally because of competing professional priorities, and often because of shifting organisational pressures. A “community” project necessarily needs professionals aligned to that geographical area. Sometimes the “patch” covered by professionals (youth workers, social workers, health visitors) was broadly coterminous with Ely, but often it was not. And sometimes the organisational frameworks for professional practice suddenly changed – from a geographical to a client group remit, for example – and a previously highly committed practitioner to the interagency project became unable to continue that involvement. The capacity of even those wholly committed to the project was, therefore, sometimes undermined by wider constraints. Lipsky’s (2010) ideas about “street-level bureaucracies”, and the possibility of professionals resisting or reinterpreting hierarchical instruction in order to pursue what they consider to be desirable practice, only go so far, though it is important to recognise that whatever is “prescribed” in public policy, it is workers on the ground who ultimately interpret and implement it:

I maintain that public policy is not best understood as made in legislatures or top-floor suites or by high-ranking administrators. These decision-making arenas are important, of course, but they do not represent the complete picture. To the mix of places where the policies are made, one must add the crowded offices and daily encounters of street-level workers (Lipsky 2010: xiii).

Uncertainties

Yet it is not just a top-down process where policy frames – loosely or more tightly – capacity for professional discretion (and resistance). The same uncertainties that applied in Ely also apply in cross-sectoral work at national level. The attack on the Twin Towers in New York in September 2001, for example, had dramatic consequences for policing and security practice in the UK, for a time altering the volume of police resources that were anticipated to be dedicated to more creative, collaborative, preventative youth justice measures. That is an extreme example, but it makes the point. Barbara Wootton (1959) once wrote that a young person in juvenile court trying to anticipate their sentence was like a drunken man trying to hit a moving punchball with a wobbling hand. Trying to anticipate the direction of travel of CSYP is equally problematic. There are both horizontal and vertical uncertainties to contend with. Even the YOTs, with their relatively stable and legally prescribed identities, have sometimes struggled not only internally (with, like Ely, concerns and conflicts

over levels of financial and human contributions) but also externally, with pressures to balance their wider collaborative responsibilities (around, critically, connecting young offenders with education, training and employment; helping them deal with substance misuse issues; ensuring they can access timely and appropriate mental health care; and addressing housing and resettlement provision for them) with their specific duties within the criminal justice system (such as the supervision of young offenders in the community, or visiting young people in custody).

Conclusions

Thirty years ago, the conclusion drawn regarding interagency collaboration to promote more relevant, focused and effective youth (and community) work policy and practice was that the construction and development of sustained and positive relationships between agencies on behalf of young people and the community is a sensitive and delicate process. The most well-grounded motives for “organising” and co-ordinating such relationships run a constant risk of backfiring as a result of (perhaps) misguided or distorted perceptions of *why* this is taking place. The “balance” required to maintain healthy interagency relations and thereby productive interagency co-operation remains always precarious, vulnerable not only to changing perceptions but also to the very real organisational, professional and personal constraints that may prohibit desirable levels of commitment and involvement (Williamson and Weatherspoon 1985b: 27; emphasis original).

The evaluation of the Ely Youth and Community Project commended its success in encouraging and co-ordinating different interagency groupings in working towards specific strategic and operational goals, and in engaging in more general inter-professional dialogue. The evaluation noted that the project took on burdensome secretarial and administrative tasks. Critically, this oiled the wheels for productive interagency co-operation and enabled the project to act as a catalyst, facilitator and co-ordinator of interagency work in the community. Yet, the evaluation also noted that despite its successes, the quality of interagency relations undulated over time. It is certainly some retrospective awareness of that ebb and flow that informed Alun Michael’s evidence to the Select Committee in 2008, when asked to comment on the preventative and cost-saving benefits of cross-sectoral practice: “it comes and it goes ... moving it from projects or examples of good practice to universality is surely what [the inquiry] is about – how you get that strategic change?”

He himself had made full use of his political authority as a minister of state, drawing on his practice, knowledge and experience to introduce a transversal approach to one area of youth policy, youth offending. The flagship initiative was launched at the end of the 1990s and remains largely in place today. This is evidence of sustainability and efficacy; without dwelling on the statistics, youth offending has bucked a number of anticipated trends and fallen away dramatically. As First Secretary of the inaugural devolved Welsh Assembly Government, Michael oversaw the development of an overarching youth policy – a framework for supporting young people in Wales through extending appropriate experiences and opportunities delivered by means of more effective partnerships between, *inter alia*, schools, the careers service, the youth service, the police, health services, local government and the voluntary sector. Its philosophy of opportunity-focused youth policy remains in place today

but much of the emergent collaborative practice that it envisioned has dissipated or been decimated by enforced cuts to the public sector.

Though no longer a Member of Parliament, Michael nonetheless continues to advocate cross-sectoral policy and practice. As one of the first cohort of Police and Crime Commissioners (for South Wales), he has strengthened links between policing and hospital accident and emergency units in an endeavour to tackle violent crime and the alcohol-fuelled ravages of the urban night-time economy. More recently, he has expressed a desire to harness the energy and resources of the police service to support youth and community work and boost community leadership, particularly in more deprived communities.

And so, in a sense, the circle turns. It is sad that few others – at either professional or political levels – have made such concerted efforts to cement and institutionalise interagency or cross-sectoral work. Youth policy and practice is rarely forged or delivered that way, though lip service is certainly paid to the idea. Cross-governmental initiatives come – and go. Interministerial groups are formed and are dissolved. Interdepartmental committees deliberate on more effective collaboration. Many a political speech advocates better “working together”. Governments follow by engaging a wider field of expertise, from civil society, private enterprise and sometimes from organised labour. But these also have a limited shelf life.

There are, then, very few concrete examples of sustained and sustainable cross-sectoral approaches to youth policy and practice. This chapter has drawn on one empirical illustration of how it might be done – both in practice and in policy – but it also highlights why, too often, the challenges and aspirations of doing so are finely balanced on a precarious equilibrium of organisational, professional and personal perceptions and relationships that routinely threaten their resolution and achievement.

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Chapter 7

Local integrated youth policies in France – What benefits at community level?⁷³

Marie Dumollard⁷⁴ and Patricia Loncle⁷⁵

Introduction

Local youth policies are not new to the field of public policy action in France and various initiatives have been undertaken since the late 19th century against a backdrop of shifting implementation between local and central government and the voluntary sector (Loncle 2010). Policy action requirements in this field are diverse in that they address a heterogeneous youth population that often faces much social hardship and a range of problems, and which has varying expectations. Furthermore, French youth policies deal with a population rather than a specific public policy area, which means that they may affect and influence policy making in other fields (ibid.). Consequently, these policies call on a wide range of organisations and stakeholders including local authorities, local state services and the Caisse d'Allocations Familiales (the National Family Allowance Fund), the remit of which covers the provision of support for young people in their transition to autonomy.

As for all public policies, youth policies reflect a social construct and since their introduction, they have raised the question of where to draw the line with other policy areas and to what extent they should overlap (Muller 2004). Before the Fifth Republic, French central government did not have well-defined public policy areas and therefore the scope of youth policies was mostly arbitrated at a local level. Later, measures were taken to examine how to integrate youth policies (even though the term “integrated youth policy” was not yet in use) (Barriolade, Laurent and Loustalot 2013; Bantigny 2012): the idea was to broaden the scope of youth policy making by working in conjunction with other public policy areas.

73. The first version of this chapter was published in 2014 in the second report of the national French observatory of youth and youth policies (Institut national de la jeunesse et de l'éducation populaire) (Dumollard and Loncle 2014). We would like to thank the French High School of Public Health (EHESP) and the Canada Research Chair in evaluating public actions related to young people and vulnerable populations (Chaire de recherche du Canada sur l'évaluation des actions publiques à l'égard des jeunes et des populations vulnérables) for the funding for this translation.

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In the 1980s, this issue became more prominent due to three phenomena that, in our opinion, explain why youth policies were increasingly becoming transversal in nature. Firstly, new forms of governance were coming about, resulting in the need to rethink decision-making processes and public policy implementation (Le Galès 2004) for which there were ever more layers of local policy makers. Secondly, youth affairs featured increasingly on the agenda with the introduction of a raft of joint local schemes that cut across boundaries, the aim of which was to help young people integrate socially (Loncle 2003). These schemes involved reaching out to a wider range of stakeholders and organisations, from local authorities and local state services to specialist agencies and the community sector, and working to shared objectives with a shared vision for the local area. Contractual arrangements between these organisations and the sharing of resources became commonplace as a result. This came at a time of mass youth unemployment, which led local and central governments to place greater emphasis on youth than before (mainly for the purposes of keeping the peace and public order). Thirdly, government initiatives for young people came to be dubbed as *politiques de la ville* (urban policies in favour of disadvantaged urban areas) or integration policies for one and a half decades (ibid.). Under these policies, the aforementioned schemes grew and integrated approaches found legitimacy. Only in the mid-1990s did local youth policies (and known as such) start to emerge more systematically (Loncle 2013), along with dedicated staff and services. In a nutshell, the emergence and the institutionalisation of youth policies is the result of the combination of two complementary movements: on the one hand, transformations of the ways in which public action is conducted at a central level; on the other hand, a historical involvement of local government in the implementation of youth policies.

As the context became more conducive to the process of organising public policy action on different local scales, a process known as “territorialisation” (Donzelot and Estèbe 1994; Pasquier, Guigner and Cole 2011), local youth policies grew accordingly. However, this sometimes had an adverse effect on people’s ability, both within and outside the youth sector, to fully understand who did what in youth affairs. The latter would now encompass more than just free time and leisure, adopting a more holistic and community-based approach drawing on services and people from beyond the youth departments of local authorities. Local youth policies highlight overlapping processes and needs (Lascoumes and Le Galès: 2008), and require sound management of an increasing number of variables, and this holds true for even the smallest of villages: co-ordination within partnerships, acknowledgement of the broader scope of the local area and the youth field, political leadership, co-ordination at different implementation levels, etc. Indeed, those issues become especially important when it comes to the diverse echelons of the funding channels used by some organisations. For instance, this is the case for the *missions locales*, whose remit is to help young people into work, while (mostly) receiving funding via all the levels of local government. When there is a mismatch of objectives between levels, it is debatable whether a single level can resolve the issue.

It follows that local youth policies now require a complex approach that is: differentiated, to cater for the multiple areas of youth work; plural, to be actionable at different levels in the absence of a clearly defined level of co-ordination; and transversal or

cross-sectoral, to connect with all areas of public policy dealing with young people (Vial 2014; Dulin 2015).⁷⁶

This chapter focuses on this cross-sectoralism, on which little research has been undertaken with regard to local youth policies (at least in France). We first examine how local communities and authorities position themselves on this issue, and how they deliver integrated youth policies. We then go on to identify the conditions for the successful implementation of such policies.

To achieve this, we have drawn on a range of reference material:⁷⁷ extracts of interviews from different research programmes, work undertaken in support of local authorities, and participant observations (working groups, local council committees, etc.). In addition, we have referred to a number of framework texts relating to youth policy, such as policy documents and assessment reports. In the interests of those concerned, and to allow ourselves greater freedom of expression, we have anonymised the names of the areas involved.

Six local entities, mostly urban areas, are examined to analyse the diversity of cross-sectoralism in French youth policies: two towns, one federation of municipalities, one conurbation, one department and one region (see Table 6 below, and Table 7. In 2013, all these entities had a relatively young population (between 14% and 34% of inhabitants were between 15 and 29 years old). They were almost all in the same economic situation with a relatively average unemployment rate and a poverty rate mostly lower than the national mean (unemployment rate = 13.6%; poverty rate = 13.3%). Two entities (town B and department E) had more unfavourable economic conditions.

Cross-sectoralism: positions and practices

While it is now commonplace in youth policy planning, cross-sectoralism takes on different forms according to the place, level and stage of implementation.

Many examples of cross-sectoralism, at different local echelons

All echelons of public policy planning have attempted to introduce integrated approaches and the French state has had varying degrees of success since the Maurice Herzog initiatives and the setting up of a task force for youth bringing together representatives from different ministries (Besse 2008). The state continues in this direction, in keeping with the ethos of the Youth Interministerial Committee that was reinstated in 2012 (Comité interministériel de la jeunesse 2013).

76. The French youth ministry has commissioned A. Dulin (vice-president of the economic, social and environmental council) to reflect on the simplification of young people's rights.

77. France's National Research Agency (ANR) runs a research programme on vulnerable youth and local health and social policies (2009-12); a study project for Rennes Métropole Agenda 21 on how local councillors in charge of youth affairs perceive young people (2006); and MIRE (the inter-ministerial research and experimentation mission) research programme on the involvement of users in local policy (1999-2002).

Table 6: Characteristics of the French local entities studied⁷⁸

Entities mentioned	Type of area	Unemployment rate for 15 to 64-year-olds	Poverty rate
Town A	Average size 30 300 inhabitants, of which 21% are between 15 and 29 years	11.7%	13.3%
Town B	Average size 33 600 inhabitants, of which 17% are between 15 and 29 years	19%	21.5%
Federation of municipalities C	Rural 64 800 inhabitants, of which 14% are between 15 and 29 years	12.5%	11.2%
Conurbation D (main town in D)	426 500 inhabitants, of which 27% are between 15 and 29 years (211 000 inhabitants, of which 34% are between 15 and 29 years)	12.1%	11.8%
Department E	Both urban and rural 1 million inhabitants, of which 19% are between 15 and 29 years	17.1%	19.6%
Region F	3.2 million inhabitants of which 17% are between 15 and 29 years	11.3%	10.7%

Source: INSEE, 2013 population census.

The European institutions (and in particular the Council of Europe) have been advocating cross-sectoralism since 2005, when they introduced the concept of integrated youth policies (Siurala 2005) that broke with the sectoral approach that had been based on access to citizenship and leisure. The EU's current youth strategy (2010-2018) also focuses

78. INSEE, 2013 population census.

on integrated approaches. Lastly, on a local scale, authorities such as municipalities, federations of municipalities, departmental councils and regional councils nearly all refer systematically to such approaches in their policy documents, institutional communications and roadmaps. The idea conveyed is the following: since young people are heterogeneous and have different needs and expectations, local authorities need to provide a wide range of services and initiatives in a coherent, co-ordinated and overarching manner. This is borne out in three examples from our study (Table 6).

In town A, the councillor in charge of youth in 2009 wanted to step up policy action in favour of youth by actively involving other departments and services from within the municipality. The council's policy texts and meetings bear witness to the councillor's discourse extolling the merits of an integrated youth policy and how it would be more suitable for youth and more effective in practice:

Youth is, by definition, transversal and is therefore not limited to a single category or jurisdiction! Young people have as much need for sport, culture, education, health, a say on matters, employment and housing as they do for leisure... We therefore need to set out an integrated strategy based on transversal policy making. (Councillor in charge of youth, note from municipal proceedings, 2009)

In town B, the same aims have been pursued by the young councillor in charge of youth. Heading the newly named Office for Infancy, Youth and Citizenship, she wants young people to be viewed more as "resourceful citizens with a role to play" when it comes to public order, rather than as troublemakers or a nuisance. Cross-sectoralism appears to be the way to extend the scope of youth policy action.

In region F, the same arguments have been put forward to establish the legitimacy of a regional-level youth policy:

This exercise [the charter for policy commitment to youth in region F] is another step towards greater policy action in the Region, towards greater commitment to youth issues in regional policy planning. (Report on the Charte d'engagement of Region F, October 2013)

These three examples illustrate that there is more talk today of cross-sectoralism, which is now making inroads into mainstream policy planning and action. It is becoming standard to base policy action on a holistic approach to youth, an approach now more often shared by all those operating across the sector. Local authorities now tend to view cross-sectoralism as a given, and seek to integrate it into their work, although this is not always achieved effectively.

Beyond talk, contrasting practices

Across different localities, cross-sectoralism takes on diverse forms and integrated policies are implemented on contrasting scales. Timelines for implementation also vary significantly, as does the extent to which other sectors are brought in as partners.

Cross-sectoralism at different points along the youth policy planning process

In youth policy planning, cross-sectoralism can be introduced as an added feature, or it can be an integral and longer-term component of the process (Hassenteufel 2008).

In both towns A and B, all the municipal departments were brought in from the outset to participate in formulating youth policy and the action to be implemented. In each case, the councillors in charge of youth decided to engage with other departments about the state of affairs for youth across other policy areas, albeit on a sector-by-sector basis: sports and sports associations, health and access to health care, housing and youth information services, etc. By taking on board perspectives from other policy areas, municipalities are able to obtain a clearer and broader picture of the needs of youth, and of how other sectors may contribute to youth policy action. This consultation represents the first step in the drive to implementing a comprehensive youth policy.

In the initial stages of their youth policy plan in 2013, the federation of municipalities C took a cross-sectoral approach to assessing the prevailing situation. The consultation included all the different departments concerned, the community sector and young people. The findings were then used as a basis for implementing the second stage of the area's youth policy plan in 2014.

Cross-sectoralism and its links with other policy areas

Beyond long-term planning and implementation, there are two main forms of cross-sectoralism in youth affairs. Either policy is defined within a holistic framework alongside neighbouring sectors, or each sector includes a youth approach in its interventions.

The first form consists of setting out a common youth policy in close co-operation with all the other departments within the local authority, based on shared goals. These departments do not necessarily deal with youth issues, but their activities can concern them at some point or have direct consequences for youth trajectories. This is the case with the departments of employment, social action, culture, environmental action, etc. In this case, there is usually a set of core areas specific to the locality for policy makers to focus on.

For the second form of cross-sectoralism, young people are considered in each of the authority's policy areas: culture, housing, community, etc. An overriding concern in all policy making is facilitating the access and pathways of young people to autonomy. This second approach is identified as a mainstreaming one. It was historically incorporated by feminists into EU decision-making bodies as a way of ensuring that the needs of certain disadvantaged groups of the population are taken into account in policies and programmes. Such groups include women, people with disabilities and youth.

In both cases, the youth services and the councillor in charge of youth policy work together in different ways according to which other services are involved. While they are often the ones spearheading youth initiatives and driving policy, there are many cases where they also have to co-ordinate and provide resources across the local area when intervening for and with young people.

Some sectors such as the social sector, health, culture and education have typically close ties with youth affairs, and some local authorities will call on these sectors as a priority. Cross-sectoral co-operation is therefore facilitated by a similar approach to

youth work. The aim is to support young people and help them along their individual pathways, while reducing factors of vulnerability. This comprehensive approach is based on a positive vision of young people, considering them as resourceful and worthy citizens who face multiple challenges in their transition to autonomy.

In other local authorities, youth policy even extends beyond the immediately neighbouring sectors to embrace a wider dimension. For example in town B, policy planning has been synchronised with ongoing and new initiatives implemented in other fields (sports, environment, crime prevention, integration, etc.). Various mechanisms or facilities have been devised and set up (e.g. a specific community centre, a youth contract entitling young people to benefit from the town's services and facilities in return for some level of civic engagement) with citizenship as a focal point. This has extended the scope of action to the practices of young people in terms of their civic engagement in particular.

In town A, the department in charge of neighbourhood committees has been addressing the issue of an integrated youth plan, the aim being to help young people take up their rightful place in the public arena and to encourage interaction with the community.

Policy drives in other areas have also led authorities, in some cases, to go further in their conception of cross-sectoralism. For example, the roll-out of a strategic plan for sustainable development initiatives, known as Agenda 21, has been an opportunity to start mainstreaming youth affairs into other fields. This has been the case in a conurbation which has town D at its centre – since 2004, local sectoral programmes such as a local habitat programme or an urban mobility programme have included youth affairs.

All these examples manifest a broader conception of youth and youth-related policies. The latter represent the means to act on all the areas and challenges faced by young people in their transition to autonomy. Putting aside the actual discourse and practices in youth policy making, however, we need to examine the requisites for cross-sectoralism to have an impact on the content of local youth policy.

Is cross-sectoralism key to local youth policy?

We believe that cross-sectoralism carries the risk of simply being a buzzword or *fétiche rassembleur* (Desage and Godard 2005), aimed at bringing everyone together for the sake of it. There is in fact nothing special about cross-sectoralism: in the right conditions and when implemented effectively, it can have a very positive, far-reaching impact on local youth policy. But cross-sectoralism may also fail to deliver. There seems to be a set of conditions for a successful roll-out of integrated policy making in the youth field. We can put forward at least four of these.

The first condition is the legitimacy of those driving and implementing a transversal approach, and the aforementioned examples are revealing in this respect. This aspect is absolutely necessary to promote real co-operation between various levels and sectors. In the federation of municipalities C, it is obvious that both the co-ordinator and the councillor in charge of youth affairs are legitimate and recognised by their peers. They often take the floor at municipal council meetings and also at the department

level. Councillors and staff from other sectors and echelons of local government listen carefully to what they have to say about the content of policy action.

This legitimacy comes from how the councillor/worker tandem is positioned within their working environment to drive forward the integrated policy action. Ideally, the first step in this process should involve two levels: the political level, with a shared vision and commitment of members of the local authority as to what it means to adopt an integrated policy in their work; and the technical level, with unit directors who are the implementation experts in the process and whose teams have to work alongside each other in an integrated way. We can see here that it is all about leadership, which is a key ingredient in successfully implementing an integrated local policy requiring sound management and people skills.

The second condition for successful integrated policies is, in our opinion, awareness of the values that bring different policy makers together (e.g. youth services and partners, councillors, professionals, young people). By recognising shared values, these players can more easily set out a common agenda together, agree on meanings, and commit to the policy action in question. There is thus less misunderstanding between the different sectors involved, greater ability to measure the impact of the approach on young people and more scope for other initiatives. This neglected dimension is instrumental to making cross-sectoralism a success. In the case of the federation of municipalities C, we can see that implementation worked very well as a result of getting everyone to understand and share the same values (e.g. liberty, equality, fraternity, ideals of democracy, justice, individual and collective welfare, overall and forward-looking vision) and operational objectives, agreed upon through local advocacy.

The third condition for success concerns the resources available for cross-sectoralism. When a budget is allocated for this, the policies are more integrated, and more successful overall. For example in department E, youth policy was introduced in 1999 and appears to have benefited from a healthy budget. Its co-ordinators have thus been able to develop far-reaching initiatives:

There was the youth service that we tried to flesh out by drawing on what the department could offer compared to other jurisdictions. The good thing about it was it put us on the radar. Nevertheless, once we had set up the service, we still had to make our case, prove its worth and show that we were dealing with a large sector of the population, a quarter or so. Councillors often had little awareness of the issues facing young people so we had to work hard to make ourselves legitimate in their eyes, and to justify the budget we were asking for. We have always tried to make this money go as far as possible. (Head of Youth Service in Departmental Council E, interview conducted in 2009)

Department E's ambitious initiatives include local youth action partnerships. When the study was conducted (2010), 10 such partnerships were being set up under contract between the department and federation of municipalities with a view to developing youth policy. There is no denying that this type of framework allows integrated policies to be implemented on a very practical level while providing much visibility. The issue of resources also covers instruments and facilities developed under integrated youth policies. In town B, for example, a set of measures was designed for 11 to 25-year-olds (a local youth committee, a youth community centre and civic youth contracts). This

was carried out as part of its youth policy, the underlying theme of which was citizenship, and it involved an extended network of local partners.

The fourth condition is long-term planning and implementation of integrated policies. Our findings highlight the importance of maintaining objectives and resources over time. Wherever some degree of short-sightedness prevails cross-sectoralism, which is frail by nature, will struggle to grow. The examples of the federation of municipalities C and department E both feature long preparation stages and a long-term perspective. In the case of the former, the process has included a joint review procedure since 2012 to assess the first generation of public policy, building on this to fine-tune future policies. Sometimes integrated policy plans coincide with the timing of the political agenda or elections, and this can facilitate long-term planning for youth affairs.

Conclusion

The very nature of local youth policy calls for the adoption of a cross-sectoral approach well promoted by co-operation methods (between stakeholders from various sectors and levels) rather than silo working in public policy areas, especially with regards to young people's growing need for support (Lima 2016). However, practices and abilities in implementing this ideal have been found to differ quite substantially despite the goodwill and intentions of the political class.

Not only do the various echelons of local government tend to place emphasis on different issues, but the conditions for successful cross-sectoralism appear to be more rooted in local public policy systems (Loncle 2011) than in those specific echelons that would be best suited to fulfilling these endeavours than others.

As a comprehensive response to all the issues facing youth, an integrated approach comes across as an obvious choice. But for those involved, implementing such an approach is fraught with difficulty, especially when they have to navigate between different levels of intervention as part of the process. The difficulties of cross-sectoralism in delivering policy action arise from the shifting balances of power and interactions between local areas and the different levels of government that may be involved.

There is a risk that cross-sectoralism remains just an ideal, with words speaking louder than actions, hiding the reality of persistent sectoral practices and visions in public policy action. However, a number of conditions may well be conducive to successfully implementing ambitious cross-sectoralism: the legitimacy of those behind the approach (councillors and professionals), recognition of and commitment to shared values around cross-sectoralism, availability of dedicated resources, and long-term planning and implementation.

Beyond these considerations that primarily concern local stakeholders and how they co-operate, two dimensions are worth examining in specific research projects. Indeed, our studies were not designed to directly question the influence of cross-sectoralism on local youth policies. Then an important question for future research is to what extent a cross-sectoral approach can enhance the content of public policy action. It is also important to explore the extent to which it constitutes a better way of supporting young people in their transition into adulthood. Ultimately, those questions indicate the necessity to question the effectiveness of CSYP with regard to youth trajectories towards autonomy.

Table 7: Overview of how cross-sectoralism has been implemented in local entities studied

Entities mentioned	Type of area	Objectives	Phase concerned by the integrated approach	Sectors involved	Conditions for successful implementation
Town A	Average size 30 300 inhabitants, of which 21% are between 15 and 29 years	Support citizenship in youth	Diagnosis	All sectors (employment, prevention, sustainable development in particular)	Legitimacy of the councillor and co-ordinator
Town B	Average size 33 600 inhabitants, of which 17% are between 15 and 29 years	Promote the active involvement of youth and support citizenship in youth	Diagnosis and policy implementation	All sectors (sports, environment, integration in particular)	Legitimacy of the councillor and co-ordinator/ resources provided
Federation of municipalities C	Rural 64 800 inhabitants, of which 14% are between 15 and 29 years	Change how young people are viewed, aspire to follow through on this public policy	Diagnosis and assessment	Neighbouring sectors (leisure, sports, employment, charity work)	Legitimacy of the councillor and co-ordinator/ awareness of values/ long-term planning and implementation
Conurbation D (Main town in D)	426 500 inhabitants, of which 27% are between 15 and 29 years (211 000 inhabitants, of which 34% are between 15 and 29 years)	Involve youth as part of an area's sustainable development	Diagnosis	All sectors (sustainable development in particular)	Long-term planning and implementation
Department E	Both urban and rural 1 million inhabitants, of which 19% are between 15 and 29 years	Involve youth as part of the department's integrated policy action	Diagnosis and policy implementation	Neighbouring sectors (fight against exclusion, education, childhood social support)	Resources provided/ long-term planning and implementation, legitimacy of the councillor and co-ordinator
Region F	3.2 million inhabitants, of which 17% are between 15 and 29 years	Involve youth as a transversal component of the region's policy action	Diagnosis and policy implementation	Neighbouring sectors (education, apprenticeship, citizenship in particular)	Legitimacy of the councillor

Source : INSEE, 2013 population census

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Part III

Lessons from evaluation and implementation of CSYP

Introduction

Dunja Potočnik⁷⁹

Youth policy, and policies in general, by definition have to be efficacious and sustainable in the long term. At the same time, they need to constantly adapt to changing realities and new requirements from the field, which depend both on the life conditions faced by citizens and on changes in structures and functions of youth-related institutions and organisations. In order to grasp the variety of such conditions policy has to undergo monitoring and evaluation during its implementation, which is a tremendously complex task. The complexity of policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation is in its purest form mirrored at the national, regional and local level. Lessons learned from these processes are valuable tools for policy improvements and they have to be communicated to a wider audience, especially when it comes to youth policy. Therefore, it is highly appreciated that this part of the book, dedicated to the lessons learned from evaluation and implementation of CSYP, has attracted a high number of respectable names in the field – ranging from civic organisations and researchers to representatives of governmental institutions. The list of countries for youth policies analysed in this section is more than impressive, and includes Finland, Germany, Luxembourg, Spain (Catalonia) and Ukraine.

The first of the six contributions to this section, “From groups to a network – Using the speech act theory in the development of CSYP measures at local level in Finland” by Anu Gretschel, presents the results of cross-sectoral co-operation development in Finland from 2011 to 2013. The project discussed aimed at developing already-existing CSYP structures using a participatory process and mediation by the researcher. The value of this chapter lies in its analysis of the participatory process and co-operative networking, which in a concrete sense resulted in efficacy and sustainability of the conceived processes and projects. The actors included in the process gained visibility through their functions and actions, which in turn resulted in increased motivation of professionals and their organisations, namely in terms of allocation of their time and resources to future projects of a similar nature.

Frederike Hofmann-van de Poll asks how successful co-operation can be established and maintained in a chapter titled “How can cross-sectoral co-operation work? Lessons learned from the implementation of the European Youth Strategy in Germany”. This chapter underlies the importance of challenges that have to be addressed in order to make horizontal and vertical co-operation in the youth field successful. A primary message is that there is a need to develop new forms of governance, which cannot remain hierarchical but should instead be achieved through “co-operation and joint negotiations, with respect for the responsibilities of individual departments and actors”.

The third chapter, by Sandra Biewers-Grimm, Caroline Residori and Helmut Willems is entitled “Doing CSYP in Luxembourg – Lessons learned from the evaluation of

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interdepartmental collaboration during the Youth Pact 2012-2014". It focuses on "the role and impact of social aspects, interpersonal relations and communication structures in the processes of CSYP". The authors present the results of a survey conducted via interviews with experts and document analysis performed during evaluation of the Luxembourgish Youth Pact 2012-2014. The core of this chapter describes actors and aspects of cross-sectoral collaboration during the implementation of the Youth Pact, along with the social and communication aspects of related processes.

Finland is represented by two contributions, and the second, by Matilda Wrede-Jäntti and Cecilia Wester, is entitled "Essential elements, strategies and functionality within the Youth Guidance and Service Networks – Analysing a CSYP in Finland". It studies one of the policy measures of the Youth Guarantee programme in Finland. The chapter elaborates on essential elements, strategies and functionalities of cross-sectoral networks via an in-depth presentation of the objectives and tasks of the networks. This elaboration is followed by a presentation of the network that was recognised as the best practice example, which serves as a tool for drafting recommendations on specific traits of the successful network in the youth field. Moreover, it suggests that the network can carry out the functions of "mapping, networking, discussion and decision making, bring forward issues important to local youth".

The fifth chapter, by Yevgeniy Borodin, is titled "Implementation of CSYP and co-operation in Ukraine – Experience and challenges". The analysis covers a relatively long time period (1991-2016), with a focus on "a critical analysis of the legal and structural framework of cross-sectoral policy in Ukraine at the national level". This study presents an analysis of the legal documents coupled with an analysis of interinstitutional and interpersonal relations in the youth policy field in Ukraine. In conclusion, Borodin argues that despite a lack of a commonly agreed conceptual framework, various tools of intersectoral co-operation have been developed in the field of youth policy in Ukraine.

The final chapter in this sector – "Implementation problem of cross-sectoral youth policies at the local level – An analysis of a decade promoting integrality in Catalan municipalities" – is an analysis by Roger Soler-i-Martí, Saleta Fabra and Pau Serracant. This contribution reveals the complexity of youth policy implementation at the regional and local level in 946 Catalan municipalities. The authors identify "the main difficulties of the process and the key elements that may stimulate successful implementation" on the basis of a 10-year implementation of the first integral youth plan. The crucial insight of this study is that cross-sectoral co-ordination within the institutional structures of the municipalities leads to effective relations between departments, institutions and youth led-organisations.

These six chapters, briefly presented in this introduction, show us a myriad of approaches to CSYP. Therefore, let me paraphrase a quote by the Argentine-Canadian writer Alberto Manguel at the end of the introduction to this chapter. His original quote is on books, but this can be easily replaced by "policies": Policies may not protect us from evil, policies may not tell us what ... is beautiful, and they will certainly not shield us from the common fate of the grave. But policies grant us myriad possibilities: the possibility of change, the possibility of illumination.⁸⁰

80. Manguel A. (2008), *The Library at Night*, Alfred A. Knopf Books, Toronto, p. 231.

Chapter 8

From groups to a network – Using the speech act theory in the development of CSYP measures at local level in Finland

Anu Gretschel⁸¹

Background to the development work

This chapter is based on the results of a cross-sectoral co-operation development project in Finland from 2011 to 2013 (Gretschel and Mulari 2013). The aim of the project was to help municipalities develop already-existing CSYP structures using a participatory process with the help of co-ordinators and a researcher. The project was funded by the European Social Fund and co-ordinated by Finnish Youth Co-operation – Allianssi. The study included 22 cross-sectoral groups in three municipalities working in the area of youth work and youth policy (see a similar kind of research context in Wrede-Jäntti and Wester, in this volume).

Most of the groups in the study were formed before legislation was available concerning the organisation of CSYP measures. An amendment to the Youth Act (72/2006) was made in 2010, requiring local authorities to create a co-ordinating body to plan cross-sectoral co-operation. Although the law called the bodies “Youth Guidance and Service Networks”, it also described its working methods as individual rather than being based on a network of groups (Gretschel 2013: 35). Since the beginning of 2017 a new Youth Act (1285/2016) has been in force. The government proposal (PG 111/2016⁸²) concerning this reform includes the concept of not only one group but a network of groups working towards better youth policy.

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82. PG (111/2016) HE (111/2016vp) *Hallituksen esitys eduskunnalle nuorisolaiksi* [Proposal of the Finnish Government to Parliament as regards the content of the Youth Act], see www.finlex.fi/fi/esitykset/he/2016/20160111, accessed 3 June 2017.

This is also the aim of this chapter: to elaborate on the opportunities and challenges offered by networking to CSYP.

Empirical study of cross-sectoral groups

The cross-sectoral groups in the study

More than 200 people participated in the work of 22 different CSYP groups in three towns during the research period. They either worked directly or indirectly with youth. The researcher classified each group either as a customer or an administration interface group. The latter held mainly management posts in different municipal sectors that corresponded to those stipulated in the Youth Act (72/2006), such as education, social and health care, youth work, employment and the police. Youth work conducted by parishes was also often represented.

However, the way each municipality – towns with populations of approximately 50 000 – defined their customer interface groups differed. For example, each district in the town of Lohja had an individual group, 10 altogether, while in Porvoo and Hyvinkää, the groups were formed according to youth policy themes, for instance responsibility for youth workshop issues. The number of groups varied from two to eight in these towns. The participants in the district-based groups were from the same sectors as the administration groups, but their members worked directly with young people in positions such as youth worker, social worker, school social worker, school psychologist, school nurse, school principal, teacher or nursery manager, and there were also often representatives from youth work conducted by the parish.

Participants in the customer groups formed according to youth policy themes were partly from the same professional background as the district-based groups. Nevertheless, there was one difference: in the youth workshop development groups, all the participants were connected to this service and to the young people using it. Thus, the participants were either directing young people to the service or guiding the young people when they were there. In addition, these groups were interested in addressing themes from a more narrow perspective – they mostly focused their discussion on the development of one specific service, but in a cross-sectoral manner. In the district-based groups, cross-sectoral problem-solving resources were used to more widely address all questions concerning the well-being of young people in the area.

Here it should be indicated that the regulation of how cross-sectoral groups should be composed was changed in the new Youth Act (1285/2016). This gives municipalities the opportunity to consider more freely the composition of member bodies represented in the group or network of groups based on local needs.

The following sections introduce the aims of the cross-sectoral work and a two-cycle meeting minute analysis process. The results of the process offer insights on the whole variety of activities the groups generally conduct. Such knowledge helps in interpreting the elements included in the work of each individual group and to identify what is missing. Next, the development actions that each group decided to implement are explained, and instruments as well as a possible model to help the

groups monitor their work are also presented. On a deeper level, the chapter will also try to answer how efficacy and sustainability can be understood in the context of cross-sectoral measures, based on the results of this study.

CSYP group goals and success

When the project began, there was a need to discover and acknowledge how successful the groups had been in order to identify and define further targets for development. The researcher requested the minutes of the groups' meetings in order to trace their success stories from planning to implementation and make these stories visible. What counted as success was derived by the researcher from the aims for cross-sectoral work stipulated in the Youth Act (see also Wrede-Jäntti and Wester in this volume).

According to the Youth Act (72/2006, amendment 2010), cross-sectoral co-operation should gather information concerning the situation of young people in order to broaden the information base used in decision making. The Youth Act also stipulates that cross-sectoral co-operation should develop service quality and accessibility, and guidance for young people in accessing appropriate services. In addition, it should plan common procedures for ensuring the exchange of information between authorities.

The researcher operationalised the stipulated aims of cross-sectoral work and used them as questions in analysing the minutes. First, from the minutes it was established whether the groups were actively in contact with policy makers to broaden the information base used in decision making. This was necessary in order to indicate, for example, whether important themes noted in the field would be reflected in strategic and programme planning and whether enough resources for work with young people would be secured.

Secondly, Section 8 of the Youth Act (72/2006) also secures the right of young people to be heard in matters concerning them. For this reason, the minutes were carefully read to check what interaction the groups engaged in with young people and their families to establish whether their views had been considered, at least theoretically, in cross-sectoral service planning.

Thirdly, in addition to establishing what information flowed into administration and decision making or to the young people and their families, interactions with other groups were also profiled. From a more structural perspective, these interactions could show whether the concept of networking existed between the groups to co-ordinate the flow of information to administration and the implementation of common goals as well as information provided by the young people and their families.

Lastly, the minutes also illuminated what actually happened in the meetings or between them. Thus, to some degree it was also possible to use them to estimate the actual impact of the work conducted by each cross-sectoral group.

Learning what groups do through their speech acts (minute analysis round 1)

The researcher analysed the meeting minutes of the groups included in the study over a period of several years. How the minutes were written varied considerably and

a method of harmonising their content was needed to separate the basic themes and outline. First, in practice this meant that the argumentative content of the minutes had to be transformed into clear sentences. At the same time the sentences were also categorised into various speech acts based on their characteristics. In Austin (1985), speech acts are defined by the idea that people not only make statements about how things are when they talk, but also use language for a purpose or action. In practice, the researcher attempted to understand from the minutes what is done by whom and whether the “who” indicated the group itself or someone else. Four forms of speech actions were found:

- ▶ sharing notions;
- ▶ concrete action;
- ▶ reflecting;
- ▶ making statements.

In sharing notions, group members were providing others with information about the frame of action. For example, groups were informed of forthcoming legal changes, observations on how young people had been behaving, the need for further service development in terms of staffing levels, feelings about the situation, and whether their groups had been doing well generally.

In concrete action, groups were planning, implementing and assessing procedures in order to better services, or developing methods to make work across sectors smoother. In this stage, they used some shared notions as a basis for action.

Minute remarks describing how groups were reflecting on the directions and roles they should adopt also formed a separate speech act, and the groups also made statements on what should be done by someone else regarding matters that concerned them. In cases where such statements were directed towards the group itself, they were categorised as reflective speech acts.

Going deeper: identifying and diagnosing the connection to decision makers and young people and moving from talk to action (minute analysis round 2)

Categorising speech acts offered the researcher new information to understand CSYP work, revealing what is possible (the ability to create concrete actions and statements) and what is needed for an efficient process (a culture of sharing notions combined with reflection).

With this in mind, the situation of each group was diagnosed by the researcher. The existence of all four speech acts and their regularity of use could indicate how actively the group was dealing with issues; whether the group was interacting with decision makers, young people and their families, or other cross-sectoral groups; and how successfully talk was embedded into processes of action.

To illustrate the above: if the group had problems with sharing notions, it was because the group members used most of their energy sharing increasing amounts of information

about everyday life among themselves, despite the fact that they possessed sufficient resources to suggest possible action or to implement concrete action. It was also observed that the shared notions were mostly based on the life experiences of the group members and not on the opinions of young people or their families.

Some of the groups failed to reflect on their work: there was no discussion of the aims of their work, nor about whether the group had achieved them, or whether the aims had been set correctly or required periodic updating.

Some of the statements the groups made, recorded in the minutes, about what should be done by someone else, were not communicated to these actors. This clearly indicated that many of the groups were working alone rather than as part of a network. There were also cases where statements had been sent to higher administrative interfaces. However, there was no response from these interfaces, for instance because the existence of the customer interface group was ignored, since no official decision to form such a group had ever been made. In reality, from a group's perspective, this is a waste of the professional expertise and the dialogic problem-solving resources it possesses for cross-sectoral issues. Further, omitting some cross-sectoral groups from the discussion limits municipal policy-making competence because decisions cannot then be even theoretically based on the broadest possible relevant knowledge.

The research also analysed more generally who the groups contacted. Some groups did not have any contact with decision makers and as a result their expertise was not transferred to or considered in broader decision making. Moreover, it was shown that the groups operated often without hearing the opinion of young people or their families in matters under consideration, or the amount of contact with other groups in their municipality was poor. Such factual evidence indicates both poor quality work as a cross-sectoral group and a lack of co-ordination between the groups as a network.

Although speech act analysis functioned well in terms of revealing what the cross-sectoral groups were doing, the project's success was also due to the organisation of "development days" for the groups involved, which are described in the following section.

Participatory development of practice and modelling supportive instruments

The next phase of the process was to organise a "development day" for the cross-sectoral groups. During the development days, groups from each municipality assembled to hear the results of the minute analysis. Each group received a list of speech acts they had made over the years. The researcher also defined successful working processes (see section "CSYP group goals and success") so that the members of each group were able to recognise the difference between the current state of work in their group and the state of work in groups with more balanced work processes. The idea was to give them the space to consider how to improve the current state of their work.

The groups themselves played the main role in interpreting and defining the steps they most needed to take to develop their work. The days also included opportunities for common discussion concerning how closely the researcher's conclusions from the minute analysis mirrored the reality encountered by the groups in their day-to-day work, and, where appropriate, new perceptions were included.

The groups received some help in developing their work as part of the ongoing project. In practice, the objective of the local authorities to develop the work of the groups and the network were operationalised during the development day held in spring 2012. Then the head co-ordinator, the researcher and sub-co-ordinators located in the municipalities assisted the groups in implementing change. New minutes of the meetings were collected in spring 2013, analysed by the researcher and the level of development achieved was addressed in the 2013 development day. Much occurred during the development process: the aims of the groups were updated, their composition was reinforced, communication channels to decision makers and other groups were opened, network co-ordination commenced and young people were heard.

During the development process, two self-monitoring instruments to assist cross-sectoral groups to improve their working processes were developed and modelled. The first was a file including a new minute structure (Table 8). The idea was to offer ready-made columns for separating the four different speech acts either during the meetings or immediately afterwards, when compiling the minutes. The minute structure also has a space for indicating who will be contacted and the form of message the group will send, to make it easier for the recipients to know what is expected of them.

Table 8: Meeting minute structure for CSYP groups to record actions and decisions

	Instructions on how to use the memo structure: Divide the themes discussed in the meeting under the subheadings below. On the left are descriptions of issues that can be included together with one example.
	Notions shared
Shared notions and observations to better perceive the overall operational environment	Example: in our region, fewer ninth-grade pupils received a study place in upper secondary-level education than last year.
	Concrete actions
Decisions leading to action implementation in co-operation, with specified follow-up	Example: outreach work started in the summer in places where young people assembled. All members are participating in implementing this action. More detailed planning will be conducted in the next meeting.
	Reflections
Evaluation of the success of the group compared to the aims and redirection of the work when needed	Example: follow-up of decisions made in previous meetings will be conducted in every meeting.
	Statements
Statements made by the group and the named organisation expected to provide a response	Example: those under 17 are effectively between services and fall through the net. What opportunities could the municipality offer them? Do opportunities other than job trials exist? The group co-ordinating the cross-sectoral work of the municipality is expected to provide information on this issue.

The second instrument was a format for listing and following through the flow of actions of the groups during one year and also over a longer period of time (Table 9). Analysis of the speech acts showed that many notions were simply shared without even processing if action was required. There were also groups that started an extensive amount of concrete action without ever finishing. Alternatively, some groups jumped from theme to theme instead of recognising the core issues and focusing on them.

Table 9: Follow-up structure to list issues discussed and long-term implementation by a CSYP group

Date case started	Issues discussed and proposed follow-up actions	What progress has been made?	Estimate of the impact of action implementation
Meeting 6.8.2012	Example: young people of the region are directed to services that suit them →	<p>It was agreed that all organisations with youth service guidance provision will ensure that young people actually receive the services they are directed to use (Meeting 15.10.2012).</p> <p>A written list of contact persons pertaining to various issues/services was made (Meeting 30.11.2012).</p> <p>It was agreed that young people who are not studying or in work be accompanied when engaging with further services, if needed (Meeting 25.1.2013)</p>	As a result of common agreements, the youth service pathway has become clearer and the instructions for employees concerning who should be contacted in different cases have saved working time.

Understanding efficacy and sustainability in terms of cross-sectoral networking

This study put forward an understanding of cross-sectoral work as a common effort of different groups, from those at grass-roots level to those at local decision-making level. There are several points that speak in favour of co-operative networking between such groups rather than working alone. Better results, or even success, can be described satisfactorily in terms of efficacy and sustainability, which define the main theme of this publication.

Networking increases efficacy and sustainability in many ways. When cross-sectoral groups work as a network, even the speech acts they make become more influential. The professional performance of the groups also improves. They not only share notions among their own members, but also (the most important notions) with other groups and local decision makers. Thus, the group is not only able to direct its own work, but is also permitted to reflect on the success of the other groups and decision makers while accessing channels to make constructive suggestions on how to develop work processes and practices more broadly.

As regards concrete action, the difference in the balance of power seems to be greatest when comparing the opportunities of groups working with local decision making in isolation or as a part of a network. Networking allows a group to define concrete actions concerning issues that are beyond the limits of its implementation in isolation. In a network, a group has the opportunity to help its partners understand the importance of starting a specific action and sharing the responsibility of implementing it. Also, as regards making statements, it is obvious that when networked, channels and specific procedures are available for sharing messages and ensuring feedback, which also means that something will be done if necessary.

According to Geissel (2013: 19), political effectiveness is gauged by whether collective problems are actually solved; it is possible that citizens in representative democracies feel that political outcomes do not meet their needs and interests because they have not even participated in setting the goals. As mentioned earlier, a network enables the actions of its members to become more influential. However, it is a waste of resources if all members of the network are not made aware of new information. Services will meet the needs of young people better when based on the provision of as much relevant information as possible. Young people, their families and the professional members of the cross-sectoral groups will feel that their expertise is valued and taken seriously. Moreover, the instruments developed for structuring cross-sectoral work through listing the speech acts produced by the groups or their talk about action processes enable the groups to build on these themes, supporting the efficacy and sustainability of their work. As such, more focused speech acts are important. This new visibility of the impact of sayings and doings enabled by these instruments can increase the motivation of professionals and their organisations to allocate time resources for cross-sectoral work in the future.

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Chapter 9

How can cross-sectoral co-operation work? Lessons learned from the implementation of the European Youth Strategy in Germany

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Introduction

Over the last few decades, new modes of governance have been established in many policy fields. Moving away from hierarchical, top-down governance, the responsibilities of the public authorities of different levels (federal, regional, local authorities) are now also shared by other actors. Different forms of horizontal governance, namely co-operation between governments and non-governmental actors within one level, and vertical governance, namely collaboration between public authorities of various levels, have now emerged (Benz 2009: 16-17). What the research conducted on these forms of governance has in common is that it mainly analyses modes of governance within a single policy sector. Increasing interdependency has an effect on the relationships between different public authorities or between government and societal actors, and between different policy sectors. A third form, cross-sectoral governance, has thus emerged. To sum up, governance is about handling interdependencies between actors, levels or sectors (Grande 2012: 567).

Within the youth policy field these interdependencies are becoming increasingly important as the lives of young people become more and more cross-sectoral (Nico 2014: 8). Youth issues concern different departments and policy sectors at different levels. It is therefore not surprising that one of the main goals of the Council of the European Union's Resolution on a renewed framework for European co-operation in the youth field (2010-2018) (or the EU Youth Strategy, EUYS)⁸⁴ is to mainstream initiatives enabling "a cross-sectoral approach where due account

83. German Youth Institute. Contact: fhofmann@dji.de.

84. See <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32009G1219%2801%29>, accessed 3 June 2017.

is taken of youth issues when formulating, implementing and evaluating policies and actions in other policy fields which have a significant impact on the lives of young people". According to the EU Youth Reports of 2012 and 2015, almost all member states have some kind of institutionalised CSYP (European Commission 2012: 33; 2015: 13, 28). They often take the form of interdepartmental working groups, meeting at a technical level (European Commission 2015: 28). However, this kind of co-operation is also one of the main challenges mentioned by member states (European Commission 2012: 36).

A key issue is therefore how successful co-operation can be established and maintained. What challenges need to be addressed to make co-operation successful? Could the solution lie in synchronising various levels and sectors? Relying on extensive research on the implementation of EUYS in Germany, this chapter investigates factors that contribute to successful co-operation. Before going on to look at cross-sectoral co-operation, the context of this study is presented by means of a short overview of the characteristics of German youth policy and the implementation of EUYS in Germany. This is followed by an outline of the methodology on which both the evaluation of the German implementation of EUYS and this study are based.

Characteristics of German youth policy

The federal structure of Germany calls for a strict division of responsibilities concerning youth issues between different levels and actors. This division also affects sectors that are of relevance to youth policy.

The youth sector is regulated by the federal Social Code Book VIII (or SGB VIII) and includes youth welfare services and modes of governance between public authorities and non-governmental actors. The federal government develops youth policy approaches, funds national pilot programmes and promotes the federal infrastructure of child and youth services. The *Länder* provide legal frameworks for both *Länder* and local policy. Depending on the *Land*, youth policy is part of the Ministry of Social Affairs or the Ministry of Education. The local level, consisting of both public authorities and voluntary child and youth service organisations, implements the federal and *Länder* laws and provides local infrastructure and services (Meuth, Warth and Walther 2014: 80). Responsibilities in other sectors affecting youth policy are strictly divided between the different levels. For example, employment policy is a federal responsibility, while formal education is a *Länder* responsibility. The responsibilities for international youth work, of which the German implementation of EUYS is a part, are shared between the federal, *Länder* and local level.

Due to this division of competences between the three levels of public authorities and the voluntary child and youth service organisations, an effective youth policy can only develop if there is a certain amount of co-operation between the sectors and levels and their respective politics are synchronised. However, there is no legal obligation with respect to cross-sectoral co-operation within the German youth sector. In general, the Rules of Procedure for the Federal Ministries states in Article 19 that "matters of cross-sectoral relevance are to be dealt with in co-operation with all relevant ministries". Exactly what those matters of cross-sectoral relevance

are is not specified. SGB VIII contains implicit and explicit recommendations, and even some legal obligations, regarding co-operation with actors outside both the public authorities and the youth sector. The combination of the two can be interpreted as an appeal to cross-sectoral co-operation within youth policy that, however, is not binding on actors outside the youth sector.

Over the last few years, the federal government has taken two important steps towards CSYP. Firstly, the government's coalition agreement (valid from November 2013 to September 2017) calls for a strong Alliance for Youth, with a new CSYP that addresses the concerns of all young people (CDU, CSU and SPD 2013: 101). Secondly, in 2012 the government established 10 thematic, cross-sectoral working groups to develop a federal demographic policy. One of these deals with youth issues (Federal Ministry of the Interior 2015).

Contrary to these cross-sectoral initiatives, the federal implementation of EUYS is strictly the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (or the BMFSFJ), and thus of the youth policy sector. The implementation was established as a new way of vertical and horizontal (but not cross-sectoral) governance, involving the *Länder* and representatives of local authorities and NGOs in co-ordination. Rather than making autonomous decisions based on their tasks and responsibilities in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity, the actors act in co-operation and consultation with one another. The goal of this new way of governance is to establish a common vision for German youth policy, shared by governmental and non-governmental actors and underpinned by European impulses (Baumbast, Hofmann-van de Poll and Rink 2015: 206). This is one measure that will improve synchronisation of the different levels.

A complex governance system has been created (ibid.) to incorporate all of the actors responsible for youth welfare services. A joint working group between the federal and *Länder* ministries of youth (Bund-Länder-Arbeitsgruppe, or B-L-AG) co-ordinates implementation and is supported by a preparatory commission consisting of the BMFSFJ, JUGEND für Europa⁸⁵ and the German Youth Institute (DJI).⁸⁶ An advisory board to the BMFSFJ includes 16 representatives from the local authorities, voluntary child and youth service organisations, youth welfare services, cultural education organisations, youth organisations and universities. Federal and *Länder* projects are organised to ensure that European and German discourses on youth policy interact. The whole process is evaluated by the DJI.

Methodology

The DJI evaluation (Baumbast, Hofmann-van de Poll and Rink 2015) is designed as an interactive evaluation. Its findings are presented to and discussed with the actors involved in order to provide them with information on the development of

85. JUGEND für Europa is the German National Agency for the Erasmus+ Youth in Action programme. Its Service and Transfer Agency EU Youth Strategy supports the BMFSFJ with the implementation of EUYS in Germany.

86. The German Youth Institute (Deutsches Jugendinstitut e.V.) is one of Germany's largest social science institutes focusing on research and development around the topics of children, youth and families, as well as the political and practical areas of relevance to these topics.

the process. The evaluation can thus influence the process and its results (Owen and Rogers 1999: 53-4).

The evaluation is divided into three phases. During the first phase (2010-14) the modes of co-operation between the actors involved in the implementation were analysed. In the second phase (2014-16) implementation strategies with regard to participation were analysed. During the third phase (2017-19) conclusions are to be drawn with regard to the governance process. The methodological approach taken for the evaluation is a multi-perspective view based on:

- ▶ qualitative semi-structured interviews (108 in 2012-13; 47 in 2015);
- ▶ an analysis of :
 - the minutes of the sessions of B-L-AG (26 sessions up to August 2016), the advisory board (11 sessions up to August 2016), the preparatory commission and other meetings between major actors in the implementation process;
 - documents, invitations and (informal) papers of all actors and organisations involved as far as they were of relevance to EUYS;
- ▶ standardised online questionnaires with participants taken from selected implementation projects (numbering 112);
- ▶ participant observation of all sessions of B-L-AG and the advisory board and of selected conferences and meetings held in the context of EUYS in Germany (numbering 53).

Interviews were conducted as an exhaustive survey with all members of B-L-AG (16 *Länder* ministries, the BMFSFJ and JUGEND für Europa) and the advisory board. The script of the 2012-13 interviews focused on co-operation within the newly established structures as well as co-operation between the federal, regional and local levels. It contained questions regarding the interviewee's expectations and judgment of the process as well as the implementation of EUYS within the organisation for which the interviewee worked.

The 2015 interviews included 39 with people from organisations who had already been interviewed in the first phase. The interview script included questions regarding ways of collaboration during the implementation process, the interviewee's understanding of participation and the participation activities that took place within the framework of the implementation of EUYS.

Data management and analysis were performed using MAXQDA®. The interviews were fully transcribed. Due to the fact that most people in the German youth sector are aware of who represents which organisation in which EUYS institution, the interviews were anonymised. The interviews, minutes and documents were analysed using qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2013). Although none of the questions specifically referred to cross-sectoral co-operation, the issue was discussed in 62 of the original

155 interviews.⁸⁷ Four broad themes emerged from the analysis: the relevance of cross-sectoral co-operation, the challenges, the modes of co-operation and the conditions for success. The next step was to summarise and interpret the findings.

The findings about cross-sectoral co-operation were contextualised within the implementation of EUYS in Germany. The interviewees did not always distinguish between the challenges specific to cross-sectoral co-operation and the challenges of co-operation in general. As one person stated, “Cross-sectoral co-operation is learning new words and different rhythms, but it is not unattainable when one tackles it as seriously as one would tackle co-operation with other partners” (I 70, NGO, 39).⁸⁸

The analysis took up this idea, where possible distinguishing between the challenges of cross-sectoral co-operation and the challenges of general co-operation.

The ideas and solutions used to promote vertical and horizontal co-operation within the German implementation of EUYS has been analysed to establish to what extent they can be used to tackle the challenges associated with cross-sectoral co-operation.

The meaning and relevance of cross-sectoral co-operation

Although the term “cross-sectoral co-operation” is often mentioned, three different meanings emerge from the interviews. They can be defined as interministerial co-operation, cross-sectoral claims and cross-societal co-operation.

Interministerial co-operation refers to the collaboration between different ministries or public authorities responsible for different issues. There is agreement among the interviewees that co-operation with other ministries is a necessity: “Youth policy is a cross-cutting policy. Although BMFSFJ is responsible, other departments also play a role ... it means that the ministries should really work together much more closely, so that a coherent, independent youth policy can be developed” (I 43, NGO, 47; see also I 398, *Land*; I 470, *Land*; I 585, *Land*).

Agreement is not a given in the case of cross-sectoral claims. Here, one policy field takes decisions that dramatically affect another policy field. The second policy field may be involved in the decision-making process, but only as a gesture of goodwill on the part of the main policy field. This was one of the main complaints heard with regard to the change of the Youth in Action programme into the Erasmus+ programme, namely that it was “taken over” by educational policy in the sense that in the EU the principle of “formal education first” prevails.⁸⁹ According to the logic of the principle of subsidiarity that applies in German politics, the development of a specific chapter on youth in the Erasmus+ programme should have been discussed

87. There is no relevant connection between the interviewees who mentioned any of the key words concerning cross-sectoral co-operation and the interviewees who did not. However, more members of B-L-AG mentioned cross-sectoral co-operation than members of the Advisory Board. A possible explanation could be that the former all work for public authorities, whereas the latter mostly work for NGOs in the youth sector.

88. (I 70, NGO, 39) means interview no. 70, representative of a non-governmental organisation, section 39. The following references to interview quotations are similarly coded. All people interviewed were responsible for (international) youth issues within their organisation.

89. Service and Transfer Agency EU Youth Strategy, 28 January 2014, Minutes of the 8th session of the Federal Advisory Board on the implementation of the EU Youth Strategy in Germany, Berlin.

in the Council Youth Working Party, rather than being part of discussions in the Council Education Committee. However, in this case, following European logic, the German position was defined in an interministerial working group led by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research.⁹⁰

The third notion is that of cross-societal co-operation. This becomes necessary once the definition of politics is narrowed down to the interaction of public authorities, which was what several interviewees did. Co-operation should also include different sectors of society like young people, NGOs or the media (I 83, NGO). This meaning also reflects the idea of horizontal governance, although cross-societal co-operation does not necessarily mean keeping to one level (I 70, NGO).

To sum up, the interviewees define cross-sectoral co-operation as interministerial co-operation; collaboration with non-governmental partners; and/or co-operation at different vertical levels (European, federal, regional, local). It always involves actors from other sectors besides the youth sector, such as job centres (employment sector) or schools (formal education sector). In public administration literature, this understanding of cross-sectoral co-operation is often referred to as cross-sector partnerships: “the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organisations in two or more sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by organisations in one sector separately” (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015: 648). Cross-sectoral co-operation, as it is understood here, is thus a merger between cross-cutting policy sectors and cross-cutting societal dimensions. This merger of societal and sectoral components leads to very specific challenges of co-operation as it takes place between actors from different thematic backgrounds and between actors from different organisational backgrounds. Both have their own modes of operation, which have to be synchronised in order to facilitate successful co-operation.

Two further distinctions have to be made. Firstly, as analysed here, cross-sectoral co-operation concerns political co-operation rather than financial or legal governance. It is about the implementation of programmes, not about law making or the distribution of public funds. Secondly, cross-sectoral co-operation can be about co-operation on an issue that includes young people among other target groups, for instance the refugee issue. On the other hand, youth policy as such can also be regarded as cross-sectoral. It means not only focusing on youth work itself, but also looking at areas in which young people spend most of their daily lives, for example, at school (I 971, *Land*; I 470, *Land*). However, central to most interviewees is the view that youth policy is inherently cross-sectoral, although this is not always implemented on the regional, federal or European level (I 1, *Land*; I 24 federal government; I 75 federal government).

Challenges of cross-sectoral co-operation

The establishment of CSYP has long been demanded by civil society in the German youth field. The Federal Youth Panel (Bundesjugendkuratorium) suggested cross-sectoral co-operation as a solution for a “sustainably functioning youth policy”

90. Ibid., 12 June 2012, Minutes of the 9th session of the Federal-Länder working group on the implementation of the EU Youth Strategy in Germany, Berlin; and *ibid.*, 16 April 2013, Minutes of the 13th session of the Federal-Länder working group on the implementation of the EU Youth Strategy in Germany, Berlin.

(Bundesjugendkuratorium 2009: 5). However, youth policy can only become cross-sectoral when issues such as responsibility, procedures and institutionalised ways of participation have been resolved (ibid.: 24). Despite these calls for (institutionalised) cross-sectoral co-operation, the German implementation of EUYS has continued to be departmentally organised and focused on the field of youth work.

The implementation of EUYS shows that cross-sectoral co-operation meets very specific challenges, as it is embedded in different modes of governance that are horizontal, vertical and cross-cutting. During the last seven years solutions have been sought and found to overcome these problems. The challenges and solutions that have been identified are partially reflected in the research work on co-operation presented by Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2015), in which they draw a distinction between the challenges of environmental conditions (prejudgment), governance of collaborations (competences, mandate and network size) and contextual influences (changing policy fields).

Environmental conditions

The term “environmental conditions” refers to the institutional and political environment of partnerships (ibid.: 651-2). One of the results of this study is that possible partners tend to prejudge cross-sectoral co-operation. Within the youth sector, it is generally acknowledged that cross-sectoral co-operation would be an asset on a day-to-day basis. However at the same time, many interviewees complain that co-operation, whether it is cross-sectoral or vertical, is difficult, and discussed rather than acted upon (I 585, *Land*).

Policy sectors such as youth, education or employment are closed systems where co-operation may function within, but not in between (I 43, NGO). It is difficult to open up and actually engage in cross-sectoral co-operation: “These are always communities that somehow... that always run the risk of stewing in their own juice. They know it themselves and try to work against it but you have to acknowledge that it’s difficult to break” (I 32, municipality, 156).

The experience of EUYS was that other departments are not interested in co-operation, as they consider it a strategy that only concerns the youth field, and therefore not their responsibility (I 4, *Land*). This results in a “struggle that we [the youth sector] are heard” (I 13, *Land*, 192). For example, with regard to co-operation on education, there is no “co-operation on an equal footing” due to organisational goals, culture, patterns of actions and power differentials (Meuth, Warth and Walther 2014: 86). As the Federal Youth Panel pointed out, this is due to the ambiguous status of youth policy. It has a subordinate status because it concentrates on the problems of single young persons and its legal status is bound by SGB VIII. Important decisions are taken elsewhere (Bundesjugendkuratorium 2009: 5). Other policy areas therefore tend to react sceptically regarding co-operation and have to be persuaded that co-operation has an added value.

Governance of collaborations

The term “governance of collaborations” refers to the design and use of structures and processes for collective decision making (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015: 655). It includes the challenges of competences, mandates and network size.

Competences based on subsidiarity are a characteristic of the German federal system. However, in view of the competences of the EU, or the competences of ministries versus other authorities, other member states also struggle with the principle of subsidiarity. In Germany, the question of co-operation between levels is immediately linked to the question of whether the actor that initiates co-operation is entitled to do so. For example, the federal level is not allowed to make decisions or introduce initiatives concerning education as this is a competence of the *Länder*. The challenge faced by the different sectors is to pursue the common goals of youth policy despite the fact that the areas of responsibility are determined by the principle of subsidiarity.

Another issue is whether youth authorities can decide on the topic. If not, they are dependent on the willingness of other departments to co-operate. Some interviewees warn of the danger of an “enforcement of co-operation” in the event that such willingness is not displayed and co-operation is imposed by a youth ministry. Not only is enforced co-operation difficult to maintain, it can also easily become a bureaucratic instrument as long as there is no real conviction that cross-sectoral co-operation is the right solution (I 83, NGO).

In both cases in which challenges arise as a result of subsidiarity, the legal framework plays a decisive role in the origin of the co-operation. For many issues, initiatives aimed at co-operation are set up by sectors other than the youth sector. Germany's federal structure therefore forces the youth sector into a rather passive role. This is reinforced by environmental conditions such as power differentials and the ambiguous status of youth policy, fostering a situation in which the conditions for CSYP co-operation are difficult due to external factors.

Alongside competences based on the principle of subsidiarity, mandates also present a challenge. The question posed by interviewees is whether the people in the partnership are in a position to take independent decisions, or whether the decisions made in the partnership have to be discussed with the organisations in the background, which may even be able to overrule decisions (Baumbast, Hofmann-van de Poll and Rink 2015: 68). In inter-institutional co-operation it is often the case that representatives within co-operation initiatives have to consult with their organisations at the same time as having to show consideration for the agreement decided on within the partnership (van Santen and Seckinger 2005: 213). The interviewees favour some form of delegation system. In B-L-AG, the solution to this dilemma was not to synchronise the actions of the government and *Länder* by formulating specific implementation goals, but rather to decide on corridors and key activities in which all actors can further their interests and strengths (Baumbast, Hofmann-van de Poll and Rink 2015: 68).

Interwoven with the challenges of competences and mandates is the challenge of network size. This challenge is twofold and concerns both the number of partners and the number of sectors involved. In B-L-AG it was found that the more actors that were involved, the more difficult it was to reach a consensus (I 24, federal government). Moreover, for each cross-sectoral issue, different policy areas have to be consulted. For example, in the case of cross-border mobility, the removal of barriers has to be discussed with the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and the recognition of foreign qualifications with the education sector and the evaluation of the learning effects of cross-border mobility has to be carried out in collaboration with the employment

and social affairs sector: "It is rather difficult because one has to deal with different ministries that are not all that co-operative or interested in co-operating on specific youth-related questions" (I 3, *Land*, 125).

Different partners also require different modes of argumentation. Tailor-made arguments are needed for each sector (I 83, NGO). In the example above, the Federal Ministry of the Interior would be more open to arguments concerning security, whereas the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy would be easier to reach out to using arguments concerning a shortage of skilled labour. However, in both cases, the goal would be the same: to get more support for the cross-border activities of young people.

Contextual influences

Contextual influences are the third set of challenges that affect the structure and success of co-operation (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015: 653). In the context of this study, it is the challenge of a dynamic policy field and changing partners. Although the basics of youth policy – and with that the basics of cross-sectoral partners – remain the same over the years, new "windows of collaborative opportunity" (ibid.) continue to emerge due to political developments. Co-operation therefore has to be flexible and able to adapt to new partners, thus addressing the very basics of co-operation anew. It takes energy and resources, which are not always available, to build up co-operation once more with different partners. This brings us back to the challenge of the prejudgment of cross-sectoral co-operation and the question as to what the added value of the present co-operation with this or that organisation or department may be.

The challenge of changing policy fields also leads to another point, namely that a change in political thinking is needed. Rather than being driven by their department's key questions, decision makers should be driven by cross-sectoral issues (I 9, *Land*). Some interviewees indicated that this could also involve the Ministry of Youth changing its role to become more of a co-ordinator, taking other departments on board: "Cross-sectoral co-operation would mean that the youth ministry would assume a different role, because it would also have to co-ordinate. It would have to look at other departments, look at what they are doing for young people, what topics are they working on" (I 3, *Land*, 120; see also I 16, *Land*; I 43, NGO).

Difficulties may however arise as this co-ordinating role contradicts the assumed dominance of other departments.

Solutions from the German implementation of the EU Youth Strategy

Despite these challenges, successful forms of co-operation have evolved through the German implementation of EUYS. The institutionalised co-operation between the BMFSFJ and the *Länder* in a joint working group initially met with considerable reluctance. Doubts arose over the ability of B-L-AG to establish itself as an important and valued discussion platform in the long term (Baumbast, Hofmann-van de Poll and Rink 2015: 65). Some *Länder* only joined to ensure that the federal government did not interfere in their responsibilities.

Hesitation quickly gave way to enthusiasm. Two years after the co-operation had been institutionalised, the actors were already seeing the advantages. The co-operation meant that they were feeling more motivated about their own work, networking more with peers and learning about new approaches from them (ibid.: 61). The reasons given for the success of the co-operation are again mirrored in the work of Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2015). The solutions that have been identified are trust, a shared understanding of the problem, the capacity for joint action and the degree of institutionalisation.

Trust

Mutual trust between the BMFSFJ and the *Länder* and between the *Länder* themselves was the basis for the successful co-operation (Baumbast, Hofmann-van de Poll and Rink 2015: 68). Trust reduces insecurities about the action of others and creates stable conditions for processes (Köhling 2012: 119-21). In order to succeed, co-operation must be an ongoing process of interpersonal and interorganisational trust building. The building of relationships leads to trust between organisations (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015: 654). The trust that is established between the organisations then provides a solid basis for further co-operation. Any difficulties that may arise from changes among the representatives, which may be accompanied by a loss of trust between people, can then be coped with more easily. However, cross-sectoral co-operation is perceived as being more difficult than co-operation within a sector. The interview material shows that although the youth sector has a favourable attitude towards cross-sectoral co-operation, it is still hesitant to make the first move, preferring to look for co-operation within its own sector: "First talk to the municipalities and regions before you talk to the other ministries. Because that's what I've seen happening in other states. That's the way they handle it. They find it just as important that you first go to where the young people really are" (I 75, federal government, 175).

Shared understanding of the problem

Once trust begins to develop, a common vision and language needs to be created. This is important in order to reach common ground and to synchronise the expectations of the partners. Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2015: 652) refer to the importance of an initial agreement on the issue to be dealt with; an "authoritative text" can foster collective agency. In the first B-L-AG sessions, three thematic corridors were defined. These were participation; recognition and visibility of non-formal learning; and transitions from school to employment. These established a common framework for implementation and co-operation. In addition to the corridors, the *Länder* also formulated five key activities. Within the corridors and key activities, the *Länder* and the BMFSFJ were able to set their own priorities (Baumbast, Hofmann-van de Poll and Rink 2015: 55, 59).

The definition of a common vision ("strong tailwind for youth work in general and international youth work in particular")⁹¹ and, based on that, the development of

91. Service and Transfer Agency EU Youth Strategy, 17 January 2011, Minutes of the 3rd session of the Federal-Länder working group on the implementation of the EU Youth Strategy in Germany, Kassel.

a common language by means of the thematic corridors were important pillars for the initial success of B-L-AG. The development of a common language is especially important in the context of cross-sectoral co-operation, because different sectors often have a different understanding of what exactly youth policy is. For the youth sector, youth policy is about enhancing the autonomy of young people, while other sectors focus on preparing them for life and work (I 73, *Land*).

Once a common vision and language has been established, the next step is to develop a working schedule so that the results can be measured in concrete terms. As with the co-operation between the federal government and the *Länder* on EUYS, cross-sectoral co-operation was often perceived as something that could have been dispensed with, whereas it is now considered to be an added value to daily policy making. In order to justify co-operation, accountability has to be ensured.

Capacity for joint action

A third condition for success is the capacity for joint action, namely the need for time and resources. Even though this sounds obvious, the B-L-AG co-operation showed that it is not. People want quick results. Be that as it may, co-operation needs time to develop. The development of a common language takes time, even if this is not always perceived as a worthwhile achievement. Time is needed to find suitable modes of co-operation and establish structures from which projects can emerge.

At the same time, resources for the co-operation have to be provided. These may be financial resources in order to finance a functioning organisation equipped with office facilities to co-ordinate the tasks and performance of the co-operation. They may also be human resources. Inadequate staffing is often a problem for interinstitutional co-operation (van Santen and Seckinger 2005: 209-10). A person's involvement in co-operation should be part of their daily work rather than something that they do in addition to their normal work. It is important that all of the co-operation partners allocate human resources. Co-operation cannot work if only one of the partners commits to providing time and resources. It may be worth setting up a preparatory commission; in the case of the implementation of EUYS, such a commission was perceived as important, particularly with regard to preparing meetings, sharing information about different processes and drafting working papers (Baumbast, Hofmann-van de Poll and Rink 2015: 198).

Degree of institutionalisation

The final condition for success is the degree to which the co-operation is institutionalised and, as such, adaptive to emerging windows of opportunity (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015: 652-3).

In the first few years, institutionalised co-operation was found to be the solution to dealing with the implementation of EUYS as a new form of governance. The institutionalisation, and with it the provision of sufficient time and resources to develop the necessary trust, build the working partnership and reach agreement on the issues and tasks at hand, provided a framework that initially made co-operation successful. However, over the years the fact that the field of the co-operation was so clearly defined was no longer the solution, but had rather become a part of the problem.

Five years after the implementation of EUYS had commenced, a growing disinterest in the process became apparent, also confirmed by the 2015 interviews. Fewer *Länder* are regularly attending the B-L-AG sessions. One argument that is put forward is that the *Länder* are working on the implementation by themselves and therefore do not need to collaborate with the BMFSFJ and other *Länder* (I 853, federal government). Another reason is that resources have been shifted to address the refugee issue. Staff from the departments of international and European youth policy and youth work, both in the *Länder* and the municipalities, have been moved to help colleagues dealing with the consequences of the refugee influx for young people and youth policy (I 398, *Land*; I 482, *Land*; I 539, municipality; I 641, NGO).

The refugee issue and its implications for German youth policy could have been a window of opportunity for the implementation of EUYS. However, besides the three thematic corridors that were defined right at the beginning, B-L-AG has not actually dealt with any other issues. This situation has become frustrating, both for those who wanted to open up various topics for discussion but were not heard and for those who did not want the topics discussed in further detail and were frustrated with the other partners for trying to do so. The co-operation was perceived as being too bureaucratic. The strict regulation of procedures and issues that had initially been perceived as useful is now perceived as a hindrance. Instead of discussing possible changes to the structure and rules of procedure, the co-operation is to be terminated at the end of 2018.

Although an openness towards changes of environment and windows of opportunity could help provide a solution, as described above, the parties are reluctant to continue the co-operation despite the fact that they acknowledge the need for co-operation in general and cross-sectoral co-operation in particular. However, it should not be forgotten that the provision of a clear definition of the issues and, through this, the development of an authoritative text, did work well for the initial phase of the co-operation. In the event that windows of opportunity do open up and the conditions for political activity change, the institutional framework could be adapted for co-operation with other partners on issues that may arise in the future. One possibility would be to install cross-sectoral working groups on different issues with different partners under the roof of an institutionalised CSYP. The institutional framework would therefore need to be re-established and reaffirmed. According to the interviewees, this could be done hierarchically by means of a cabinet decision (I 13, *Land*) or from the bottom-up through negotiations between the co-operating parties (I 23, federal government).

Conclusions

The example of youth policy shows that today's political issues are complex and cannot be the sole responsibility of a single department. Youth policy affects other sectors, for example when it comes to young people's participation in society, when it comes to the validation of social skills and its recognition by employers, or when it comes to the responsibilities of youth work and its expanding tasks of dealing with (unaccompanied) minor refugees. New forms of governance are needed. In an expanding world of complex interdependencies, decision making cannot be

hierarchical but can only be achieved through co-operation and joint negotiation, with respect for the responsibilities of individual departments and actors. This is an ongoing process requiring permanent effort and activity. Nevertheless, it is not a process that needs to be developed anew in some distant future. Today, examples of collaboration mechanisms in complex systems already exist. The implementation of EUYS in Germany, with all its shortcomings, is such an example.

So what, in general, can be learned from this study of cross-sectoral co-operation? It is important to define cross-sectoral co-operation as co-operation not only between different ministries or public authorities, but also with different sections of society – between at least two sectors. As the actors situated in different sections of society and in different sectors have different modes of operation, a certain degree of synchronisation has to take place in order to establish successful co-operation. This presents various challenges.

Firstly, cross-sectoral co-operation is often prejudged and rejected due to the fact that it is difficult and without immediate added value. Secondly, the challenges regarding the governance of collaboration need to be addressed. Common goals have to be pursued without neglecting the responsibilities laid down by the principle of subsidiarity. In institutionalised co-operation, mandates have to be formulated to ensure that the institution can actually work. The network size has to balance workability with the number of partners who need to be included in the partnership. Thirdly, in order to be receptive to windows of collaborative opportunity, co-operative agreements have to be of a flexible design.

There are many ways of handling these challenges. The significance of the German implementation of EUYS is that it created an arena for communication and co-operation where actors could work on an equal basis. Rather than synchronising their actions, the partners understood co-operation as aligning their perspectives while maintaining their own responsibilities and working methods.

After having established an arena for communication, several (partly parallel) steps need to be taken to ensure successful collaboration. Firstly, a degree of trust has to be present between the co-operating partners. In order to maintain a successful collaboration it is crucial that trust is built up and maintained both between the people within the co-operation initiative as well as between the organisations behind the initiative. Trust can be built up in various ways, including successful co-operation in the past, similar modes of operation, the sharing of information and the demonstration of competence.

Secondly, the initial partners have to agree on the actual content of the issue they are addressing. An authoritative text, in which a common language and vision are defined, serves as a precursor of a working schedule and ensures the accountability of the co-operation.

Thirdly, it should be clear to all partners that a certain amount of time and resources is needed, not only to establish co-operation but also to enhance its visible outcomes. The establishment of a preparatory commission ensures that the participating organisations can focus their time and resources on the discussions and actual policy making, rather than on the paperwork.

Finally, once co-operation has been established and is functioning, an openness towards changes of environment and windows of opportunity needs to be maintained. Installing cross-sectoral working groups as part of the initial co-operation can secure a process in which the collaboration can be re-established and reaffirmed time and time again.

The findings of this study show that cross-sectoral co-operation is a challenging undertaking. However, the experience of the implementation of EUYS in Germany also teaches us that even though co-operation in general and cross-sectoral co-operation in particular are difficult and time-consuming tasks, they are processes that are worth initiating and maintaining.

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Chapter 10

Doing CSYP in Luxembourg – Lessons learned from the evaluation of interdepartmental collaboration during the Youth Pact 2012-2014

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Introduction

Many of today's pressing challenges in the lives of young people traverse the boundaries of different policy domains. In order to meet these challenges and "wicked problems" (Rittel and Webber 1973) adequately, the concept of cross-sectoral policy has gained popularity in the previous decade, particularly in the context of European youth policy. The concept aims at more horizontal interaction and collaboration between governmental departments and different sectors or policy fields. Furthermore, it can be understood as a response to today's increasingly fragmented public sector (Meijers and Stead 2004).

Luxembourg's youth policy defines its strategic orientation as "participatory, transversal and evidence-based" (Meisch and Schroeder 2009/: 301). A transversal or cross-sectoral approach is thus one of the three key features of youth policy in Luxembourg (Willems et al. 2015). The youth division within the Luxembourg Ministry of National Education, Children and Youth (MENJE) is responsible for the implementation of the key features of national youth policy. By providing opportunities for non-formal education (including political participation, voluntary work and cultural education), young people should be given the chance to develop autonomous, self-confident

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and responsible personalities. These youth policy aims were emphasised in the Luxembourg Youth Act of 2008, which allowed the establishment of several youth policy institutions and committees. One of them is the youth interdepartmental committee, placed within MENJE, which acts as the central co-ordinating authority for the implementation process of CSYP.

The main tasks of the committee are to advise the government on youth policy projects, make proposals on promoting CSYP and co-ordinate actions with other transversal government strategies. In addition to these measures, the Youth Act stipulates a five-year action plan for CSYP, the Youth Pact, which is thus an action plan that explicitly implements CSYP.

In practical terms, cross-sectoral policy means that various political actors come together in order to share a set of ideas or issues and to cultivate linkages across their political concepts and projects. Although such co-operative strategies provide new ways of dealing with daily requirements and demands and may achieve synergistic effects, they also encounter difficulties: the co-operating political actors mostly have different perspectives on political issues and pursue heterogeneous organisational and individual objectives (Candel and Biesbroek 2016). Additionally, each political field might be characterised by specific sets of associated interests, belief systems and problem perceptions, which have to be balanced and negotiated by the political actors within the processes of cross-sectoral policy. Besides administrative and political aspects, we consider these social, interactive and communicative factors to be the greatest challenges of cross-sectoral policy processes.

This contribution therefore focuses predominantly on the role and impact of social aspects, interpersonal relations and communication structures in the processes of CSYP. The main questions are: what role do social, interactive and communicative factors play within CSYP processes? Which strategies and factors help address the major challenges of cross-sectoral policy processes?

The data presented hereto were collected during expert interviews and a document analysis realised in the context of an evaluation of the Luxembourgish interdepartmental action plan, the Youth Pact 2012-2014. The chapter is presented in four parts. In the first part, we give a brief overview of the relevant theoretical concepts. The second part of the chapter describes our evaluation design, data and methods. The results of the analysis of the cross-sectoral processes are presented in the third part. Finally, conclusions are drawn with regard to cross-sectoral collaborations and the role of social and communicative aspects.

Theoretical perspectives

The growing popularity of cross-sectoral policy strategies

In studying the development and increasing importance of cross-sectoral policies in the public sector, Berger and Steurer (2009) emphasise the influence of three major administrative concepts that largely define how the public sector works and has developed in the past decades:

- Bureaucracy (the hierarchy-based model of public administration described by Max Weber in the 1920s);

- ▶ NPM (the market-oriented model that emerged across Europe in the 1980s);
- ▶ Networks and New Governance Strategies (the network-centred response to the market orientation in public administration).

Weber's theory of bureaucratic management (1972) has had great influence on public administrations, where its key elements are visible through clearly defined job roles, a hierarchy of authority, standardised procedures or meticulous documentation. Overall, Weber's bureaucracies imply sectoral specialisation or departmentalisation rather than policy integration across sectors. Nevertheless, it is still a factor that has to be taken into account when dealing with cross-cutting problems, cross-sectoral strategies and the challenge of policy integration (Berger and Steurer 2009). In the 1980s, the rising NPM movement criticised Weber's bureaucratic model as inefficient, arguing that governments should be run like a business and that entrepreneurial techniques should be utilised in an effort to enhance government efficiency (Hughes 2003). NPM may increase the efficiency of the public sector, but as Berger and Steurer (2009) state, due to the focus on intra-organisational management, it tends to disregard and hinder interorganisational collaboration across policy sectors, which can be regarded as a prerequisite for effective policy integration.

During the past decade, however, the terms "Network" and "New Governance" have appeared more often in discussions about the current or future management of modern public government and policy (Van Dijk and Winters-van Beek 2008). The perception is that networks provide and free up interorganisational capacities and resources, implying that they suit cross-sectoral issues better than approaches with a strong intra-organisational focus, such as NPM (Williams 2002). Furthermore, the management of networks focuses on mediating and co-ordinating interorganisational goals and issues (Biewers et al. 2013).

Social and process-based challenges of cross-sectoral policy making

Because different sectoral government departments operate as separate and differentiated organisations with specific professional styles, approaches, needs, agendas and modes of operation, the processes of cross-sectoral networks and collaboration are characterised by distinct challenges. The major challenges are the heterogeneity of interpretations, political and organisational cultures, and the intentions of the political actors.

Recent literature about cross-sectoral policies includes theoretical and empirical works considering approaches like governmental reorganisations, whole-of-government approaches involving "joined-up" government (Christensen and Lægreid 2007), horizontal modes of governance (Termeer et al. 2012) or the rise of boundary-spanning policy regimes (Jochim and May 2010). The main subjects of these works are the success factors and capacities of cross-sectoral policy strategies, as well as associated problems like fragmentation, competing interests among co-operating partners, the management of uncertainties and the complexity of policy processes (Hovik and Hanssen 2015; Jochim and May 2010; Jordan and Schout 2006; Tosun and Lang 2013). Processes and social dynamics have only recently been taken into

account in theoretical or empirical studies (Candel and Biesbroek 2016), but they can be useful in framing questions about the social challenges of CSYP.

Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2015) refer to the importance of an initial formal agreement on the definition, basic working conditions and the processes used to formulate CSYP. While informal agreements about the collaboration's composition, mission and procedure can work, formal agreements have the advantage of enabling accountability. Such agreements may also raise awareness about common goals, and include implicit norms of operation or by-laws, mission statements and common definitions. In this context, Koschmann, Kuhn and Pfarrer (2012) state that the development of an "authoritative text" could help to frame the collaborative process and create some handling security.

It is also considered important that political actors, seeking to acquire necessary support for their policies, build external legitimacy by using structures, processes and strategies deemed appropriate within their environment (Fligstein and McAdam 2012) and also internal legitimacy, wherein stakeholders feel they have had a "fair hearing" in decision-making settings (Ansell and Gash 2008). The process of CSYP therefore thrives on external and internal communication.

In addition, trusting relationships are described as the essence of collaboration (Lee et al. 2012). From this viewpoint, trust can comprise appropriate interpersonal behaviour, a common bond, a sense of goodwill as well as confidence in political and organisational competence and expected performance (Chen and Graddy 2010). Collaboration partners build trust by sharing resources, such as information, and by demonstrating competence, good intentions and perseverance (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015). Often, this trust-building work is highly personal (Lee et al. 2012).

Similarly, previous relationships among partners are likely to influence the collaboration. If positive, these relationships will have retained a level of trust, making it easier to build commitment to the new endeavour (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015). The network concept refers to relatively permanent, exemplary, direct and indirect connections through which the actors are involved. Positions of power and influence are thus not determined solely by formal political and institutional status, but also through informal relations.

In this context, governance structures are also influenced by internal contingencies such as network size and strategic partnerships within these networks (Provan and Kenis 2008). Although many similar actors are involved directly or indirectly in the policy-making process, there are considerable differences in power and influence between them (Scharpf 1973). In relation to these, the literature on the governance of collaborations emphasises the role of hierarchical structures (Schneider 2009). It is possible that collaborating partners on the same hierarchical level have similar perspectives on a certain issue, while the perspectives are different at another hierarchical level.

Koschmann, Kuhn and Pfarrer (2012) also note the importance of informal communication. From this viewpoint, much of the practical collaboration work takes place during unbureaucratic face-to-face contacts and informal communication and interaction processes. These processes do however need formal framing or co-ordination. From

the perspective of network structures and communication processes, Candel and Biesbroek (2016) argue that the merit of lower degrees of integration should not be underestimated, as these may sometimes be the most feasible or appropriate for the governance of a cross-cutting problem.

Design and methods of evaluation

The evaluation that yielded the following findings about the social and interactive challenges of CSYP was realised between September 2014 and December 2015 (Residori et al. 2015, 2016). It had two main goals: first, to research and analyse whether and to what extent the cross-sectoral side of youth policy issues, topics and questions could be strengthened through the implementation of an action plan for CSYP (the Youth Pact); and second, to determine the current status of the various actions and tasks of this Youth Pact.

The relevant research questions of this evaluation of the CSYP were:

- ▶ which communication structures, topics, processes and deliverables are there between the governmental departments with regard to youth and youth policy?
- ▶ what expectations and possibilities do the stakeholders see for the implementation of CSYP?
- ▶ what factors of success and failure for interdepartmental collaboration can be identified?

In order to answer these questions and to analyse the complex implications and interrelationships of CSYP in the context of the Youth Pact 2012-2014, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was considered appropriate (Stockmann 2004). The methodological design of the evaluation thus included certain data sources, described below.

Document analysis

A comprehensive collection of working documents, relevant legislative texts, policy action plans, activity journals of relevant political departments, records of meetings and press releases concerning the Youth Pact, as well as contributions to conferences and literature describing the communication process in the framework of the Youth Pact was accumulated (for an overview of the results see Residori et al. 2015, 2016). These documents were analysed with the goal of generating knowledge regarding the practical implementation of CSYP.

Expert interviews

Expert interviews were conducted with 17 representatives from the following governmental departments: the Ministry of National Education, Children and Youth; the Ministry of Family Affairs, Integration and the Greater Region; the Ministry of Labour, Employment and the Social and Solidarity Economy; the Ministry of Justice; the Ministry of Health; and the Ministry of Housing. While representatives of the Ministry of National Education, Children and Youth were overrepresented in our sample, the number of representatives of the other ministries was relatively

balanced. The interviews were conducted with officials in the following hierarchical positions: counsellors of ministers, heads of directorates, heads of divisions and their close collaborators.⁹⁵

The goal of the interviews was to gather information about and understand the stakeholders' attitudes, awareness and knowledge as well as their practical experiences with interdepartmental collaboration within the framework of CSYP. Even though this evaluation used the Youth Pact as a starting point, the findings presented in the next section reflect the overall implementation of CSYP in Luxembourg.

Social and interactive factors of success for the implementation of CSYP – Empirical findings

The analysis of the data yielded rich and detailed information about the actors, instruments, processes, bodies, influential factors, results and challenges involved in the implementation of CSYP in Luxembourg. With an international audience in mind, the main transposable findings about CSYP were selected for presentation in this chapter.

Perception of political support and the fostering of identification

A reconstruction of the collaborating partners' views reveals the perception of CSYP instruments of different stakeholders. Interview partners from the youth division at the Ministry for National Education, Children and Youth perceive the action plan as a specific instrument for the implementation of the cross-sectoral aspect of the national youth policy, as defined by the Youth Pact. Because of its formal character, this legal basis of the action plan and CSYP constitutes for them political success in itself.

Representatives from other policy areas do not have such an overly formal view of youth policy. They attribute the action plan and their collaboration with actors from the youth field to their department's general effort in the youth field and to their overall collaboration with the youth division. The legal basis of the Youth Pact is important to them, because it reinforces the legitimacy and binding nature they want to transfer to their actions by incorporating them in cross-sectoral action plans such as the Youth Pact.

The stakeholders, for all of whom political relevance, priority and support are very important, consider the combination of the legal basis of the action plan for CSYP and its launch by the government in the context of its official briefings as strong signs of political support for CSYP and its legitimacy.

The compilation of the action plan and the approach used for the realisation of this task had a lasting impact on the cross-sectoral collaboration between departments. After the Youth Pact was adopted in 2008, the youth division was assigned the task of compiling an action plan for CSYP. The division thus conceived and formulated five focal areas on the basis of the results of the national report on the situation of young people in Luxembourg (Willems et al. 2010). The next step was to initiate

95. For reasons of data protection it is not possible to provide more detailed information about the participating actors.

bilateral talks with those governmental departments that are represented in the youth interdepartmental committee.

During the ensuing bilateral talks, the representatives of the youth department as well as of the departments from the other policy fields discussed and chose the specific actions to be included in the action plan for CSYP: "Within the discussions with the other ministries, we created an overview about the projects and measures and then we checked which of them fit to the aims of the Youth Pact."

The criteria for the selection of actions were mainly topic compatibility, probability of realisation, the amount of necessary resources for the realisation and their availability, as well as a binding commitment from the respective departments. Only a few actions were specifically conceived for the 2012-14 edition of the action plan. Most of the selected actions were already in planning or were already being implemented (unilaterally) in the corresponding governmental departments.

This co-operative compilation of an action plan with actions that were proposed or already existing within the different governmental departments ensured strong identification of said departments with the actions for which they had the lead. In retrospect, the compilation of the action plan was the period during which the largest number of different policy areas collaborated simultaneously and intensely. This period was thus crucial for the practical implementation of CSYP within a wide range of government departments and the identification of these departments with CSYP actions.

The willingness of departments to invest time and money in cross-sectoral co-operation and the intensity of the collaboration is strongly influenced by the existence of common priority topics or common action projects. Therefore, one of the major challenges of interdepartmental collaboration and CSYP is to develop and conceive topics, priorities and actions that are compatible with those of other governmental departments and have the potential to rally as many departments as possible. In order to drive progress, the youth division time and again initiated discussions on the priorities and common interests of all relevant departments in order to negotiate a comprehensive base of action, to strengthen the awareness of the added value of the co-operation among all actors, and to seek win-win-situations: "There is the interministerial group where we get together; it is important to exchange, because in that way different policy fields become better known to the other and are explained and then one can see how one could tackle problems together and I believe that this is important there, because that is an exchange that might not happen otherwise."

Respect for the heterogeneity of partners

The collaboration between governmental departments and the involvement of governmental departments and their divisions in the context of CSYP was also analysed more closely. There were many different actors involved in the implementation of CSYP through the action plan of the Youth Pact 2012-2014. While the governmental departments represented in the youth interdepartmental committee and their divisions were involved both at the strategic level (conception and co-ordination) and the operational level (implementation and realisation of the different actions), the other actors were only involved at the operational level.

As far as the representatives of different governmental departments are concerned, their perception, involvement and level of information with regard to CSYP seems to vary according to their hierarchical position. Representatives in a very high hierarchical position (counsellors of ministers, heads of directorates) describe the action plan for CSYP in a rather technical and functional way: "I compare the Youth Pact with other political strategies by which the government tries to achieve short, middle or long-term goals." They see it as a means to an end, an instrument or method, which is conceived and implemented by representatives at a lower level. They approve of it, but they do not actively work on or with it, and they often do not identify with it.

Representatives from the other hierarchical levels (heads of divisions and their collaborators) are the most involved in the action plan and CSYP and identify with it: "When it comes to the very concrete implementation... this is where people from the authorities are working together, yes. But then we work on the level of concrete projects, less on developing guidelines."

On the operational level, they conceive, delegate, co-ordinate and ensure the implementation of the different actions. In most cases, the practical implementation and realisation of the actions as well as the contact with the target audience is delegated to national agencies, youth organisations, agencies and associations. On the strategic level, they are involved in the conception of the action plan, they participate in the youth interdepartmental committee, they are the main contact partners of their departments with respect to CSYP, and they collaborate with the youth division.

Different governmental departments and their representatives have very different intentions and goals when it comes to interdepartmental collaboration in the context of CSYP.

- ▶ Some governmental departments want to increase their own visibility by making their efforts (actions and programmes) in the field of youth more visible. In addition, they want to ensure that the target groups and young people in particular are informed about the measures offered to them. They hope to convey a positive image of youth to the general public.
- ▶ By compiling all the actions and programmes carried out by the different departments in the field of youth and by keeping each other informed about their activities, the governmental departments hope to increase the coherence of their actions and CSYP.
- ▶ Through their participation and collaboration in CSYP and the action plan, some governmental departments want to increase the legitimacy, priority for budget allocation, efficiency, impact and the standing of their own political priorities.
- ▶ A major goal of most governmental departments is to ensure a positive "cost-effect-balance" in all cross-sectoral processes and actions. They consciously weigh how much time and financial resources they need to invest and what imminent or future gain their policy field, their department or they themselves can expect.

- Some interview partners also implied that some actors use cross-sectoral collaborations to enhance their own status and ensure their own career development.

Although the collaborating partners had a similar status as representatives of governmental departments, they had very heterogeneous perspectives, depending on their hierarchical position, and pursued very heterogeneous organisational and individual objectives.

This resulted in major differences as far as commitment and intensity of co-operation was concerned: while some departments seemed to minimise their implication in CSYP, other departments invested themselves fully, which in turn strengthened the interdepartmental collaboration and normalised it: “I think it became more self-evident. ... The more one collaborates, discusses and tries to initiate small projects and further projects develop from them ... And all of a sudden, that’s just how it is: one collaborates. And that’s good. That’s really good, because it has become normality so to speak.”

For sustainable CSYP with an ability to react to changing societal challenges and political priorities, it is indispensable to respect and enable collaborations at different levels of involvement. This ensures the continuity of the contact and overall exchange of information between governmental departments, prevents departments from dropping out and maintains the possibility for a future intensification of the involvement of departments.

Multilateral communication and strategic partnerships

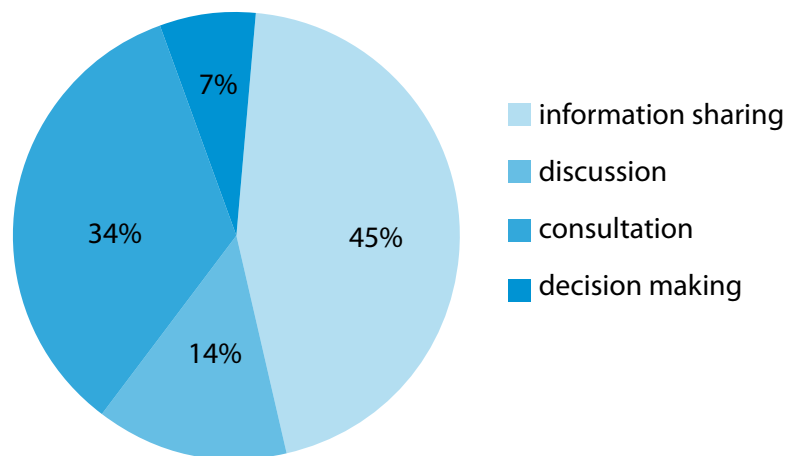
CSYP and interdepartmental collaboration are implemented through several formal and specifically cross-sectoral bodies, processes and instruments. The main cross-sectoral body is the youth interdepartmental committee, but the committee is interlinked with many bodies and processes from youth policy, such as the implementation of the national structured dialogue or the national youth report. These processes are implemented in a cross-sectoral way and thus play an important role for the development of interdepartmental collaboration and the institutionalisation of CSYP.

The youth interdepartmental committee was established by the Youth Act in 2008 as the main body co-ordinating the implementation of CSYP. It brings together representatives and civil servants from different governmental departments and was initiated at the same time as the action plan for CSYP was drafted. Immediately, this body became a central structure for the co-ordination and implementation of CSYP. The interviewed partners mentioned it as a necessary, useful and positive opportunity, and as a site for interdepartmental collaboration. The main challenge they foresee for this committee is to keep it active, dynamic and lively and ensure the continuous presence of higher-level representatives from all policy areas. Therefore the co-ordination of the Ministry of Youth was an important factor: “that the Ministry of Youth always broaches the subject again... means we don’t have to organise it and that there is always a kind of motor, who calls upon us and reminds us.”

The analysis of the minutes of the meetings and the associated documents of the youth interdepartmental committee showed that the main functions and goals

pursued in the meetings were information exchange, discussions, consultations and decision making (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Functions and goals pursued in the youth interdepartmental committee



The results of the analysis of the documents and the interviews suggest that the role of the youth interdepartmental committee as a platform for information exchange has become increasingly central for CSYP and interdepartmental collaboration over time, while other more active and dynamic functions have become less important.

While the shared information mainly came from the youth division during the first meetings, other departments started to present information about their youth-relevant projects in the later meetings. This development could introduce new dynamics to the information exchange and help counterbalance the negative effects of a overly strong focus on information transmission.

The main topics addressed in the youth interdepartmental committee were: the action plan for the CSYP Youth Pact, the national structured dialogue with young people and the national report on the situation of youth.

While the action plan, as a specific cross-sectoral instrument, was the main topic of the youth interdepartmental committee, topics from other domains of youth policy such as youth participation (e.g. a national structured dialogue with young people) or evidence-based youth policy (e.g. the national youth report) were also addressed in this interdepartmental committee. This shows that CSYP is closely interlinked with the core topics and processes of the national youth policy and that these topics are implemented in a cross-sectoral way: "The Youth Pact uses the political line as orientation."

This conscious interweaving and interconnectedness of different sectoral and cross-sectoral structures, processes and bodies encourages the spread of a cross-sectoral approach and is enabled by three factors: structural, personal and topical interlinkages.

The different processes and bodies are structurally linked, because they are based on each other and because there are formal links between them. For example, the national report on the situation of young people is the evidence base for the action plan for CSYP. In addition to this, there is a very significant overlap between the individual representatives of the governmental departments that participate in the different processes and bodies. This results in the same people meeting each other in different processes and bodies and profiting from existing collaborations and relationships. Finally, the interweaving and interlinkage of structures, processes and bodies arise from priority political topics, which are implemented and fostered through different instruments and processes.

Over time, one observed the development of two models of collaboration, each making different use of existing instruments: multilateral communication and strategic partnerships. These models have developed in CSYP due to the necessity of allowing for the heterogeneity of intentions and levels of involvement of the different departments.

On the one hand, very intense bilateral or trilateral partnerships between the youth division and other governmental departments have formed around a few political priorities, such as “youth and housing” or “participation”. The partners of these strategic partnerships join forces to enhance the visibility of their common topic (and themselves), underline the political relevance and urgency of their cause, reinforce their call for the allocation of governmental resources, and enhance the quality of their measures and maximise their impact and efficiency. Their collaboration is intense and goes beyond the actions of the action plan and the youth interdepartmental committee as the common political priority is implemented through various bodies, actions, events and processes: “It is not possible to make everything. So we began to work more focused on concrete projects with only a few partners in smaller work groups.”

On the other hand, multilateral cross-sectoral information exchange and communication has developed between the departments that are represented in the youth interdepartmental committee, but do not have a strategic partnership with the youth division. The core of this multilateral communication takes place in the meetings and through the protocols of the youth interdepartmental committee: “I think we need to organise the committee in a way which makes it valuable for everyone. For those ministries who just want to stay informed and also for those who want to have the opportunity to bring their actions into the Pact.”

The main objective is to stay informed about developments that might concern their policy field and to maintain contact in order to keep the channels open to the possibility of a later, more intensive collaboration. Though all information can run together in such information platforms, the bilateral model has the advantage in that it allows more concrete and practical forms of collaboration.

Balance of informal and formal aspects of collaboration

One of the main factors of success for cross-sectoral policy making and interdepartmental collaboration is the balancing of the formal instruments and processes and the informal and personal aspects of interdepartmental collaboration. Analysis of the interviews allowed the identification of two informal aspects that seem specifically

important for interdepartmental collaboration processes: the interdepartmental understanding of different policy areas through common knowledge construction, and the informal and interpersonal relationships.

The internal ways of working and communicating in separate governmental departments can vary considerably. Examples of differences between departments provided by the interviewees concerned administrative procedures, styles of communication and hierarchically defined room for manoeuvring, as well as general ways of working and of decision making. In addition to these, there are often differences on the conceptual level. This may concern different conceptions of youth (e.g. age range or needs of youth) but also different perspectives on seemingly straightforward topics (e.g. for housing: a focus on the social consequences of homelessness v. the legislative aspects of promoting housing construction). To deal with these challenges, the co-construction of knowledge was as important as a loose formal framing and co-ordination by the youth division: "In this respect one could say that interministerial collaboration is a bit of an intercultural question. Because I think every ministry has its own way of working ... It takes a lot of time and there is a lot of need for discussion, too. So that one agrees on concepts and such ... not only on the words to use, but also on the reality behind the words."

In addition to the formal relationships established between government departments by legal obligations and interdepartmental committees, interdepartmental collaboration relies on the interpersonal communication and collaboration of the individual representatives. In the context of CSYP, the development of trust and interpersonal relationships between the representatives of the youth division and the representatives of the other governmental departments enables informal channels and efficient communication and collaboration.

These informal aspects of collaboration were described as crucial to enable the actors to overcome feelings of awkwardness and foreignness as well as the sceptical attitudes present in the early phases of the implementation of CSYP. They also helped develop reliable networks of collaboration. Informal means of communication and collaboration were often characterised as direct, quick and uncomplicated by the interview partners, because they do not require lengthy meetings, protocols and exchanges of formal letters and thus increase the efficiency and speed of interdepartmental collaboration: "In the interministerial committee it is formal. But everything that happens around this uses very quick, short paths and is also virtually never written down."

These personal networks of relationships do, however, depend on a low turnover of the representatives as well as the characteristics and affinities of individuals. This is why they need to be combined and balanced with formal ways of communicating and collaborating to ensure sustainability and continuity in the long term.

Results and challenges

This chapter focused on the role of social, interactive and communicative factors within CSYP processes and the strategies and factors that help address the major challenges of cross-sectoral policy processes successfully.

As the empirical findings have shown, one of the major challenges of CSYP is to respect the heterogeneity of interests and the intentions of the many different actors involved. The willingness of departments to invest time and money in co-operation is influenced by the existence of shared, current priority topics or practical joint projects.

Cross-sectoral processes involve an enhanced need for co-ordination (Tosun and Lang 2013). As Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2015) state, in this context it can be helpful to implement an initial formal agreement on the conditions of collaboration, because it may raise awareness about common goals and benefits of the collaboration. It is also of importance to enhance individual and organisational ability and goodwill to work across the boundaries of policy fields, to respect different capacities and resources, and to develop an interdepartmental understanding of different policy areas (Tosun and Lang 2013).

This challenge is closely linked to the task of ensuring continuous active participation of all the governmental departments represented in the youth interdepartmental committee. This can be achieved by finding youth-relevant topics that are compatible with the interests and priorities of as many departments as possible, by encouraging identification with CSYP, by fostering a lively and dynamic exchange in the interdepartmental committees and bodies, and by encouraging interpersonal relationships and informal ways of collaboration (Koschmann, Kuhn and Pfarrer 2012). Thus, a successful implementation of CSYP also depends on the balancing of formal instruments and processes on the one hand and the informal aspects of interdepartmental collaboration on the other.

Factors for effective CSYP also include developing common conceptions of youth and the objective of the collaboration (Lee et al. 2012). To overcome differences and to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts, it is necessary to allow enough time for the processes of communication and common knowledge construction. Those important but unpredictable challenges can best be addressed when there is trust to draw upon (ibid.), and trust is best created when people work together early on and spend time learning about each other.

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Chapter 11

CSYP in Finland – Essential elements, strategies and functionality within the Youth Guidance and Service Networks

Matilda Wrede-Jäntti⁹⁶ and Cecilia Wester⁹⁷

Background

According to the Finnish Youth Act from 2011, every municipality is obliged to establish a cross-sectoral network: the Youth Guidance and Service Network. This is one of several policy measures of the Youth Guarantee⁹⁸ programme in Finland. The main objective with the network is to guarantee smooth and efficient services for youth in need of welfare services. In this chapter, we explore cross-sectoral youth networks in Finland. By studying essential elements, strategies used and functionalities in the cross-sectoral networks, insights are provided on the cross-sectoral youth networks and crucial learning points for researchers, policy makers and practitioners interested in the Finnish model.

The chapter is structured as follows: it begins with a short introduction that explains the main purpose of the Youth Guidance and Service Networks. Information is shared on the current situation of the Youth Guidance and Service Networks, and on former research. Then follows a more in-depth presentation of the objectives and tasks of the networks according to official documents, the research material and the results of the study. Due to differences between the networks a more thorough presentation is given of one network: the HYVIS-team was chosen as it stands out in our study as an example of an efficient network. The chapter ends with a discussion on common findings and challenges within the networks, and a conclusion pinpointing essential elements needed to establish a highly functional network.

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98. See <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1109&intPagId=2924&langId=en>, accessed 13 November 2017.

One implementation of the Finnish Youth Guarantee: cross-sectoral networks

In 2013, the Finnish Government established the Youth Guarantee programme, which offers young people under the age of 25 training, education or employment within three months after signing up as unemployed. There has been a wide interest in the Finnish Youth Guarantee programme both nationally (YLE 2015) and internationally (European Commission 2016). The Youth Guarantee programme is outlined by several laws of which the Youth Act (72/2006)⁹⁹ on cross-sectoral networks is fundamental (Mulari and Gretschesl 2013). The main objective in setting up cross-sectoral networks is to establish well-functioning, cross-sectoral co-operation within the municipalities in order to efficiently manage welfare services for youth. The objectives, members and tasks of the cross-sectoral networks are presented more thoroughly later in this chapter.

However, cross-sectoral youth networks are not a new phenomenon in Finnish municipalities; local and regional co-operation and cross-sectoral networks preceded the Youth Act. Nevertheless, the cross-sectoral networks have a unique role since they follow national guidelines regarding objectives, members and tasks. Thereby the aim with the Youth Act is to initiate development of already-existing cross-sectoral networks (ibid.). As the cross-sectoral networks work on a structural level there is still a need for smaller, thematically concentrated youth networks (see Gretschesl, in this publication).

Objectives of the cross-sectoral networks and earlier research

Cross-sectoral youth networks are mentioned in the Youth Act in 2011. According to the Youth Act, the main objective is to improve the social services offered to young people through close collaboration between the key actors in the municipality or region. The tasks of a network are divided into four categories.

- ▶ To gather information on young people's living conditions and prospects. The information should be used to assess the situation of local young people and thereby also to support local decision making and planning.
- ▶ To promote integration and effectiveness of services. Services in Finland targeted at young people are scattered across several authorities (Aaltonen, Berg and Ikkäheimo 2015). A network should ensure the smoothest possible operation of service processes between authorities, and thereby secure the supply, quality and availability of services targeting young people.
- ▶ To plan and boost the use of shared procedures. As the services are scattered, there are seldom common guidelines. A network works towards procedures¹⁰⁰

99. See www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/2016/20161285?search%5Btype%5D=pika&search%5Bpika%5D=Nuorisolaki%2072%2F2006, accessed 12 June 2017.

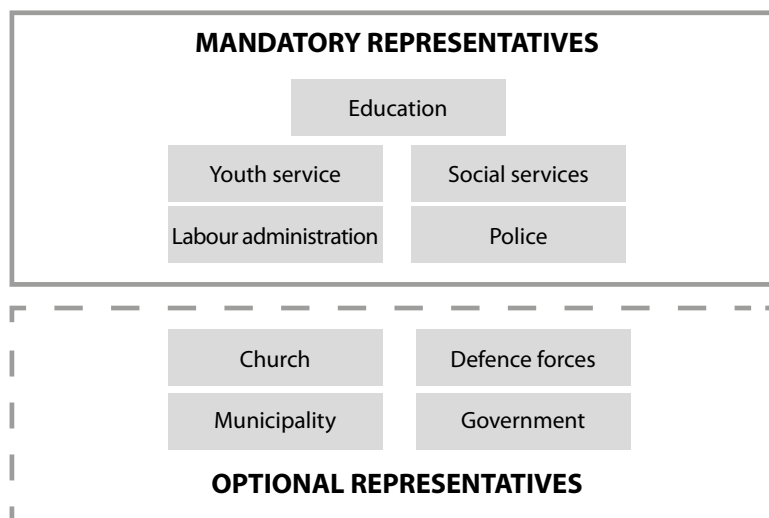
100. An example of a widely used procedure in Finland today is the use of outreach youth workers. The outreach workers' task is, among others, to contact school dropouts to offer them help. Earlier, no local authority was clearly responsible for this group. Today the co-operation between schools and outreach workers functions well; the outreach worker is contacted as soon as a student drops out – sometimes even earlier – and immediately initiates contact. Outreach workers, in turn, have established good connections to other local authorities such as social workers, to whom a fast track is provided if needed for young school dropouts.

that are known and used by several actors, concerning how to guide young people to services and, if needed, from one service to the next.

- To promote the fluent exchange of information. Again, due to the fact that many authorities are involved, there is a need for a more fluent exchange of information between the different actors.

There are no strict regulations on which actors should be represented in the cross-sectoral networks; according to the Youth Act all actors who can be defined as key actors in youth work should be represented. However, these key actors must at least represent education, social services, health care, youth services, labour administration and the police (see Figure 9). Additionally, other actors such as representatives from the Finnish defence forces, other officials from the municipality, government and state church, as well as representatives from the third sector, may be invited to the networks. The idea is that a cross-sectoral network has the resources needed to map the overall situation of youth in the municipality and establish well-functioning paths for young people in terms of finding education, employment and their place in society. The Youth Act states that the cross-sectoral networks should improve welfare services for all youth.

Figure 9: Composition of the Youth Guidance and Service Networks in Finland



As the cross-sectoral networks in most municipalities have functioned for only a few years, not much research can be found on them. However, there are some statistics available. On a national level, there are two annual reports, one covering the year 2015 by Bamming and Sundvall (2015) and another for the year 2014 by AVI/OKM (Regional State Administrative Agencies/Ministry of Education and Culture) (2014). Locally produced reports are also to be found. They cover information on the networks within a defined region, usually on a county level (e.g. Kalliomaa

2015; Komonen 2015). Also, guides and suggestions on working models for the networks have been published (Mäensivu and Rasimus 2016; Pohjois-Savon ELY-keskus 2016). By 2015, 91% of all Finnish municipalities had established a Youth Guidance and Service Network (Bamming and Sundvall 2015). Some are cross-border networks, covering two or more, usually small, municipalities. The activities of the cross-sectoral networks are monitored by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The majority of the cross-sectoral networks (61%) put special effort into reaching specific groups of young people, such as the unemployed, people lacking an education and those in need of social support (ibid.). However, this report and our study show that other subgroups, such as young immigrants, have usually not received special attention within the cross-sectoral networks.

Research material

The research material of this empirical study consists of two parts: personal interviews with members of cross-sectoral youth networks, and minutes from the same networks. Two or three members from each studied network were interviewed, and the responses were complemented by minutes from the same networks. The research project covers 14 networks. However, in this chapter five networks are presented, then the focus is narrowed down to describe only one network in-depth, as it has unique strategies.

The selected five cross-sectoral networks are from municipalities in different regions. All five municipalities are bilingual and small to medium-sized, with a population of between 15 000 and 600 000. In all municipalities the vast majority speaks either Finnish or Swedish as its mother tongue, whereas foreign language speakers comprise 2% to 13.5%. For each of the networks presented here personal interviews were carried out with at least two network members: the convener and/or the chairperson, the representative from the local TE-office (Public employment and business services) and personnel from the local youth workshop.¹⁰¹ The members who have been chosen as the convener/chairperson are deeply involved in the work of the network; the TE-office representative has essential insights on the integration of young people into society in terms of employment, income and future prospects; whereas the personnel from the youth workshop work closely with marginalised youth. The interview material consists of 14 personal interviews, which follow a structured guide (see Appendix 1) focusing on the interviewee's viewpoints on the network, its objectives and the strategies used to meet them, along with potential challenges and results. The interviews were transcribed and coded according to the questions posed. As the guide was thematically structured into eight questions, with 24 targeted sub-questions, the answers are fairly well structured and did not require an in-depth content analysis.

The interviews were complemented by the networks' minutes recorded since 2011, a total of 79 sets. However, the differences were large: Network 1 sent us 38 minutes, while Network 5 delivered just four. The amount varied especially when it came

101. A youth workshop is an activation measure offered to young unemployed people. See http://minedu.fi/en/article/-/asset_publisher/tyopajat-ja-etsiva-nuorisotyö. Not all networks have representatives from youth workshops.

to the period 2011-13. This may be because all municipalities had not succeeded in establishing a network as quickly as suggested by the Youth Act. Therefore, the second part of the research material consists of 39 sets of minutes from the five networks from 2014 and 2015. On average 3.9 meetings were held a year, but these too are unevenly distributed, with Network 1 holding eight to nine meetings a year (see Table 10).

Results: common guidelines and varying practices

Table 10 shows, for each of the studied cross-sectoral youth networks, the number of annual meetings and members, the conveners' occupational position, the level at which the network works, and the decisions found in the minutes. It also includes information provided by the interviewees on the objectives of their network, the sharing of information, and whether the network has an official strategy for decision making.

Table 10 shows, firstly, that there are differences in the number of annual meetings: they vary from three in Network 5 to eight or nine in Network 1. This can partly be explained by the different work routines. Some networks in our study, especially in larger municipalities with more resources, could have fewer meetings as they tended to delegate tasks to smaller working parties, who met more frequently. Networks in smaller municipalities generally take on all the tasks themselves and therefore meet more frequently. Another explanation could be the different perceptions of the objectives of the network: some networks mainly gather to share information, which does not require more than three to five meetings a year. Networks meeting more often also seem to have more of a decision-making position, which gives them power to make decisions on the issues discussed. Broader objectives lead to suggestions on how to improve local services whereas possessing the power to realise suggestions made requires discussions to reach agreement, which in turn results in frequent meetings.

Similarities between the cross-sectoral networks are found in technical aspects. The networks are all relatively big: 10 to 26 members. The variation can mostly be explained by the size of the municipalities. The convener represents either the youth sector or the education sector. All networks work on a structural level, meaning they discuss structural and organisational matters, not individual cases. In Table 10, the objectives are defined by the members' statements in the interviews as the official objectives, described earlier, are the same for all networks.

The interviews show both commonalities and variations between the networks. All interviewees pointed out that one objective is to gather and share information about current issues. Nevertheless, the sharing of information implies several things. Firstly, it can be understood as the process through which members present their work and their sector to the other members in the network in order to increase knowledge about the work done in different sectors. Secondly, sharing of information might imply sharing of information outside the network, with colleagues or other sectors. Since sharing of information is one of the main objectives of the network Table 10 includes information on whether the network maintains a strategy to share information internally – within the network – and externally – with colleagues and other sectors. All networks have strategies for the sharing of information internally. Two

Table 10: Information on the five studied networks

Municipality	Annual meetings	Members	Convener	Level	Objectives	Sharing of information	Decision-making strategy	Decisions and results
Network 1	8-9	15	Chief of Education	Structural	Gather and share information. Discuss and present proposals for decisions.	Internal and external	Yes	Expert teams, handbooks, efficiency in youth work and service on the internet. (A total of 10 decisions)
Network 2	3-4	13	Secretary of Youth Work	Structural	-	Internal	Yes	Strategy for well-being among youth, including summer jobs, leisure time and living conditions
Network 3	7	10	Secretary of Youth Work	Structural	Gather and share information. Increase knowledge about the different sectors.	Internal	No	None
Network 4	5-6	26	Secretary of Youth Work	Structural	Gather and share information. Discuss current issues among youth.	Internal	No	None
Network 5	3	19	Chief of Education	Structural	Gather and share information. Map youth service.	Internal	No	None

networks, Network 1 and Network 4, also have official strategies for the sharing of information externally. We argue that both internal and external sharing of information is fundamental for a successful network, since it enables ideas, proposals and decisions to be spread, both ways, between network members and practitioners.

Another rather common objective among the studied cross-sectoral networks that was revealed in the interviews was to raise awareness about youth services and the actors that already exist in the municipality. One interviewee (woman, Network 2) pointed out: "I was not aware of all the different services that are already available for youth, actually we are doing a pretty good job." In many municipalities the networks have mapped the different actors that are working with youth and explored how these actors are interconnected. All interviewees, no matter the size of the municipality in which they are working, seem to appreciate the face-to-face meetings that their network offers. They argued that meeting representatives from other sectors improves collaboration outside the meetings. One member (woman, Network 2) said: "Thanks to having met face to face it has become easier to find partners from other sectors to co-operate with." Another member (woman, Network 3) concluded: "It is much easier to call someone after having met them in real life." Interviewees from Network 1 explicitly said that one of the objectives is to discuss and provide proposals for decisions on matters concerning youth.

However, some interviewees also expressed frustration with the objectives, saying that they knew the objectives but still did not see any results. According to one interviewee, their network had no connection to practical youth work, which resulted in uninformed discussions: "I do not see how this network would come to any conclusions, since they do not have the know-how" (man, Network 5). Another reason for this frustration might be that the processes in the networks are slow and the interviewees have not seen the results yet.

Table 10 also tells us networks have an official strategy for decision making. Networks 1 and 2 are the only networks that include members with the authority to take decisions on, for instance, budgets and strategies. However, some networks not possessing this authority have passed their suggestions to the local decision makers. The official strategies for decision making used by Network 1 are presented more thoroughly in a later section. Network 1 made 10 decisions that concerned, for example, the appointment of expert teams, the need for a manual on mental health among youth, efficiency in the youth service and the increase of services provided through the internet.

In short, the minutes show that there are several distinctions between the networks, especially when it comes to strategies and results. They also suggest that networks succeed in bringing together different sectors that are working with issues concerning young people: all five networks are good at sharing information internally (Table 10). Such information may concern, for instance, new opening hours at the local youth centre, youth events or the release of the summer job ticket.¹⁰² Some networks go further, defining challenges young people face and discussing how to improve services: "We had a boom of suicides, so the network suggested a service

¹⁰² The summer job ticket offers employers money for hiring young people to work for a few weeks during the summer.

point for young people where counselling was offered without having to have book an appointment in advance” (woman, Network 4); “Thanks to our network a swimming school was started for refugees” (woman, Network 5).

According to the interviews, the networks play an important role. The interviewees felt that the networks succeed in sharing information across the traditional sector borders: “I find the network good: you learn about things others are doing” (woman, Network 4). This gives the participants a better, overall insight into local issues concerning young people. This information will be spread internally and, in some networks, externally. Most interviewees also mention that getting to know people from different sectors working with similar questions enhances the feeling of teamwork: “The network gives you a sense of safety: that you are on the right track. It also works as an energy boost, giving you more strength to go on with your tasks” (woman, Network 3). The networks also open up better opportunities to exchange ideas with other local authorities, and strengthen the sense that there are many people working together on issues they find important. All these positive factors seem to explain why the networks are seen to work fairly well.

This presentation of five cross-sectoral youth networks illustrates both their strengths and weaknesses. We therefore continue with a more in-depth analysis of one well-functioning network: the HYVIS-team. It is somewhat of a frontrunner when it comes to both strategies and results. The aim of the presentation below is to uncover essential elements within a well-functioning network.

Case Porvoo: the HYVIS-team

We argue that the work done by the youth network in the city of Porvoo is an example of an efficient cross-sectoral network that presents successful results, and that has improved the welfare services for local youth. Below we evaluate how the network in Porvoo has dealt with the four main tasks presented in the Youth Act. The Youth Network in Porvoo, called the HYVIS-team, started as a pilot project by STAKES (the National Research and Development Centre for Welfare and Health) in 1998. The main objective with the network was to provide information about the well-being of children and youth to local decision makers. The work done by the HYVIS-team has resulted in, for example, improved sectoral teamwork. When the Youth Act was ratified in 2010, the city board of Porvoo decided that the implementation of the Youth Act would be carried through by the HYVIS-team (Nousiainen et al. 2011: 101).

Gathering and sharing of information

The HYVIS-team has 15 members from various sectors. They gather once a month, with the exception of summer and winter holidays. There are high expectations for each member when it comes to the gathering and sharing of information. Firstly, every member is expected to inform the HYVIS-team about their own sectors. This is done at every meeting and requires preparation, as every member is obliged to inform his/her sector about the topics discussed in the HYVIS-team. This enables the different sectors to be up-to-date with not only the work done by the HYVIS-team but also with issues concerning young people locally and nationally. This two-way communication between the HYVIS-team and the different sectors is fundamental for a shared understanding of the current situation and needs of the youth in Porvoo.

Furthermore, this ongoing communication gives practitioners the possibility to make decision makers aware of urgent matters at their workplaces. In accordance with the Youth Act, the HYVIS-team gathers information (task 1) and promotes fluent exchange of information (task 4) successfully, which creates the foundation for discussions and potential decisions on important local issues concerning youth.

Using shared procedures in order to improve youth services

The two other tasks, stated in the Youth Act, are to promote integration and effectiveness of services (task 2), and to plan and boost the use of shared procedures (task 3). The challenge for many youth networks is to evaluate and react to the information that is gathered. The HYVIS-team has developed structures to deal with the gathered information; two-way communication has been established between practitioners, working with issues concerning young people at the grass-roots level, and decision makers, working with the same issues but at the administrative level. This is in order to create a shared understanding of the possibilities and needs of local youth. This two-way communication system provides an opportunity for practitioners to report any issue they face directly to the HYVIS-team.

The issues discussed in the HYVIS-team are always prepared by a group of experts. Hence, the HYVIS-team receives valid information on the topic and gains a more thorough understanding of how it affects both youth and practitioners in different sectors. The HYVIS-team may give recommendations, based on the experts' statements, to local decision makers, on structural issues concerning young people that may be rectified, as well as how this could be done. Many of the members within the HYVIS-team are in positions of power, that is they possess the authority to make decisions within their own sector. As the decision makers are either part of, or well-versed in, the discussions held by the HYVIS-team, they are encouraged to make decisions in alignment with the team's recommendations. In this way the HYVIS-team, with its close connections to both experts and practitioners, makes the network into a platform for information and decision making within the whole sector of youth work.

Discussion: what can be learned from the study?

The Youth Act on the Youth Guidance and Service Networks was ratified in 2011, which is a relatively long time ago. But many networks are still finding their place within the youth sector in the municipalities; as explained earlier, it is a challenging task to establish and run a fairly big network consisting of representatives from many different sectors. Among some network members frustration can be seen when discussing the network's main objectives; it is not always clear what they are or if there is a lack of a common understanding of what the role of the network is. This underlines that it is both a time-consuming and challenging process to introduce new cross-sectoral networks. Still, multi-professional collaboration is not a new phenomenon in Finland. For many municipalities the Youth Act was mainly seen as confirmation of the importance of the multi-agent networks that were already up and running. In other words, there are immense variations between existing networks – both between the official Youth Guidance and Service Networks and between other networks working with issues that concern young people – in terms of the objectives, experiences and strategies used (see also the text by Gretscher in this book).

This study has explored essential elements, strategies and functionality among five Youth Guidance and Service Networks in order to offer guidelines for multi-agent networks in the youth and other social sectors. There is today a great need for cross-sectoral work within youth services. These needs are related both to young people and service providers. Young people are expected to make important choices at a time when older models are no longer working but several new, unexplored opportunities are at hand. The future is uncertain, not only on a personal level but also for society (Beck 1992; Bauman 2001): what will the labour market look like when today's young students graduate? Will they find jobs within their own field? For service providers, there is a need to understand not only how young people think and feel but also the procedures used by other such organisations that they are expected to co-operate effectively with. Co-operation across a wide range of service providers, such as those mentioned in the Youth Act (72/2006), is crucial.

Learning points

Our study showed, firstly, that there are commonalities between the networks. All networks are big, with 10 to 26 members per network, no matter the size of the municipality. The composition of network members, in terms of which sector they represent, is similar; in general representatives from the education, social, health, youth services and labour administrations all actively attend the meetings. A third commonality is the appreciation among the members when discussing the opportunity to meet key partners from different sectors working with the same target group as themselves. This strengthens their sense that they are working with important issues and that they are not alone in their struggles. This also related to another vital aspect with the networks: personalisation. All members felt that the networks had succeeded in cross-sectoral collaboration at a personal level. This seems to be very important, as it lowers the threshold for officials to contact each other regarding other professional matters as well, leading to a holistic and more multifaceted picture of their clients' life situation, thus making everyday work with youth more efficient. This result corresponds with findings at the national level (Bamming and Sundvall 2015: 6-11), where respondents stated that the work carried out in the networks is very good: seven out of 10 claim that sharing of information has improved since 2011, especially knowledge of what other authorities/actors are doing. Cross-sectoral discussions and co-operation have become easier. Some respondents also felt that the status of youth policy questions had risen in decision making within the municipality.

Secondly, the study also revealed clear differences between the networks, when comparing the frequency of meetings, main objectives, positions of power and results. Meeting frequency varied from two or three times a year to once a month. This large variation resembles what was found at the national level, where most networks (27%) had two yearly meetings, even though almost 40% of all the networks met four or more times a year (ibid.: 3-4). Meeting frequency can partly be explained by whether the network is closely connected to a working party that meets more frequently or not. The vast majority of networks in Finland function as one group, avoiding splitting into smaller subgroups, and keeping together the network's leading and operational functions (ibid.). Another explanation for the number of yearly meetings is the variations in work routines and objectives. Those networks that mainly work with tasks related to the gathering and sharing of information tend

to meet less frequently than networks set up to discuss and provide proposals for decisions. Recently established networks seldom had many meetings the first year (ibid: 5). However, none of the networks studied here are new.

The variations in the objectives can be seen in the varying perceptions of the network among the members. Even though all members expressed appreciation for the network, some had experienced frustration when the objectives were not clear or the network was not closely connected with practical youth work. This in turn relates to the ratio of members in the position of power, that is, grass-roots workers compared to the number of administrators in the network. The national report shows that one third of the members worked with young people on a daily basis, whereas 17% belonged to middle management and only 6% came from the highest management level (ibid.). When discussing the composition of network members it is interesting to note that even though the Youth Guarantee underlines the importance of including young people in decision making, only a few networks do so. The national report shows that only 17% of the networks include a representative from youth organisations (ibid.), whereas they are to be found in two of the five networks presented here. Only networks with an objective to make decisions or provide proposals for decisions, when needed, were consequently the ones that could show actual results.

Thirdly, our study shows that there are challenges that some networks struggle with: not all succeed in forming a network that works as a basis for personal connections, compared to functioning only as agents for the sector they represent. As found also in the national report, it is impossible to find dates for the meetings that suit everyone in a big network, and the turnover of employees can also be a challenge (ibid.: 6-11). Some networks gather information on local youth and services offered to them but do not really know how to proceed to make use of the knowledge collected, and implement it in the form of better services. The national report suggests that participation activity varies between the different administrative sectors (ibid.), but we could not confirm this in our study.

Fourthly, we want to share solutions used by the network in the town of Porvoo, which presented unique strategies that took the work done by the network a step further. While many networks focus mainly on the gathering and sharing of information, the network in Porvoo has developed unique strategies to evaluate and react to the information that it gathers. Through teams of experts closely connected to both the network members and to practitioners, and two-way communication, the network has access to actual and thorough information on any issue within the youth sector. Another aspect is the powerful position that the network has acquired in terms of the status of each network member. By bringing in members to the network with decision-making power in their own sectors, the network has ensured its influence in the different sectors.

Finally, analysing the research material, it also seems that the networks go through two different phases. Newer networks struggle more than already established ones (ibid.). Phase one consists of mapping the general situation for young people in the municipality and the different partners/authorities working with issues related to young people. Possible shortcomings and missing forms of support are looked for,

and information is spread within the network on what the members are involved with as well as topical projects and issues. Phase two consists of making sense of the gathered facts, sorting out what it means, and deciding on what goals should be achieved in order to better support local subgroups of young people. After this, agreement needs to be found on how the goals can be best achieved. Actual decision making will be made at a higher level of the hierarchy.

It is a challenging task to run a cross-sectoral network successfully, as there are many aspects to take into consideration. One is simply a practical one: the networks are fairly big and it is not always easy to find a suitable time to get many busy participants together at the same time, not to mention bring together people with different educational backgrounds and from different work sectors to decide on a clear, concrete and common goal for the meetings. As the networks, according to the Youth Act, are mandatory, they can be seen as an “extra” workload that is not interpreted as essential by the body that sends representatives as members.

Finally, there is a challenge regarding how the network, ideally, should be composed: networks consisting of representatives from the grass-roots have insights on what is actually topical. Thanks to the grass-roots members there is an understanding of how young people tend to think of and react to official strategies. However, the grass-roots workers’ strength is also their weakness, as they lack the authority to take decisions on, for instance, budget and strategy matters. When discussing the possible composition of members of the network there is also the question of which role ordinary young people should be given. Some networks have decided, from time to time, to invite local, active young persons.

Conclusions

Based on our empirical study we draw the following conclusions: in the municipalities, there is a need for multi-agent work within the youth sector. Support guidance to young people is scattered across several officials. Having a forum that brings the officials together not only sheds light on the local situation of youth, but also enables ongoing communication between the key actors, including decision makers. In short, a network allows for a better understanding of the common field the actors are working in, making the work better focused, easier and more efficient. Not to be forgotten is the positive effect of the network on many officials, who begin to feel that they are part of a team working together towards a common and important goal. This leads to a sense of mutual responsibility and increases the possibility of getting support for challenging tasks/questions.

As the case from Porvoo shows, an efficient network needs: clear objectives that are well communicated; an official strategy for sharing information between the different sectors, both internally and externally; and for making decisions, members in a position of power to execute decisions made, as well as a close connection to the practitioners. Our study shows that network members can learn from each other and combine available, essential information. At its best, a network functions as a platform for mapping, networking, discussion and decision making, bringing forward issues important to local youth.

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Appendix 1

Questions to interviewees on cross-sectoral youth networks.

Cross-sectoral youth network today (co-operation and meetings)

1. Picture the co-operation done in the cross-sectoral youth network (CYN).
 - a. What are the goals of the work done by the CYN?
 - b. What are the strengths of the CYN?
 - c. Have there been any concrete results of the work done by the CYN?
 - d. Has the CYN resulted in more co-operation? If yes, how?
 - e. What are the challenges with the CYN? Please give some examples.
2. Does the co-operation that the CYN has had correspond with your expectations? Why/why not? Are there other networks for co-operation in your region? If yes, do you participate in them? If yes, are there differences in the co-operation of the CYN?
3. What do you think about the partners in the CYN?
 - a. Are the "right" actors represented in the network?
 - b. Do you think that ordinary young people should be represented among the participants in the CYN?
4. Do possible differences in the practices of the CYN members' bodies affect the co-operation in the network?
 - a. Are there bureaucratic aspects that make co-operation difficult within the network?
5. How could the CYN develop further?
 - a. How would you like the co-operation to look in a year?
 - b. Is the CYN versatile enough? If not, what could be done differently?
6. What is being discussed at the CYN meetings?
 - a. Do you find themes/questions that all the represented bodies find interesting?
 - b. Have you had discussions on groups of local young people considered to be vulnerable?
 - c. Do you discuss topical societal changes and how they may influence the young people in your region?
 - d. Should there be more/fewer participants in the CYN?
 - e. Are there any actors that have chosen not to participate in the CYN? If yes, do you know why?
 - f. Do the meetings held by the CYN meet your expectations? Why/why not?
 - g. How could the meetings be developed?

General questions on the CYN

1. For how long has the CYN functioned in this region?
 - a. Since when have you participated in the meetings of the CYN?
 - b. Have the objectives changed since the beginning? If yes, how?
2. How often does the CYN arrange meetings?
 - a. How do you find the frequency of meetings? Too few/too many?
 - b. Who is the meeting convener?

Chapter 12

Implementing CSYP in Ukraine – Experience and challenges

*Yevgeniy Borodin*¹⁰³

Introduction

Youth policy in Ukraine is currently undergoing great changes, and new theories and concepts have emerged and been implemented. In this regard it is very important to analyse the accumulated experience as a whole and study the current state of youth public policy based on European conceptual approaches.

The purpose of this chapter is to study Ukrainian youth policy using the cross-sectoral approach, which has been widely used at international and European levels. The research covers the period from the very beginning of national youth policy following the proclamation of Ukrainian independence to the time of writing (1991-2016).

The chapter is a critical analysis of the legal and structural framework of cross-sectoral policy in Ukraine at the national level, specifically laws and other normative and legal acts on youth issues adopted by the President, Parliament and Government of Ukraine. We focus on an analysis of the different tools of CSYP implementation in Ukraine from the point of their emergence, keeping in mind their sustainability. Moreover, the chapter presents a study both of interinstitutional and interpersonal relations in Ukrainian youth policy.

We should clarify the terminology employed; the chapter operates on an existing classification of two main understandings of CSYP co-operation at the national level: vertical, “between youth policy making and young people (through) youth organisations” and horizontal, “between youth policy making (the Ministry of Youth) and all other relevant ministries and departments” (Nico 2014).

The main constraint to our research is the fact that the concepts and terms “CSYP” and “cross-sectoral approach” have not yet been used in Ukrainian legislation, but have only appeared in research papers.

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Youth policy in Ukraine: organisational context, conceptual principles and main directions

After proclaiming Ukrainian independence on August 24 1991, the government started to set state policy for and in the youth sector. Legislation on youth policy includes the following legal acts: the Declaration on General Principles of State Youth Policy in Ukraine (1992), the Law on Fostering Youth Socialisation and Development in Ukraine (1993), the Law on Youth and Children's Organisations (1998) and the Law on Social Work with Families, Children and Youth (2001, renamed 2009).

Currently, youth policy falls within the remit of the Ministry of Youth and Sport of Ukraine. Regional and local units aimed at implementation of youth policies (together with sport policy or other related areas) are created in the local state administrations (in regions and districts) and city councils. There are also specially dedicated units in the structure of the Ministry of Youth and Sport of Ukraine (e.g. the Department of Youth and Patriotic Education Unit).

These days, cross-sectoral co-operation within the governmental sector and between government and other youth policy actors takes place mostly in the field of preparation and implementation of strategies, programmes and other documents by multilateral and bilateral contacts.

In accordance with current Ukrainian legislation, the state youth policy¹⁰⁴ is defined as the systematic activities of the government to ensure conditions and guarantees for the self-determination and development of young people, and to support them in realising their potential in their own interests and in the interests of Ukraine.¹⁰⁵

An important feature of the definition of state youth policy in Ukraine is its transversal nature. Employment of youth, support for entrepreneurial initiatives, improvement of the quality of life, living conditions, education, cultural development, health care and physical development of young people are recognised to be the spheres of youth policy. Such a vision of youth policy deals with cross-cutting issues that have to be considered in other policies too.

We should emphasise that the conceptual principles of youth policy in Ukraine have developed in a different way in European countries and Europe as a whole. First, the terminology of youth policy, formed in the early 1990s, has not changed so far, and hardly includes relevant vocabulary and concepts from the documents of the Council of Europe and the EU. Even innovative conceptual changes, introduced by the UN, have not yet been considered in the Ukrainian legal framework in this field. This could be because of the language problem and difficulties in translation from English into Ukrainian, as well as a lack of proper analytical activities on youth policy. Moreover, some attempts to introduce European concepts by means of transliteration of the lexicons have been unsuccessful.

104. In Ukrainian legislation the term "state policy on fostering youth socialisation and development" is defined as identical to the concept "state youth policy".

105. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (1992), Declaracia "Pro zagalny zasady derzhavnoji molodizhnoji politiki v Ukraini", 15.12.1992, No 2859-XII, available at <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/main/2859-12>, accessed 12 June 2017.

However, recently, Ukrainian youth policy terminology has been enriched with the terms used in the youth sector of the UN, the Council of Europe and the EU. So, the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement (signed in 2014) enables co-operation and exchange of experiences in the field of youth policy, and non-formal education for young people, aimed at the promotion of citizenship and initiative, obtaining knowledge, skills and professional abilities outside of the educational sphere, and the recognition of the value of such experience. One of the tasks of current youth policy making is to introduce international terminology such as “youth participation”, “youth work”, “youth worker”, “non-formal education of youth”, etc.¹⁰⁶

Over the past few years, a new vision for Ukrainian youth policy, in terms of priority directions, has been introduced (Table 11).

Table 11: Determining the priority directions of state youth policy in Ukraine

Document	Directions
Strategy of State Youth Policy Development in Ukraine by 2020 (2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “ensuring access to education; • forming healthy lifestyle of youth; • employment of young people in the labour market; • providing housing for young people; • intensifying youth participation in social and political life; • promoting Ukrainian youth integration into European youth community”¹⁰⁷
Youth of Ukraine 2016-2020 programme (2016)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “formation of citizenship and national-patriotic education; • healthy lifestyle of youth; • development of informal education; • youth employment; • housing for young people; • support for youth living in the temporarily occupied territory of Ukraine, and internally displaced persons”¹⁰⁸

106. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2015), Proekt zakonu Ukraini “Pro molod”, 10.12.2015, No 3621, available at http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?%20pf3511%20=%2057368, accessed 12 June 2017.

107. President of Ukraine (2013), Strategiya rozvitku derzhavnoji molodizhnoji politiki v Ukraini do 2020 roku, 27.09.2013, No 532/2013, available at <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/532/2013>, accessed 12 June 2017.

108. Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2016), Derzhavna cil’ova social’na programa “Molod’ Ukraini” na 2016 – 2020 roki, 18.02.2016, No 148, available at <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/148-2016-%D0%BF>, accessed 12 June 2017.

Today, youth policy in Ukraine is faced not only with internal political and socio-economic challenges, but a real geopolitical threat to the state. This new challenge is reflected in the legislation and policy on youth issues. In October 2015, the President of Ukraine approved the Strategy of National and Patriotic Education of Children and Youth for 2016-2020 by his decree.¹⁰⁹ In February 2016, the issue of national and patriotic education as well as the issue of supporting internally displaced young persons were set as a priorities in the state social target programme Youth of Ukraine for 2016-2020.

Cross-sectoral approach in the Ukrainian legal framework on youth

The problem of defining youth policy as cross-sectoral can be studied from the point of view of policy approaches, as a concept, and in terms of use of terminology. Though the principle of cross-sectoral co-operation has not been formally introduced into Ukrainian legislation, since the early 1990s its basic sense has been reflected in laws and government regulations. Ukrainian youth policy making and policy implementation is based on the principles of co-ordination, co-operation and collaboration, as shown by our analysis of the basic youth laws (with amendments), the youth strategy and the state programmes for youth (Table 12).

Thus Ukrainian legislation focuses, mainly, on a vertical understanding of cross-sectoral co-ordination, co-operation and collaboration.

The horizontal dimension is highlighted indirectly. It was emphasised just once in a joint act of implementation of youth policy by the Ministry of Youth and Sport of Ukraine, together with other ministries, and the idea existed in the Law on Fostering Youth Socialisation and Development in Ukraine from 1993 to 2000. Conceptually, the horizontal dimension is confusing: the issue of co-ordination, co-operation and collaboration between ministries has not been defined yet in Ukrainian legislation, but it can be read “between the lines”. For example, the Strategy of State Youth Policy Development by 2020 includes information about the co-ordination role of the Ministry of Youth and Sport of Ukraine only.

In youth policies and programmes this lack of clarity has been corrected. But the horizontal dimension of the cross-sectoral approach should be introduced into Ukrainian legislation as soon as possible.

Implementation of the concept and terminology of CSYP in Ukraine

Despite the fact that the cross-sectoral approach is being applied to state youth policy, its special terminology and concepts have not been introduced into the legal framework. None of the areas of Ukrainian public policy use “cross-sectoral policy” as a legal or official term. Even the term “sector” has not been recognised through a definition or widely disseminated in official documents. Partly this is down to language; for

109. President of Ukraine (2015), *Strategiya nacional'no-patriotichnogo vihovannya ditej ta molodi na 2016 – 2020 roki*, 13.10.2015, No 580/2015, available at <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/580/2015>, accessed 12 June 2017.

“cross”, the equivalent “inter” is used in Ukrainian. As a result the terms “intersectoral policy”, “intersectoral partnership”, “intersectoral co-operation”, etc. are widely used in scientific literature, NGO project titles and some official documents. Here they refer to partnerships between public authorities, civil society institutions and business.

This lack of use of the concept “CSYP” by the official, expert, analytical and scientific communities cannot be justified objectively. It could be used at least in aiding a theoretical understanding of problems, since it is widely used in the documents of the UN, of which Ukraine has been a member since 1945.

Once Ukraine joined the Council of Europe in 1995, there was a possibility to introduce the European discourse on CSYP. Ukrainian delegations took part in sittings of the European Steering Committee for Youth, the Joint Council on Youth and ministerial conferences on youth, and also participated in numerous scientific conferences, symposia, training events, seminars and reviews of youth policy where knowledge on CSYP was shared. For instance, the 8th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers Responsible for Youth (10-11 October 2008) was held in Kyiv, where the Declaration “The future of the Council of Europe youth policy: Agenda 2020” was adopted.¹¹⁰ This document contains the term “cross-sectoral dimension of youth policy”. But the presence and participation in the conference of the highest officials in the youth sector (including the youth minister) of Ukraine has not resulted in the use of the cross-sectoral concept and relevant terminology in Ukrainian legislation.

In the Council of Europe review of youth policy in Ukraine, Krzaklewska and Williamson compiled a number of phrases, including “cross-sectoral youth agenda between different ministries”, “cross-sectoral themes”, “cross-sectoral measure”, “cross-sectoral collaboration”, “youth policy as a cross-sectoral challenge for the whole government”, “cross-sectoral view”, “cross-cutting themes”, “cross-cutting key issues for youth policy in Ukraine” and “cross-cutting path” (2013: 5, 8, 9, 39, 45, 61, 158, 161-3, 172). It is interesting to note that during the preparation of this review Ukrainian partners used the term “cross-sectoral approach” in their materials in English for the International Review Team, including: “State executive authorities, despite the large number of adopted regulations, failed mechanism for cross-sectoral[al] ... approach for implementation of the healthy life style” (ibid.: 39).

One more important factor for introducing the concept of CSYP in Ukraine should be highlighted. The personal participation of Ukrainian youth policy makers, youth activists and youth researchers in various international seminars, training events and conferences is crucial. Among such events that saw their participation was the seminar “Be(come) a youth policy change maker” (2014/2015, Malta and Germany), organised by the Partnership between the European Commission and Council of Europe in the field of youth, JUGEND für Europa and the SALTO-YOUTH Resource Centre. One of the key topics at these events was CSYP. The participation of Ukrainian representatives contributed to further awareness of the European discourse of CSYP for the Ukrainian authorities and research community.

110. “The future of the Council of Europe youth policy: AGENDA 2020”, 8th Council of Europe Conference of Ministers Responsible for Youth, 10-11 October 2008, available at <http://rm.coe.int/16807072ea>, accessed 12 June 2017.

Table 12: Operationalisation of a cross-sectoral approach in Ukrainian youth legislation

Name of the document	Definition
Declaration "On general principles of state youth policy in Ukraine" (current edition, 1992)	"co-ordination of the efforts of all organisations and social institutions, working with the youth" as one of "the main tasks of the state youth policy" ¹¹¹
Law of Ukraine "On fostering youth socialisation and development in Ukraine" (1993, valid until 2000)	Ministry of Ministry of Youth and Sport of Ukraine carries out youth policy "together with other ministries ... as well as through interaction with youth NGOs and their all-Ukrainian associations" ¹¹²
National Programme of Youth Support for 2004-2008 (2003)	"improvement of co-ordination of the efforts of public authorities and NGOs in state youth policy implementation" ¹¹³ as an objective of the programme
State social target programme Youth of Ukraine for 2009-2015 (2009)	"to ensure interaction with all representatives of youth and social institutes, interested in solving the youth problems" and "to implement an effective mechanism for partnership and collaboration" ¹¹⁴ as the features of the best way to solve problems in the youth field; "European countries' experience affirms that active interaction in youth policy implementation gives positive results"
Strategy of State Youth Policy Development by 2020 (2013)	"to provide comprehensive, consistent and co-ordinated actions of state authorities, local governments and public associations representing the interests of youth in state youth policy formulation and implementation, to create a socio-economic, political, organisational and legal basis for education, employment, initiatives, creativity and innovation activity of youth" ¹¹⁵ as the purpose of the strategy

111. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (1992), Declaracia "Pro zagalny zasady derzhavnoji molodizhnoji politiki v Ukraini", 15.12.1992, No 2859-XII, available at <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/main/2859-12>, accessed 12 June 2017.

112. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (1993), Zakon Ukraini "Pro spriyannya social'nomu stanovlennu ta rozvitku molodi v Ukraini", 05.02.1993, No 2998-XII, available at <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/2998-12/ed19930205>, accessed 12 June 2017.

113. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2003), Zakon Ukraini "Pro Zagal'nodержavnu programu pidtrimki molodi na 2004 – 2008 roki", 18.11.2003, No 1281-IV, available at <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1281-15>, accessed 12 June 2017.

114. Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2016), Derzhavna cil'ova social'na programa "Molod' Ukraini" na 2016 – 2020 roki, 18.02.2016, No 148, available at <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/148-2016-%D0%BF>, accessed 12 June 2017.

115. President of Ukraine (2013), Strategiya rozvitku derzhavnoji molodizhnoji politiki v Ukraini do 2020 roku, 27.09.2013, No 532/2013, available at <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/532/2013>, accessed 12 June 2017.

Name of the document	Definition
Strategy of National-Patriotic Education of Children and Youth in 2016-2020 (2015)	"co-ordinated work and interaction of state and local authorities in the sphere of the national-patriotic education, their effective collaboration with society" ¹¹⁶ as a tool of the strategy
State social target programme Youth of Ukraine for 2016-2020 (2016)	"to ensure common and co-ordinated actions of the executive bodies with the institutions of civil society: youth and children associations, organisations, agencies and institutions that work with youth and volunteers, with the direct participation of youth" ¹¹⁷ as the optimal way to realise the strategy
Law of Ukraine "On fostering youth socialisation and development in Ukraine" (amended, 2016)	"unity of efforts of the state, all strata of society, political and civil organisations, enterprises, institutions, organisations and citizens in youth socialisation and development" ¹¹⁸ as a principle of youth policy

There are two interconnected processes regarding how to implement CSYP terminology in Ukrainian legislation and policy (Figure 10). The first one – a "top-down" model – shows the influence of the institutions of the Council of Europe in encouraging the Ukrainian public authorities to implement the cross-sectoral concept and terminology and strengthen the cross-sectoral approach in the youth sector. The second one – the "bottom-up" way of introducing the CSYP concept – refers to the impact of the Ukrainian youth sector on the Ukrainian Government, via the influence of the Council of Europe youth sector.

Attempts to include cross-sectoral terminology into the youth programmes' conception were made by Ukrainian policy makers and researchers in 2015. There were two proposals: first, to directly borrow the term "cross-sectoral" in English; second, to apply the term "intersectoral co-operation" in the sense of "cross-sectoral co-operation". Both were not acceptable because of their absence from current normative and legal documents.

A real effort to implement CSYP as a principle in Ukrainian legislation was made in December 2015 when the Ukrainian Parliament registered the draft of the Law on Youth,¹¹⁹ which defined such a principle of youth policy as "intersectoral interactions".

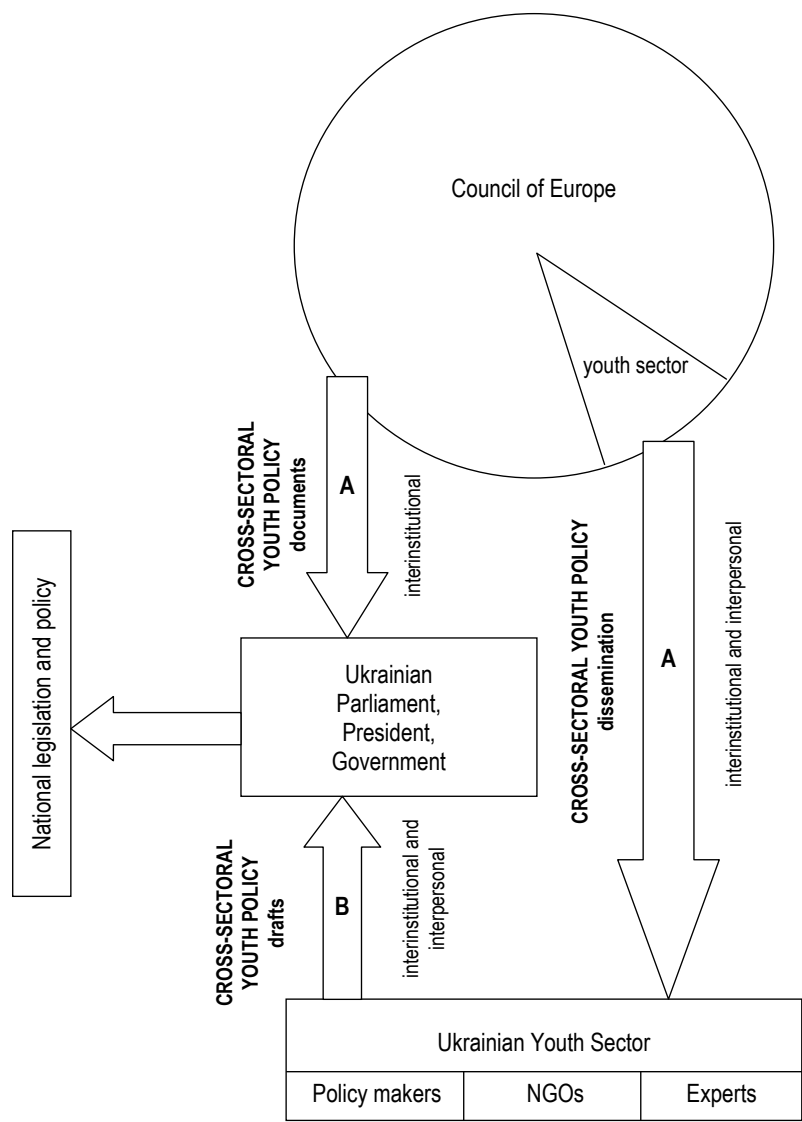
116. President of Ukraine (2015), Strategiya nacional'no-patriotichnogo vihovannya ditej ta molodi na 2016 – 2020 roki, 13.10.2015, No 580/2015, available at <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/580/2015>, accessed 12 June 2017.

117. Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2016), Derzhavna cil'ova social'na programa "Molod' Ukraini" na 2016 – 2020 roki, 18.02.2016, No 148, available at <http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/148-2016-%D0%BF>, accessed 12 June 2017.

118. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2000), Zakon Ukraini "Pro vnesennya zmin do Zakonu Ukraini "Pro spriyannya social'nomu stanovlennu ta rozvitku molodi v Ukraini", 23.03.2000, No 1613-III, available at <http://zakon5.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/1613-14>, accessed 12 June 2017.

119. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (2015), Proekt zakonu Ukraini "Pro molod", 10.12.2015, No 3621, available at http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?%20pf3511%20=%2057368, accessed 12 June 2017.

Figure 10: Interpersonal relations in CSYP dissemination in Ukraine: “top-down” and “bottom-up” models



(A: top-down model; B: bottom-up model)

This referred to the horizontal co-operation of state bodies and institutions, as well as of the bodies and institutions of local government, to resolve issues related to youth and for the development of youth policy to establish standards and support their implementation in practice. It also referred to the co-ordination of state youth policy with the youth policy of the EU, the Council of Europe, the UN and other international institutions that work with youth. In debating the new youth draft with officials, NGO activists and experts in October 2016, the author of this chapter offered to add to the paper the definitions of such youth policy principles as “integrity (complexity)”, “co-ordination”, “interdepartmental interaction” and “partnership”. Meanwhile, the youth policy is proposed as an integrated activity.

Youth ministry: between policy co-ordination and implementation

The state of affairs in the youth sector is closely connected with the current situation with the ministry responsible for youth affairs, so it is very important to develop CSYP and cross-sectoral co-ordination. The issue of hierarchical subordination, instability and the limited resources of the ministry responsible for youth is crucial for Ukraine. This ministry was reorganised a number of times between 1996 and 2013: eight times because of a change of functions and six times because of a change in its hierarchical status, both upwards and downwards. Almost all possible combinations were used (Table 13).

Table 13: Ukrainian ministries responsible for youth policy over the years

Directions of ministry/state committee	Years
youth and sport	1991-96, 2005, 2013-present
family and youth	1996-2000, 2001-04
youth policy, sport and tourism	2000-01
family, children and youth	2004-05
family, youth and sport	2005-11
education and science, youth and sport	2011-13

The issue of youth policy has never been a priority in the process of ministry reorganisation in Ukraine. The subjective factor of the structural units from which a new ministry was created has prevailed in determining the functions and activities of the new authorities. In these cases, however, relevant foreign experience was referred to. In fact, youth direction has never been a priority for Ukrainian ministries. The youth ministry has never been headed by a person from the youth sphere. Youth units have always been small, and sometimes merged with units responsible for other areas.¹²⁰

The determination of the areas of activity of the Ukrainian ministries responsible for youth policy can be considered cross-sectoral co-operation and collaboration between different actors from policy fields at the inner ministerial level. But the

120. The logo of the current Ministry of Youth and Sport, as seen on the government website, is purely sporting, without any reference to youth.

implementation of different areas of public policy (e.g. family, education, sport, tourism) related to youth has usually been concentrated in one ministry. However, there is always the threat that the issues of youth policy and the relevant youth department will be in the shadow of other ministry's matters. So the top management of the ministry responsible for youth policy, engaging in interministerial dialogue and communication with the government, will always promote the more urgent issues (education, support of socially unprotected families, development of physical education and sport, etc.).

The youth ministry in Ukraine has been legally entrusted with the co-ordinating function in the field of youth policy since March 2000. It has the following rights: to approve drafts law prepared by other ministries, agencies and public services; to make conclusions and proposals on legislation; and to develop together with other bodies of executive power special norms and standards in the youth field.¹²¹

The implementation of youth policy provides various forms of co-operation and collaboration between the youth ministry and other ministries. In Ukraine, various ministries and agencies have their own budget for financing youth programmes and activities, which should be considered direct involvement in youth policy implementation. This overlapping of responsibilities and the functional disaggregation of different power bodies in the sphere of youth policy has been underlined by Krzaklewska and Williamson (2013: 39).

It should be noted that the state of co-ordination of different policy sectors' activities in the field of youth does not meet existing needs. Sometimes the youth ministry is interpreted by its partners not as a co-ordinator of youth policy but as a competitor intervening in another political area. Researchers, in defining the essence of the integrated youth policy, schematically draw the youth sector as a gear, which determines the movement of other sectors. Without support from the government, any efforts of the youth ministry have limited impact. A weak ministry does not give the movement direction, but is a passive subject (see Figure 11).

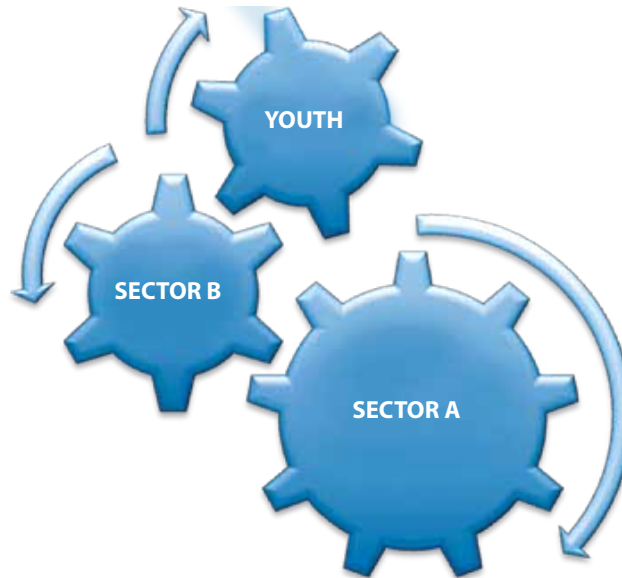
When the leading gear is the dominant structural element, however, a positive result is guaranteed (see Figure 12).

Experience of implementation of CSYP tools in Ukraine

Based on the established approaches to the definition of CSYP tools and taking into account the national features we need to define those that are applied in Ukraine: a youth strategy; youth programme; co-ordination body on youth policy as an interministerial commission; a council of youth organisations; and a report on the state of youth. The emergence and sustainability of these tools is presented in the following sections according to their significance.

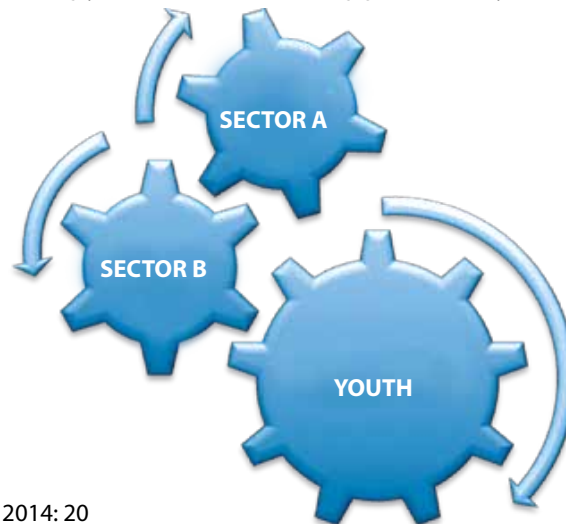
121. Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine (2014), Polozhennya pro Ministerstvo molodi ta sportu Ukraini, 02.07.2014 No 220. – Available at: <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/220-2014-n>, accessed 22 June 2017.

Figure 11: A weak youth ministry in horizontal intersectoral interaction



Source: Nico 2014: 20

Figure 12: A strong youth sector as a driving gear in the system



Source: Nico 2014: 20

Youth strategy

The youth strategic document was approved in September 2013 by a decree of the President of Ukraine. The main value of the Strategy of State Youth Policy Development by 2020 is in the opportunity to present a common vision of youth

policy for all stakeholders in the youth sector, and primarily for other ministries, agencies and services. This makes it possible to identify a common, complementary and relevant agenda that is an important sign of the implementation of cross-sectoral co-ordination.

The leading role of the youth ministry, which co-ordinates the activities of the central bodies of executive power, is fixed in the Ukrainian Youth Strategy. On the one hand it enhances its status, but on the other hand this is not specified by any real mechanisms in Ukrainian legislation. Researchers focus our attention on the state of affairs regarding co-ordination by the youth ministry, which has limited power and funding, and which can lead to the risk that “all youth issues are pushed to the youth service/ministry” (Motamed-Afshari 2014).

In October 2015, the President of Ukraine adopted the Strategy of National-Patriotic Education of Children and Youth. This document is also based on a cross-sectoral approach. Thus, since that time two strategies on youth issues have been in place in Ukraine. These days Ukrainian youth policy actors deal with such strategic planning phenomena as the existence of two strategies in the field of youth policy at the same time: the general (integrated) and the special – dealing with issues of national-patriotic education of children and youth.

Youth programme

A comprehensive youth programme entitled Complex Actions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine on Implementation of State Youth Policy in Ukraine (Youth of Ukraine) was adopted by the Ukrainian Government in March 1998 for the first time. It anticipated the participation of almost all ministries in its implementation. The introduction of a comprehensive youth programme was seen to provide the “right connection of actors”.

In 2003, the Ukrainian Parliament approved the Law on the General State Programme of Youth Support for 2004-2008, which set 12 policy directions (education, employment, a healthy way of life, development of public activity, counteraction of negative phenomena, etc.). But the document did not contain any information about actors, actions or the volume of financing that were regulated by annual government regulations on programme implementation between 2004 and 2008.

Further youth programmes were approved by the government and contained the information about actors, actions and financing. In 2009, the state-targeted social programme Youth of Ukraine was approved for a seven-year period (2009-16), and in 2015 it was approved for five years (2016-20). The new format of the programme allows one to consider the youth ministry a state customer and primary executant and the youth minister a programme manager.

Eight other ministries (out of 17), academies of science and local state administrations are defined as the executants of programme actions under Youth of Ukraine for 2016-20. The preparation of the programme is a process in which the youth ministry has the role of an initiator and it is the body that synthesises the proposals of other ministries. The need for co-ordination, co-operation and collaboration also arises in the implementation of this programme. For annual reporting, all ministries have to give information to the youth ministry, which has to generalise

it for further presentation to the Cabinet of Ministries of Ukraine and the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade.

A practice of including youth issues in other national programmes (development of entrepreneurship, employment, social policy, etc.) is actually widespread in Ukraine.

Co-ordination body on youth policy

The activity of youth co-ordination bodies in Ukraine has not been very sustainable. Certain bodies have been set up and have worked for some time under the Ukrainian President – first the National Council on Youth Policy (1995-2009), then the National Council on Youth Socialisation and Development (2009-10). But they were only active to begin with, thereafter existing just on paper.

It should be stressed that the co-ordination bodies on youth policy allows using both interinstitutional co-operation and interpersonal relationships in youth policy formulation, implementation and evaluation.

Let us consider in some detail the example of the National Council on Youth Policy (Figure 13), the task of which was to co-ordinate the activity of ministries and executive authorities with the parliament, public organisations and local governments.

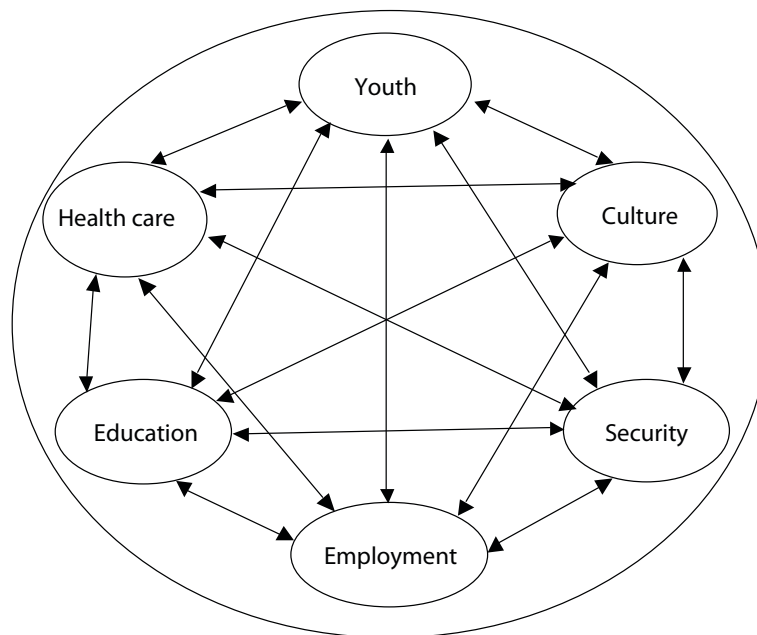
Figure 13: Intersectoral connections of the National Council on Youth Policy under the President of Ukraine



The advisory and control status of this National Council allowed the improvement of the interaction and supervision of youth legislation by the authorities, enterprises and organisations of the public and private sector. The youth ministry, too, was able to influence more powerful actors through the National Council, which included the representatives of almost all ministries, many youth organisations and some regional administrations, municipalities and enterprises. The conditions for their co-operation,

not only during the National Council's sittings but in a wider context, were created. Indeed, the National Council had the possibility to influence through its decisions all actors of youth policy. It also provided an opportunity to exercise integrated youth policy, because the representatives of different ministries that have the responsibility to solve cross-cutting youth issues were incorporated into its structure (Figure 14).

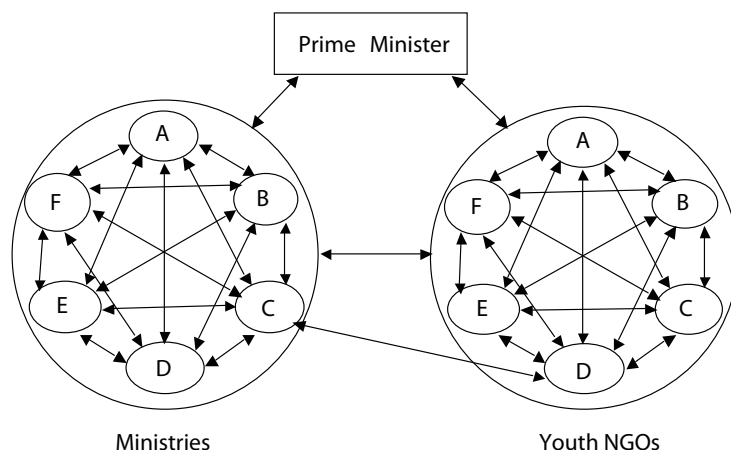
Figure 14: Horizontal co-operation of different policy makers in the National Council on Youth Policy under the President of Ukraine



The drafters of the Law on Youth, registered in Parliament, have proposed the establishment of a national youth advisory council, headed by the Prime Minister of Ukraine with the participation of ministers, deputy ministers and youth organisations. One of its tasks would be the "co-ordination of actions of the central, local bodies of executive power, establishments, enterprises, organisations of different forms of property". But the draft law on youth does not outline interministerial co-operation in youth policy implementation.

In Ukraine at present, it is relevant to establish both a co-ordination body on youth policy under the President or the Prime Minister of Ukraine, which consists of ministers and heads of central agencies, and interministerial working groups under the Ministry of Youth and Sport, which comprises lower-level officials from different ministries and agencies for providing common actions, communication, etc. It is important that these officials have sufficient powers and responsibilities in their ministries and agencies.

Figure 15: National youth advisory council in cross-sectoral co-ordination according to the draft law on youth



Each element of the pillar (labelled A, B, C, D, E and F in Figure 15) can interact with the others directly and separately within each pillar.

Council of youth organisations

The opportunity to establish a CSYP tool like the National Council of Youth Organisations was provided by the Law on Youth and Children Organisations (1998). From 1998 to 2001, this law specified the name of this organisation: “The youth movement in Ukraine is co-ordinated by the Ukrainian National Committee of Youth Organisations, which is an independent non-governmental organisation and has the status of an all-Ukrainian union of youth and children organisations”.¹²²

In 2001, this norm was cancelled, as well as the funding of projects and programmes of youth organisations through the Ukrainian National Committee of Youth Organisations, which was founded in 1992. It was transformed from a co-ordination body into one of the many “umbrella bodies” of the youth movement.

Over time, there have been attempts to fill the position of the National Council of Youth Organisations with other associations – the National Council of Youth Organisations of Ukraine (registered in 2003) and the Ukrainian Youth Forum (established in 2005), which are still working now. The issue of the participation of Ukraine in the European Youth Forum is still open.

The current situation in using such a tool as the National Council of Youth Organisations can be described as unsatisfactory in Ukraine. None of the existing Ukrainian youth “umbrella associations” have acquired this status recently.

122. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (1998), Zakon Ukraini “Pro dytyachi ta molodizhny gromads’ki organizaciji”, 01.12.1998, No 281-XIV, available at <http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/281-14>, accessed 12 June 2017.

Report on the state of youth

The report on the state of youth, as a CSYP tool, is connected with parliamentary hearings. The Declaration “On general principles of state youth policy” provides for “carrying out annual hearings on the state of youth in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine and preparation of reports on this subject to the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the President of Ukraine”.¹²³

The preparation and publication of reports on the state of youth in Ukraine must precede youth hearings. This task is performed by the youth ministry and the research institution chosen by it, which collects and presents the suggestions of various ministries, research institutions, NGOs and regional state administrations. This preparation also allows the youth ministry to revive bilateral co-operation with other ministries, for direct involvement in youth policy making. The youth ministry, while collecting materials for the report, has more opportunities to discuss issues and share information. The themes of the reports on the state of youth correspond to the subjects of the relevant parliamentary hearings.

Since 1995, we have gained great experience of intersectoral co-operation during the preparation of the reports on the state of youth. We should stress that the reports are a very important tool and affect the activity of all actors in youth policy. However, there are some negative phenomena: a lack of common understanding of the problem, improperly prepared information by other agencies, limitation of consideration of scientific recommendations, etc.

Ukrainian youth reports have been devoted to general visions of the state of youth (1995, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2012) and to particular issues (employment – 2001, 2013; rural youth – 2004, 2005; healthy lifestyle – 2010; national-patriotic education – 2015; youth values – 2016).

The application of various CSYP tools is shown as a timeline in Figure 16.

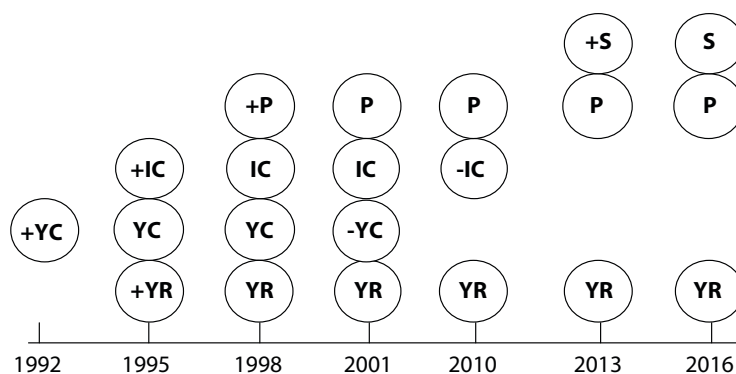
Only four out of five CSYP tools were used at the national level at the same time (1998-2001). During that period the fifth tool had not been implemented. From 2013, only three tools have been applied. There are no legal obstacles to implement the other two tools. The most sustainable tools at the national level are the reports on the state of youth (1995-2016) and youth programme (1998-2016).

Conclusions

This analysis of the documents and practices of youth policy in Ukraine shows that from the very beginning there has been an approach that provides an understanding of youth policy as an integral activity that has to be implemented in various spheres. Cross-cutting youth issues are seen to provide a base for common actions of the governmental and non-governmental actors.

123. Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (1992), Declaracia “Pro zagalny zasady derzhavnoji molodizhnoji politiki v Ukrajinii”, 15.12.1992, No 2859–XII, available at <http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/main/2859-12>, accessed 12 June 2017.

Figure 16: Emergence and sustainability of CSYP tools in Ukraine



(+ new tool implementation in the year, – a tool not exploited since the year, S – youth strategy, P – youth programme, IC – interministerial commission (co-ordination body), YC – youth NGO council, YR – youth report)

At the beginning of the 1990s, a legal regulation was adopted according to which youth policy had to be implemented by all ministries, not only by the youth ministry, the co-ordination role of which was also underlined. However, at the same time the necessity for interinstitutional co-operation of various ministries in Ukrainian legislation weakened, and the main focus shifted to a vertical level of co-operation between the government and public organisations.

At the conceptual level the problem of CSYP terminology has not been solved for a long time. Only now are there real attempts to introduce this principle into legislation. It should be noted that the European youth sector has significantly influenced Ukraine, both in terms of emphasising interinstitutional and interpersonal relations.

In the field of practical activity, despite a lack of appropriate conceptualisation of cross-sectoral co-operation and co-ordination, various tools of horizontal intersectoral co-ordination, which at the same time aimed at vertical co-operation, partnership and co-ordination, have been applied. These tools were introduced at different times and in different combinations, because not all of them could demonstrate their sustainability in Ukraine. The youth programme and the reports on the state of youth have been the most sustainable under conditions of national political transformation.

The Ukrainian experience of CSYP tools application in the youth policy is sufficiently useful. The relevant task is to improve the situation with such tools as the National Council of Youth Organisations and return to the practice of co-ordinating the activities of the various ministries through an interministerial committee. There is a need to establish co-ordination bodies that include the deputy ministers, heads and deputy heads of departments of different ministries.

These circumstances call for significant updates of Ukrainian youth legislation, the preparation of new regulations and putting into practice such approaches that can

ensure more than just a declaration of the cross-sectoral dimension of youth policy, but its real implementation and sustainability at all levels.

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Chapter 13

Implementing CSYP at the local level – An analysis of a decade promoting integrality in Catalan municipalities

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Introduction

There is widespread consensus in Europe that CSYP should be promoted and European institutions and states have been fostering it for a long time. However, beyond this general consensus the conceptualisation and procedures of such a perspective remain unclear and are developed in a different way in most countries. The implementation of CSYP becomes more complex if the regional and local levels are taken into account: the distribution of competences changes depending on the country (and even within a country) and the complexity increases if there are in-between governing bodies or a large number of municipalities.

The Catalan case offers a good chance to analyse these issues: Catalonia has full competence with regard to youth policies and launched one of the first “integral” youth plans (PNJCat 2000-2010). The PNJCat¹²⁷ fostered interdepartmentality, inter-institutionality and youth participation as the key strategies to achieve integrality. Moreover, the PNJCat included a Territorial Project aimed at fostering integral youth policies at the local level based on the same principles. However, Catalonia has an enormous number of municipalities (946 for a population of seven million people), which makes this implementation complex. Thus, in spite of the fact that the PNJCat was designed with the participation of the local stakeholders, at the local level it has to deal with contrasting realities. This study analyses the results of the first 10 years of implementation of local CSYP in the Catalan case and aims to identify the main difficulties of the process and the key elements that may

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stimulate successful implementation. In order to do this we have used the results of a survey of councils specifically designed to study the implementation of CSYP.

CSYP: from an international perspective to a local case

For Kooiman (1993), modern societies are characterised by growing diversity, dynamism and complexity. This means that societies are systems with an increasing number of relevant components and interactions between them that are also more difficult to predict (Cilliers 2005). If we focus on young people, youth studies have insistently identified several processes leading this period of life to a more complex and destandardised reality. Miret et al. (2008) and Serracant (2013) have summed up the transformations in youth transitions in four processes: lengthening, rupture of linearity, reversibility and diversification.

From a public policy perspective, this complexity implies a serious challenge to the traditional technocratic rationality that tries to simplify, divide and classify social reality into sectoral domains that can appeal to expert and specialised knowledge. Public problems cannot be addressed separately. This is the reason why in recent decades the debate about cross-sectoral collaboration has grown exponentially both in the public sector and in academia (Bryson, Crosby and Stone 2015). From a youth policies perspective, to confront this complexity international bodies such as the UN or the EU have appealed for an integrated and cross-sectoral approach.¹²⁸

However, beyond the consensus about the need for an integral conception of youth and a cross-sectoral policy response, the conception and particularly the implementation of CSYP remain unclear. Nico (2014) compares different conceptions and implementations and finds that the umbrella of “CSYP” covers a diverse range, from a general principle of understanding youth and youth policies to a concrete form of co-ordination between different ministries or the departments of a single administration.

In the Catalan case, the main strategy for youth policies (PNJCat 2000-2010, renewed in 2011) represents one of the first attempts to address the integral nature of youth from a cross-sectoral policy perspective. The conceptual and methodological coherence of the PNJCat is probably its main virtue. Using Nico’s nomenclature (2014), the PNJCat uses the concept of “integrality” to define its cross-sectoral nature as a principle, in the sense that youth policies have to be oriented to the whole of the youth domain, addressing all the dimensions of life. The PNJCat, apart from determining substantive objectives and actions, also develops a methodological procedure that includes different dimensions of cross-sectoral work through its “governing principles” (ibid.): “interdepartmentality” refers to horizontal CSYP, that is, the principle by which “different sectoral areas – ministries, departments, services... within institutions involved in youth policies have to co-ordinate their work”¹²⁹ to address complex problems. “Interinstitutionality” refers to vertical CSYP in the sense that “different institutions that participate in youth policies have to co-ordinate their work”

128. For a review of the discourse on cross-sectoral policies from the UN and the EU, see Nico (2014).

129. Pla Nacional de Joventut de Catalunya 2020, Departament de Benestar Social i Família, Generalitat de Catalunya, Barcelona.

(ibid.). Many governmental institutions participate in youth policies, from town/city councils to the EU, that is, from grounded local policies to the abstract international perspective. In addition, the promotion of youth participation in the design and implementation of youth policies represents another dimension of vertical CSYP. Youth participation should be promoted through direct mechanisms of democracy or through young people's organisations and networks and should function on a horizontal, non-hierarchical basis in its relationship with the administration: "Youth policies have to include direct or semi-direct mechanisms of democracy in order to promote youth participation beyond forms of representative democracy" (ibid.: 43).

However, this conceptual and methodological coherence is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the successful implementation of CSYP. The literature on public administration has devoted increasing attention to what have been called "wicked problems" to refer to complex policy problems that exceed the capacity of traditional administration and public policy answers (Conklin 2006; Head and Alford 2013). Youth policies can be defined as a wicked problem as they are oriented to a highly complex and dynamic social reality and do not have a definitive, "right" solution. Multidimensional and adaptable intervention is needed. This kind of problem cannot be addressed with solutions based only on efficiency or classic technocratic rationality; rather, they need answers rooted in a new administrative intelligence that comes from collective deliberation (Brugué, Canal and Paya 2015). Using this approach, policies addressing wicked problems have to assimilate flexibility and deliberation as a part of their process and incorporate cross-sectoral work not only as an instrument but also as a way to change public administration culture.

This idea brings us closer to a central concern in the implementation of CSYP: this does not only refer to a way of organising youth policy areas (i.e. an interdepartmental committee) but also to a culture and a particular conception of public policies (i.e. as flexible, adaptable, deliberative and bottom-up). In this chapter, we focus on the transmission of cross-sectoral policies from central administration to city councils in the implementation of the PNJCat.

We also consider the diversity of local bodies in Catalonia, which have different scales and types of organisation with regard to youth policies. We aim to explore the impact of the strategy to extend the cross-sectoral perspective into the local realm, taking into account this diversity and the different tools that the PNJCat provides for.

Case study and methodology

Since the end of the 1990s, the Catalan Government has promoted CSYP, following UN recommendations and responding to the demand of the main youth organisations in Catalonia, which in 1999 published a manifesto to promote integral youth policies and propose strategies to do so (CNJC 1999). The document put forward the basis for developing a Catalan plan to construct integral youth policies, which would include co-ordination between the different territorial administrative levels and the participation of youth associations.

This purpose became a reality in terms of institutional planning through the PNJCat 2000-2010, which represents one of the first attempts in the world to implement CSYP. The PNJCat starts by defining the "integral" and developing nature of youth in

the sense that its problems or potential do not fit into any particular policy domain. It approaches youth policies in a comprehensive way: it seeks to act on all the spheres and dimensions of the lives of young people, which is reflected in the diversity of the challenges and fields where it is designed to have an impact. At the same time, the action in these spheres also has to be comprehensive, as both problems and actions are usually multi-causal and interrelated. Accordingly, it incorporates stakeholders from different administrative levels or sectoral spheres into the various stages of intervention (design, implementation and assessment).

From there, the PNJCat develops a complete conceptualisation of the cross-sectoral nature of youth policies. However, the real step forward in the approach proposed by the document was to establish a working methodology and organisational model (through bodies and instruments for its implementation) between the various stakeholders involved in this model of youth policy. As noted above, the integral approach to youth policies is divided into three “governing principles” (interdepartmentality, interinstitutionality and youth participation). These principles inspire the design, implementation and assessment of youth policies in a cross-sectoral way. These governing criteria respond to the different conceptualisations of cross-sectoral work that Nico (2014) identifies in her review of CSYP in Europe.

The role of local authorities in the deployment of the PNJCat: the Territorial Project

The PNJCat considers local authorities leading stakeholders in youth policies because of their proximity to young people and their consolidated tradition of intervention in youth reality. For this reason, they are in charge of developing youth policies at the local level and also have an important role in planning, execution and follow-up of policies at this local level (through the county councils and town/city councils) and at the Catalan level (through city council associations and organisations).

In order to dovetail the action of the local authorities in the deployment of the PNJCat, the Territorial Project has been developed as a framework that specifies, plans and joins up their actions on youth policies in order to achieve the strategic objectives of the PNJCat. The stakeholders responsible for the Territorial Project are the local bodies of Catalonia (town/city councils, county councils, provincial councils and other local bodies) and the General Directorate for Youth of the Catalan Government. Co-ordination between the Catalan Government and local bodies is organised through several tools aimed at spreading cross-sectoral work across local authorities:

- ▶ local youth plans: the PNJCat has established territorial youth plans (local and county youth plans) as tools to develop the Territorial Project; each local body develops its own youth plan following the three governing principles of the PNJCat;
- ▶ financial support: this support, in the form of a subsidy, depends on the design of the local youth plan, which should include local priorities in relation to the goals and methodologies proposed by the PNJCat;

- technical and methodological support: the General Directorate for Youth offers this support to local authorities through advice and training on various topics such as strategic planning, implementation of processes to stimulate youth participation and training on specific youth policy issues.

This assessment was carried out through a self-administered online survey of the political heads of the youth departments and the youth policy workers of the municipalities of Catalonia. The survey was answered by 459 municipalities (48.5%). As a general rule, smaller municipalities are less likely to respond to the survey than the big ones, because of their weaker technical capacity. Accordingly, the results were weighted to adjust the distribution of Catalan municipalities by their population size.

In the next section, we use this data to analyse the type of organisation and the degree of institutionalisation of local youth policies in Catalonia, following which we show the degree of development of interdepartmentality, interinstitutionality and youth participation in local youth policies. In each of these latter sections, our analysis also includes a linear regression in order to explore which factors favour these three different dimensions of CSYP.

The independent variables included in the analysis try to capture the influence on local cross-sectoral policies of three main factors. Firstly there are the general features of the city or town, such as population or proportion of youth. The second group of variables refers to the local organisation of youth policies. Particularly, we have included the following variables: the institutional cross-sectoral co-ordination analysed in the next section,¹³⁰ whether or not there is a local youth plan and the human resources (number of people) assigned to youth policies.¹³¹ The last group of independent variables contains the Catalan Government's major strategies to support local youth policies: economic support, support in the planning of youth policies, and specific advice for particular programmes and for stimulating youth participation.¹³² All these variables concerning Catalan Government support are operationalised as dummies.

130. This variable is based on a combination of the internal organisation of youth areas in local government and the existence and nature of cross-sectoral working groups within the city council, which is analysed in the next section. The results of the variable are shown in Table 16.

131. "Human resources" include administrative and technical staff. Youth policy professionals are called "youth technicians" in Catalonia and Spain. The concept of "youth worker" is not used and the distinction between both concepts is unclear. Mostly, youth technicians include youth workers, but they may perform other tasks (the design of youth plans, diagnosis, evaluation, etc.) and not interact directly with young people.

132. Political or ideological variables, like the political party in charge of the city council, are not included in the models as this information was not asked for in the survey. However, it has to be said that in the Catalan case youth policies have traditionally had a remarkable political consensus. Both the PNJCat policies, for example, have been approved by all the political groups in the Catalan Parliament.

Results: cross-sectoral work in local youth policies in Catalonia

Institutional co-ordination of CSYP within city councils

City councils in Catalonia are organised through *regidories* (which we will translate as “departments”) that are led by a political councillor. Each department can include one single area of intervention (e.g. youth) or several. Table 14 shows that the most common situation for youth areas is to have an exclusive department (27.6% of Catalan municipalities) or share it with minor areas (19.2%). These two similar situations account for 45.8% of municipalities. On the other hand, 43% of youth areas share their department with cross-cutting (15.1%) or sectoral areas (28%). Finally, 10.1% of municipalities do not have a youth area.

Table 14: Organisation of youth areas in city councils (%)

Exclusive department	27.6
Department shared with cross-cutting areas*	15.1
Department shared with core sectoral areas**	28.0
Department shared with minor areas***	19.2
No youth department	10.1
Total	100.0

* Mayor’s support, economic development and social services.

** Culture, education, health, housing.

*** Sports, festivals, etc.

Source: Survey of city councils about youth policies 2009, Catalan Government.¹³³

Table 15 shows the degree of institutionalisation of cross-sectoral co-ordination (CSC) in the youth areas of city councils. Only 22.2% have a permanent group to co-ordinate youth-related actions within the city council; 27.5% have ad hoc co-ordination groups; the highest percentage (34.1%) is for informal co-ordination; and 16.2% have no co-ordination at all.

Table 15: Institutionalisation of CSC in youth areas (%)

Cross-sectoral permanent commission or group	22.2
Ad hoc CSC for specific issues	27.5
Informal CSC between technicians or policy makers	34.1
No CSC	16.2
Total	100.0

Source: Survey of city councils about youth policies 2009, Catalan Government

In order to summarise the information displayed in Tables 14 and 15 we have generated Table 16. It combines both the type of organisation of the youth areas and the degree of institutionalisation of CSC. The results show that a quarter of the

¹³³. Data from this source treated by the authors.

studied city councils have a high degree of institutionalised cross-sectoral organisation or share a department with core social policy areas, while exactly 50% of the municipalities co-ordinate their cross-sectoral work informally, be it within a shared or an exclusive department. The other quarter has either no youth department or no CSC. In summary, a high, medium and low degree of cross-sectoral work of youth areas within city councils corresponds to 25%, 50% and 25% of the sample respectively. In further analysis (Table 17) the institutional organisation of CSC will be used as a key independent variable in order to find out about the impact of the institutionalisation of CSYP on effective cross-sectoral work.

Table 16: Institutional co-ordination of cross-sectoral youth policies in city councils (%)

Very high CSC	12.0
Formal CSC with exclusive department for the youth area	13.9
Informal CSC with shared department	23.0
Informal CSC with exclusive department	27.0
CSC without youth department	8.0
No CSC with shared department	12.6
No CSC with exclusive or no youth department	3.6
Total	100.0

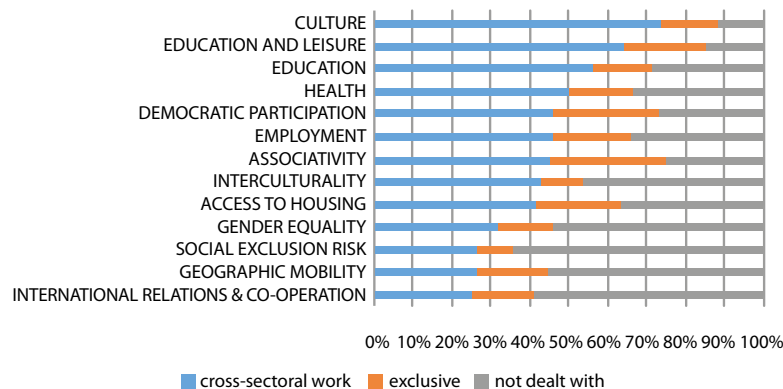
Source: Survey of city councils about youth policies 2009, Catalan Government

Horizontal cross-sectoral work: interdepartmentality

Figure 17 shows to what extent certain policy domains related to youth are dealt with exclusively by youth areas, together with other areas, or are not dealt with by youth areas. The results clearly show that the policy domains that are related to “traditional” youth policies in Catalonia (those linked to culture, popular celebrations and educational leisure) are the ones that have the highest degree of cross-sectoral work and the lowest degree of no intervention by youth areas. On the opposite side, the policy domains more directly related to core social policies (social exclusion, gender equality, housing and immigration) tend to be those with less cross-sectoral work or that are not dealt with directly by youth areas. There is a clear and somewhat surprising exception: the two policy domains with the minimum cross-sectoral work are international mobility and international relationships and co-operation, which are linked to “traditional” youth policies but are mostly dealt with by other areas. In between, preventative policies (education and health), participation and the promotion of associations (which are domains close to “traditional” youth policies but not their core) have a medium degree of co-ordination with other areas and around 25% of no intervention.

However, maybe the most important result is that most of the policy domains considered are dealt with exclusively or with the participation of the youth area at a percentage above 50%. Only the core social policy domains (gender and social exclusion) and the exceptions of international mobility and co-operation show results below this percentage. Thus, transitional policies on education, work and housing are dealt with by above 60% of youth areas.

Figure 17: Policy areas dealt with by youth areas depending on the degree of co-ordination with other areas



Source: Survey of city councils about youth policies 2009, Catalan Government

To continue analysing co-operation between departments, with the results of Figure 17 we have generated an index of horizontal cross-sectoral work (interdepartmentality) by youth areas that classifies municipalities depending on the level at which this area deals with different policy domains. The index is the dependent variable in the regression analysis shown in Table 17, which also shows the results of the regression for the index of vertical cross-sectoral work 1 (interinstitutionality) and the index of vertical cross-sectoral work 2 (youth participation),¹³⁴ explained in the next two sections.

Therefore, the results in Table 17 show how different factors influence the degree of interdepartmentality within city councils when designing and implementing youth policies. It is important to note that the analysis reveals that having youth areas with strong CSC is highly associated with developing policies in a high diversity of policy domains. Thus, the institutionalisation of CSC relates to the development of integral youth policies with the participation of the youth area. Within the factors related to the local organisation of youth policies, having more human resources or having a local youth plan do not have any effect. The variables regarding support from the Catalan Government show that having economic support has a clear positive effect on interdepartmentality, while technical support (for planning, participation issues or specific programmes) does not have any effect. Finally, the size of the town or city also appears as an important factor related to having a significant range of policy domains in which the youth area participates, indicating that bigger cities with greater administrative capacity have more facilities to work with a cross-sectoral approach.

134. All three dependent variables are operationalised as a numeric variable from 0 to 1 where 0 represents the minimum level and 1 the maximum level.

Table 17: Linear regression analysis for different dimensions of CSYP at the local level

		Horizontal cross-sectoral work		Vertical cross-sectoral work			
		Inter-departmentality		Inter-institutionality		Youth participation	
		B	SE	B	SE	B	SE
City/ town traits	Population	0.039 *	0.014	0.015	0.009	-0.023 *	0.010
	Proportion of young people	-0.003	0.015	-0.006	0.010	-0.005	0.011
Local youth policies	Institutional CSC	0.037 **	0.007	0.014 **	0.005	0.020 **	0.006
	Local youth plan	0.021	0.041	0.016	0.027	-0.020	0.034
	Human resources	0.020	0.008	0.007	0.005	0.002	0.006
Catalan govern- ment support	Economic support	0.120 **	0.037	0.060 *	0.024	0.054	0.030
	Planning support	0.039	0.026	0.056 **	0.017	0.029	0.020
	Participation support	0.022	0.032	0.046 *	0.021	0.029	0.024
	Programme support	0.063	0.032	0.041	0.021	0.015	0.025
(Constant)		0.355 **	0.055	0.118 **	0.036	0.642 **	0.043
N		418		418		398	
Adjusted R2		0.29		0.24		0.07	

**p<0.005; *p<0.05

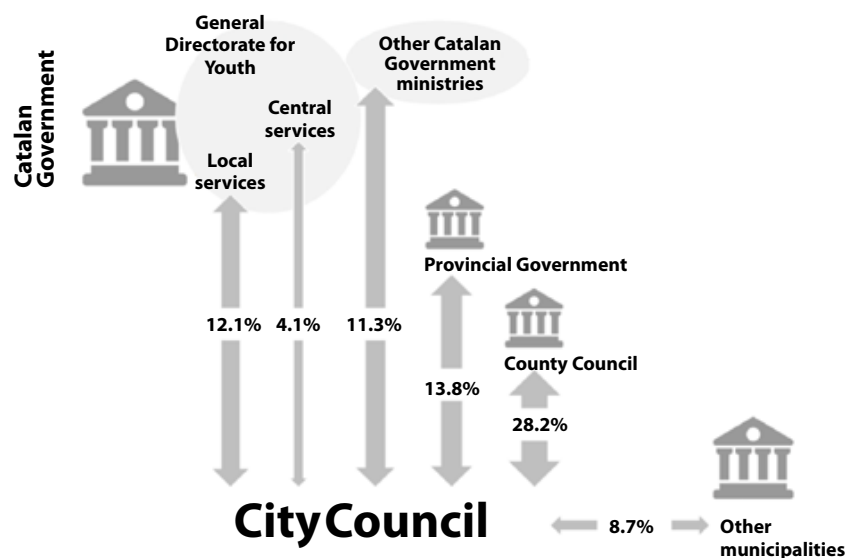
Vertical cross-sectoral work: interinstitutionality

In this section, we focus on the extent to which city councils work with other institutions with regard to youth-related interventions, regardless of which area has led the intervention (the youth area, another area or a joint intervention). Results are organised from the lowest verticality of the co-operation (co-operation with other municipalities could be understood as horizontal co-operation, in fact) to the high-est.¹³⁵ The percentages refer to the proportion of the average collaboration with

135. The administrative organisation of Catalonia is as follows: each municipality is part of a county, which is in turn part of a province; the four provinces make up Catalonia. These three supra-local territorial levels have their own governing bodies.

other institutions in each of the policy areas where the youth area has participated (Figure 18).¹³⁶ With some exceptions, the general trend is that the further the institution is from the city council level, the less the co-operation with it. Thus, 28.2% of local youth areas have co-operated with the immediately superior territorial level (county councils) and only 4.1% have co-operated with the Catalan Government's Central Youth Services. However, co-operation with other municipalities is very low and co-operation with other Catalan Government ministries is higher (on average) than with the youth department of the same government.

Figure 18: Collaboration between city councils and other institutions in youth-related interventions in Catalonia



Source: Survey of city councils about youth policies 2009, Catalan Government

These results have been summarised in the index of vertical cross-sectoral work 1 (interinstitutionality). The regression analysis in Table 17 explains the factors behind a high score in this index.

Here again, having youth areas with strong institutional CSC is an important factor related to interinstitutionality. The other variables related to the organisation of local youth policies do not appear to be relevant. In the case of interinstitutional work, the support of the Catalan Government seems to have a greater influence on several variables since economic support favours it and, in this case, two other kinds of support from the Catalan Government that had no relation with interdepartmentality are important factors for interinstitutionality: planning and participative support. This suggests that in order to co-ordinate the youth area with other areas of the city council the economic support of the Catalan Government is the only relevant

136. The results do not therefore refer to the total number of actions or programmes related to youth undertaken by the city council.

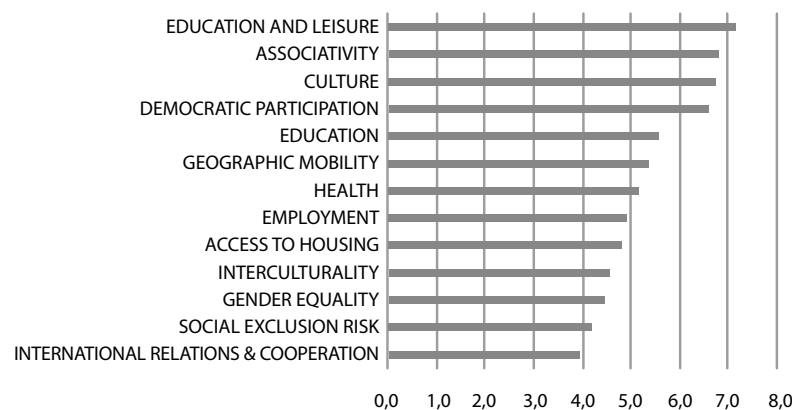
support required, while in order to have a high degree of collaboration of the city council with other institutions in youth policy domains, advice from the Catalan Government to youth areas seems to be an important factor. The other independent variables show no relation with the dependent variables.

Vertical cross-sectoral work: youth participation

In this section, we deal with the level of participation of young people in the design, development and evaluation of programmes or intervention related to them, regardless of which area has led the intervention (the youth area, another area or a joint intervention). Figure 19 shows the average participation of young people by policy area (according to the perception of the political heads of the youth department or the youth policy workers who answered the survey).

The results are similar to Figure 17, which shows that the “traditional” youth policy areas in Catalonia are the most active ones and those where the youth areas have a bigger role. However, as might be expected, two policy areas that in Figure 17 had a middle position have improved their position in Figure 19: the promotion of associations and participation, two types of interventions that are indeed difficult to develop without the participation of civil society.

Figure 19: Level of participation of young people in Catalonia, by policy area (0 to 10)



Source: Survey of city councils about youth policies 2009, Catalan Government

Again, these results have been summarised in the index of participative cross-sectoral work 2 (youth participation), which shows the average involvement of young people in the different policy areas.¹³⁷ The regression analysis in Table 17 explains the factors behind a high score in this index.

A first relevant result of the regression analysis is the lower explanatory capacity of the model compared to institutional CSYP, as the Adjusted R2 shows. The variables

¹³⁷ The results do not refer, again, to the total number of actions or participative actions undertaken by the city council.

included in our models explain approximately 29% and 24% of the variance of the interdepartmentality index and the interinstitutionality index respectively, while they only explain around 7% of the variance of the youth participation index. This indicates that, from a global perspective, some factors that explain other dimensions of CSYP well are not appropriate for explaining youth participation in youth policies. This does not respond to the same incentives that institutional cross-sectoral work does. In this regard, for example, the analysis shows a relation between youth participation and the size of the municipality but in the opposite direction to that for interdepartmentality: the smaller the town the bigger the participation in youth policies. However, probably the most remarkable result is the positive and strong impact of institutional CSC. This variable is a relevant factor for the three dimensions of CSYP. In the case of youth participation, this fact probably reflects the commitment of the city council to work in a transversal way, which makes youth policies more permeable for youth participation.

Discussion: relative success linked to the importance of institutionalising CSC

Results for the Catalan case show relative success in promoting the development of CSYP at the local level. This promotion has been fostered by the Catalan Government following the directives of the Catalan Youth Plan 2000-2010, which was the result of collaborative work between the different administrative levels. However, the success of this development depends on the type of CSC that we analyse.

First of all, integral youth policies seem to have had a certain degree of success at the local level. Based on the approach of the PNJCat, integrality implies interventions that go beyond “traditional” youth policies focused on culture, information and educational leisure. Most of the municipalities deal with several policy domains. In spite of the fact that the typical domains are those related to traditional youth policies, more than 60% of youth areas develop or participate in educational, work or housing policies.

This spreading of integral youth policies has been possible due to the fact that horizontal CSC is relatively widespread. Interdepartmentality is stronger in the policy domains that historically have been understood as the core of youth policies in Catalonia (culture, sports and educational leisure are the object of horizontal work in over 60% of the studied cases), but it is also important (over 40%) in the aforementioned transitional policies as well as in health and immigration policies.

Vertical CSC between different government institutions shows a much lower degree of accomplishment. Interdepartmentality is mostly carried out with the administrative level immediately superior to the city council (the county council). Here, clearly, CSC has a challenge in the development of integral youth policies in Catalonia. It might be that greater interinstitutionality could reinforce interdepartmentality and youth participation.

Finally, the results show that youth participation is not as extended as interdepartmentality but is more common than interinstitutionality. Again, the reason is

the same as in vertical and horizontal cross-sectoral work: the traditional domains of youth policies in Catalonia show a higher degree of participation; transitional domains have a medium position; and core social policy domains have the lowest participation. It seems that the further the policy domain is away from traditional youth policies, the less vertical, horizontal and participative cross-sectoral work is done. Thus the results reiterate here one of the main challenges for CSYP that persists after a decade of experience: the difficulty of having a central position in core social policy domains.

From the analysis of factors influencing the different dimensions of CSYP, the relevance of the size of the municipality should be noted: Catalonia has a great diversity of local realities and a large bulk of small towns that determine any strategy for implementation of public policies at the local level. However, the most important factor in explaining effective CSYP is the strength of institutional CSC within the city council. This is a crucial insight for the future development of CSYP because it supports the strategy of promoting the institutionalisation of CSC as an effective way to implement interdepartmentality, interinstitutionality and youth participation.

However, beyond this it is difficult to find another factor that clearly influences the different dimensions of CSYP. This brings us again to the idea of complexity and of youth policies as a “wicked problem” for public administration, as there is no unique recipe for implementing cross-sectoral work. In this regard, our analysis has made evident a weak influence, with some exceptions, of Catalan Government support in promoting CSYP. We also confirm that our analytical model of factors that influence the implementation of local cross-sectoral policies is less valid when we try to explain youth participation. From the three dimensions of CSYP, participation is least related to the roles and procedures of the administration and most to the size of the town or city concerned. This means that traditional policy planning and support have less influence on dimensions that are not part of the approach of the administration.

Going back to Brugué, Canal and Paya (2015), implementing effective cross-sectoral policies means assimilating new, flexible and deliberative intelligence in order to adapt policies to complex and changing realities. In the field of youth policies, some recent studies have already underlined the importance of both formal and informal aspects of interdepartmental collaboration (Residori et al. 2015) or the need for a grounded formulation of cross-sectoral policies (Nico 2014). These aspects are even more important when dealing with great diversity in the type of municipalities where CSYP is promoted.

The PNJCat has had a great impact on local youth policies.¹³⁸ Previous studies have pointed out its role in fostering the institutionalisation of youth policies at the local level (Obregon, Blasco and Ferrer 2009). We have also seen here that the promotion and institutionalisation of CSC within city councils has had a clear positive effect on facilitating cross-sectoral work. Therefore, there is still a long way to go in both the

138. It has to be borne in mind that these results come from a survey carried out in 2009 referring to political action mostly undertaken in 2008, before the economic crisis that began in Catalonia and Spain in 2007 reached government budgets. The survey that is being launched in 2017 will allow for analysis of the impact of budget cuts in the development of CSYP at the local level.

substantive and methodological dimensions of CSYP. From a substantive point of view and in the Catalan case, the challenge still remains that of placing youth policies in a central position in core social policies; from a methodological perspective, there is a need to better combine a global national/regional strategy with the dynamic and diverse nature of local administration.

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Part IV

**(Beyond youth)
cross-sectoral policy –
Participation,
health, gender**

Introduction

Andrei Salikau¹³⁹

When we are out of sympathy with the young, then I think our work in this world is over.
(George MacDonald, 1824-1905)

The concept “CSYP” appeared in the academic discourse not long ago. Nevertheless, at the present time it is clear that cross-sectoral co-operation encompasses opportunities to empower collaboration among policy makers, researchers and youth workers who are involved in youth work. In fact, a good indicator of the efficiency of the youth sector’s infrastructure is the high level and quality of the co-operation between sectors.

Contemporary youth is diverse and complicated, perhaps as never before. Young people face urgent challenges with different root causes, various dimensions and multiple consequences. In this regard, academics and practitioners are paying increasing attention to the active participation of youth in democratic processes and social life, tackling social inclusion and gender inequality, and initiatives for well-being and mental health. Consequently, the contributors to this part of the book provide us with both theoretical approaches and evidence-based good practices in CSYP. The authors endeavour to ascertain the complexity of the cross-sectorality, indicate implicit and explicit contradictions and, last but not least, offer practical tools to overcome them.

This part includes three chapters that look at participation, health and gender, each from different perspectives. All present, however, a balanced, conceptual and holistic view. Theo Gavrielides, in “European democracy in crisis – Building a bridge between cross-sectoral and youth-led policy”, explores the historical aspects of youth policy development through a focus on youth participation, finding it inadequate on the level of European institutions. The author concentrates on “what needs to be done at a CSYP level and for youth participation” and argues “that the tools to build this bridge are to be found in the youth-led research method of gathering evidence for social policy”. Based on the results of evidence collected over a multi-year youth-led international research programme at the IARS International Institute, Gavrielides provides us with an understanding of how some tools within the field of user-led and action research can be used for the construction of participatory, cross-sectoral youth-led policy at local, national and European levels. The practical contribution of the chapter is determined through the identification of good practices that encourage concrete participation of youth in decision-making processes and democratic infrastructure.

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The second chapter, by Ann Dadich and Michael Hodgins, is entitled “How to promote youth well-being across sectors – An evaluation of the Youth Health Resource Kit (YHRK)”. The authors present research results about cross-sectoral youth health care policy in Australia. The aim is to theoretically elaborate on the practical implementation of both the online and offline YHRK and its assessment. This assessment has been built on an e-narratives data collection method for a better understanding of the role of printed educational materials in intersectoral youth health care. The assessment was carried out with the aim of determining the urgency and utility of the Resource Kit among resource users. A practical tool to promote youth well-being across different sectors is gathered through the design of educational materials and assuring the reach of practitioners. The authors have provided the cross-sectoral dimension of this co-operation by involving practitioners affiliated with government youth health services, government education settings and non-profit community youth services. Practically, the authors demonstrate how to promote intersectoral youth health care through the production of printed educational materials and their dissemination through professional networks.

Another literature gap tackled in this part of the book refers to the evidence, or lack thereof, of the academic, practical and political dimensions of gender-specific issues in cross-sectoral collaboration in the United Kingdom. The aim of the chapter “A delivery model of a gender-specific intervention approach – Lessons for policy makers” by Louise Warwick-Booth and Ruth Cross is to consider an example of an early intervention and cross-sectoral approach by means of a critical analysis of a model of delivery gender-oriented services upon The Way Forward project, and to discuss the possibility of transferring this model to other European regions. In particular, this chapter analyses the role of cross-sectoral (interagency) co-operation and mutual decision-making processes in the creation and implementation of The Way Forward project, as well as providing a critical examination of its delivery mechanisms and impacts.

Thus, these three chapters not only describe gaps, difficulties and misunderstandings in the highlighted topics but also demonstrate different approaches towards these issues and advocate different solutions. The most prominent findings from these chapters clarify the need for vertical and horizontal connections across sectors from the perspective of participation and health and gender issues, and acquaint readers with examples of good practice in cross-sectoral policy implementation.

Chapter 14

European democracy in crisis – Building a bridge between cross-sectoral and youth-led policy

*Theo Gavrielides*¹⁴⁰

Youth policy in Europe: the status quo and the problem

The concept of “youth policy” is relatively new. In Europe, it was not until 2001 that the EU took its first co-ordinated step by publishing the White Paper “New impetus for European youth”, calling for a new framework of co-operation. Within it, the first seeds of CSYP were planted as the EU asked its member states and its own institutions for the inclusion of the youth dimension across policies and programmes.

In 2005, the European Youth Pact was introduced to mainstream the youth dimension in EU policies (i.e. the European Employment Strategy, the Social Inclusion Strategy and the Education and Training 2010 Work Programme), focusing on three areas: employment, integration and social advancement; education, training and mobility; and reconciliation of family and working life.

In 2009, a big step was taken with the publication of “An EU strategy for youth – Investing and empowering”. This was then renewed covering the period 2010-2018 with two main objectives: to provide more and equal opportunities for young people in education and the job market; and to encourage young people to actively participate in society. To this end, the strategy adopted a dual approach. Firstly, by generating youth initiatives targeting “young people to encourage non-formal learning, participation, voluntary activities, youth work, mobility and information”. Secondly, by “mainstreaming cross-sector initiatives that ensure youth issues are taken into account when formulating, implementing and evaluating policies and actions in other fields with a significant impact on young people” (European Commission 2015: 3). It was agreed that the priorities for EU co-operation would be set every three years through work cycles. The 2014 EU Work Plan for Youth focused on youth empowerment, cross-sectoral co-operation and development of youth work to better contribute to addressing the effects of the crisis on young people. To enable

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youth empowerment at the national level, the EU set up funding programmes such as Youth in Action (now Erasmus+) and Horizon 2020.

At a Council of Europe level, the first serious attempt was made in 2008 with the 8th Conference of Ministers Responsible for Youth. There, “The future of the Council of Europe youth policy: Agenda 2020” was adopted outlining three areas: human rights and democracy; living together in diverse societies; and social inclusion of young people. Subsequently, two key bodies were set up to facilitate implementation, namely the European Steering Committee for Youth (CDEJ) and the Advisory Council on Youth. Together they made up the Joint Council and through its Programming Committee on Youth, it establishes, monitors and evaluates the programmes of the European Youth Centres and of the European Youth Foundation (EYF). With a budget of €3.7 million, the EYF was set up “to enable the youth voice in decision making”.¹⁴¹ Also worth mentioning is the Council of Europe’s European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life (European Youth Charter) and the accompanying Committee of Ministers recommendation. The Charter stresses that “young people and non-governmental youth organisations have the right to be consulted and take active part in decision making on issues that affect young people at the municipal and regional level”.¹⁴²

It is clear from the aforementioned initiatives that the two most significant regional bodies in Europe have bought into the idea of youth policy. However, I argue that we are far from genuinely enabling youth participation in social policy. It is also clear that from the outset both bodies saw youth policy as cross-sectoral in nature. However, the link between youth-led policy and CSYP has not been made strong enough in legislation and practice.

There can be no doubt that progress has been made in at least acknowledging the role that young people should naturally play in forming and informing policies that affect them. However, this chapter argues that this progress is in fact stalling and consequently CSYP is gradually becoming a cliché that is losing its practicality and enforceability. This is because I see youth-led policy and CSYP not only as overlapping, but also as *sine qua non* ingredients of European democracy and civic participation.

Interestingly, following a recent evaluation of the EU Youth Strategy, it was concluded that “stakeholders have called for a more focused co-operation framework which would have a clearer emphasis on selected initiatives” (Eid et al. 2016: 22). The evaluation report also pointed out that “the organisation of ... cross-sectoral co-operation at national level was a challenging and time-consuming process” (ibid.: 94).

Particular concerns are raised in relation to the production of cross-sectoral, youth-led policy that includes marginalised youth as its designers, monitors and beneficiaries. The evidence so far points out that the aforementioned regional initiatives tend to benefit easily accessible youth. For example, the same evaluation report pointed

141. See www.coe.int/en/web/european-youth-foundation/who-we-are.

142. Council of Europe (2012), Revised European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life, available at www.coe.int/t/dg4/youth/Coe_youth/Youth_Participation_Charter_en.asp, accessed 12 June 2017.

out that “attention given to the needs of specific youth groups at risk and younger age groups has been insufficient”. The evaluation goes on to point out that young people with fewer opportunities and children are mentioned only twice in the 2009 Council Resolution on renewing the EU co-operation in the youth field, with no objective set in relation to those at-risk groups” (ibid.: 95).

I argue that Europe is in a democratic deficit perpetuated by a number of challenges such as the economic downturn, fears of security, nationalism and the continuous marginalisation of the disempowered. As noted in the EU Youth Report 2015, “New challenges have emerged since the design of the EU Youth Strategy in 2009. The emerging issues most frequently reported are: radicalisation, integration of migrants and digitalisation” (European Commission 2015: 8).

These European realities are shifting the priorities of member states, putting CSYP at the bottom of national agendas. Europe needs the hopes and ideals of young people more than ever. This cannot be a mere statement of intent and theory, but one of genuine and proactive action. CSYP is not statements and inspirational documents on behalf of young people but evidence-based proposals by young people.

To this end, a bridge must be built between what needs to be done at a CSYP level and for youth participation. The chapter argues that the tools to build this bridge are to be found in the youth-led research method of gathering evidence for social policy. This is also where cross-sectoral policy can gain true meaning beyond static understandings. Put another way, if youth-led policy is constructed through youth-led research methods, then by default its content will be informed by the lived experiences of its target group. However, this cannot be achieved without learning to share power with young people. Selected case studies are used to illustrate the youth-led method of evidence gathering for social policy.

User involvement in research for policy

The official involvement of users in the development of social policy is a recent phenomenon. User participation is “the process by which individuals and groups of individuals influence decisions, which bring about change in them, others, their services and their communities” (Brady 2012: 159). Brady distinguishes it from “user involvement”, which is a term more commonly used in the context of participative research. According to Dick (2002), “participatory action research” is experimental research that focuses on the effects of the researcher’s direct actions of practice within a participatory community with the goal of improving the performance quality of the community or an area of concern. Interestingly, Barnes and Cotterell (2012: 145) believe that participatory action research has its origins in community development and in the role of community inquiry in challenging Western experts in development contexts in the global South.

Literature advocating service user involvement in research reveals a wide range of underlying motivations, theories and methodologies (Lomas et al. 2005). For example, in North America, users are increasingly employed as workers in community mental health teams (Rose, Fleischmann and Schofield 2010: 390). Godin et al. (2007: 452) notes that “policy document statements about user involvement in research, that refer to the need for a ‘patient-centred NHS’ and talk about ‘customers,’ suggest a neo-liberal desire to overcome the domination of state professionals and

a post-Fordist process of making public services more consumer-driven". In the UK, following the NHS and Community Care Act 1990, user involvement gathered pace (Rose, Fleischmann and Schofield 2010). Service user involvement in mental health services developed in several areas such as training (Forrest et al. 2000), service development (Crawford and Rutter 2004) and research (Rose et al. 2002).

CSYP

This is not the right place or indeed the right author to further develop the meaning of CSYP. Nico's detailed 2014 report for the youth partnership of the Council of Europe and the EU not only provides a thorough definition but also a detailed overview of the notion. Nico concludes that "youth policy is much more than youth policy per se, and that it must collaborate with others, communicate, encompass, integrate or lead to a set of coherent plans of action, programmes and policies that are, in principle, of formal or legal responsibility of other umbrella sectors" (2014: 17).

Here, we need to at least acknowledge that like other evolving and living norms, CSYP is not static and, as such, it is challenged by fluidity. For instance, Nico notes, "In some cases it refers to communication between the governmental and the non-governmental sector, while in other cases it stresses the participation of other – more horizontally situated partners" (ibid.: 5). She concludes by saying that "this is undoubtedly a counterproductive ambiguity in the design and promotion of CSYP" (ibid.).

I do not agree with this conclusion. In fact, I have come to conclude that in social policy there is too much obsessing over definitions and clear delineations of concepts and norms that are not meant to be defined, due to their evolving nature. Arguments in the name of implementation and clarity are often proven false given that success is usually defined at the local level with ad hoc and most often unexpected cases, some of which remain in the shadows of research and policy.

CSYP is not a uniform notion. Despite its objective existence in the form of statements and polished policy documents, it is an evolving norm as its constituent objects are to be found in living nature and the continuously changing lives, circumstances, needs, hopes and fears of young people. These objects are continuously moving. Therefore, CSYP will always be accused of lacking clarity by empirical researchers. In fact, it is a short-cut term constructed under the mentality of our busy and managerial lives. To truly understand the fluidity of CSYP, create it and implement it, first we must allow its development through user participation and youth-led research in particular. Hence, I struggle to distinguish between horizontal and vertical cross-sectoral policy. Here, I advocate in favour of a bottom-up, youth-led policy, which if constructed through youth-led research methods, will manifest its cross-sectoral and living nature as a natural consequence.

Defining youth-led research

Admittedly, the extant literature on youth-led research is scant (Gavrielides 2014; Gough 2006). There are volumes of peer-reviewed journals on an array of topics, but research indicates that there is only one¹⁴³ dedicated to publishing youth-led research.

¹⁴³. *Youth Voice Journal*, available at <https://youthvoicejournal.com>, accessed 9 June 2017.

The gap in this knowledge area should explain why identifying and understanding the underlying principles of the youth-led approach is not easy. To this end, I used a paper published in the aforementioned journal and which was written by a young researcher. Cass (2010) uses data from a small-scale qualitative study carried out at the user-led and youth-founded IARS International Institute.¹⁴⁴ The study was triangulated with secondary sources. The primary research included 10 semi-structured interviews with representatives from youth-led, UK-based organisations. The questionnaire was drafted by young people and the Institute's Youth Advisory Board. The underlying principles of youth-led research and policy are described as: addressing power imbalances; valuing lived experiences; respecting choice in participation; and empowerment.

Youth-led does not mean "glorifying" young people as idols or models. Tokenism can take various forms but it does not have a place in bottom-up approaches to civic engagement. Youth-led is a daily process that happens organically within projects and organisations. The youth-led approach dictates that young people must be left to come up with potential solutions to a problem, one that they have indeed identified themselves, and take responsibility for developing and implementing them. Consequently, the youth-led method repositions young people as important stakeholders who can make unique decisions that affect the quality of their lives, rather than simply accepting a position as passive subjects whose lives are guided by decisions made by adult "others".

Truly, the notion of youth-led exists in various shapes and forms. It is a complex process and hence is open to generalisations. This should explain why it continues to be hijacked by adult-led institutions and practices. For instance, it is one thing talking about young people and their issues, and another when young people talk about themselves and the issues affecting them. The latter debate is "youth-led," the former is not. Youth-led organisations, on the other hand, are not those that tokenistically put young people on their management committees and boards. They are the organisations that organically and on a day-to-day basis allow both their internal and external affairs to be run and scrutinised by young people. True youth-led initiatives should establish opportunities for young people to influence outcomes that affect their lives and peers: "it is democracy in action" (ibid.: 5).

But youth-led activities do not need to be run by youth-led organisations. In fact, exclusivity will lead to their demise. They do not require clearly defined boundaries or a "one size fits all" mentality to implement either. Indeed, the youth-led approach encompasses a range of activities, from projects that are entirely driven and organised by young people to annual invitations to meaningfully participate in policy formation. It is a concept that, in any form, firmly challenges commonly held perceptions of young people as passive recipients of services and products, disengaged from project or policy development.

The youth-led model and case studies

Over the last few years, there have been a few advocates of youth-led research for the creation of CSYP. In fact, some believe that the involvement of young people in decision-making and democratic structures is not an option for governments

144. See www.iars.org.uk, accessed 9 June 2017.

(Brady 2012; Gavrielides 2012), but a statutory obligation under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Article 12 states that children and young people who are capable of forming their own views have a right to express those views freely in all matters affecting them.

But we should look beyond the legal obligations to include young people in decision making. According to Schwab and Browne (2014: 477), “engaging young people in critical, social, political and environmental issues via community-based research benefits young people and the communities in which they live in many ways”. In fact, research by Vieno et al. (2007) shows that youth participation in decision making within schools and other youth-related programmes improves academic performance, general participation and overall well-being. So, is there a model for youth-led research?

Hanley et al. (2003) speaks about three levels of user involvement in research: consultation, collaboration and user control. Hart’s ladder of “citizen participation” (2008) – an adaptation of Arnstein’s (1969) delineation – is also useful:

- ▶ Step 1: manipulation;
- ▶ Step 2: decoration;
- ▶ Step 3: tokenism;
- ▶ Step 4: assigned but informed;
- ▶ Step 5: consulted and informed;
- ▶ Step 6: adult-initiated shared decisions;
- ▶ Step 7: youth-initiated and directed;
- ▶ Step 8: youth-initiated shared decisions with adults.

The first steps in this model can be described as tokenism and exclusion. Only the last three are described by Hart (2008) as “citizen power” or shared decision making. The IARS model of youth-led research for policy includes the following steps:

- ▶ Step 1: relinquish power and remove hats;
- ▶ Step 2: reach out widely and recruit diverse groups in partnership with others;
- ▶ Step 3: empower through ad hoc and tailored accredited training that is flexible and adjustable to young people’s needs as these are defined by their diverse lives;
- ▶ Step 4: facilitate discussions on current topics that need change;
- ▶ Step 5: co-ordinate their action research and support to write evidence-based solutions through peer-reviewed processes (e.g. *Youth Voice Journal*), websites, social media, campaigns, videos, posters and other means that reach young people;

- ▶ Step 6: support the evaluation, monitoring, project management and control of all previous steps through youth-led tools and a standing youth advisory board;
- ▶ Step 7: reward and accredit.

It is important to contextualise cross-sectoral youth-led policy whether at the local, national or European level. To this end, I use selected case studies that also aim to serve as a mechanism for exploring further the IARS youth-led model for civic engagement.

Case study: local level

Southwark, in London, is one of the most deprived and diverse areas in the UK. Unemployment (8.7%) and out-of-work benefit claims (11.1%) were both higher in Southwark than the average for London in 2014 while the council ranks sixth when it comes to 19-year-olds lacking qualifications. It is also the worst when it comes to childhood obesity. Recognising the need to change direction, in 2015, the council commissioned a new youth service in the hope of allowing the development of a localised and bottom-up strategy that would address current issues affecting young people in the area. This work is underway by the IARS International Institute, using its youth-led model. It initially recruited a diverse group of young people from the area, who after they received accredited training on youth-led research methods, rights and project management, formed the project's steering group. With the assistance of a dedicated Projects Co-ordinator at IARS, the group set research themes and a robust youth-led methodology that allowed them to collect evidence from their peers and then use that evidence to construct policies and strategies across services and issues currently affecting them. These were and continue to be communicated to the council's policy makers through various youth-led actions such as public events, policy consultations, face-to-face group and one-to-one meetings, newsletters, blogs and websites. As part of this programme, IARS set up an evaluation mechanism to measure the impact of the generated policies both in relation to the young people directly involved in the project, but also the local area and local residents. This is an ongoing project that is measured through qualitative and quantitative surveys with key stakeholders and young people.¹⁴⁵

Case study: national level

The 99% Campaign is a youth-led national initiative that was set up in 2010 by young people in order to dispel negative stereotypes about them and address gaps in youth service provision across all areas including justice, education, health, employment and training. Although the 99% Campaign is hosted by IARS, it is an autonomous entity run by a Youth Management Board and staffed by a group of young journalists who act as volunteers. It has its own website, which is used as a platform for dissemination and policy making. The 99% Campaign follows the IARS youth-led model for the development of cross-sectoral youth-led policy at a national level. For example, in 2014, it recruited and trained a group of young people who

¹⁴⁵. See www.iars.org.uk/content/southwarkyouthnow-syn, accessed 9 June 2017.

then led evidence-based research that they carried out with their peers in order to inform and influence government policy on employment and education. Following the construction of a robust evidence base that was peer-reviewed by an IARS independent Academic and Editorial Board, the young people wrote policy statements that were then discussed at a face-to-face meeting with the UK Education Minister (at the time, Tim Loughton). Consequently, an open event was held in the British Parliament where the Education Minister, the Justice Minister and various members of parliament attended, with the young people inviting over 100 of their peers to share their thoughts directly with the policy makers. The results were then shared widely with the public via social media, youth-led blogs, newsletters and events. Feedback that was received as part of the in-built evaluation of the project indicated that the young people who were involved in the project felt for the first time truly empowered as equal citizens with a direct voice on what matters. Arguably the most important benefit for these young people was the resulting feeling of being able to speak directly as opposed to through representatives. Some were even able to use this opportunity as a platform for further internships, work placements and as material for new youth policy projects in other organisations or on their own.¹⁴⁶

Case study: European level

The intersection of race and gender inequalities means that young minority ethnic women are a particularly marginalised group in European societies. Inspired and motivated by the priorities of the EU Youth Strategy, IARS set up the youth-led project Abused No More to bring together young people and youth professionals to establish a cross-sector, transnational partnership to influence CSYP at a European level and construct youth-led tools to empower marginalised youth and increase the capacity of service providers, notably in the areas of integration, equity and inclusion, gender-based abuse and discrimination. The programme received three-year funding from Erasmus+ and began in 2016. The first phase involved the empowerment of young people from the partnership's participating countries (the UK, Cyprus, Poland, Italy and Romania). Following training and the application of the IARS youth-led model of civic engagement, the project constructed an evidence base that was then used to publish a policy report (Gavrielides 2016b) that was disseminated to EU and national policy makers. In response to this policy report, Silva Mendes, Director for Youth and Sport at the Directorate General for Education and Culture at the European Commission said:

Abused No More introduces the notion of legal literacy in our formal education systems, in a rather innovative way to prevent marginalisation and social exclusion. *My Voice – My Rights* gives us the opportunity to re-discover our legal systems and seek in there solutions but more importantly it makes us realise that individual rights are not merely a tool of preventing marginalisation but at the same time a reflection of our European values such as freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination. Re-exploring our roots and our common cultural heritage can be an effective answer to the multiple crises Europe is facing (ibid.: 3).

146. See www.99percentcampaign.org/?s=loughton, accessed 9 June 2017.

The findings and the project's young people also came together at an international conference that was held in Cyprus in September 2016, which aimed at influencing CSYP across the region.¹⁴⁷

Democracy in crisis and power check

So, where are we today in terms of youth-led research and youth involvement and participation in decision-making processes and structures? The aforementioned cases of youth-led cross-sectoral policy are mere examples, used by this short chapter for illustrative purposes. There are many other similar examples across the EU that remain in the shadows of research and policy. There can be no doubt that we are living in opportune times for user involvement in social policy. As the case studies illustrate, public authorities at the local, national and EU levels are being forced to become more accountable, and multi-agency, cross-sector partnerships are being encouraged.

However, a more cynical view would be that Europe is being challenged by a number of new and real threads that put the development and implementation of youth-led cross-sectoral policy at the bottom of the priority list. Questions of nationalism, hate crime, immigration and social integration are being raised. The UK, France, Belgium and many other European countries are experiencing an unprecedented spike in hate incidents. For instance, reports to the UK police forces increased by 42% in the week before and after its referendum on Europe. As I have argued elsewhere:

The rise of nationalist and far-right parties in Greece, the Netherlands, the UK, France and so on bear evidence that progress to social justice is being hampered while the widening gap between the powerful and the powerless in many areas of civil rights protection has brought a significant backlash in how we accept what is normal and what is not. This decline is gradually being accepted as justifiable due to the convincing nature of these reactionary forces which I aim to unpack (Gavrielides 2016a: 43).

Even if we are optimistic enough to say that it is still too early for these current European realities to have an impact on the well-established, multi-year programmes on CSYP, we cannot deny the shift in attitudes and mentalities post the world economic crisis. Indeed, it has made Europeans feel their future is in a deadlock, with despair replacing hope. Habermas (2012) poignantly observes that we are living in the crisis of a "post democratic" era, which is characterised by a more capitalist and market-oriented functioning of democracy. In Europe, this crisis has led to financial calamity and despair. Often, the dominant public perception creates chronic pressure on elected governments and the parliamentary, educational and justice institutions to react. Subsequently, the rest of the world's populations may be considered as living their lives without any prospect of survival considering the deprivation of essential commodities and basic amenities afflicting these populations. Fear is created and, through this fear, control of the powerless, including young people. In a society where there is no hope, youth-led cross-sectoral policy is seen as a luxury. Survival comes first and in the serving of our basic instincts, the vulnerable come last.

¹⁴⁷. More on the conference at www.abusednomore.org/resources/international-conferences, accessed 13 June 2017.

Furthermore, true democracy is predicated on the idea that every individual, irrespective of their background or personal circumstances, should have an equal opportunity to have a say in decisions about their country's future and the formulation of policies, legislation and practices that affect them. However, we know that in reality, some groups of young people are less likely than others to exercise their democratic right to vote; less likely to attain elected office; less likely to feel they can influence decisions in their local area; and less likely to take part in other forms of political or civic activity (Dorling 2011; IARS International Institute 2011). Levels of engagement and perceptions of influence also vary by ethnic group and social class.

In fact, I agree with Dadich (2014: 411), who argues that:

approaches that promote engagement, participation and plurality may in fact give voice to those who are most visible and/or vocal – be they individuals or organisations – they might redirect the attention of policymakers and those who hold the public purse to causes that are championed by those who are most visible and/or vocal.

I dare to claim that there are a few examples of funded projects and indeed Council of Europe funding programmes that have fallen into this trap. Civil society and the regional institutions of the EU and the Council of Europe should pay more attention to the true and hidden voices of young people and learn to avoid engaging with the visible and easily accessible structures of organisations that have the time and resources to apply for funds.

To truly enable bottom-up youth-led policy, power must first be shared. Dunne and Schmidt (2001: 141-7) define “power” as a capability to impose, enforce or exercise influence and dominance. As Thucydides put it, power is a necessary ingredient in the pursuit of goals and aims. Without sharing power, youth-led policy is not possible and without youth-led research, CSYP will never be achieved – including in the Council of Europe and the EU. As noted by Williams (1989: 45), “Although the visibility of participatory youth research might reflect strategic efforts to align with and secure funds from powerful entities...”. Walgrave (2012: 32) states:

It is an everlasting challenge to find a balance between the input of the citizens and the community, and the enforceable decisions by legitimate authorities, governments and/or the state. That does not only depend on particular institutions and procedures in the state, but also on the quality of the citizens' participation.

Gavrielides (2016a) and Trivedi and Wykes (2002) point out the issue of the “massive imbalance of power” that exists between service providers and service users. There is an assumption and, indeed, arrogance on the part of those in power that they know best. According to Dadich (2014), a “critical read of published instances of youth participatory research suggests a rose-tinted view of practices that might be considered less than ideal”. The truth is that when it comes to academic papers, peer-reviewed papers and publishing research, young people need the connections, background, experience and support if they are to see their names on the authors' list. This is an issue of power sharing between academics and young researchers. Dadich continues: “There are examples of power dynamics that may in fact exacerbate oppression among young people. These include the ways in which agendas are determined, how knowledge is conceived and maintained and how professional

identities are sustained” (2014: 413). Too often, we hear from teachers: “These kids have too much power!” However, I agree with Waterman (2015) that the problem:

is not that students have too much power, it’s that they do not have enough. Think about it, most of the problems in the classroom result from power struggles between teachers and students. The battle for power between teachers and students can cause discipline and motivation issues. It seems obvious that both those students who challenge authority and those who do not do their work want more power. Why not give it to them?

Concluding thoughts

To sum up, CSYP is not static. Consequently, the tools to build a bridge between cross-sectoral and youth-led policy are found in the way both are constructed, and this must be through youth-led methods of evidence gathering. The prerequisite for this is that power be shared with young people and this refers to all relevant stakeholders, such as policy makers at all levels, academics, publishers, politicians, parents, teachers, professors and so on. Whether horizontal or vertical, if youth-led policy is not constructed from the bottom up, then its cross-sectoral nature will be questioned as tokenistic and removed from young people’s realities.

Share power and this will allow young people from all walks of life to construct their own philosophies. And here is the obvious but missed link with CSYP: share power with young people and allow them to inform and form the meaning of youth policies and naturally the sectors and cross-cutting priorities will gain meaning locally and regionally. This is not a conclusion based on a hunch but one that is founded in a number of theories including the constructivist philosophy of learning (Brooks and Brooks 1993), which asserts that students construct meaning for themselves. According to classic theories of human development, we acquire and foster these goals and aspirations through a mixture of factors such as our parents, role models, our peers and teachers (Salkind 2004). But we first have to believe in ourselves. If power and, with it, responsibility, are shared, then young people will be left to develop much-needed autonomy.

However, society and the modern educational, justice, social and health-care infrastructures start from the premise that if we are accessing a public service, then we must have a problem; it is not because we are simply nurturing our talents. I have called this approach “disadvantage thinking”,¹⁴⁸ though this is not the place to point out its detrimental effects for young people.

I will thus merely conclude that however much money is thrown by the EU, the Council of Europe, governments, trusts and donors at new policies, good schooling, textbooks, volunteering programmes, different curricula, improved parenting or even affirmative action schemes, it won’t help address the real issues faced by young people and the widening gap between the powerful and powerless. CSYP will continue to be created and measured against this backdrop and the lack of true youth-led vision. I agree with Williamson (2002: 40) that the true problem of youth policy in Europe is a lack of ideology:

148. See www.iars.org.uk/content/NewDirection, accessed 9 June 2017.

Youth policy, and the legislation which governs it, invariably flows from an ideological vision which informs the strategic orientation of youth policy ... Some international reports expressed concern that it was a lack of such an ideological vision – an “ideological vacuum” – which jeopardised the likelihood of establishing effective structures and securing cross-departmental and devolved commitment to the delivery of youth policy.

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Chapter 15

How to promote youth well-being across sectors – An evaluation of the YHRK

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Introduction

The promotion of youth well-being represents the aim of many different organisations, irrespective of sector – these include health services, mental health services, drug and alcohol services, schools and juvenile justice centres, among others. Evidence-based practice has a crucial role in achieving this aim, representing “a disciplined approach to decision making and action, the hallmark of which is attention to evidence quality and the use of the best available evidence” (Rousseau and Gunia 2016: 4).

Despite the importance of evidence-based practice, practitioners do not consistently draw on the evidence available to them. Burgess et al. (2016:16) found that, among clinicians within the youth mental health sector, the use of evidence-based practice was typically hindered by “lack of... knowledge and skill, and lack of time and/or support”. When we consider additional sectors and professions, the chasm between evidence and practice can widen. Although rigorous research on the youth sector is limited, research on similarly multidisciplinary contexts suggests communication difficulties, governance structures and professional identities can stymie a shared understanding of what constitutes evidence-based practice and appropriate ways to enact it (Fafard and Murphy 2012). This situation is exacerbated by practice guidelines that fail to speak to different professions, and/or offer inconsistent advice.

Equally challenging is the chasm between evidence-based practice and public policy. Despite support for evidence-based policy, which aims to “use actual evidence on what works – rather than rely on ideology – to promote good public policies” (Jensen 2013:3), it has been critiqued as policy-based evidence, whereby empirical evidence is sourced to support a predefined policy. This chasm reflects a top-down approach to the development of youth policy, which is typically criticised for the limited engagement of young people and/or their advocates. Conversely, a bottom-up

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approach is premised on, and encourages, their meaningful participation – yet, how this approach manifests is context-specific.

Printed educational materials (PEMs) represent a useful way to engage with and communicate evidence-based practices to practitioners, including those who represent different sectors and disciplines (Giguère et al. 2012). Relative to alternative approaches, like online platforms and face-to-face delivery, they are inexpensive; easy to distribute; familiar to practitioners; and can address other factors that influence practitioner behaviour, like norms and values (Burgers et al. 2003). Furthermore, findings from a systematic review demonstrate their potential to improve practitioner behaviour (Giguère et al. 2012). Collectively, these features might partly explain the development of PEMs by organisations responsible for the professional development of practitioners and/or capacity building within a system of different services.

This chapter presents findings of an evaluation of one such PEM in Australia – the Youth Health Resource Kit (YHRK, New South Wales; NSW Kids and Families, 2014). This evaluation was designed to determine the perceived relevance and utility of the YHRK among practitioners from different sectors who worked with young people.

The chapter begins by discussing intersectoral co-operation within the youth sector. The YHRK is then described, followed by the theoretical domains framework, which guided its evaluation. Following the evaluation findings, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the lessons garnered, particularly those that can aid the design and implementation of youth policy in Europe. Despite contextual differences between Australia and Europe – like the changing relationships between the government, private and not-for-profit sectors – there are also similarities, some of which are discussed in the subsequent section. As such, the lessons reinforced in this chapter might serve to encourage effective policy developments in Europe.

Intersectoral co-operation: theory and practice

Given the diverse and changing needs of young people aged 12 to 24 years (inclusive; NSW CAAH 2010), it can take a village of disparate services to support a young person. Despite their shared clientele, these services represent a mix of organisations within the public, private and not-for-profit sectors, collectively offering health services, mental health services, legal counsel, welfare, education and vocational guidance, among others. As such, youth work is not limited to conventional domains, like drop-in centres, but encompasses hospitals, indigenous services and virtual organisations, among others.

To optimise the value of this system, international bodies espouse intersectoral co-operation within the youth sector. The United Nations Population Fund (UNPFA 2013:7) argues: “Only by working together across sectors and in collaboration with young leaders, can the constraints on young people’s progress be removed, key obstacles tackled effectively and the pathway to adulthood be paved with opportunity and support”.

Although such motherhood statements are aspirational, it can be difficult to achieve intersectoral co-operation. This is partly due to operational and managerial factors. The former include discordant governance structures, between and within different

sectors; incongruous funding schemes; duplicative reporting mechanisms; the tension between law and ethics, particularly in relation to young people whom the law might define as minors, depending on jurisdiction; new public management; and limited resources. Managerial factors include the challenge of recognising intersectoral co-operation, and knowing when it has been achieved, as well as monitoring and managing it (Ord 2014).

This is not to suggest that intersectoral co-operation within the youth sector is unattainable, for the literature appears to be peppered with (alleged) examples (Davies and Merton 2012). Although recognising it, monitoring it and managing it can be difficult, these tasks become more feasible when guided by the overarching purpose of youth work. In Australia, that purpose is to “place... young people and their interests first... [operating] alongside the young person in their context... empowering... advocat[ing]... for and facilitat[ing]... a young person’s independence, participation in society, connectedness and realisation of their rights” (AYAC 2014: 2). This purpose resonates with that of other parts of the world. The European Commission (2016) suggests that, “Youth work helps young people to reach their full potential. It encourages personal development, autonomy, initiative and participation in society”. With reference to members of the European Union (at the time of writing), Ireland recognises a quality standards framework for youth work, founded on five principles, notably young person-centredness and the promotion of youth well-being (Office of the Minister for Children and Youth Affairs 2010). Furthermore, the implementation of this framework, and the realisation of the principles therein, require “partnership and co-operation” (ibid. 3). Similarly, within Spain, youth work is understood to involve, “working with and for young people” and “encouraging their participation and integration in different spheres of society” (Dunne et al. 2014: 4).

This overview indicates that, notwithstanding variation in governance structures and legal frameworks, there are some common denominators in the ways that youth work is conceptualised and operationalised, internationally. Furthermore, these similarities open opportunities for policy makers, practitioners and scholars to learn from each other’s experiences, and adapt these lessons accordingly. In this spirit, the following sections describe the YHRK and its evaluation.

YHRK

The YHRK was developed to promote evidence-based youth health care among health and allied professionals in New South Wales (NSW), Australia. It focuses on the knowledge and skills needed to engage with and support a young person and their family, while addressing the developmental, cultural and environmental dimensions of well-being, as well as the legal obligations within this jurisdiction, such as understanding consent and, relatedly, informed consent. Its primary audience is expansive, including practitioners affiliated with: health, mental health, and/or drug and alcohol services; family planning services; schools; child protection services; and juvenile justice centres. The YHRK also helps to build organisational capacity through the inclusion of content on the macro, meso and micro factors that influence organisations, the services they deliver and, as such, youth well-being.

The YHRK was designed following consultation with practitioners from different sectors who worked with young people in metropolitan, regional and rural areas of NSW. Following its development, the YHRK was distributed to a select number of government youth health services, government education settings and not-for-profit community youth services; it was also made freely available via the website of NSW Kids and Families to optimise reach.

Theoretical framework

Many factors shape how practitioners translate evidence-based practices into consumer care. These include practitioner expertise; consumer (and carer) preferences; resources; limited confidence and trust in the information; and context (Fafard and Murphy 2012). As a complex, dynamic process, the translation of evidence – or knowledge – into consumer care can hardly be described as linear (Greenhalgh et al. 2004). For this reason, the evaluation of the YHRK was guided by the theoretical domains framework (TDF) (Michie et al. 2005), which recognises the value of different perspectives. The TDF unifies relevant theoretical constructs to: examine how evidence-based practice is implemented; develop strategies to facilitate its implementation; and communicate the constructs to a wide audience. The framework includes 12 theoretical domains – knowledge; skills; social and/or professional role and identity; beliefs about capabilities; beliefs about consequences; motivation and goals; memory, attention and decision processes; environmental context and resources; social influences; emotion regulation; behavioural regulation; and the nature of the behaviour.

Domains of the TDF deemed most germane to this evaluation were selected to inform the questions and prompts posed to the participants. These included: knowledge; skills; social and/or professional role and identity; beliefs about capabilities; motivation and goals; and memory, attention, and decision processes.

Method

E-narratives were deemed an appropriate method for this evaluation as they provided an efficient way to explore the experiences of time-poor practitioners. E-narratives allow researchers to make meaning of events in a person's life through their stories. These stories can draw attention to unique aspects of organisational life allowing multiple perspectives to co-exist and attending to all types of knowledge, including the personal and the aesthetic. Stories told in narrative research in organisations can reveal how individual work routines disrupt the prevailing institutional discourse. Although alternative methods – like biographical interviews – were considered, these could not offer participants the convenience of e-narratives and, thus, were not used.

To determine the relevance and utility of the kit within an intersectoral context, participants were recruited from government youth health services; government education settings; and not-for-profit community youth services. Relative to their not-for-profit counterparts, the government settings represented in this study were: solely funded by public funds; governed by public policy; and highly-regulated. Practitioners from all three sectors were eligible to participate if they delivered youth health care in NSW and had used the YHRK.

Facilitated by NSW Kids and Families, participant recruitment involved two stages. First, select organisations that represented the three aforementioned sectors were contacted to determine their capacity to participate in this evaluation. Second, detailed information about the evaluation was provided to prospective participants in person and/or in written form.

Between April and June, 2015 (inclusive), participants received correspondence via email on four occasions, inviting them to reflect on their work that week and craft a story that described how they worked with and/or supported a young person. Participants were encouraged to consider an interaction with a young person who accessed their service, or an interaction with a colleague within or beyond the service. Guided by the TDF, the correspondence included prompts like, “What informed your practice?” and “How confident were you in your ability to align your practices with those sources?”

The email was issued every 21 days, and invited participants to respond within the subsequent seven days. A reminder was issued to those who had not yet responded on the day before each e-narrative was due. The frequency and regularity of data collection periods were selected to: provide adequate time to detect nuanced change; promote reflective practice; and avert research fatigue. Over the four phases of data collection, 29 responses were received from 19 participants, most of whom were School Counsellors affiliated with government education settings (63.2%). Given the limited representation from the government youth health services (26.3%) and not-for-profit community youth services (10.5%), it was not possible to compare perceptions across sectors.

Two researchers independently analysed and interpreted the e-narratives. This involved repeated reading of and reflecting on the e-narratives, looking at story-form and tone as well as content to generate, develop and revise categories. One researcher then compared the constructed themes and synthesised the interpretations generated by both researchers. As a quality improvement exercise, this study was endorsed by NSW Kids and Families and clearance from an ethics committee was not required.

Results

Resonating with personal practice

The YHRK appeared to resonate with the professional practices of many participants. This is affirmed by the finding that no participant suggested the content was unrelated to his or her role. The e-narratives were replete with examples of how the YHRK provided useful information that was aligned with and validated their knowledge and practices: “I spoke with the young person about working to address conflict, working it through rather than avoiding... I considered this consistent with the section of the YHRK regarding challenging young people” (government youth health practitioner).

Of particular relevance was the HEEADSSS assessment (Goldenring and Rosen 2004) – a mnemonic for home; education and employment; eating and exercise; activities and peer relationships; drug use, including cigarettes and alcohol; sexuality; suicide and depression; and safety and spirituality. Although the instrument predates the YHRK,

its inclusion spoke to the participants and affirmed their practice: “I had been browsing through the resource and noted the HEADSS [sic] assessment. Such assessments are a common occurrence in my job as a school counsellor in high schools. I keep the resource in my office... It was like a ‘refresher’” (government school counsellor).

These excerpts suggest the inclusion of the familiar is not necessarily perceived as repetitive or redundant. Rather, it can affirm current practices, build confidence and encourage preferred practices. This affirms the capacity of the YHRK to facilitate evidence-based youth health care: “I would not say that I used the YHRK at the time, but reflecting over my work and going over the information presented in the youth resource health, it would appear that my practices are aligning quite well with the kit. This is reassuring as it appears that the kit is based on evidence and research based practise [sic]” (government school counsellor).

Some participants recognised the YHRK as contemporary. It reflected recent developments in evidence-based practice and was therefore deemed credible. Implicit in the e-narratives is the suggestion that the perceived credibility of the resource impelled practitioner support and the likelihood of its use to guide practice: “I likes [sic] the... good info on developmental perspectives and adolescence. Given that DSM [diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders] – V has moved to a significant developmental perspective I thought that this was well done” (government school counsellor).

However, not all participants found the YHRK relevant to their practice. These individuals indicated they had not referred to it at all during the evaluation. They noted that, while generally agreeing with its content, the YHRK provided no new advice: “The information provided in the resource kit is not as in-depth when compared to training experiences I have had in the past” (government school counsellor).

According to some participants, the approaches suggested by the YHRK to engage with and work with young people were overly formal. Guided by their “personal experience”, they preferred a more “conversation style interaction that is led by the client” and conducive to the natural phrasing of questions. These participants appeared uncomfortable with the perceived formality of some elements of the YHRK: “[The] style of the youth worker and situation of the client needs to be considered before using [these] approaches” (not-for-profit youth worker).

Notwithstanding the aforesaid limitations of the YHRK, the participants largely acknowledged its bearing on their professional practices. Its relevance was indicated by its familiar and contemporary content: “good tool to use for youth health workers to prompt, reinforce and refine their working practices” (not-for-profit youth worker).

Timely and effective access

The participants primarily used the YHRK to inform future practices. Rather than peruse the resource while in the presence of a young person or guardian, the e-narratives largely described how they referred to it to guide their impending work with young people, particularly when they had limited experience with the “specific” or “complex” health issue at hand – examples include risk-taking behaviours and supporting a young person with particular cultural needs. As a “ready reference guide for practical

information”, the YHRK offered timely advice on distinct, if not infrequent, issues. The content could be readily understood and assimilated with the participants’ professional practices – this was particularly helpful when there was limited time to work with a young person: “He had talked about seeing demons and feeling very scared... Before seeing the student again, I realised it would be necessary... to arm myself with some solid information about... psychosis to provide to this student and his family” (government school counsellor).

Participants consulted the YHRK to verify the appropriateness of their planned approach and/or source alternative strategies. Some described (re)visiting the resource before meeting with a young person for counsel on the assessment of health risks: “The HEEADSSS screening tool was used as a guide to then get relevant information from the client... [and] ascertain at what stage of change the client is at” (government school counsellor).

These findings suggest the purposeful use of the YHRK is partly associated with practitioner perception of their knowledge and skills. The resource was used when current capabilities and competencies were perceived to be (potentially) limited: “It helped me to identify the gaps in my knowledge... and the need to explore in detail these gaps. The information on alternatives for working with people with intellectual disabilities was also helpful” (government school counsellor).

References to the “specific” were juxtaposed by references to “broader domains”. Some participants indicated that, by improving the knowledge and skills of teams of practitioners, the resource can build organisational capacity. This in turn provides opportunity to prevent and treat health issues, and ultimately promote and sustain youth health: “After a meeting with the Welfare Team at my high school, I decided to look over some of my existing resources on whole-school support for students... I consulted the YHRK to see whether it could offer any information about how schools can support young people generally” (government school counsellor).

Participants appreciated the physicality of the YHRK. As a tangible “working document”, they recognised the resource as “both accessible and easy to use”. This feature was beneficial in both the short and long term. In the short term, the YHRK was perceived to be convenient – it could be effortlessly accessed by the participant and expeditiously shared with colleagues. In the long term, it offered a “cognitive safety net” (Webster 2012: 323) to support practitioner actions: “I had the hard copy stored in a convenient location. I also knew what [*sic*] I have an electronic version if I was at another school” (government school counsellor).

Conversely, a few participants found the YHRK cognitively inaccessible. Given the apparent size of the printed resource, these time-poor participants were overwhelmed by its content and preferred seemingly easier ways to source advice – like referring to trusted colleagues: “The size of the document is off-putting. I don’t feel the need to sift through a document if I am already confident with my knowledge of services/processes/pathways/issues” (government youth health practitioner).

These findings reveal some of the inherent tensions of evidence-based youth health care. For instance, there appears to be a need to find balance between the cognitive safety net and information overload. There also appears to be a need to balance the

time allocated to professional development with that apportioned to youth engagement and the practice of youth health care: “Initially, time was the only hindrance to my ability to use this resource, but once I set aside a specific time to look through the resource, its value became apparent” (government school counsellor).

Service use

Some e-narratives described how services could use the YHRK. Suggestions included using the resource: as a “refresher” for practitioners, particularly those with limited experience; and to guide collaborative care. Both findings are addressed in turn.

The YHRK was often reported to be an informative foundation for youth health care, as well as a helpful memory aide. As such, according to some participants, services might find value in ensuring the resource is continually available to guide how practitioners prepare for, deliver and reflect on evidence-based youth health care. Given some participants worked in different settings and were not always online, this would require multiple copies of the printed resource: “If there isn’t a copy in my second high school office it may be a hindrance, but there is a copy in each office” (government school counsellor).

The YHRK might be especially useful for inexperienced practitioners. This is affirmed by the finding that those who considered themselves *au fait* with evidence-based youth health care found limited value in its content. This finding suggests that services might find particular value in ensuring novice practitioners have access to the YHRK: “Would have been more helpful when I was training to be a school counsellor, both at the time of studying and the first few years of work” (government school counsellor).

According to a few participants, the YHRK can also guide collaborative care. When used by a team, be it within a single organisation or across several agencies, the resource can provide a shared understanding of and a shared language for evidence-based youth health care. This is particularly important given the multidisciplinary and at times interdisciplinary nature of the youth sector: “Discussion with the legal practitioner was held about community training that we offer here – and then remembered there might also be benefit or knowledge gained from the resource kit... One of the key things that I assisted the legal practitioner were maintenance of rapport, difficult conversations... about thoughts of suicide... confidentiality, motivational interviewing skills, referral to services such as the mental health line and kids help line” (government youth health practitioner).

Promotion

An analysis of the e-narratives provides inadvertent lessons on how the YHRK might be promoted to services to optimise practitioner awareness and use of the resource. For instance, the findings suggest potential value in: promoting the YHRK as a contemporary aide; promoting its accessibility; promoting its credibility; targeting novice practitioners; promoting the resource to those responsible for professional development and/or capacity building; and promoting the YHRK regularly. Each lesson is addressed in turn.

Some participants suggested the YHRK was beneficial because – given its up-to-date content – it could bolster professional development. Perceived as progressive,

it represented an aide they wanted to align with. Furthermore, it could be readily shared with others to promote team development. As such, it might be helpful to promote the YHRK as a contemporary aide to support professional development: "This updated version both refreshed my memory and provided new questions and categories to include in a mental health screening interview" (government school counsellor).

According to some, there might be value in marketing the physical and cognitive accessibility of the YHRK. As a resource that is online and gratis, it is continually available, easily stored and searchable. This can be helpful because: some practitioners work with young people at different locations; the Australian youth sector is challenged by limited funding; and, given the rise of the digital age, there is a need to avert information overload: "After the student had left, I began looking through my electronic resources for information on mental health assessment to guide my next steps in this case. I came across the YHRK, which I had previously stored. I read through the Psychosocial Assessment section, which contains details of the HEEADSSS assessment" (government school counsellor).

Given favourable reflections on the contributors to the YHRK, there might be value in publicising the credibility of its content. Some participants recognised and valued some of the names listed at the fore of the resource. This reveals an opportunity to harness the rub-off effect, whereby using a resource developed by experts can bolster perceived confidence in personal capacities: "[One of the experts] is a colleague of mine (one of the authors), she has a depth of knowledge and experience that always assists me in developing as a youth health worker and my own practice, so this seamlessly flowed from the resource kit" (government youth health practitioner).

As a collection of key information on evidence-based youth health care, some participants indicated that it might be helpful to purposefully promote the YHRK to novice practitioners. Given its limited detail and depth, the resource might be particularly useful to those in the early stages of their career, guiding their professional development and reflective practices: "During group supervision we often discuss resources and best practice" (government school counsellor).

Similarly – yet beyond the individual – the YHRK might also be promoted to those responsible for professional development and/or capacity building. This is because it aptly summarises pertinent, contemporary content in a digestible form for practitioners, regardless of their discipline or the agency they represent: "I consulted the resource today as I reflected on a workshop I will be presenting in a few weeks time with a colleague, a Head Teacher Welfare, to the staff of the senior college who are mentors to the students. The workshop will be to assist the mentors in developing strategies for building resilience in their students" (government school counsellor).

Perhaps the most salient lesson garnered from an analysis of the e-narratives is the need to market the YHRK regularly. Given their competing and, at times, conflicting demands, as well as the chaotic nature of youth work, some participants recognised value in repeated reminders about the resource to optimise the likelihood that it remains front-of-mind: "This might not always come to mind. I try to add the YHRK to any email or correspondence with workers in the field who are having difficulties

working with a young person, which makes it easier to remember” (government youth health practitioner).

Discussion

This chapter demonstrates how a PEM can: speak to different professions from different services and sectors; enhance a practicable understanding of evidence-based youth healthcare, which requires intersectoral co-operation; and ultimately promote youth well-being. For two key reasons, the YHRK resonated with the professional practices of the different practitioners who contributed to this evaluation. First, the inclusion of familiar content: verified its relevance to their role; helped to connect them with the resource; affirmed (at least some of) their practices; and bolstered confidence. This finding reflects (at least) three of the domains of the TDF (Michie et al. 2005). More specifically, these participants considered the resource to be true – thus representing knowledge; it impelled an interest or desire to at least consider its content – thus representing motivation and goals; and the inclusion of the familiar suggests it was easier to recall, relative to novel content – thus representing memory, attention and decision processes. Second, the perceived contemporariness of the resource offered some participants the opportunity to strengthen their professional identity as an evidence-based practitioner, thus encouraging their interest in its content. This finding also reflects domains within the TDF – namely, social and/or professional role and identity, and motivation and goals, respectively.

According to the participants of this evaluation, they drew on the YHRK to: inform future practices; verify the appropriateness of their planned approach; and/or source alternative strategies. This finding reflects domains within the TDF (ibid.). More specifically, the YHRK appeared to be used when: beliefs about capabilities in youth health care were limited, thereby creating a perceived need for guidance on evidence-based youth health care to perform a social and/or professional role and identity; it was deemed to provide knowledge on specific and complex health issues, and/or accessible content on assessment and engagement skills; and its content was affirming, thereby bolstering participant motivation to draw their attention to it to guide decision processes.

Conclusion

The findings from this evaluation have important theoretical, methodological and practical implications, all of which can inspire helpful policy developments in the European context. Theoretically, they reveal the relevance of the TDF (ibid.) to intersectoral youth health care – notably, the theoretical domains of knowledge; skills; social and/or professional role and identity; beliefs about capabilities; motivation and goals; and memory, attention and decision processes. Furthermore, the findings demonstrate the interconnectedness of these domains, whereby attending to one shapes, if not reinforces, the others. Consider, for instance, how perceived expertise – that is, beliefs about capabilities; perceived misalignment between the content of the resource and preferred skills; and the absence of detailed or new knowledge – can hinder practitioner use of the resource.

This chapter also builds on the limited research to date on e-narratives as a data collection method to understand the role of PEMs in intersectoral youth health care. The evaluation demonstrates the potential value of e-narratives to involve practitioners in research. Data collection methods using email can reduce the “high demands” on participants and encourage participation and completion (Jones and Woolley 2015). This approach afforded time-poor practitioners the opportunity for reflective practice at regular intervals when convenient, while contributing to the evaluation in tandem. The e-narratives also provided the researchers with: relative ease in accessing the data, with responses pre-typed and a mere click away, and the opportunity to monitor the progress of data collection.

Practically, this evaluation demonstrates how the TDF can guide the development of effective PEMs to promote intersectoral youth health care. More specifically, the findings suggest the relevance and/or use of the YHRK were aided by: perceived alignment with current and relevant knowledge; the inclusion of guidance on specific and complex health issues; the user-friendliness of relevant assessment and engagement tools; the perceived accessibility of the resource; the perceived contemporariness and credibility of the resource; the inclusion of familiar and/or affirming content; and regular marketing. These findings are particularly timely given the pressing need for youth health care that is both effective and efficient.

The aforementioned theoretical, methodological and practical lessons have noteworthy implications for the design and implementation of youth policy in Europe. More specifically, they suggest that youth policy can be crafted in a way to meaningfully promote intersectoral co-operation by: drawing on relevant theoretical frameworks, like the TDF (Michie et al. 2005), to understand the ways in which different kinds of knowledge, including empirical research, practitioner expertise and political values, are coalesced and enacted; reflecting practitioner perspectives and, relatedly, their discourse on the realities of organisational life through deliberative dialogues – “a group process that emphasizes transformative discussion” (Boyko et al. 2012: 1939) – as well as relatively non-invasive ways, like e-narratives; and connecting with tangible resources – like the YHRK – to practicably demonstrate the value of, and how to operationalise, intersectoral co-operation to promote youth health.

Despite the significance of the findings presented in this chapter, the following five methodological limitations warrant mention. First, because participants were self-selected, there is no claim they constitute a representative sample of practitioners who work with young people, within or beyond NSW (Reimer 2013). Second, as voluntary participants, it is possible they had a particular interest in youth health care and were largely *au fait* with evidence-based practices, relative to their peers – as such, the views presented here might be biased. Third, the use of qualitative material limits the lifespan of the results, particularly because of the potential for social desirability bias (Spector 2004). Fourth, given the reliance on self-reports and recall, participant perceptions could not be verified (Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Fifth, the construction of themes from the e-narratives might not adequately encapsulate the perceptions voiced by the participants.

Notwithstanding these limitations, this chapter demonstrates how PEMs – like the YHRK – can promote evidence-based youth health care, which requires intersectoral

co-operation. Despite the challenges that can stymie such co-operation – such as the need to engage with many stakeholders who are largely removed from the research sphere (Moat, Lavis and Abelson 2013) – there are practical opportunities to fortify intersectoral relationships, devise youth-oriented policies, and encourage the translation of these policies into the delivery of effective and efficient youth services.

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Chapter 16

A delivery model of a gender-specific intervention approach – Lessons for policy makers

Louise Warwick-Booth¹⁵¹ and Ruth Cross¹⁵²

Introduction

Recent UK policy rhetoric has focused on the need to tackle social exclusion by using early intervention and multi-agency/cross-sectoral approaches (Ministry of Justice 2010). Within the last decade, programmes have focused upon whole households and families (Hughes 2010), with very little attention paid to gender differentiation and the need for specifically designed gender-sensitive programmes. However, gender is now increasingly recognised within youth work practice as important, with workers specifically developing gender-conscious practice as a mechanism to provide young people with opportunities to explore how gender roles, expectations and conditioning influence and affect them. Gender matters for both young women and young men, hence youth work can be delivered using a “lens model” through which workers attempt to recognise the complex relationship between young people and gender (Harland and Morgan 2009). This chapter focuses specifically on young women, recognising that gender matters because of the structural inequalities that girls are both born into and experience in numerous ways, such as through earning less than their male peers, undertaking disproportionate caring burdens and facing greater risk of abuse (McNeish and Scott 2014a). Young women experiencing disadvantage may have unmet needs such as self-esteem issues, complex family circumstances, high levels of drug/alcohol usage, poverty, abuse, and physical and mental health problems (Corston 2007). Girls and young women also demonstrate different coping mechanisms in comparison to boys and young men in similar circumstances (Chesney-Lind 1997). These factors determine the ways in which young women interact with service provision. Therefore, both age and gender sensitivity need consideration within youth work service design and provision. Consequently, gender-specific services and approaches are now being used to address the specific needs of female groups within the UK. In the United States, several programmes have already been developed that are gender-specific and aim

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to respond to the multiple needs of young women, attempting to reflect the reality of their lived experience (Bloom et al. 2003).

Within the UK, WomenCentres have developed similar gender-specific approaches while championing the need for policy change in relation to women's needs. The work of one WomenCentre (the focus of this chapter) has been prominent within the influential Corston Report (2007), and in attempting to inform policy direction. The Corston Report was a catalyst to current funding for women-specific, community-based provision within the UK (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2013).

WomenCentre: The Way Forward context

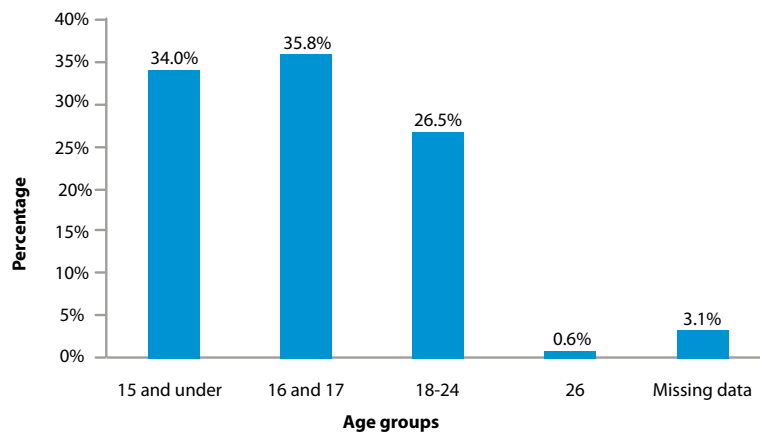
WomenCentre is a provider of gender-specific services, located within the voluntary sector and thus external to the statutory sector. It has been recognised that voluntary sector-run services are ideally placed to provide holistic support for women with complex needs (Radcliffe et al. 2013). WomenCentre was established to deliver such holistic and empowering services to women within the Calderdale locality in West Yorkshire in 1985. The gendered nature of the work delivered within the WomenCentre is about prevention and holistic service provision and is underpinned by an individualised needs-based approach. At the core of all the work is a relationship of trust between women and service providers (Duffy and Hyde 2011). It has been argued that women's centres produce improvements in well-being and can be a viable and effective setting for providing mental health interventions to meet client needs (Nicholles and Whitehead 2012; Hatchett et al. 2014). Despite this evidence, WomenCentre has operated in a challenging policy and economic environment since its inception to the present day (Duffy and Hyde 2011).

It is within this context that The Way Forward project was established by WomenCentre, Halifax (West Yorkshire) in January 2013. The Way Forward was a prototype youth work approach with a remit to identify and engage with girls and young women who were slipping between existing offers of service provision and who might otherwise enter adulthood with severe and escalating levels of disadvantage. The project was funded by two charities, the Lankelly Chase Foundation and the Paul Hamlyn Foundation, which both focus on tackling multiple disadvantage funding the employment of the workers to deliver the service. The project aimed to address the marginalisation of girls and young women, work with them in ways that statutory agencies were unable to due to service thresholds, and enable them to have a central and empowered place within the project itself. Empowering young people is often a core goal of youth work programmes (Jennings et al. 2006). In this instance, the project aimed to make a significant positive difference to the lives of 200 young women with high levels of unmet need and vulnerability over a three-year period, December 2012 to December 2015. The project was based upon a key worker model (the Engagement Worker) whose role was to co-ordinate and deliver the project, with support from WomenCentre and its strong cross-sectoral partnerships. Collaborative partnership working has been shown to be important in the provision of multidimensional, gendered, age-specific and culturally responsive service provision (Bloom et al. 2003).

Project details

The young women presented to The Way Forward project with a variety of issues and complex needs such as low self-esteem, alcohol/substance misuse issues and family difficulties. The project operated with a lack of threshold criteria for entry, hence was able to support young women with a variety of complex needs. Over the three-year period in which it operated, the project succeeded in identifying and addressing unmet need for 165 young women (Warwick-Booth et al. 2015). The majority of the young women involved with the project whose ages were recorded (162 of the 165 referrals) were aged 18 and under (see Figure 20).

Figure 20: Ages of young women within The Way Forward project



The age of the young women was a vulnerability in that workers viewed them as being at risk, as well as producing their own risks within local contexts. The transitional experiences facing young women were also viewed as an important influence in relation to vulnerability alongside their potential unequal access to resources (Hardgrove 2014), a key focus of this intervention.

The Way Forward was founded and supported within an existing service based inside the WomenCentre (an existing physical space), which had a track record of delivering domestic violence services, family support and advice services to older women. The Way Forward was also overseen by an external cross-sectoral steering group established at the outset, with a bi-monthly meeting schedule. The steering group had a core membership of six key local organisations (the Youth Offending Team, WomenCentre, Calderdale Young People's Participation Worker, Calderdale Housing, Branching Out Drugs Service and Young People's Services). Other external agencies were invited but were more distantly involved (the police, probation, high schools and neighbourhood teams). The involvement of all these agencies was sought in order to increase the integration of services and associated cross-sectoral (Nico 2014) support for the young women within the project's remit.

Project delivery was largely undertaken by the Engagement Worker, who administered referrals, assessed young women, provided support, delivered case work and linked with other external agencies for signposting and referral. The project was based on youth work principles such as encouragement, informal education, mentoring and challenges. The scope of the work was diverse but the work with other external agencies was seen as crucial for making a significant difference to young women's lives, both at the point of referral and at the point of "moving on". Schools and other partners referred into the project and some also offered support via steering group membership. Partners providing ongoing support from the inception of the project up to the date at which analysis ended are represented in Table 18.

Table 18: Partners involved in the referral of young women to The Way Forward

Referral Source	N
Adoption team	2
Community and Mental Health Services	1
Calderdale Carers	1
Children's Centre	3
Children's home	1
Contact Team	1
Children and young people's services	1
Domestic abuse partner	1
Education welfare	1
Early intervention panels	24
Family support	7
Family and friends	16
Family intervention panel	1
Family Matters	1
General practitioner (GP)	3
Health visitor	2
Halifax Opportunities Trust	2
Housing	2
Lifeline	3
Mental health	2
Nurse	1
Police	3
Safe Hands	1
School	28
Self-referral	16
Social services including Family Intervention Panel	16
Specialist midwife	5
Valley Youth Project	1
WomenCentre	10
Youth Offending Team	2
Young carers	3
Young parents	1
Youth workers	1

Methodology

The overarching aim of our evaluation research was to ascertain the extent to which The Way Forward project's aims and objectives were met. There were a number of evaluation objectives, and the focus of this chapter will report upon one: the examination of how The Way Forward worked within a cross-sectoral setting, including an assessment of what this meant for the success of the project. The evaluation developed and tested the programme's "theory of change" (Judge and Bauld 2001; Connell and Kubisch 1988), in order to make explicit the links between programme goals and the different contexts and ways in which the project worked.

Approach to gathering evidence

Evidence for this phase of the evaluation derived primarily from focus groups and interviews with project steering group members and individuals referring into The Way Forward, drawn from cross-sectoral agencies with different remits as well as the analysis of some routinely collected monitoring data (see Table 18). Focus groups were chosen as an appropriate method to gauge the stakeholders' perspectives of the project and as a way to encourage interaction and dialogue between participants (Then et al. 2014). Two focus groups were facilitated by the evaluation team – one group consisted of individuals who had referred into The Way Forward (three participants) and another group comprised the project's steering group members (four participants). Two individuals, who had regularly referred into the project but were unable to attend the focus groups, were interviewed individually so that their perspectives could be ascertained. A focus group schedule was developed in line with the objectives for this stage of the evaluation and broadly covered the following key areas: participants' expectations and experience of the project, their understanding of how the local context influenced the way in which the project worked, the features of the project's success, features of the project that were replicable or transferable to other contexts and, finally, if/how the project would work in other areas.

Research ethics

The evaluation was given ethical approval through the ethics procedures of Leeds Beckett University (Leeds Metropolitan University at the time). The following practices were adhered to in order to ensure ethical rigour: informed consent – written consent was obtained from all participants in the focus group discussion and interviews; confidentiality and anonymity – no personal identifying information has been used in the reporting of the data; and secure information management – security was maintained through password-protected university systems.

Data analysis

The verbatim transcripts of the discussion groups and interviews were analysed using framework analysis. This is a tool that identifies key themes as a matrix where patterns and connections emerge across the data (Ritchie, Spencer and Connor 2003). The matrix was constructed using three main categories agreed on by members of the research team, linked to the overall evaluation objectives. The framework examined the project's operation, then its cross-sectoral working and, finally, the key components of the delivery model.

Findings

Organisational components for success

Across the data gathered, participants mentioned several “ingredients” that were critical for the success of The Way Forward. Four recurring issues were reported: firstly, the positioning of The Way Forward in the non-statutory sector; secondly, its ethos and values; thirdly, operation under statutory thresholds; and, finally, its holistic approach and early intervention. Each of these key themes is now discussed in further detail.

The positioning of The Way Forward in the non-statutory sector

Both referrers and steering group members suggested the benefits of the project being based in the voluntary rather than statutory sector. The flexibility and responsiveness of The Way Forward was mentioned, although being “distanced” from the perceived stigma of social workers, social services and other statutory bodies was seen as an advantage to engaging young women:

A lot of the times, you know, young people come to you and the last thing they want to do is work with a social worker. You know, they’ve had enough of that thank you very much. They have no trust for adults in their lives: parents, teachers, you name it, we’re all no good as far as they’re concerned, and yet I think that the Engagement Worker can come in on a different level that we have been able to. (Referrer)

The importance of consistency was also discussed. Those individuals currently providing statutory provision discussed the challenges within the sector and the way that young people may be passed from professional to professional. The Way Forward, however, was suggested to offer the young women a consistent point of contact (the Engagement Worker), where trust and rapport can be developed and nurtured:

The door’s always open. Now that’s something that a lot of young people have not experienced, consistency of worker. It isn’t necessarily something we could always promise because in every sector people have to move on, but within the statutory sector, it’s designed to throw people and children, young people, from professional to professional. (Referrer)

The limitations on professionals’ time and a lack of capacity within statutory services were noted across the data. Moreover, there was an expectation that professionals within the statutory sector “moved on” their client base to other services (a “tick box” culture, as one participant described it). This often meant that despite professionals’ best intentions, they were unable to dedicate the time, energy and resources that the Engagement Worker was able to with the young women:

If only, if only I had that time and that space! Thankfully, the Engagement Worker can fill that gap. (Referrer)

They [The Way Forward] were able to give the more detailed work that I wasn’t able to do in my current role. (Referrer)

Ethos and values

The underpinning ethos and values of The Way Forward was a prominent theme to emerge from the data. This was regarded as a critical component of the project's success to date. A discourse around "commitment" and towards women-centred ways of working was clear. Moreover, working principles such as listening and caring; working with young women on their own terms; and being available at any time were clearly articulated by participants:

We are fortunate, in that the Engagement Worker is superlative, but also, she is supported by the ethos of the women's centre which is non-judgemental, utterly dedicated to service users, to meet them on their terms, and to show that other people might have let you down, but we're not about that. (Referrer)

Operation under statutory thresholds

Participants were adamant that The Way Forward was addressing a gap in service provision and able to address the needs of young women who might not have met the criteria for statutory service provision. Many statutory services were reported to only work with individuals demonstrating high levels of need, with thresholds often too high for many individuals to access:

Thresholds for statutory services are such, and demands for statutory services are such, that a lot of young people, young women with needs are not getting those needs met. (Steering group member)

Participants suggested that The Way Forward was essential in working with young women who did not meet the criteria for statutory provision, but who still had health and social needs. Other services were often cited as an example where young women with low to moderate-level mental health issues were unable to access professional support:

You're battling against thresholds and criteria of organisations such as mental health services generally. (Steering group member)

Referrers and steering group members appreciated the way that The Way Forward was able to work with young women who might not have met the entrance criteria for other services. This was particularly beneficial for young women who did not display high-level need, but required early intervention and support:

Statutory services have got a very high threshold to be able to access that kind of thing ... for a lot of the young people, there's a lot of stuff going on for them, but there's nothing that tips them over into meeting the threshold for statutory services. So to be able to go "well, actually, I am worried about you. I can't put my finger on exactly what it is. I can't evidence specifically, but I know I don't want you floating about on your own without something." So, to be able to have a service that you can kind of signpost to is just really good. (Referrer)

Indeed, learning captured by the WomenCentre team in the delivery of the project showed that some of the young women had no obvious referral routes. Hence, while some young women discussed their needs and their way forward was identified

there was no organisation/agency able to provide self-development and emotional support in relation to confidence, self-esteem, reassurance, coping strategies and resilience building. For several of the engaged young women the nature of their vulnerability was non-specific and manifested in a variety of ways. Hence, while the multi-agency component of the project delivery was important, there was a need to grapple with differences in working arrangements and approaches between agencies that presented challenges for the cross-sectoral interactions within the project.

A holistic approach and early intervention

The ability of The Way Forward to work with young women earlier than many statutory services meant that there was potentially less likelihood of issues escalating for young women and of them falling through the net. In cases where young women had met the criteria for statutory services, it was often suggested that this intervention was delivered too late to be effective:

You've got this marvellous statutory provision, but there's this swathe of young women in between who are, they're going to come to those services eventually, but when it's possibly too late, and interventions would be ineffective. (Steering group member)

One steering group member neatly encapsulated the need for The Way Forward to intervene early with young women:

There was a glaring need for a service that had an earlier intervention approach. Trying to reach as early as possible, trying to look at what the need was earlier so that things didn't become as entrenched. (Steering group member)

The Way Forward was frequently juxtaposed against many other services that often had specific remits and functions. The project's attention to holism was seen as unique:

I think the holistic approach of The Way Forward and this early intervention with sort of preventative stuff is really, really unique. It's fantastic! (Steering group member)

Cross-sectoral working

At the core of The Way Forward was the philosophy of cross-sectoral working. Principles of working together were reported to manifest within the project in several ways, although information sharing between agencies seemed to be mentioned most frequently by participants. Information sharing enabled the work of the project to be conducted more efficiently, for example, in relation to avoiding duplication:

I also think the multi-agency approach is, well it's key...because at the point of referral we check with partners, to see if any girls and young women are known. To make sure we don't duplicate. So we're really checking from that multi-agency point, because we don't want to duplicate what's already happening. So we are checking from a multi-agency point of view, and that's working much better. We're more streamlined. We're checking with our key partners and then we pick up the work where there's unmet need, where nobody else is picking up that work. (Steering group member)

The cross-sectoral constituents of the steering group were also seen as pivotal to The Way Forward operating efficiently. Bringing together individuals with a plethora

of practice-based expertise from different areas and an understanding of women-centred approaches was seen as helpful:

I think it helps having a multi-agency steering group because there are a lot of us from different spheres. (Steering group member)

Some steering group members perceived the cross-sectoral partnerships as key to the longer-term sustainability of The Way Forward:

The multi-agency approach to the project is really vital, to the sustainability of it. (Steering group member)

Despite the general consensus that The Way Forward was operating successfully using a cross-sectoral approach, some respondents suggested that the composition of the steering group should be re-evaluated given the changing nature of the project from that originally conceived:

The project's changing slightly and developing and evolving, perhaps we need different people around that table, fresh new people around that table. (Steering group member)

Transferrable lessons for other contexts

There was general agreement that core features of The Way Forward model could be transferred and replicated in other geographical areas:

We know that each local authority is different, but there is that sort of model, the basis of that model, the core of that model could be done anywhere, I think. (Steering group member)

Most of the critical features that needed to be replicated in other areas have been discussed previously and in addition it was paramount that there be an experienced steering group driving the project and an Engagement Worker with the necessary skill-set to manage the challenges and complexities that young women may present.

It was suggested by respondents that the success of the project in Calderdale had been, in part, due to the smaller geographical size of the area and the ability to network more efficiently and easily with professionals in the district. Several individuals, therefore, suggested that the model could be integrated more successfully in areas similar in size to Calderdale. Some questioned whether the same close interaction between agencies and professionals would be possible in larger metropolitan areas because the model was derived from a thinking locally and acting locally framework:

I think because Calderdale's quite a small local authority, that sort of local, sort of, networks, people knowing each other, people talking to each other informally, as well as formally, works really well. That might be harder in a bigger place, say, for example, Leeds or Birmingham or somewhere like that. But I think, you know, it's quite a small family really in Calderdale, and I think that helps. (Steering group member)

Furthermore, evidence from the evaluation has enabled key issues to be distilled from The Way Forward and a project model has been suggested that can be potentially applied to other geographical contexts (see Figure 21). The model illustrates the centrality of the Engagement Worker's role in delivering the project, and in supporting

young women holistically. The model shows that this work is underpinned by the organisational components of success discussed within this chapter (ethos and values, holism, etc.), as well as cross-sectoral working.

Figure 21: Women-centred programme model

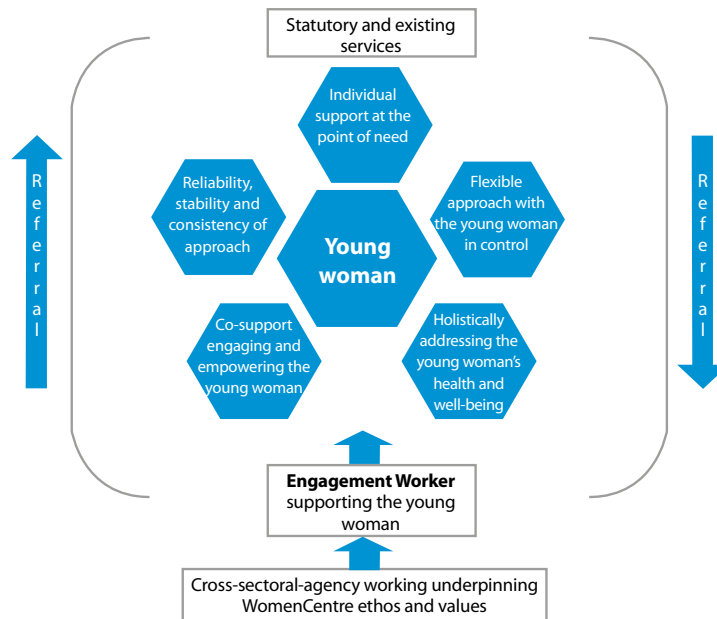


Figure 21 illustrates how agencies can work together to shape support for young women, avoid duplication and stop them from “slipping down” cracks between services. Flexibility on the part of the funders allowed the project to evolve according to the young women’s self-identified priorities. This meant the role of the frontline Engagement Worker also evolved into one of providing a consistent point of contact, case work and emotional support on an individual basis. The project was overseen by a cross-sectoral steering group, which drew together local knowledge and provided space for collaborative problem solving. Information sharing between agencies also enabled professionals to work more efficiently and avoid duplication. While local circumstances always vary, steering group members agreed that The Way Forward could be readily adapted to suit other locations.

Discussion

Findings from this aspect of the evaluation research help to elucidate the organisational components of success. A strong and recurring theme throughout the data was the positioning of The Way Forward in the voluntary and community sector. This positioning seemingly contributed to the particular successes of The Way Forward. It was clear from the respondents that The Way Forward and the staff working within

it were not stigmatised in the same way as statutory agencies, for example social workers or criminal justice professionals (Bove and Pervan 2013). A recent report notes that adolescent women often have a deep-seated mistrust of professionals who have failed them in the past; the report suggests that interventions focusing on this group must, therefore, work in different ways to statutory bodies (McNeish and Scott 2014b). This stigma is a growing challenge for statutory agencies, particularly as these views are often perpetuated and reinforced in the media (Zugazaga et al. 2006).

Those interviewees from statutory service backgrounds reported that their time was finite and their ability to work “long term” and across service boundaries with vulnerable young people was limited, despite their best intentions. These respondents, therefore, praised the ability of The Way Forward’s Engagement Worker to work longer term with young women and her tenacity in making contact and building rapport with service users (something that the statutory sector is frequently unable to do) was commended. The advantages of working outside of statutory bodies is clear and the Corston Report highlighted the way in which the voluntary sector could make a significant contribution to women-centred ways of working (Corston 2007). Since then, there has been explicit recognition that voluntary sector-run women’s centres are ideally placed to provide holistic services for low-risk women offenders with complex needs (Radcliffe, Hunter and Vass 2013). Findings gathered as part of this evaluation largely verify these comments, especially as The Way Forward works below statutory thresholds and can invest more time and energy in the young women than other agencies.

The ethos and values of women-centred working that permeates the project was another important component of success that was mentioned by respondents. The focus on gender-centred ways of working, or women-centred working, is informed by an understanding of what works for women. Moreover, the importance of services being located within a women-only, safe and enabling environment has been recognised. Many statutory bodies fail to work with a “gendered lens”, which means that services may be poorly tailored to the specific needs of very marginalised and “at-risk” young women. The evidence gathered in this evaluation resonates with recent work from Nicholles and Whitehead (2012), who argue that women’s community services have distinct ways of working; this includes providing support and empathy and creating a “family-style” environment. The Way Forward, via the Engagement Worker, was reported to be highly committed to women-centred ways of working and to core principles such as: providing individualised provision and support; listening and caring; consistency in approach; and meeting the young women where they are at, on their terms. The Engagement Worker’s approach was considered exemplary and it seems that this role is crucial if the model is to be replicated or transferred to other contexts. Indeed, the critical factor of the qualities of the Engagement Worker is central to the success of projects such as these (Jones 2014).

Prior evaluations have suggested the importance of “wrap-around” or holistic services for vulnerable women (Rice, Ahmad and Caldwell 2011). Evidence indicates that services that are tailored to individuals’ needs rather than “pigeonholing” women into specific services (i.e. mental health services, drug and alcohol services) is beneficial (Radcliffe, Hunter and Vass 2013). In respect to women with a history of offending in

the community, Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts (2007) advocate holistic approaches to enable women to address underlying social problems. The Way Forward was often engaged with by respondents who had previously been either referred or dealt with by other services with more specific remits, functions and threshold criteria. Thus, some young women were classified as being outside of other services' disciplinary boundaries, not meeting their thresholds, or deemed as having exhausted any service offers. In contrast, The Way Forward was able to work more holistically and in a more universal way with young women who regarded this as being advantageous and effective. This has also been reiterated in a recent review of effective interventions, which argued that interventions with young women need to be cross-cutting and holistic, and reflect the whole reality of women's lives (McNeish and Scott 2014b).

It is well recognised that agencies working together and information sharing is crucial for a holistic service model that addresses the needs of vulnerable women (Radcliffe, Hunter and Vass 2013). Steering group members involved in this evaluation perceived partnership working as critical for information sharing and avoiding duplication. This cross-sectoral approach was seen as providing a more efficient and co-ordinated service for the young women. Although participants noted that the constituents of the steering group could be extended to reflect the changing direction of The Way Forward, most commended the benefits of the collaboration in relation to the collective vision and understanding and the sharing of expertise. This largely resonates with the literature on effective cross-sector working, partnerships and collaborations (Green and Tones 2010). In this instance, the approach provided the steering group and staff with a greater understanding of other agencies' remits and service offers, a benefit cited within the wider literature (Atkinson, Jones and Lamont 2007).

The transferability of The Way Forward was widely discussed by the majority of participants, with the overwhelming consensus that the model could apply beyond the Calderdale locality. It is obvious that the application of the model needs to take into account the local context in which it is to be embedded, but critical components have been distilled from the evidence to produce a transferable programme model that has the potential to be deployed in other geographical contexts. Figure 21 depicts the programme model, including the centrality of the Engagement Worker if replication is to be executed successfully. Both the evidence presented in this report and other findings (Woodall et al. 2014; Warwick-Booth, Cross and Kinsella 2013; Warwick-Booth et al. 2015), show the lynchpin role that the Engagement Worker plays in project delivery. Nonetheless, the importance of the underpinning values, the multi-agency steering group, statutory service referrals and support are also demonstrated.

Conclusion

In summary, this evaluation highlighted that there were some prominent ingredients that respondents suggested were critical for the success of The Way Forward, which require consideration in future youth policy development. An operational programme model has been developed that can potentially be transferred to other contexts and settings (see Figure 21 and associated discussion earlier in this chapter).

Indeed, in order to transfer this model to other geographical contexts policy makers and commissioners of services need to pay attention to the following key lessons:

- ▶ the need for policies that support the creation and funding of gender-specific services that can offer holistic support for young people with complex and multiple needs;
- ▶ participants reported four key ingredients for The Way Forward's success: its positioning in the non-statutory sector; ethos and values; operation under statutory thresholds; holistic approach and early intervention. Policy makers need to pay attention to these in order to ensure successful service delivery of similar youth work programmes;
- ▶ an advantage of the cross-sectoral approach used in this model was that the project was able to reach some young women with needs and levels of distress that were not yet recognised or did not reach the thresholds for other services, and so was more inclusive and preventative than other agency approaches;
- ▶ cross-sectoral working was an important ingredient of The Way Forward and fundamental to how it operated. Partnership working was seen to manifest primarily in the cross-sectoral steering group, which offered strategic direction and vision. Policy makers need to encourage information sharing between agencies in support of efficiency and more effective delivery, given that cross-sectoral support is important for youth work success.

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Abbreviations

ANZAM	Australian and New Zealand Academy of Management
CSC	Cross-sectoral co-ordination
CSYP	Cross-sectoral youth policy
CYN	Cross-sectoral youth network
EaaS	Everything as a service
EC	European Commission
EKCYP	European Knowledge Centre for Youth Policy
EPYRU	Eastern Partnership Youth Regional Unit
EU	European Union
EYF	European Youth Foundation
EYPAR	Eastern Partnership Youth Policy Analytic Report
IaaS	Infrastructure as a service
ICC	Inter-agency Co-ordination Council
ICCCR	International Centre for Comparative Criminological Research
MSY	Ministry of sport and youth
NGO	Non-governmental organisations
NPM	New public management
NQSF	National quality standards framework
NSW	New South Wales
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PEM	Printed educational materials
TDF	Theoretical domains framework
YHRK	Youth health resource kit
YJB	Youth Justice Board
YOT	Youth offending teams

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Sandra Biewers-Grimm

Sandra Biewers-Grimm, MA, is a research associate at the University of Luxembourg. Since 2007, she has been working in the field of youth research within the Integrative Research Unit on Social and Individual Development (INSIDE). Her research interests include quality research, evaluation, youth work and youth policy and social management. Previously, she worked in the fields of youth research, evaluation and organisational research at the Cologne University of Applied Sciences and the Centre d'Études sur la situation des jeunes en Europe in Luxembourg.

Tanja Dibou

Tanja Dibou is a lecturer in youth work and youth studies at Tallinn University in Estonia. Tanja is also a researcher in the field of youth policy. Currently, she is writing her PhD thesis on the theme of an integrated approach in youth policy, specifically EU and Estonian youth policy in the context of multilevel governance. Tanja has also been working for a long time as a practitioner in the youth field. Her youth worker career started as a youth work information specialist at Tallinn Youth Centre, then continued as a youth work freelance trainer and project manager of international youth projects in non-governmental youth organisations in Estonia. Currently, she is also a specialist in youth career information and is a career consultant at the Lifelong Learning Guidance centres of the Foundation Innove in Estonia.

Theo Gavrielides

Since 2001, Theo Gavrielides has been the Founding Director of the IARS International Institute. He is also the Founder and co-Director of the Restorative Justice for All Institute (RJ4All). Apart from his NGO and practical experience, Theo is also active in academia. He is an adjunct professor at the School of Criminology (Centre for Restorative Justice) of Simon Fraser University as well as a visiting professor at Buckinghamshire New University. He also served as a Visiting Professorial Research Fellow at Panteion University of Social and Political Science (Greece) and a Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the International Centre for Comparative Criminological Research (ICCCR) at the Open University (UK). Theo is the Editor-in-Chief of the peer-reviewed journals *International Journal of Human Rights in Healthcare*, *Youth Voice Journal* and the *Internet Journal of Restorative Justice*. He enjoys writing and has had the pleasure of publishing on various social justice issues, restorative justice, equality and race equality, human rights and youth justice.

Yevgeniy Borodin

Yevgeniy Borodin received his University Diploma in History from Dnipropetrovsk State University and his Master's Degree in Public Administration from the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Institute for Public Administration; he defended his PhD dissertation on the issues of youth policy formulation and development in modern Ukraine (2007). He is the author of three monographs and many articles on youth policy. He has rich experience in the youth sphere as an NGO activist, public official and youth policy researcher. He has been involved as an expert in youth policy and programme design at national and regional levels, and was a national youth policy expert for UNFPA (2015). Now, he is working as First Deputy Director and Professor at the Dnipropetrovsk Regional Institute for Public Administration.

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The authors themselves reflect the diversity of the people involved in youth policy (policy makers, youth researchers, youth workers and workers in the field of youth) and this work represents their intention to provide these professionals – as well as others interested in the youth field – with the knowledge necessary to implement, in a real-life scenario, cross-sectoral youth policy.

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