Maarten Davelaar (Verwey-Jonker Institute, Utrecht, NL)
Jan Willem Duyvendak (University of Amsterdam, NL)
Trudi Nederland (Verwey-Jonker Institute, Utrecht, NL)

New governance on the frayed fringes of society

Conditions for the activation of homeless people

and drug addicts

Summary

This paper examines the relation between recent major social policy reforms in the Netherlands and relatively new forms of activation for the most marginal groups in society: rough sleepers, users of shelters for the homeless and drug addicts. The projects that have emerged since the mid-nineties include private and consumer-run initiatives, involving churches but also local service providers and businesses. In recent years, they have been adopted by local authorities as well. We present the initiatives' main features, and some indicators for their continuation and extension, including the conditions (laws and regulations, political support, et cetera) set by the local and national government.

First of all, this paper discusses the question what changes have been brought about by these bottom-up initiatives, compared to previous approaches of homeless people and problematic hard drug users. Are these work projects more successful in comparison with mainstream labour reintegration efforts for groups far removed from the labour market? Secondly, we discuss which new conditions for a new governance regime can be distilled from the bottlenecks we have determined, as well as from the potential factors for success. Third, we will deal with the question whether, with regard to successful projects, the actual developments in policymaking harbour any impetus towards the development of effective new governance regimes.

Introduction

Urban marginality constitutes an old and persistent problem. There is a growing awareness that it continues to exist or even to increase in advanced western societies (Mingione 1996, Wacquant 1999, Bauman 2001). Its causes are complex and diverse. The precise shape taken on by urban marginality continually changes, and differs from country to country, sometimes even from city to city. Yet, some of these manifestations return time and again: the often hidden presence of marginally housed men, women, and children; the clear visibility within the street scene of, - oftentimes mentally and physically not very healthy homeless people, drug addicts, and totally deranged people; the sense of insecurity these people evoke; and the actual inconvenience they cause in the form of the pollution of public space, the night-time disturbance of dealing and yelling, burglary, and other forms of criminality.

The basis of marginalisation processes is constituted in the first place by the development of individuals: psychosocial factors cause people to get into trouble and to 'sever the ties' with society. In addition, contextual factors play an important role: changes within society, like globalisation, migration, urbanisation and individualisation, and the (in)capacity of welfare state institutions to 'hold on' to people (Engbersen 1997). Neo-liberal reforms have made people more responsible for their life – overburdening those who lack competencies to do so. The problem of urban marginality makes great demands on the actions of the authorities. In many European countries, central or federal governments have developed a specific policy for the major cities, within which both the containment of the inconvenience caused by people living on the fringe of society, as their social integration constitute important elements (Uitermark & Duyvendak 2005). This is the case in the Netherlands, too. At the same time the responsibility for social policies (including social security policies) has increasingly shifted to the local level. Hereafter, we will discuss why, for these groups, this does not necessarily result in more tailor made policies. Even so, new governance, - meaning the search for new ways of distributing responsibility between the government and other actors, and for new forms of (network) steering, is high on the agenda.

1   Work projects for the homeless and drug addicts

Our nationwide study on work- and activation projects for homeless people and drug addicts (Davelaar et al, 2005) shows the importance for these groups of performing work. From the mid-Nineties on, within a short period of time a new, sizeable and diverse range of work- and activation projects for the homeless and addicted has emerged. The activities can be typified as something between volunteer work (day activities) and subsidised labour (reintegration). The work projects distinguish themselves from the daily occupation programmes offered, for instance, by care institutions, by their strong emphasis on work. They also differ from the regular reintegration trajectories, where the object is to again enable someone to perform paid labour within a short period of time (within six months, for example). Hardly employable as they are, the group of homeless and addicted people does not qualify for these trajectories.

The projects, of which eighteen were studied in some detail, are all concerned with the (almost) daily users of hard drugs and people with no regular, fixed place of residence: homeless people - (rough) sleepers, users of shelters, lodging house tenants, permanent inhabitants of so-called social pensions, and, to a limited extent, with people participating in projects for supervised living. Research shows a substantial overlap among the actual homeless (rough sleepers and users of shelters) and drug addicts, at least in the biggest cities (see Van Doorn 2002, Van der Poel et al, 2003). Figures on these groups in Rotterdam indicate that one in every three homeless individuals is a daily user of hard drugs. Almost one in every three drug addicts is also a rough sleeper or a user of shelters (Jansen et al, 2002). More than 50% of the actual homeless have an ethnic background. For inhabitants of social pensions, this figure is 26 % (Wolf et al, 2003). The homeless and problematic users of hard drugs frequently have both psychiatric and physical problems, and would be unable to cope in a regular job or in 'normal' subsidised 36- or 40-hour work schemes.

The content of the work and activation projects for the homeless and addicted consists, for instance, of cleaning up public space, making furniture, selling the newspaper of the homeless, and executing small jobs for temporary employment 'agencies'. The first projects almost all started outside or in the margin of third sector organisations. They came into being as independent, small-scale initiatives, set up by idealistic loners, through self-organisations or ad hoc combinations (like the co-operation between a former drug addict and a policeman, or between a church and an institution for social relief). Nowadays, they include private and consumer-run initiatives, but also local care providers, relief and coaching institutions for homeless and addicted people, and businesses. In recent years, municipalities also took the initiative to set up and co-finance projects in close co-operation with third sector organisations, which were supposed to run them afterwards. However, a bottom-up approach of activation and reintegration

still is a distinguishing characteristic for this field, as well as the frequent crossing of the boundaries between policy areas or social sectors.

The work is adapted to the target group. The people involved are unable to cope in regular or subsidised jobs. They do not have a stationary address and are unable to keep to fixed agreements. Mentally and physically, they are unfit to work a forty-hour week, and they cannot meet the requirement to kick their habit. In the Dutch cities, every day many hundreds of drug addicts and homeless people set to work in these projects.

The boom in projects should be viewed as a response to the desperation experienced in advocacy organisations, by professionals working in shelters and within the care and treatment of drug addicts, by politicians, and within the target groups themselves. The policy used to approach the homeless and the homeless addicted was limited to care and protection on the one hand, and punishment, routing, and detention on the other. No structural attention was paid to work and activation, by governments nor by the management of institutions for relief, or for the treatment and care for drug addicts.

If at all, labour integration only appeared in the picture when an individual's life was back on track in all other respects, which meant this only happened for a very small group. What remained for the rest were the already existing daily occupation programmes offered by shelters and care centres, which were very secluded and hardly contained any challenge. Within this context, the new work and activation projects emerged.

The mainstream reintegration wave of recent years, aimed at 'a job before an income', has for the most part passed these groups by. Since 2004, the municipalities have been responsible for the reintegration of people on welfare. Time and again, research has shown that the Social Services fail in reaching the people in the bottom drawers of their card-index boxes. A recent national study found that municipalities give priority to the most favourable groups. Those who are hard to employ get left behind in the card-index drawers (Edzes et al, 2006). A study into the net effect of reintegration policy in Rotterdam shows that the underprivileged are insufficiently steered towards reintegration trajectories. Although this study puts the contribution of these trajectories to the outflow towards paid employment into perspective, it does show that participation in them significantly shortens the period of time on welfare for all client groups. This also suggests that the effectiveness of this policy will be improved most by steering more underprivileged people towards these trajectories (Hekelaar et al, 2006).

2 Successful projects and indicators for further continuation

Our tour of the projects yields a subdivision into three types of occupational rehabilitation: daily wage projects, the new style daily occupation projects, and processes oriented towards labour reintegration in subsidised or regular labour.

- The daily wage projects were modified to suit the unpredictable nature of life on the street. The underlying assumption was that the participants would co-operate if they felt able to work. In return, the participants received direct payments: 'cash on the nail'. The tasks involved are clear and self-contained. Often, the participants are members of the groups which are more difficult to reach, notably the street scene. Because of the relatively high payments, these projects appeal in particular to drug addicts.
- The most important point of the new style daily occupation is the option for participants to perform work which they enjoy and fits their abilities. The working atmosphere must be pleasant, because both the perception of safety, and mutual contacts and support are extremely important. The projects are often integrated in multiple support processes in the field of accommodation and care. Often, the participants are people with a more or less stationary address, who benefit from structure in their lives.
- The labour-oriented trajectories (tailor made labour reintegration schemes) for former homeless people and drug addicts set out to provide the participants with the prospect of gaining 'real' employment. Yet, their working method differs substantially from many of the regular labour reintegration trajectories. With regard to their objective, for part of the participants the elevation to a higher level of participation is already 'celebrated' as a fine goal. The most important objective from the supervision's point of view is the learning of work-related skills. A pleasant atmosphere at work is a strong stimulus for the participants. The personality of the leader or on-the-job supervisor is crucial in the learning process: he is teacher, motivator and supervisor all in one. The participants are people who are capable of mustering up work discipline, and who are able to see today's effort in the light of a 'better life' tomorrow.

Table 1 Characteristics of some work and activation projects (2003-2004)

Starting year, initiators, type	Goals	Participants & activities	Scale, reported results (selection)	Financial & political support
Job Agency Topscore, Rotterdam, 1994. Private initiative by a lady who, as 'voluntary co-ordinator', directs the project and shares her house with drug users (I).	To teach people again how to work, and to let them regain their self-respect. To improve the image of drug addicts. "Stop talking about assistance. Put them to work and give them a roof over their heads."	(Homeless) addicts, including some 'illegal' addicts, work on a day to day basis, mainly cleaning up the streets and stations. Foremen are recruited from its own ranks.	Daily work for 100 people (300 regularly). Yearly, 20 exits towards regular employment (no trajectories involved). Participants take better care of themselves and their money & cause less public disturbance.	Public and commercial clients finance the daily wages. Semi-structural subsidy from municipality. Topscore decides autonomously on co-operation. Controversial. Effective political lobby.
Bureau Dagloon (Daily Wage), Utrecht, 2000. An initiative of the city of Utrecht, run by an addiction service & homeless services organisations (I).	To increase social participation and social recupera-tion. To teach people work discipline. Secondary goal: a better image and the reduction of public nuisance.	Participants from different back-grounds (homeless, with psychology-cal problems, with addictions) clean public spaces, do production work, or prepare mailings.	Appr. 25 people work each day, monthly 65 different individuals. Much turnover. Limited exit towards regular employment or trajectories in the city. More self-esteem. Cleaner neighbourhoods.	Public and commercial clients. Subsidy from municipality. Good relations with employers to encourage the exit towards regular employment. Part of the local 'integrated chain-care'.
Furniture Project Sandford & Zo, Rotterdam, 1998. Initiated by a furniture designer and -maker (ex-addict), adopted by a large homeless service & church which offers assistance to marginal people (II).	To contribute to the quality and the stability of the lives of homeless and addicted people. To prove that everyone can contribute to something good.	Homeless people and addicts produce furniture and gifts in a professional workshop, and receive 'cash on the nail'. Participants also learn other skills (supervised living).	Daily work for about 10 people. Regular work increases the quality of life. About 20 % of the participants are motivated and suitable for subsequent trajectories.	Starting funds given by the ministry & local authorities. Charities, revenues on sales. Close co-operation with other services. Both in line and in regular dispute with local policies.

Starting year, initiators, type	Goals	Participants & activities	Scale, reported results (selection)	Financial & political support
Het Twaalfde Huis (The Twelfth House), Groningen, 1997. Supported by a homeless service and an agency specialised in work and activation for the hardly employable (II).	To offer daily activities and to reduce nuisance. To support in all possible areas of life. To function as a safety net: people can always start again from here.	People with severe problems, causing nuisance are engaged in woodcraft, bicycle repair, sewing, and cleaning for companies and the municipality.	80 participants, regular core of 30. Measurable reduction of public nuisance. Small exit towards paid jobs.	The city of Groningen and commercial clients. Broad co-operation throughout the city, also with entrepreneurs. The contribution to a safer city is politically valued.
Labour-oriented trajectories 't Groene Sticht, Utrecht, 2003. Co-operation by working & living community Emmaus, a homeless service, a reintegration firm & city of Utrecht (III).	To stimulate the exit towards subsidised or regular labour (20% of the participants), to increase the level of social participation of the other 80%.	(Former) homeless people and addicts (in supervised housing) carry out odd jobs for neighbourhood residents, or are employed in second hand shop or furniture workshop.	25 trajectories, 50% of the participants finish their trajectories. More structure in the lives of the homeless. Some exit towards paid employment. The motivation for supervised housing is increased.	The social service purchases trajectories from a commercial reintegration firm. Emmaus and a homeless service execute the trajectories. Embedded in municipal networks of homeless and addiction services.
Woon-werkproject (Working and Living Project), Amsterdam, 1999. Initiated by a newspaper for the homeless, the Salvation Army, and a regional sheltered workshop organisation (III).	Supervised living and subsidised employment. Ultimate goal is the exit towards regular employment. To offer case-management in case of debts, legal problems, health- and income problems.	Motivated homeless (no problematic hard drug users) are coached in all important aspects of life for a maximum of two years. For each individual a tailor-made form is established.	54 trajectories (2003). 2001-2003: a success rate of 60% (a minimum of 6 months of self-reliant work): 50% goes to work in a sheltered workshop, 50% in subsidised reintegration jobs.	Large, regional sheltered workshop organisation carries the project. Additionally, trajectories are purchased by the social service. Chain co-operation with other specialised services.

Some findings on output and outcomes

When we look at the projects' output and outcomes, the following points are the most important. First, most projects do reach the target group: those avoiding help, the unwilling, 'policy-resistant' characters. They succeed in attracting and binding people with extraordinarily problematic living conditions.

A second important conclusion is that work is of great importance for homeless people and addicts, both on an individual and on a group level. Participation in work and motivation supports these people in restoring their self-respect and discovering or rediscovering their qualities. Participants develop a perspective for putting their lives back on track. In this process, an important 'product' of the projects in our study is that they provide an identity: groups with a negative self-image, the object of regulations and predominantly passive consumers of services, are regaining their lust for life, feeling they belong somewhere. In this, the nature of the work activation projects plays a part: they consist of a great deal of self-organisation, placing the responsibility for the projects' success on the shoulders of the target group, in combination with committed supervision.

A third conclusion of our research is that the wider society also benefits from the participants' restored self-esteem and new perspective: finance providers and officials (policy makers in departments of work and income, and of care, police officers and neighbourhood representatives) observe a positive effect on the liveability of neighbourhoods and districts (less people hanging around on the streets, less petty theft in certain areas). The limited scientific evidence available on the projects' outcome also indicates significant results.

Indicators for a successful continuation

By analysing successes and hindrances, we identified several indicators on which a successful continuation or extension of work and motivation projects must be substantially based, the most important of which are:

- the degree to which occupational rehabilitation is based on the following working methods:
  - creating or emulating a real work setting;
  - emphasising and matching people's capabilities;
  - personal, long-term contact between participant and supervisor;
  - -the active pursuit of a different balance for each group and individual between the correct protection, stability and incentives;
  - -'cash on the nail': a reasonable reward is an important incentive.
- the degree to which projects – in close co-operation with others - are able to fill gaps in the throughput and output in the area of work and motivation;
- the degree to which work and motivation projects can strengthen people's basic social network in a sustainable way (e.g. by enhancing the contact between participants, the contact with employers, and intensive and committed counselling);
- the degree to which projects - in co-operation with others - are able, either directly or indirectly, to improve the accommodation situation of their participants;
- the degree to which projects are able to clarify results and impacts on all levels (i.e. the perceived benefit on an individual level, results and impacts on a group level, and impacts on the level of people in the surroundings, e.g. in terms of harassment and safety).

Strengthening the infrastructure for work and activation

These indicators for a successful continuation are of great importance for future initiators and for the public authorities, NGOs and charities who might consider financing them. However, for the sector as a whole, more is required to be successful. In order to strengthen the infrastructure for work and motivation of homeless people and addicts, the projects should strive for more co-operation, for instance with regard to the exchange of commercial knowledge and lobbying. In the eyes of all those involved on the local level, the national government has to enable local authorities to create or maintain a good local offering of work and motivation projects, containing a mix of the three project types we mentioned before (preferably modified in the future by way of a new type of flexible, long-term labour contract for these groups). Local authorities should be allowed to come to deviating agreements about deviating forms of labour integration, aimed at groups of social service clients with extraordinary living conditions. This involves the issues on which the projects clash most violently with national and local policy enforcement: the conditional release of the amount of extra earnings; the direct payment of these extra earnings ('cash on the nail') by the supervisors or foremen, instead of a settlement in arrear with the sum of the benefit received; the possibility to keep people on a specific trajectory for a longer time, or to couple trajectories; and the possibility to bring together in one project people with different background with regard to their benefit (social assistance, unemployment benefits, disability benefits, or people without social security rights).

Local authorities have to provide those projects that have proven to be effective with support and room to manoeuvre. In addition, they should provide a varied supply of work activation activities. The different types of project reflect the different pivotal points seized by people to try and get their lives back on track again; they appeal to people for different reasons. All together, they can take care of the influx, flow, and outflow, as well as 'a soft landing' in case someone drops out. As we conclude from our study, such a supportive policy is far from self-evident. Both the projects and their participants are under pressure. This brings us to the problems and opportunities of this field, which can be placed under the denominator of governance issues.

3 Conditions for New Governance in relation tot the activation of marginal groups

How should policy making look that wants to support the further development of an activating approach of homeless and addicted people? Well, not as traditional forms of government. We have to look at new forms of governance instead. Talking about governance instead of in terms of government, and the growing prominence of terms like networks, complexity, deliberation and interdependence, in relation to the state, power, institutions, loyalty, is more than a shift in vocabulary as Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) demonstrate: "The emerging vocabulary of governance speaks to a widely acknowledged change in the nature of politics and policymaking. The prominence of the new vocabulary also illustrates a widespread dissatisfaction with the limited reach of 'set solutions' to thorny political issues imposed through top-down government intervention. One of the virtues of the vocabulary of 'governance' is the way it opens up the cognitive commitments implicit in the thinking about governing and political decision-making. The language of 'governance' seems to help practitioners and theorists alike to unlearn embedded intellectual reflexes and break out of tacit patterns of thinking". (Hajer & Wagenaar 2003: 2).

Here we encounter on three aspects to the change towards governance:
- it captures changes in the "real world";
- it goes along with new political strategies and administrative attitudes;
- and it appeals to the necessity to change our way of looking at politics and policymaking in order to make sure we can really learn of "what it exactly is that is 'new' about our reality".

Hajer and Wagenaar warn against the "widespread tendency among analysts to describe the changing reality in terms of key macro-sociological processes" like globalisation, individualisation, emancipation or the technological revolution, "without really showing the mechanisms at work." (Ibid: 4) Instead analysts should focus on concrete manifestations of policymaking and politics, drawing on an interpretative or deliberative analysis of policymaking. The aim should not to be to promote governance as an alternative approach, "the search is not for the general laws, or the 'essence' of governing in the network society. Right now we aim to focus on the variety of ways in which governing occurs." (Ibid: 6).

New sites, new actors and new themes are brought in like expansive democracy, characterised by increased participation, for example by involving persons who are affected in decision-making and *the diffusion of politics* (Duyvendak 1997). Or the analysis of shifts and instability in networks, of society as made of open and unstable structures.

Other authors on governance stay more close to classical-modernist approaches of policy and polity. For Carmel & Papadopoulos (2003) for example, the concept of governance is a tool to look at political-administrative issues by analysing their

content and process. Governance refers to a form of political regulation or 'steering' of social subjects – i.e. individuals, social groups or organisations – initiated, organised and partially controlled by an actor or actors vested with the political authority to act in an area of public policy. In their approach governance involves the functioning of a 'traditional' political actor, yet related to some 'new' aspects. In the first place, the relations of a particular actor are emphasised: his attitude towards other actors. Governance becomes a strongly relational concept, which revolves around the relative dependence on, or independence of, the assistance of other actors, and the co-operation and conflicts arising from this.

Secondly, the concept of governance is used to focus on the interaction between the content of policy, principles, objectives and intended outputs on the one hand, and the operational policies on the other. "The analytical power of the concept is that it allows enough flexibility to separately analyse both formal and operational policy while simultaneously highlighting their unity: the means (operational policy) are connected to the needs: the how of doing affects the what of formal policy and vice versa" (Carmel & Papadopoulos, 2003).

Used in combination with the preposition 'new', the concept contains the promise of new roads toward a more efficient and effective government and refers more exclusively than governance to (the analysis) of attempts by authorities to improve their performance in the network society.

New Governance is often used in connection with urban policies, as a response to the late 20th-century, early 21st-century problems in Western cities. This concept is deployed as a policy theory that looks for ways to improve on the government's performance, but also as a framework used to describe and analyse a number of empirical developments in the governmental attitude. Central to New Governance are networks, co-operation, and interactive participation during both the designing and the implementation process of policy.

It is a reaction to the failure of hierarchical administrative government structures to respond to the social needs of an ever more diverse population (Wälti & Kübler, 2003). Starting from the conclusion that the state can no longer do it on its own, New Governance fixes the attention on a new distribution of tasks between civil society, the open market, and the government, which should lead to better social results: better services, a more effective contribution of civil society to the solution of social problems, and a government that is more supportive and steering more cleverly. Finally, the objective of New Governance is to make government more democratic: the new attitude of government institutions goes together with participation by the consumers of government services, and with efforts to design interactive policy (Wälti & Kübler, 2003; Davelaar et al, 2003).

Not all authors go as far as Wälti and Kübler who in a study on the development of the Swiss policy on drugs deploy the concept of New Governance as a synonym for self-organising networks: "the central argument advanced in favor of self-organizing networks (…) is its capacity to enhance the responsiveness and quality of public policies by bringing together a wide range of public agencies and private organisations." (Wälti & Kübler 2003, p.500). This capacity should result in better government, by allowing clients and associations to get involved in the provision of services.

Using the concept of New Governance is by no means unproblematic. Firstly, as before mentioned, the distinction between description of actual changes, policy theory or policy strategy, and a – provisional - analytical framework is not always clear. Secondly, although we tried carefully to bring together five 'preconditions'

for New Governance in activation that are consistent and reflect insights from both literature and policy practice, we are aware of the diverging and sometimes conflicting developments that are labelled as New Governance.

While sharing the same point of departure – the failure of hierarchical administrative government structures – authors opt for different ways out.

For some, new forms of urban governance seem just a smart and fashionable way of strengthening classic political leadership via the introduction of entrepreneurial urban management (Van den Berg et al, 2001). These authors run the risk to intermingle New Governance and New Public Management, including the dominant tendency in the latter to focus exclusively on a reduction of the 'implementation deficit' by confronting service providers with all kinds of goals, targets and accountancy obligations. One of the arguments against New Public Management is that it creates a world of paper measures with only limited insight in the implementation of policy proposals, in fact distracting attention from practice (Van der Schaar 2003).

The Dutch Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR), criticises in its report Proofs of good service provision (2004) the dominant administrative model, with its separation between policy and implementation, objectives and means and its emphasis on supervision and control. In general, the model does not improve the service to citizens, clients and patients. According to the WRR, the government should put more trust in the initiatives of professionals and directors of health care, education, public housing, welfare and employment institutions. Their position and the input from clients can be strengthened by among others: organizing active and involved 'opposite numbers', providing for appropriate public accounting and restrained, cohesive and selective supervision. In The learning government (2006), the Council examines the role of politics from the necessity that the government will have to take into account that it must share competences and responsibilities with other parties. In the Councils' view, the dissatisfaction among the general public with the implementation of policies, is falsely encountered with solutions that rest in the 'vertical tradition' of politics. The primacy of politics has to be restored, leadership re-established, tasks and responsibilities streamlined. More supervision, new procedures and better communication processes are demanded. However, 'untamed problems', with a high degree of cognitive and normative uncertainty (like the problem of urban marginality) need a different approach. Politicians and state officials should instead promote a vision on 'the learning government', on collective action, on deliberative policymaking, on the 'horizontal tradition' of politics.

For others New Governance is about neo-liberal tendencies towards less government and more market. That is where New Governances really comes close to the New Public Management approach. New Public Management aims at applying a set of business management principles and techniques to public organisations in order to achieve improvements in their performance. These management principles would transform bureaucratic governments into entrepreneurial organisations. Osborne and Gaebler (1992), seen as founding fathers of New Public Management, are convinced that these organisations are capable of empowering citizens and civil society better than traditional government. Hajer en Wagenaar view the introduction of managerial language and practices in some new systems of governance as a development challenging traditional policymaking processes with no clarity about its reach and impact yet.

With these risks of mixing different views and schools of thought in mind, and from our appreciation of the emphasis New Governance places on the qualities of networks, the role of informal initiatives in civil society, and the input of clients and citizens in the policy process, we still consider it valuable to continue the

search for concrete manifestations of New Governance, drawing on an interpretative analysis of the activation of marginal groups.

Preconditions for New Governance

From the analysis of our case of activating projects and welfare policies for urban outcasts, five aspects quite forcefully come to the fore which also figure in the before mentioned New Governance literature. We consider these to be preconditions for effective New Governance in activating marginal groups:
1. substantial and sufficient policy co-ordination on and between all levels of government;
2. a consistent decentralisation of tasks and responsibilities of relevant national government policies;
3. openness and a plurality of networks composed of public agencies and civil society organisations regarding the contributions to policy formulation and policy delivery;
4. the existence of forms of participation of service users, directly or via associations;
5. room for experiences on the level of operational policies to influence policy goals, key principles and guidelines, and vice versa (a mutual influencing between the 'what' and the 'how' of government

4 Some recent developments in governance

Keeping in mind these empirically distilled conditions for effective New Governance while activating marginal groups, we will now discuss three recent developments in governance concerning this field in order to be able to judge in the Conclusion whether these developments converge with the distilled conditions.

The success of the activation of homeless people and drug addicts is very dependent on the political-administrative context, the conditions created within it, and the removal of obstacles from it. During the nineties, within Dutch social policy a change of paradigm set in, shifting the emphasis from protection to activation. A somewhat underexposed element in this process was the accompanying shift of focus from collective to individual responsibility. Today, these shifts have been made concrete in two vast revisions within Dutch social policy: the change of the safety net function of the social security system, through the reformed Work and Social Assistance Act (WWB) and the Social Support Act (WMO). In addition to this, policy specifically aimed at ending homelessness and disturbances caused by (addicted) homeless people has been intensified extensively.

Decentralisation within the social security system: the Reformed Social Assistance Act

According to the current trend of personal say and individuality, illness, disability, and unemployment are to be seen as risks that can be influenced by the individual. As a result, the recent adaptations within the social security system mainly consist of financial incentives, meant to activate people to take on this responsibility.

In the Reformed Social Assistance Act (WWB), almost all incentives are aimed for the shortest possible road to paid employment. There is a two-week waiting period, for instance, before people get their social security payment. During those two weeks they are obliged to actively apply for jobs and prove it, too. The principle of 'Work First' is massively applied to bring down the number of new entitlements to social security benefits, and countless house calls are made. The release of extra earnings as a supplement to the social assistance payment has been abolished. Bonuses and premiums are now almost all to be had only if paid employment has become a real prospect.

The homeless, too, cannot evade these incentives and the stricter enforcement that comes with them. In Amsterdam, for example, social benefit for the homeless has recently been differentiated. Homeless who live on the streets receive 50 % of the minimum wage. When they can prove (through signed forms) they use night shelter facilities, they receive 60 %. When they are involved in a reintegration trajectory, they are entitled to 70 % (the common level of social assistance benefit). Analogous to the house calls made to applicants for social security benefit (meant to find reasons to refuse them their entitlement), officials now set out to check whether homeless individuals really spend the night on the locations they have indicated by making so-called 'shrubbery visits'. In accordance with the idea of individualisation, the target groups have disappeared from policy. Thus, municipalities are no longer allowed to identify groups as being in need of extra income support: they are only allowed to do this on an individual level. Before, the activation projects for the homeless partly depended on this target group support, because this enabled municipalities to allow projects to reward participants with modest payments, and to subsequently class this as income support. In this way, the changes brought on by the Reformed Social Assistance Act cause a breach in the financial foundation of the projects.

All in all, the stricter implementation of the income support for individuals means more work for the municipalities. At the same time, they now have less room, both with regard to finances and to content, to design made-to-measure labour integration programmes for these individuals, especially when this involves people who are far removed from the labour market. We characterise this as a deficient decentralisation, dictated by the dominant objective of the reduction of the number of social security entitlements, special benefit entitlements, and releases of extra income regulations.
This situation led to tensions on the local level. Projects were put under pressure to cut in the 'cash on the nail' arrangements or to reduce 'working hours' to, in most cases, eight hours a week. Some municipalities who did not want to reduce the scope of the work and activation projects, for fear of losing contact with those hard to reach again, tolerated sub-legal practices.
Recently, there have been indications that the municipalities have started to seriously worry about the bottom layers of their database of social assistance clients. As a consequence, the conflict between projects and the local authorities was re-routed, turning into a conflict between the responsible Ministry on the one hand, and local authorities and work and activation projects on the other. In 2006 there was some movement on the issue of the extra earnings to be allowed to people receiving a (partial) social assistance benefit. In addition, some creative municipalities also weld together different trajectories, to enable them to keep people involved in these programmes for a longer time.

The Social Support Act

The advent of the Social Support Act (WMO) has shed new light on the efforts to increase labour participation at the bottom of the labour market. The phased introduction of the WMO, starting on 1 January 2007, might be interpreted by the municipalities as a chance to realise extra efforts regarding the activation and reintegration of groups at the bottom of the labour market. After all, coherent local social policy to enable and stimulate the participation of all citizens, implemented in close proximity to citizens by a municipality well equipped for this task, was the most important objective of the WMO bill (House of representatives TK 30131, nr.3, p.2, 2005). The Social Support Act places the responsi-

bility for social support exclusively on the plate of the municipalities. Each municipality must see to it that each of its citizens is enabled to fully participate in society. How to organise this social support is a matter which each municipality is allowed to decide for itself. The idea is that the municipality is better equipped to adapt the existing services to someone's personal circumstances, since it possesses more insight in the local situation than the national government.

The Social Support Act can be seen as a renewal of governance. The Dutch government speaks of co-operation, integrality, the investment in knowledge alliances and in the innovative capacity of those making and implementing policy, and of supervisors. In this context, the Ministry of Health, Welfare, and Sports want to put more emphasis on the so-called 'horizontalisation' of accountability.

The Act recognises nine fields of achievement, of which the following are relevant for policy regarding urban marginality:

- the stimulation of the social coherence and liveability of villages, districts, and neighbourhoods;
- cliënt support;
- the promotion of both the social participation and the independent functioning of people with a handicap, or a chronic psychological or psychosocial problem;
- the provision of homeless services, the promotion of public mental health care, and the promotion of policy on drugs.

A potential danger of the Social Support Act is that it will mean the 'end of the line' for groups which cannot be activated through the 'Work first' projects of the Reformed Social Assistance Act. The WWB-Monitor, issued by the organisation of managers of Social Services, Divosa, states that more than half of the total of 330.000 people entitled to welfare has no prospect whatsoever of getting regular employment (Edzes et al, 2006). According to Divosa, people who are no longer able to work should not be subject to an Act primarily geared towards steering people to the labour market. Instead, while acknowledging their limitation or disability, this group should be enabled to participate in society in another way. For this, new services either inside or outside the framework of the Reformed Social Assistance Act are needed. In Divosa's view, the most obvious conclusion would be to get part of this group activated under the regime of the Social Support Act. However, to make this possible, the Social Support Act will need more development in the direction of activation, first. In other words, the Social Support Act will have to change from a 'care' Act to a 'participation' Act.

The say of homeless people and drug addicts

In theory, the implementation of the Reformed Social Assistance Act (WWB) and Social Support Act (WMO), means new chances to influence policy on a local level. The question is, however, how the homeless and others can get a significant say in this process.

The current client participation within municipalities is the product of the health care and social assistance regime. In addition, many of the existing bodies for advice and say target elderly people (senior councils). At this moment, most of the client participation is part of the implementation of the specific policy or logic of one particular department. As yet, there is no integral vision on the municipalities' expectations of the councils in relation to the Social Support Act: about the requirements the members of the councils should meet regarding their competencies; about the possible gains of client participation, about the relation

between citizen participation and client participation, et cetera. In this respect, there still is a lot to be done by both municipalities and citizens.

Formal forms of participation, moreover, are much more developed than informal forms of participation. In order to involve homeless people in municipal policy relevant to them, especially informal forms of participation are needed. Thus, a representative of an interest group for the homeless states: "We don't want to get caught in a bureaucratic straitjacket; for us, that is all so remote." (Nederland & Davelaar, 2006: 6). At this moment, only a few Dutch municipalities are giving serious thought to the question how to communicate with this group. One municipality considers organising a thematic meeting in its winter shelter for the homeless.

The Action Plan for homeless services

With the 2006 Action Plan for homeless services, the four big cities and the government aim at an individually oriented, less noncommittal approach of the homeless. One of the goals of the new plan is for all 10.000 homeless people in the four biggest cities to have drawn up a trajectory plan before 2010, which will provide them as much as possible with an income, care, and employment. By that time, disturbing behaviour must have decreased as well. The Plan targets all the homeless, but gives special attention to those avoiding care and people with severe addiction and psychological problems.

Another objective of the Plan is to improve the co-ordination of policy between the Ministries involved, as well as between the Ministries and the big cities. For that matter, the Plan itself constitutes an ambitious step in this direction.

Under pressure of local politicians and officials, within this Plan activation has won a modest spot, where an earlier national strategy of 2004 still started from the double-track policy of care on the one hand, and coercion and punishment on the other (House of Representatives T.K. 29325, nr. 2, 2004-2005). In the current Plan, however, work still represents the least elaborated aspect.

5

Conclusion: New Governance in the activation of marginal groups: achievements and challenges for the future

To conclude this paper, we will deal with the question whether the actual policy developments fit in with what we sketched earlier as the conditions for effective New Governance, related to the field of work and activation. Have these conditions (partly) been met, or is there still a life-size gap with the policy practice?

The first cautious steps towards policy co-ordination and integration

Ideally, the policy co-ordination regarding the activation of marginal groups should take place along two lines. On the one hand, general policy should be set up in such a way that it encourages the activation of specific groups, or at least will not invite unintended, perverse results, as in the case of the deactivating effect of the Reformed Social Assistance Act. Work or other forms of daily occupation should, on the other hand, be integrated in the specific supervision, care and treatment of these groups.

Despite the fact that the revisions of the Social Assistance Act and Social Support Act both aim for activation, we have to conclude that within national policy too little attention is being paid to activation and work for these groups. More attention from both politicians and administrative bodies is needed. Public authorities – with important exceptions on the local level - devote insufficient structural attention to the fact that work and motivation do provide homeless people and addicts with the prospect of better living conditions, and also help reduce the social nuisance caused by these people.

However, when we look at the total picture, the homeless and care organisations, too, have only just started to organise work activation for their clients, making the turn from regarding work as the final piece of these groups' social recovery to regarding it as a step which must be part of every phase of the recovery programme. Despite their endorsement of the necessity of outflow, participation, and reintegration in society, many organisations still spend the lion's share of their energy solely on relief and providing shelter. Of course, there is also another side to this picture: that organisations now see both the necessity and the opportunities of work activation constitutes an essential change compared to how it was ten years ago.

Finally, the most important problem in many municipalities is the high wall between the Social Services (those implementing the functions of the social safety net and reintegration) and the services for care and welfare. As the

governance renewal it is, the Social Support Act might at least crank up these relations, replacing the rickety municipal bridges by sturdy connections between work and income on the one hand, and living, welfare, and care on the other. Anyway, an operation seems appropriate to catch up through giving a more prominent place to work and motivation in the approach to homeless people and addicts. We see the first impetus for this in the above mentioned 'Action Plan' of the four big cities and the responsible Ministries. Without breaking off with the dominant two-track perspective, work for homeless people is now included in it as a central goal. Heavy pressure by the municipalities involved has resulted in the creation of openings, which allow them to locally deal with the release of payments for (volunteer) work in a more flexible and generous way.

With this, the distinction between activities aiming for reintegration in paid employment and other forms of activation, more resembling volunteer work, again becomes somewhat blurred. This is in clear contradiction with some of the basic assumptions of the Reformed Social Assistance Act. This fact, together with the absence of a sound effort to put the goal of work for the homeless into real operation, makes it uncertain whether the catch-up operation will take root. Yet, in the meantime, there now is more room for made-to-measure programmes for marginal groups.

Deficient decentralisation

And this is necessary in the light of our second conclusion, that the deficient decentralisation of the Reformed Social Assistance Act, and partly of the Social Support Act, has created too little room on the local level to put flesh on the participation of the fringe of society. The decentralised tasks and competencies of the municipalities are insufficient to enable them to activate marginal groups. There is insufficient room for specific policy, the reason why the predicted positive effects on initiatives for the activation of groups far removed from the labour market failed to occur.

Decentralisation is an important movement in the search for new modes of governance. According to an OECD report on managing decentralisation, as cited in Van Berkel & Van der Aa (2004) it is only implementable through a local mode of governance, including a co-ordination of policies, an adaptation of policies to local conditions, and the participation of civil society and business in the determination of measures. Van Berkel and Van der Aa state that "these components do play a role in the Dutch debate and policy reforms. However, they are not the main *driving forces* underlying these reforms. The main objective of Dutch government seems to be a reduction of the numbers of social assistance recipients through effective and efficient activation.(…) it saw decentralisation as an instrument to realise this objective." (van Berkel & Van der Aa, 2004: 14). According to their analysis, central regulation in the shape of a tight financial regime was deemed to be necessary, in order to prevent the discretionary powers of the local authorities from hindering the central objective of reducing the number of people entitled to social security benefits. Van Berkel and Van der Aa call this variant "decentralisation by devolving financial responsibilities to local authorities" and point out the tensions it evokes: only a limited, embedded activation in the interest of a flexible labour market (with little emphasis on the development of the capacities of people); more emphasis on responsibilities than on made-to-measure programmes and the importance of the voice and choice of clients, contrary to the stated points of departure of this policy; and the skimming off of the better employable clients from the files of the Social Service.

This joint implementation of a decentralisation and a centralist-disciplinary tendency, as much directed at those entitled to social security benefit as at local authorities, explains the reserve of municipalities to come up with their own versions of local programmes for the work activation of fringe groups. Yet, our study shows that there are municipalities who devise their own programmes anyhow. There is a little manoeuvring room to do this, as the responsible Ministry never fails to emphasise. Local administrators endorse this claim, adding, however, that much additional energy and political will are needed to find and stretch the limits of the legal possibilities.

Openness and pluriformity in chain co-operation not self-evident

The next governance theme also revolves around political will: the government's attitude in networks or 'co-operation chains', an omnipresent notion in Dutch public administration and social policy, borrowed from manufacturing.
The Dutch government aims for a lot of initiative and contributions from the informal civil society in local social support structures. The field of work and activation of homeless and addicted people is primarily a product of private, independent initiatives. Does this mean that this mission has succeeded? In reality, the government has trouble giving room to civil society. On the one hand, decision makers and departments do value the dynamic emerging from (informal) associations and networks. The government likes to join the forms of co-operation that unexpectedly present themselves (government/profit/non-profit). On the other hand, however, it appeals to the necessity to come to a co-ordinated effort, based on shared goals, as seen in its highlighting of chain co-operation aimed at the problem of the homeless. Within this approach, the niches for non-governmental organisations are clearly defined and limited to the implementation phase of policy.
In addition to this, with regard to urban marginality, the local government claims ever more competencies. Research shows the significance of this more active role in situations where civil society initiatives fail to occur. Where there already are many initiatives, this active attitude can stimulate the co-operation in networks or chains. Our study shows that these networks or chains are of crucial importance for the success of bottom-up activation projects. Yet, at the same time, two trends hinder the flourishing of these initiatives when they are not supported by strong parent organisations. Firstly, in or next to the dominant chains there is sometimes no room left for a private initiative. Larger organisations use it all up, while the bottom-up initiatives cannot or will not always meet the obligations of the chain co-operation. Secondly, the local government directs the process, increasingly through centralising methods: via central counters and client following systems, it determines who needs to be coached or taken care of in what way.
However, even when the government interprets its directive role truly as 'stimulating others to provide good teamwork', the question remains whether the openness and pluriformity in making and implementing policy can be preserved. Wälti and Kübler (2003) doubt that self-organising networks occupied with local drug-related problems really contribute to a greater pluriformity of participants in the designing and implementation phases of policy. They observe that "self-governing networks indeed seem to have increased the involvement of civil society organisation in the policy process. However, we also find evidence that self-governing networks may in the longer run induce state control over civil society organisations, thus ultimately reducing associative pluralism. They do so either by imposing a policy paradigm or by excluding actors who do not comply

with the dominant paradigm from the networks." (Wälti and Kübler 2003). Beside this, a last paradox to be mentioned here is that local government actually asks organisations to both compete (contracting-out policy) and co-operate with each other at the same time.

Underdevelopment of client participation

As we saw before, client participation as advocated and made obligatory by the Social Support Act on the municipal level to a large extent still has to be developed. This applies to homeless people and drug addicts even more. In our vision, the field of labour could be an important proving ground for this development. Doing 'real' work turns out to be very important for the identity formation of homeless people, and according to them greatly contributes to the improvement if their living conditions and self-esteem. To have an employed existence ends the vicious circle of the often multiple, hopeless problems with which these people struggle. Thus, the importance attributed to work by homeless people and drug addicts provides a valuable starting point for finding, involving, and listening to these groups when designing or implementing new services and measures. And the workfloor itself could proof to be a meeting point for public officials and citizens from the fringes of society.

Room for innovation arising from practice

The last precondition is that, freely translated, policy should be guided by good practices. Has this been the case here? Although it is difficult to give an assessment while skipping the local differences, we are inclined to answer this question positively. The sensitivity for the bottlenecks and successes of the projects has clearly grown, regardless of their genesis or their distance from the government. The projects have succeeded in securing local political-administrative support. I doing so, they have been able to preserve their own character. A number of municipalities have copied productive formulas, as well. Finally, the cities have lobbied effectively for less stringent regulations regarding the extra earnings of the participants of these projects.

Where necessary, the local authorities also use their lobbying successes to keep projects more in line, or to make their methods uniform with regard to accountability, the amount of payments, and the selection of participants. Likewise, the big cities' and Ministries' joint Action Plan for homeless services might result in a top-down uniformisation and premature 'coagulation' of new practices.

However, a strengthened learning process between levels of governance and between sectors is just as likely a possibility, resulting in the development of strong local infrastructures for work and activation, with a good assortment of effective approaches.

Table 2 New Governance on the activation of marginal groups?

General Attributes of New Governance	Conditions for New Governance regarding the activation of marginal groups	Actual developments in Governance (2003-2006)
Policy co-ordination	General policies for activation and social support should enforce specific policies on urban marginal people; Perspective of labour participation integrated in the approach of marginal people on all levels.	Co-ordination on the local and national level has improved, but work is still insufficiently integrated. Protection (the care perspective) and punishment (the nuisance perspective) dominate, while the perspective of activation continues to be secondary.
Decentralisation	Decentralisation should be consistent: enough room for local policy through balanced means, tasks en responsibilities.	Decentralisation is deficient: local government has been made financially responsible for the welfare expenditures, but has also been burdened with a straitjacket of regulations that leaves little room for made-to-measure activation programmes.
For policy innovation and policy implementation, the government leans heavily on networks	Network co-operation is necessary. These networks should be open and pluralist, in order to optimally utilise the diversity of the activation projects.	Co-operation in the field shows a strong increase, although the interpretation of the local authorities of their directing role sometimes results in the disfavouring of projects and a diminished diversity within chains or networks.
Client participation	More, unorthodox efforts are necessary to reach difficult target groups.	In the efforts of the Social Support Act (WMO) to increase client participation, the participation of these target groups still has little priority.
Formal and operational policies should mutually influence each other, guided by practice.	It is necessary to make room for innovations arising from practice: made-to-measure services based on the local target group en knowledge of the local market.	Bottom-up approaches have been adopted, both by different levels of government and social organisations. Projects' bottlenecks have been put on the agenda by local politicians. Whether the tendency to uniformise the approaches of homelessness will result in top-down policy, or in a strengthened local infrastructure for activation, remains uncertain.

Conclusion

The contours of our practice-based governance regime do not match the actual policy developments on all points. The conditions for continuing work and activation projects for the most marginalised people are not yet fulfilled.

Although the Dutch government has embraced the basic principles of New Governance, it is too early for us to conclude that New Governance is what we are dealing with now. This is why there still seems to be a long way to go before successful projects will have turned into successful local infrastructures for work and activation for the homeless and addicted.

'New governance' in Dutch welfare policy does not yet, but should, broaden the opportunities for those parts of civil society that seek new ways of activation, in order to enable marginal groups to develop new prospects for re-integration in society. This is a necessary step, even if it produces conflicts between formal policy reforms and operational reforms developing in the practice of putting people to work on the frayed fringes of society. Only then can promising experimental approaches be developed further and prove their worth in practice. And that is of crucial importance if we want to avoid facing the elusive problem of urban marginality empty-handed.

References

Berg, L. van den, Meer, J. van der, & Pol, P. (2001). *Social Challenges and Organising Capacity in Cities, Experiences in eight European Cities.* Rotterdam: Euricur.

Berkel, R. van, & Aa, P. van der (2004). *From welfare state to 'welfare city'? A Dutch case study*. Paper ESPAnet conference, Oxford 2004, draft.

Bauman, Z. (2001). *Individualized Society.* Cambridge: Polity.

Carmel E., & Papadopoulos T. (2003). The new governance of social security in Britain. In: Millar J. (ed.) *Understanding Social Security: Issues for Social Policy and Practice*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Davelaar, M., Nederland, T., Wentink, M., & Woerds, S. ter (2005). *Aan de slag in de Rafelrand. Werk en activering voor daklozen en verslaafden.* Assen: Van Gorcum.

Davelaar, M., Swinnen H., & Woerds S. ter, (2003). *European cities and social policy, Survey on developments and opinions in six European countries.* Bern: Federal Social Insurance Office.

Davelaar, M., Duyvendak, J.W., Swinnen, H., & Graaf, P. van der (2001). *"Good Governance and the Social Pillar of the Major-Cities Policy". Attributes and qualities of a successful local governmental strategy*. Utrecht: Verwey-Jonker Institute.

Doorn, L. van. (2002). *Een tijd op straat. Een volgstudie naar (ex-) daklozen in Utrecht (1993-2000)*. Utrecht: NIZW.

Duyvendak, J.W. (1997). *Waar blijft de politiek? Essays over paarse politiek, maatschappelijk middenveld en sociale cohesie.* Amsterdam: Boom

Edzes, A., Moes, M.,& Westerhof, E. (2006). *WWB-monitor 2006: Meer perspectief voor mensen. Twee jaar Wet werk en bijstand*. Groningen: Centrum voor Arbeid en Beleid.

Engbersen, G. (1997). *In de schaduw van morgen: stedelijke marginaliteit in Nederland.* Amsterdam: Boom

Geddes, M., & Benington, J. (2001). *Local partnerships and social exclusion in the European Union.* New York: Routledge.

Hajer, M., & Versteeg, W. (2005). Performing Governance Through Networks. In: *European Political Science, 4 (3)*, pp. 340-347.

Hajer, M., & Wagenaar, H. (2003). Introduction. In: Haier, M., & Wagenaar, H. *Deliberative Policy Analysis – Understanding Governance in the Network Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hekelaar, A., Zwinkels, W., & Braat, A. (2006). *De juiste klant op het juiste traject. Een onderzoek naar de netto-effectiviteit van het Rotterdamse reïntegratiebeleid voor het ontwikkelen van klantprofielen*. Rotterdam / Hoofddorp: dienst Socale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid / TNO.

Hooghe, M., & Stolle, D. (2003). *Generating social capital: the role of voluntary associations, institutions and government policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

House of Representatives, T.K 29325, nr.2 (2004-2005). *Interdepartementaal beleidsonderzoek: maatschappelijke opvang*. Brief van de staatssecretaris van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en sport.

House of Representatives, T.K. 30131, nr.3 (2004-2005*). Nieuwe regels betref-fende maatschappelijke ondersteuning* (Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning).

Jansen, H., Kolk, R., Maaskant, J., & Stoele, M., (2002). *Dak- en thuislozenmoni-tor 2001-2002*. Rotterdam: Instituut voor Onderzoek naar Leefwijzen & Verslaving en dienst Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid.

Mingione, E. (Ed.) (1996). *Urban poverty and the underclass. A reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Nederland, T., & Davelaar, M. (2006). A greater say for people who are homeless at local level? The Dutch practice of participation of people who are homeless in client councils. In: *Homeless in Europe, FEANTSA Magazine,* Autumn 2006, 5-7.

Nederland, T., Stavenuiter M., & Swinnen H. (2004). *Freedom in Restraint. Local Social Inclusion Policy in the Netherlands* (second report). Utrecht: Verwey-Jonker Instituut.

Osborne, D., & Gaebler, T. (1992). *Reinventing Government: How the Entre-prenurial Spirit is Transforming the Public Sector*. Reading, Mass.: Adisson-Wesley.

Poel, van der A., Barendrecht, C., Schouten, M., & Mheen, D. van de. (2003). De leefsituatie van gebruikers in de harddrugsscene. Resultaten van de survey 2003. In: *IVO Bulletin, 6,* 4, 1-19.

Schaar, J. van der (2004). De 50-wijkaanpak op de snijtafel. In: *Tijdschrift voor de Volkshuisvesting, 10,* 2, 10.

Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) (2006) *Lerende overheid. Een pleidooi voor probleemgerichte politiek.* (The learning Government). Rapporten aan de regering nr. 75. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) (2003). *Bewijzen van goede dienstverlening*, (Proofs of good service provision), Rapporten aan de regering nr. 70. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Uitermark, J., & Duyvendak, J.W. (2005). *Civilizing the city: revanchist Urbanism in Rotterdam (the Netherlands).* Amsterdam School for Social science Research Working paper 05/05.

Wacquant, L. (1999). Urban marginality in the coming millennium, in: *Urban Studies, Vol. 36,* no. 10, 1639-1647.

Wälti, S., & Kübler, D. (2003). New governance and associative pluralism: the case of drug policy in Swiss cities. In: *Policy Studies Journal. 31,* 4, 499-525.

Wolf, J., Nicholas, S., Hulsbosch, L., Pas, S. te, Hoogenboezem, G., & Oort, M. van (2003). *Monitor Maatschappelijke opvang. Jaarbericht 2003*. Utrecht: Trimbos-instituut.

Colofon