



Hogeschool van Amsterdam
Maatschappij en Recht

OUTREACH GOVERNANCE

IN TIMES OF TRANSITION

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTRE FOR SOCIETY AND LAW
PROFESSORSHIP FOR OUTREACH WORK AND INNOVATION

CREATING TOMORROW

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COLOPHON

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The professorship for Outreach Work and Innovation aims to support and stimulate universities and organizations in social work and public services in working holistic and empowerment oriented with citizens in a vulnerable position and their social network. The professorship is part of Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences.

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In 2008 it appeared from research in professional education that managers could be made or broken through innovation carried out by lecturers (Miedema & Stam, 2008). Good managers participate in cooperative processes with lecturers. Together they develop new methods and rules, without prioritizing or imposing their own frameworks. They encourage reflective communication and profit from the outcomes. Sustainable innovations emerge which are then nourished and expanded upon by students, lecturers, professional practice and management. It also appeared that bad managers were unable to relativize their own views and frameworks. They did not know how to utilize what the lecturers had created. They were unable to take the transformation any further and utilize the outcomes for their own development. They primarily safeguarded their own views and positions via the official and unofficial leaders of the innovation.

It is surprising that the studies conducted by the Amsterdam WMO (Netherlands Social Support Act) workshop between 2009 and 2011 into five promising outreach practices reveal something similar (Stam, 2012). The studies were set up to discover what citizens and social workers should be doing differently to make a success of the transformation from welfare state to a participatory society. In the first place that is to say: to prevent citizens in the most vulnerable situations from suffering. Although the focus lies on citizens and social workers, it is also evident that in the social sector managers, administrators and policy staff can make or break a successful transformation. These are all reasons for devoting a book to this subject.

This book is based on the outcomes of five studies. Dick Jansen, Marc Räkera and Carolien de Jong contributed to the theoretical part. Jansen has good insight into the predicament in which the welfare state finds itself. As a true Houdini he has provided escape routes for citizens, civil servants, administrators and managers. Marc is very familiar with the theory formation about the social sector. He has helped place the current transformation of the welfare state in a historical framework. Carolien has provided dilemmas which play a role in actual practice in such a transformation, discussed from various perspectives (citizens, professionals and administrators). Moreover she has made the text more distinct with contexts and outlines. Marc Räkera has considered the principle of self-determination of citizens in vulnerable positions in concrete terms for the social sector. He has also made the text more accessible.

Furthermore others have contributed to this book: citizens in vulnerable positions, volunteers, experts by experience, outreach social workers, team leaders, managers, administrators, civil servants, researchers and students. They have participated in various ways: in total eighty respondents talked about the progress of the five practices; in addition about forty people participated in the Advisory Board and the Participation Council. Together with us, they considered the setup, progress and outcomes of the studies. A group of civil servants and researchers brainstormed with the Amsterdam WMO workshop about the "new style civil servant" (and because this happened in Amsterdam the motto was I Civil Servant).¹

I wish to separately thank the bubbling team of researchers that was part of the associate professorship Outreach work and innovation at the Research and Development Centre from the department Society and Law at Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (HBO) and which formed the heart of the Community of the WMO workshop: Rosalie Metze, Ellen Bruggeman, Tineke Bouwes, Max A. Huber, Wim Hellings, Paulina Sedney, Fatima Bichbich, Jimmy van Noorden, Simona Gaarhuis, Sanne Rumping and Lisette Desain. They first collected a mountain of data and individual stories at each practice, which was subsequently reshaped into the story of one practice. They deepened this story always using the same analytical models. Their preliminary work made it possible for us to deduce the position of the steering force in the transformation of the welfare state in these five practices.

Martin Stam

¹ A reference to Amsterdam's motto: I amsterdam.

INTRODUCTION

8 Tolling for the tongues with no place to bring their thoughts
All down in taken-for-granted situations
Chimes of Freedom, Bob Dylan, 1964

This book describes how the policy workers and administrators of local councils and non-profit organisations can contribute to a social domain in which the people's strengths are better utilized. The concentration on these 'steering' professions is due to the radical changes undergone by the government in the last couple of years. The implementation of the Social Support Act (WMO) in 2007 is an important milestone in the transition of the welfare state in the Netherlands. Under the denominators turning over, transition, transformation (and economic cut-backs,) local councils are responsible for the greater participation, social cohesion and the ability to cope of their residents.

The essence of the WMO is that vulnerable groups such as the elderly, handicapped and psychiatric patients fully participate in society by living, working, carrying out recreational activities and learning amongst other citizens (Tonkens and Kohlmann, 2004). This is not new: social inclusion has been the guiding principle of government policy regarding these groups for years (Kwekkeboom, 2010). The WMO is a continuance and further institutionalization of this (Verplanke & Duyvendak, 2009).

Because local councils are becoming responsible for a greater number of people in vulnerable circumstances due to changes in the law, this has become an even more important layer of governance. This administrative transition has major consequences for the social sector. Social workers have to make individual strength, demand and solution orientation in the lifeworld of citizens more the guiding principle of their work. The Ministry for VWS (Public Health, Welfare and Sport) has attempted to make this transformation concrete in, amongst other things, the eight beacons for Welfare New Style. In all local councils in the Netherlands the perspective is being heard which Hargreaves and Shirley formulate so beautifully (2009): 'citizens coming out of their client's, customer's or consumer's cocoons'. People in vulnerable circumstances are often imprisoned in a cocoon of client or consumer roles. Supported by civil servants, politicians, administrators, managers and other citizens, social workers have to help them break out of this cocoon so that they can become butterflies (co-producers of welfare). Social professionals have to be less patronising and assuming and more empowering and supportive. The WMO is the symbol of this paradigm change (van Ewijk, 2010, Newman and Tonkens, 2011). Individual strength and the capacity to solve in the lifeworld of citizens are the guiding principles of the new welfare state.

This book is about outreach work: increasing the opportunities for prevention, recovery, social advancement and the ability to cope for specific groups of people in worrisome circumstances. These people often have a limited social network, do not know how to ask for help, but do indeed need it. This is evident from indications from their environment about negligence, domestic violence, threatened homelessness, loneliness, harassment and such like. For people in these worrisome circumstances, appealing to their individual strength and ability to cope is often aiming too high. And they have often also given up on any help provision. For help to be effective it has to extend over a number of areas of life and more is needed than just assistance. For this reason outreach workers consider problems and solutions in a broader context. They consider people in worrisome circumstances not on their own but as an exponent of a larger group. The circumstances can be temporary or permanent and can lead to simple or multiple problems, the cause can lie within or outside the behaviour of these people and the consequences can be visible (such as for harassment) or actually hidden (loneliness). Outreach workers link up with the life and experience world of people in vulnerable circumstances. So they establish contact and search for sustainable solutions for problems. How this works in actual practice, is described in the book *Outreach work as a craft* (Huber, Räkera and van Doorn, appearing in 2013 in the WMO workshop series).

In this book we describe how representatives of steering force can contribute to this transformation. It is a transformation to an approach in which people increasingly determine themselves who or what is needed to tackle their problems. Our research into five promising outreach practices for people in vulnerable circumstances is the guiding principle.² In 2009 the Ministry of VWS created six WMO workshops to conduct research into social practices which are based on the WMO. To guarantee that the various aspects were dealt with, the workshops agreed amongst themselves to a distribution of target groups and areas of performance. The Amsterdam WMO workshop, associated with Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences, has conducted three years of research into the WMO and outreach work. The professionals in the practices studied³ looked for connections with strengths and solutions in the lifeworld:

- a. A project with teenage mothers, PJM: which approaches teenage mothers with 'peers' (empowerment of individuals and groups) instead of individually.
- b. A project with the ex-homeless, DIZ: the ex-homeless live in self-management in an independent residential facility and through mutual cooperation and 'collective steering' with professionals determine their own recovery.
- c. A project with the elderly in vulnerable circumstances, PLV: social service providers and volunteers (mentors) join forces

² For the final report about these five studies by the Amsterdam WMO workshop see: M. Stam (2012), *Give the citizen courage*. See appendix 1 for a brief description of these five practices.

³ The names given here to the practices are not the real names. Anonymity was promised to the respondents in advance. This guaranteed that they could speak freely and that actual insight could be gained into the tensions, conflicts and differences which are linked to a transformation.

to drive back the worrisome loneliness of regular clients at a Care and Community counter.

- d. A project with people living in isolation, MSS: close cooperation between government, professional organisations and self-organisations to clarify who and what can and has to contribute to socially isolated households and why.
- e. A project with street youth, PVS: cooperation between local council, police and welfare should bring unequivocalness in the dealings with loitering teens on the streets and provide scope for effective action in which the parents are involved.

Researchers followed the participants of an outreach practice for a year (2010). In that year the first phase of the research took place. This focused on the designation of meaning processes⁴ and constitutes the 'warmer'⁵ aspect of the research. In this, researchers together with participants search for stories about the transformation. After three-quarters of the year these stories – supplemented with information from reports and other documents about the practice – are compiled in a learning history.⁶ This text is used to connect the various layers of the organisation in their conversations about the transformation with each other and is submitted to the participants as feedback. So the participants are stimulated to express judgements about the research. This cyclical model of validating outcomes (first individually about their own statements, later collectively about the compilation of statements and stories in the learning history) offers the interviewees the opportunity of confirming, resuming, supplementing statements and interpretations and for commenting on the statements made by others. In this way a jointly-told-tale will emerge.

After this the 'colder' phase of the research commences (in 2011). This examines how, on the basis of the data from the 'warmer' phase and with the help of theory, a government can support 'new style' professionals and people in vulnerable circumstances. We think that such a government sees itself faced with three tasks:

- a. From system to lifeworld: how can it call a halt to the growth of the system world it has created in the favour of the strengths in the lifeworld? It will not succeed by withdrawing and letting people sort things out for themselves. The reaction would be: 'Why should I look after my neighbour now that the government doesn't do it anymore?'. Such a transformation will only succeed if the government actively starts from the lifeworld of people and looks for ways to affiliate with it.

- b. From top-down to bottom-up governance of the social sector:⁷ how can the government stimulate top-down that citizens and professionals take on their freedom and responsibility bottom-up? Politicians, civil servants and administrators therefore have to disregard the familiar and also the kongsu model between client and worker which is not very co-creative and search for more interactive and 'learning' partnerships with welfare organisations and citizens.
- c. From deductive to inductive learning and development: how can the government base this transformation of the welfare state more on local knowledge instead of exclusively on generalised knowledge which reduces 'the' reality to a number of – preferably measurable – indicators? How can the government better utilise the knowledge and the innovative capacities of citizens and social workers?

These three tasks will be explored in depth in this book and interpreted into new roles for the representatives of steering force: civil servants and managers of institutes and their clients in governance and politics. Chapter 1 deals with the question of how the strengths in the lifeworld of people in vulnerable circumstances can be better utilised and why the system world has to be driven back to achieve this. Chapter 2 considers how the transformation of the primary process of social work has consequences for the secondary work processes (in a more bottom-up, less top-down way). Chapter 3 concerns the question of which other forms of learning together in the development of practices are necessary for such a transformation. Chapter 4 brings these three tasks together in conclusions, recommendations, points for discussion and questions for further research.

⁴ The designation of meaning indicates not only the development of knowledge, but also practice development. It concerns a 'warm' and engaged process that the scientific philosopher Bruno Latour distinguishes from 'cold' science: Science is supposed to be cold, straight, and detached; research is warm, involving, and risky. Science puts an end to the vagaries of human disputes; research creates controversies. Science produces objectivity by escaping as much as possible from the shackles of ideology, passions, and emotions; research feeds on all of those to render objects of inquiry familiar (Latour, 1998, p. 208).

⁵ Here, warm refers to being in close proximity with actual practice. A specific characteristic of HBO research.

⁶ 'Learning History' is derived from Miedema & Stam. We base the description of the learning history on the Field Manual for a Learning Historian (Version 4.0, October 28, 1996, by Art Kleiner & George Roth, MIT).

⁷ The social sector is a whole of social forces that – embedded in laws, rules and social facilities – is daily given form in the welfare, housing, care, education and social security sectors.

CHAPTER 1

FROM SYSTEM WORLD TO LIFEWORLD

- 10 In the outreach practices studied, people, supported by their network, volunteers and social workers, are trying to achieve greater participation and the ability to cope. These practices provide knowledge about what it is like to work in that lifeworld. And also knowledge about hindrances, because appealing to the individual strength of people in vulnerable circumstances is for both citizens and professionals coupled with unfamiliarity and resistance. Research demonstrates that participants of family group conferences are satisfied with the results, but they also experience difficulties in relinquishing the 'client role' (Wesp 2009). Our own research (Stam et al. 2009) indicates that social professionals are not always automatically prepared to look for cooperation with strengths in the lifeworld or with the web of other professional forces and institutions surrounding people in vulnerable circumstances. What is necessary for enabling uncertainty and aversion to turn into productive cooperation?

We provide answers to seven questions in this chapter:

1. Why are there so many people in vulnerable circumstances?
2. Why are they unable to deal with them on their own terms?
3. Why is the support of these people by professionals from the system world inadequate?
4. What does working with the strengths in the lifeworld entail?
5. What are outreach workers wrestling with in the transformation from 'caring for' to 'ensuring that'?
6. What should representatives from steering force do and not do to promote the link up with the strengths in the lifeworld?
7. What do the representatives of steering force need?

1. WHY ARE THERE SO MANY PEOPLE IN VULNERABLE SITUATIONS?

Vulnerability has existed at all times and is connected to a combination of social position, an inadequate individual social network and personal factors such as limitations (for example old age), disorders and risky behaviour (for example addiction). In the first instance the degree of vulnerability in the Netherlands does not appear to be on the increase as expected. In 2011 our country achieved third place in the Human Development Index of the United Nations. Only Norway and Australia rated higher in the mix of indicators such as affluence, labour productivity and level of education. Yet there is a large group of people in the Netherlands (see the annual poverty monitors, poverty reports and poverty indicators by the CBS, SCP, the G4 cities⁸ and further Engbersen, 1990, Engbersen & Snel, 1997, Jehoel-Gijsbers et al., 2001 and Vrooman, 2011) which is increasingly less sure of participating in and acquiring assistance and support from society. The Poverty Indicator from December 2011 (SCP, 2011) stated that about 6% of households in the Netherlands were poor. Part of this group has even too little disposable income for the essential necessities of life such as food

and clothing. Others can afford these basic necessities, but do not have enough money to become a member of a club or to go for a night out. These people run the risk of social exclusion. In relation to this a 'new' underclass is being talked about and of a dichotomy which has come to exist in our society in recent decades.

Which groups does this underclass consist of? The SCP (Schnabel et al. 2008) drew up an overview for the government about the people in the Netherlands who could be said to be suffering from a serious shortage of social cohesion.

The SCP distinguished:

1. single old people with serious physical limitations or serious psychological disorders, who receive little or no help;
2. approximately 10-15% of young people up until 25 years who do not attend school and are unemployed and who are clearly contending with problems in how they function both personally and socially;
3. the long-term unemployed and young disabled people;
4. socially marginalized people, such as addicts, the homeless and derelicts, chronic psychiatric patients and ethnic minorities who are dependent on social security.

According to the SCP this concerns approximately 10% of the population. Schnabel et al. (2008) nuanced this summary by proposing that, in the nature of the lack of social cohesion, these groups differ greatly amongst themselves. For the 'elderly' it concerns the loss of contact with their social environment and society, but their poverty is not a threat to society. This is however indeed the case for 'socially marginalized people'. They are often visibly and disturbingly present and are located in areas where their loitering undermines social confidence, certainly if they attract criminals or are themselves criminally active. Further the SCP report indicates that the long-term unemployed often suffer from a loss of social status and social contacts. They feel that they are victims of 'social exclusion', but simultaneously their position is also an expression of the solidarity of society as a whole and their benefits often ensure that they do not belong to the six percent of the poor. Finally for young people and ethnic minorities who are dependent on benefits the question is whether they can develop sufficient individual strength and affiliation to actually become appreciated and respectful members of society.

1.2 WHY ARE THEY UNABLE TO DEAL WITH THESE CIRCUMSTANCES ON THEIR OWN?

During his visit to Amsterdam on 8 November 2009 (to the Felix Meritis European Centre for Arts, Culture and Science) Jürgen Habermas was asked whether he still used the dual concepts of system world versus lifeworld. When he elaborated upon these dual concepts (Habermas, 1981) he found there was a crucial distinction between them. The system world stands for

⁸ Respectively: Statistics Netherlands, The Netherlands Institute for Social Research and a cooperative venture between the four major Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Den Haag, Rotterdam and Utrecht.

the state and economy, media, power and money. The lifeworld is the rest: the private sphere of family, village and neighbourhood, with its habits, conventions, parenting and suchlike. Lifeworld means the background which people share, so a reservoir of shared values and notions which they draw from. It is the 'place' where we learn to behave, establish daily routines and solve and avoid conflicts. In the lifeworld since the eighties, cultural and religious communities have increased in importance to the extent that Habermas talks about a post-secular age. The lifeworld is also the source of social critique. According to Habermas this is essential because the system world has the tendency to take over the lifeworld, via the economy and the power of the state. At Felix Meritis he confirmed that the distinction between lifeworld and system world was still useful, on the one hand because of the expansion of 'overwhelming global social powers' (which ensure that the state bureaucracy is threatened with being supplanted by the market) and increasing and far-reaching local differentiation, individualisation and migration on the other hand. These make the lifeworld an increasingly less homogeneous identity. The sum of both developments leads to the disintegration of communities and the exclusion of groups from social interaction intercourse. Increasingly people's own strength and the capacity of their environments to arrive at solutions are threatened by four 'overwhelming global social powers': *globalisation, commercialisation, individualisation* and *economisation*.

Globalisation has led to the migration of large groups of people and therefore to the impoverishment of the geographical connections between people (not only through the arrival of refugees and foreign workers, but also because children from the working class becoming better educated and moving away from the places where their families had been earning their incomes in industry for decades). So the local support for the lifeworld in villages, neighbourhoods and families which had been a matter of course is disrupted.

Commercialisation in connection with advancing technology leads us to living more in the society of the spectacle which had already been predicted in the sixties (Lefebvre, 1965; Debord 1967). On all continents people are being seduced with worldwide campaigns (marketing, brand names and fashions) for them to emulate living just like all other people, in which the rich and celebrities are role models. This is happening with refined methods which permeate the living room and the unconsciousness (see Klein, 2000; Barber, 1995, 2008). Children, adolescents and adults are turned into consumers. Their ambitions and imaginative powers are channelled into merchandise and converted into purchasing behaviour, so that many people are up to their ears in debt.

Individualisation means a decrease in physical contact with family, friends, colleagues and neighbours and an increase in the number of divorces (Giddens, 2006). Differences between people are increasingly regarded in terms of personal gain or failure. Whoever fails is a loser and whoever is successful a

winner. The winner-loser ideology is closely connected to the economisation of social life, which has expanding enormously in the last thirty years. 'It's your own fault' supplants the old ethical principle: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit'.

Economisation means that market thinking has become predominant (Sandel, 2012). Economisation has strongly changed the moral foundation of society. Judt (2010) proposes – against the spirit of the time – to not exclusively regard the value of things from an economic perspective. This value 'apart from economic can also be social, environmental, humane, ethical and cultural' (p. 220). He indicates 'the undermining consequences of envy and disgust which surface in clearly discernible unequal communities' (p. 185). A society which allows inequality creates its own social swamp. According to him, driving back inequality provides self-assurance: the more equal we become, the more equal we think we can become. Adam Smith wrote this as early as 1759: 'The disposition to admire, and almost to worship, the rich and the powerful and to be scornful of or even neglect persons of poor and mean condition (...) is the greatest and most universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments'.

Through these four developments it is precisely for people in vulnerable circumstances that the strength of the traditional lifeworld has been vigorously pulled out from under them, with the accompanying negative consequences for social cohesion, supporting power and the ability to cope. In addition, since the eighties when these macro-developments expanded enormously, the social sector as a support and safety net for these people has increasingly failed them.

1.3. WHY IS THE SUPPORT OF THESE PEOPLE BY PROFESSIONALS FROM THE SYSTEM WORLD INADEQUATE?

The organisation philosophy which is known as New Public Management (NPM), has not helped the ability to cope for people in vulnerable circumstances. NPM strongly deploys a dual system:

- the promotion of social inclusion and
- the organisation of the social sector in a more businesslike manner. The net result of this however has led to a deterioration in the ability to cope for people in vulnerable circumstances.

1.3.1 Social Inclusion

In contrast to the developments which contributed to more inequality and social disintegration is social inclusion social inclusion. This is the development – hesitatingly⁹ promoted and supported by politics and government – to return the solution for problems to people. Social inclusion means that care and welfare are provided less by institutes and professionals and more by society itself. This also means a shift in responsibilities from the government to citizens. Social inclusion initially started in the care for people with serious and long-term psychiatric problems. Here social inclusion meant that someone in a posi-

12 tion outside normal social intercourse and outside everyday social life once again participated in that social life (Baart, 2001; Kal, 2001). In the first instance, the term was used to give extra-muralisation an ideological face-lift. By living outside the institution people would participate in society (in a neighbourhood, via work, education or daily occupation, clubs etc.) but the care would still be provided by institutions or professionals. The social isolation of people with psychological problems was broken through by organising social support around it (van Hoof et al., 2004). The goal is to live 'as normal a life as possible' or 'as little as possible forced institutional admissions'. Support is primarily geared towards increasing stability and 'peace'. This offered little solace for loneliness, the lack of meaningful activities and the limited social network. For this reason social inclusion was later more geared to the social: breaking through isolation.¹⁰

It is only in recent years that the idea emerged, that care should be provided by society. In this a distinction should be made between volunteer aid and care by volunteers and general social organisations. These are different categories within society.

Duyvendak and Hurenkamp (2004) demonstrate that solidarity and social commitment have not disappeared, but that modern public spirit often operates via 'light' communities, where the bonds are more loose, short-lived, more open and informal. This does not alter the fact that the risk has increased that people who become isolated are subsequently marginalised and become lonely. The support from civil society by volunteers, mates, voluntary aid workers, experts by experience and other unofficial helpers often appears to be inadequate. That is not so much to do with people being indifferent or adopting a hard position, but the effects of the four 'overwhelming global social powers' (globalisation, commercialisation, individualisation and economisation). And with a lack of cooperation, social workers having insufficient generalist competencies, the overburdening of unofficial helpers and people being demand and action shy (Linders, 2010). The social sector appears not to be capable of creating links between professional, unofficial and individual strengths of people. Through NPM many professionals are working at a distance from the lifeworld of people in vulnerable circumstances (they hold office hours in offices, sit behind counters and carry out conversations outside the context of people's households and their surroundings). Because of this their work is less geared to activating people's own strength and ability to cope.

1.3.2 New Public Management

The emergence of NPM is closely connected with the major expectations existing at the end of the Cold War about the pos-

sibilities of the free market. Francis Fukuyama (1992) predicted that end of the Cold War would also be the end of progress in human history. Parliamentary democracy and the market economy triumph definitively: the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government. Administrators and politicians become overconfident and dogmatic. NPM emerges from a neo-liberal critique of the government: it has to be more efficient, effective and less unwieldy and extensive. Many tasks are discarded and left to market parties.

NPM also wants the social sector to have a market orientation. The picture at the beginning of the 21st century: the bureaucratic government (Tonkens, 2002) hammers away at carefulness, predictability and equality before the law, but obstructs tailored work and speed; exceptions are not permitted. The civil service leads a life of its own, to which people react resignedly rather than furiously with the metaphor of the mills of officialdom grinding slowly and jokes about lazy civil servants. Social workers are mediators between the lifeworld of people and the system world of the bureaucratic government. With the growth of the government in the sixties and seventies, the sense of urgency also grows of gaining better insight into the relation between the assets and liabilities of the government. The government is no longer considered to be a natural phenomena which you have to learn to live with, but more are a hopeless ancient bureaucratic bulwark which increasingly costs more taxes and hinders the increase in the growth of prosperity of 'The Netherlands Ltd'. Why shouldn't the government be run as a company with employees? Why shouldn't its tasks be carried out just as well - or better - by the market?

The market logic of NPM hammers away, not only at transparency, but also at speed and efficiency. This is achieved through the individualisation of problems and through linear forms of socio-technological planning and control. The social sector follows the new lines of value for money and efficiency, helped by managers who often originate from the business world. Policy goals are formulated in such a way that the effects are measurable. Services become products with demarcated time units for the work. All of this is to increase the productivity and quality of the work and reduce the costs.

From the eighties onwards NPM is the dominant ideology in the organisation of welfare work, education, healthcare and social security. The management culture which it brings with it means that doctors, teachers and social workers are less

¹⁰ This first socialization of people who were excluded from social life, created many social problems because citizens and institutes were often ill-prepared for this task and did not have the necessary competencies. They stated that their supportive role is overburdened and that it is only possible to keep going with more professional help - also for themselves.

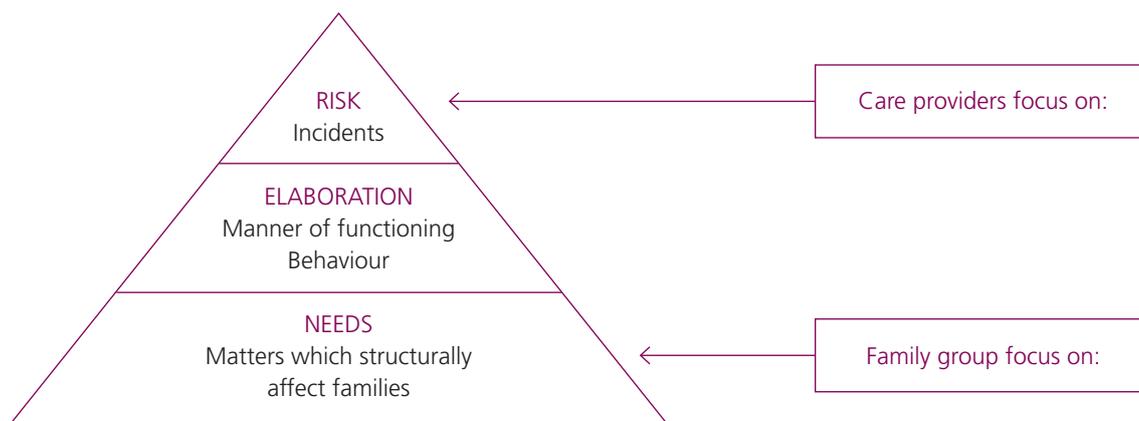
¹¹ Following Pollitt & Bouckaert (2004), Jeroen Hoenderkamp (2008) distinguishes five strategies with which NPM attacks the Weberian bureaucratic model: a. distancing and blaming (politicians take distance from the government); b. tightening up traditional controls (freezing budgets, announcing stops in vacancies, making civil servants redundant and establishing work in protocols); c. modernizing the administrative system (concepts from the market sector are interpreted in the public sector: budget systems, awarding performance, output financing); d. marketizing the administrative system (so that public organisations are forced to compete with each other in a quasi-market); e. minimizing the administrative system (the government discards tasks).

the boss in wards, classrooms and neighbourhoods.¹¹ Social workers lose their mediatory role between the system and lifeworld; they become increasingly part of the government. Initially the social sector embraced this philosophy (Tonkens, Hoijtink and Gulikers, 2012) because NPM appeared to be an answer to three constantly recurring critiques of the sector, which would create its own demand, would make people dependent, would provide no accountability about working methods and results.

Welfare institutes are forced to maintain distance from the lifeworld through NPM principles. They withdraw into a system world of counters, office hours, procedures and protocols. But as a correction of a bureaucratic approach, NPM itself also requires correction. The linear logic of NPM (you can help five or ten clients per hour from behind a counter) clashes with the cyclical forms of support, which are geared to recovery and empowerment (Donkers, 2010; van Regenmortel, 2010). Overcoming problems takes time: a social worker has to link up with where someone is and from this point work on motivation and the ability to cope. According to van der Lans (2008) social professionals are in a position which is increasingly less 'next to' and increasingly more 'above' the underprivileged. Because of this they are less geared to activating individual strengths and the ability to cope. By setting up the social domain in a top-down businesslike fashion, the strengths and opportunities, but also the erosion of the lifeworld of people in vulnerable circumstances are overlooked. The Family Group Conference Centre summarise this aptly: 'Families and groups are geared to needs, professionals focus on risks.'

The government is in a quandary. They wish to appeal to the individual strength of citizens, but in the meanwhile have become totally preoccupied with implementing the NPM philosophy. They stimulate the businesslike setup of social work and see opportunities of allocating the scarce financial means in a more transparent and just manner. Unequal treatment is a mortal sin; everyone is equal in the eyes of the law. Equal treatment is guaranteed with policy rules and established in regulations and implementation decisions. The access to general resources is dealt out with extreme carefulness, so that decisions about awarding or refusing them do not lead to objections due to negligence. Tailored work for people in vulnerable circumstance would appear to be at loggerheads with these guiding principles of meticulous governance. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. This applies to both people as well as for implementing organisations which are eligible for subsidies, facilities or contracts. The government develops a robust set of instruments for giving form to equal treatment. The acquisition of contracts for governmental assignments is linked to open procedures for tenders. This is sometimes via multi-stage systems for which tenderers first have to demonstrate their qualities and expertise. For subsidies comparable procedures apply: here we also see to an increasing degree the contracting-out of subsidy agreements. The idea is that free marketing will result in a better service provision as a result of competition. In reality, in the contracting-out procedure, the providers who win more often are ostensibly able to best adapt themselves to the demands of the system world. In this way means become goals and the underlying values and principles of the welfare state fade into the background.

PYRAMIDE RISK NEED



¹² Compensation on the basis of a limitation already occurs in the Old Testament: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. The punishment for an offender who causes physical damage, was directly linked to the loss of a finger, foot or arm. There was even a difference for each finger. The thumb naturally counted for more than the fore finger, which in turn counted for more than the little finger. Interpreted in contemporary terms this complex appraisal framework results in establishing whether someone is eligible or not for compensation or a provision. And following on from this the implementing organisation will often be compensated for the number of provisions.

14 The justice principle

When the government took over charity, care and benefit ceased to be a favour and became a right. The government became keeper and financier – on the basis of tax income – of sizeable care arrangements. Precisely due to equal treatment, in the allocation of funds unequal treatment had to be prevented. Because of the limited resources they had to be well-allocated on the basis of a system. That system is not first come, first served. Or a case of the person who shouts the loudest gets the most. The system of the welfare state is based on the principle that the heaviest cases can claim the most.

The compensation principle

Based on the limitation that people have, a refined system of categorization exists for those wishing to claim governmental support.¹² A limitation is compensated in such a way that someone is capable of living as independently as possible. That is a great thing, but because this system is based on obstacles such as loss of function, limitation or disorder, a dangerous psychological mechanism of labelling comes into operation. At the moment that a diagnosis and its possible solution are made many citizens will come to identify with their limitation. Citizens become their limitation. What they can do will no longer count, but what they can't do. Through this mechanism a victim culture has come to exist in the welfare state. The compensation for the limitation becomes a goal in itself. That it is dangerous to categorise people on the basis of limitations becomes clearer the more the number of categories increases. Within education the right to compensation for limitations has resulted in proliferation: dyslexia, autism, PPD-NOS, dyscalculia, ADHD, ADD. If we hold the question up to the light about why there are currently an extremely large number of children with development disorders, then the corruption of the system becomes clear. Is it due to working parents, the stress and performance society, air pollution, food additives? If we only consider these external factors, then we overlook the fact that there are five parties which benefit from the diagnosis which provides the right to compensation:

1. the school acquires extra money,
2. the parent is given recognition of the heavy task of bringing up a child,
3. the child is given some form of dispensation,
4. the expert can declare the hours worked,
5. the medical industry can make profits.

Result: the child will underperform because he/she behaves according to the diagnosed limitation. So the subsidised occupations offered under the Wajong Act¹³ are filling fast (Hermanns, 2010).

Dyscalculia song

3 times 3 is Um 6? 7? 33? 9? 12?
Everyone sings their own song
If I can't count this
Then I'm not going to sing along!

Dyslexia song

Trhee times trhee si nnie
Eeervyoen sgnis their won snog
Trhee tiems trhee is nien
I dnot undrestnad tish snog!

Autism song

Three times three is nine
I'm singing my own song here
I will sing through everything
I won't notice it that is clear!

ADHD song

THREE TIMES THREE IS NIIIIIII- NEEEEEEEEEE!!!!
EVERYONE SHOUTS THEIR OWN SONG!!!!
I'LL SING THIS SONG A HUNDRED TIMES!!!!
BECAUSE I AM UNABLE TO STOP!!!

ADD SONG

Three times thr Eh, a bird! Singing? Oh yes. Three times three is nine.
Every.... it's lovely weather outside, isn't it! What? Oh yes. Everyone sings their own song.
Three times ... hey What was I doing once again?

Jokes from the lifeworld about the overreaching categorization system

We have come to realise that this form of compensation kills people's creativity and seduces them into thinking in terms of 'having a right to'. People identify with their limitation instead of compensating for their limitation by developing their other capacities. The identification with the limitation ultimately leads to a feeling of powerlessness and arbitrariness because people cannot simply be placed in categories. Categorization leads to a reduction of people.

Process or product-orientated tailored made-to-measure work
In reaction to this reduction we aim for tailored work. This is now possible through facilitating people with a limitation with a mix of various provisions from the existing compensation system. Should a 'product' be lacking, then it will be counter-balanced with a mix of other forms of care. Nobody is happy with this, but it does provide a way out. There is now simply no mandate to reach agreements with care organisation for suitable care to be offered for a unique case. Whereas this should in fact be the case. As answer increasingly more categories are now being offered with accompanying provisions. It would be better to mandate the implementing organisation to offer an appropriate packet on the basis of expertise, geared towards enhancing individual strengths, making use of the network and with compensation for what is still missing. Each citizen with limitations would be offered an individual packet. Although within the government there are increasingly more votes for

¹³Work and labour support for young people with a limitation act.

abandoning the overreaching categorization system, it appears that letting go and gaining trust are still difficult. A mainstay could be a sound process and case description which offered sufficient guarantee for the assessment of the right treatment. The working method for evaluating, considering and awarding can be established in a regulation. This also applies to the mandate for the member of staff doing the evaluation and implementation.

How do we get rid of paternalistic and authoritarian system models which disregard the individual strengths of people? What does a model look like which takes its departure from citizen's strength? People are improvisational beings. We have to suffice with what we are able to do. This means that people who are in a fix and ask for help are changeable and in that changeability they have to be followed. The engagement of professionals starts there, where citizens have problems which they are unable to solve themselves. A social worker is a coach who examines how sustainable improvement can be realised, utilizing the capacities of the people requiring help. This could be social capacities, cognitive capacities, financial means and possibly capital goods. Is someone able to learn, such as keeping a household book and in so doing come to grips with their purchasing pattern, or learn other behaviour with behavioural therapy to come out of the vicious circle of addiction, violence or fear of failure? Is someone able to solve an incidental financial problem such as a minor rental debt? Is someone able to ask their social network for a little assistance in bringing up the children? Is someone able to expand their social network (friends)? It often concerns a mix of solutions. The social worker has to be more of a supporter and coach than someone 'taking over the problem'. The social worker has to be flexible to be able to deal with these situations and should not be hindered by protocols in which the number of clients per day or the duration of a consultation or a series of them is established. Social workers have 'knowledge systems', cognitive knowledge about approaching problems and solutions, networks of professionals and experts who can be consulted and involved. Funds can alleviate the initial needs. The professional network of the social worker has to be able to be engaged as a friend. This also means that these colleagues have to be able to be flexible. The team leader naturally has to be flexible with the social workers in his/her team. Strict performance indicators impair that process. This is to such a degree that even the effectiveness of strict protocolled help is often shortlived and not sustainable. Then it is a case of putting out the fires.

As a matter of course organisations in their turn have to give the team leaders scope for operating on the work floor. The various levels fit like a set of bowls in each other. NPM principles hinder this process through putting linear planning and control in the place of fragmentation and specialisation. By letting welfare institutions take distance from the lifeworld and letting

them withdraw into the system world, cutbacks are made in processes in the first line which could provide tailored work (generic welfare). Simultaneously, through the mix of bureaucracy and market logic the costs of specialised care (2nd line) become unmanageable.¹⁴ That collective and informal approaches which are rooted in the lifeworld are not only less expensive but are often also more sustainable, fade from the picture due to NPM. Professionals in the first line who did approach problems and solutions from the lifeworld – such as neighbourhood social work, district nursing and community work – were cutback by NPM or strongly restricted.

This organisation philosophy also ensures that facilitating people to tackle their own matters becomes less a matter of course. Through NPM the government is not a stimulating supporter, but an obstacle for active citizenship.

The consequences of this prohibitive role for social work:

- a. by withdrawing from the lifeworld and placing social professionals in an overreaching system world of counters, making diagnoses and protocols, to a great extent social work has lost its emancipatory and supportive strength;
- b. due to its top-down development and implementation culture which turns people into consumers of services, attention has been reduced for the strengths in the lifeworld and for the circumstances which lead to the erosion of the ability to cope;
- c. due to the performance culture the innovative capacity of social workers has been marginalized and their contribution to practice innovation is strongly restricted. The economization aspects have come to prevail above – difficult to measure – key values such as reducing inequality and increasing cohesion, respect and self-confidence.

1.4. WHAT DOES WORKING WITH THE STRENGTHS OF THE LIFEWORLD ENTAIL?

Through the WMO and Welfare New Style it is once again 'hot' to think in terms of participation, social cohesion and the ability to cope. They are the contours of a new 'third' logic which, as a reaction to the market and bureaucratic logic, respond much more to the strengths of the lifeworld.

Normally the lifeworld can be said to be the place where people can find creative solutions for their issues. The concept lifeworld also includes the experience world (Habermas, 1981). The lifeworld is where people develop their identity, sense of standards and taste.¹⁵ It is learning by doing and through experience. The first steps, the first words, later the first loves and once again much later old-age afflictions, one's own circle is the matter-of-course environment for development, behavioural change and solving problems.

¹⁴ So the number of young people who needed specialised youth care between 2005 and 2010 nearly doubled. In 2005 nearly 44,000 young people from nought to 17 years were referred to specialised youth care. In 2010 this number rose to nearly 85,000 (Kids Count Data Book 2012, Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2012). In the meanwhile the number of custodial institutions in the Netherlands is the highest in Europe.

16 **The lifeworld of most people consists of three sorts of support systems:**

- a. Relatives: parents, brothers, sisters etc.;
- b. Friendly relations: friends, schoolmates, colleagues, members of sport club (including virtual contacts via for example Facebook, Hyves and LinkedIn);
- c. Social Services: GP, school teachers, employer, social workers etc.

Someone's lifeworld can be supported in four ways:

- a. Affectively someone can be given appreciation, recognition, emotional support and support if there are setbacks;
- b. By bonding someone can be given the feeling of belonging, for example through common interests or by sharing the same background or surroundings;
- c. Materially someone can be given accommodation, food and suchlike;
- d. Social security can be given via agreements and regulations, for example through a labour agreement, school or membership of an association.

Help from outside someone's own circle is usually exceptional, temporary and supplementary. The ability to cope is the rule of a lifeworld and the capacity for doing this is anchored in cultures which are passed on from generation to generation. Our society is extremely stratified and has underlayers which are based on pre-modern societal relations. The relations between family members are often exceedingly strong. Certainly for migrants the role of the family in the face of setbacks is often fundamental. The success of the Family Group Conferences confirms that in all circles, family members remain feeling strongly responsible for each other. Voluntary help provision between people who qua lifestyle closely resemble each other, in a certain sense elaborating on charity, is still abundantly present in society.

Most people manage very well. It is later rather than sooner that people with problems appeal for help and care. The highest costs are therefore not directly caused by this group, but by the system in which everyone is granted equal rights and resources and provided with care on the basis of diagnoses and referrals. In this respect, the autonomous growth of the medical industry is a much heavier social burden than the increase in the care for the elderly.

Our society has citizen force in abundance. In addition to large voluntary organisations such as De Zonnebloem, Humanitas and

the churches, it is swarming with smaller organisations which provide care. There are neighbourhood-oriented organisations for doing odd jobs at home, lifts to the hospital, garden maintenance, shopping, visits and the supervision of recreational activities. In addition there is also the care between employees. People have a strong tendency to shelter colleagues who are contending with setbacks or illness. Colleagues spontaneously take over these services from each other. We have known neighbourly help for years and years: you borrow a cup of sugar from me, I borrow an onion from you. We pay for the newspaper together, I share the costs of the hedge-clippers that both of us use. For a number of years a more refined system has existed. It started with a simple point system so that multi-bartering transactions were possible: you wash my car, I'll teach your neighbour's daughter Spanish, your neighbour's daughter babysits for your children, etc. It is sometimes so successful that the government eagerly takes it over and fits it into its own economising strategy: if people, in addition to the traditional care in families, are going to care for each other in this modern manner, even if they don't know each other very well, we can make savings in homecare.

The government which proclaims the end of the welfare state and calls upon people to care for each other shoots itself in its own foot. People react reluctantly when the withdrawing government tries to get them to do its dirty work. The government which 'hijacks' such initiatives, does not understand of the lifeworld well. People are prepared to take the ill neighbour to the hospital once, but not clean for Mrs Jones on a weekly basis. So the former workfare jobs and later the Inflow-Throughflow (IT) jobs undermine voluntary work. Volunteers adopted IT jobs and others stopped volunteering because 'they weren't paid for it'. Now the citizen has to once again pick up the thread, with self-motivation and organised in so-called trusts. That is not so simple. What society needs is not a government which takes away the cares of citizens, takes over the initiative or even starts playing citizen itself. Nor does it want a government which attracts citizens to take part in the endless series of participation projects in which they advise the government free of charge about the transition from welfare society to activation society. A suitable government is one which asks the citizen which obstacles it can remove for people to carry out their own initiatives. Such as for the exchange of services, mutual care cooperation and an energy-generating project on a district level, in which residents can take care of their own energy provision using solar panels. Projects where cooperation, surprises about new care

¹⁵ Habermas (1981) provides an example: an older German builder sends a younger builder out to buy a 'mid-morning beer'. No matter how brief and nonchalant the request is, it rests on a number of assumptions: that there is a break at 11 o'clock in the morning, that beer will be drunk during it, that this is a normal and accepted custom and also that at building contractors there is a natural hierarchy which is based on age and seniority. A young Dutch carpenter would be very surprised about this, because he is unfamiliar with this custom. He would have to know enough about this specific lifeworld to understand the message (that it is a different sort of order from: Bring me the other spade!) and not protest about it. By acting upon it he will become more integrated in German life. For Habermas the lifeworld is the place where citizens meet each other, exchange experiences, form thoughts about the world and where they 'diese Geltungsansprüche kritisieren und bestätigen, ihren Dissens austragen und Einverständnis erzielen können (Band 2, p. 192)'.

¹⁶ Marie Geertruide Muller-Lulofs was an advocate of the social question. In 1899 she founded the first state recognized school for social work.

¹⁷ According to Donkers the central assignment of social work is 'to strengthen the capability and readiness of individuals, families and groups to actively and consciously deal with the living conditions imposed upon them. It concerns the formation of subjects under social conditions' (p. 95).

and other networks which come to exist and pleasure in the savings achieved all go hand in hand. A civil servant involved in the preparation of this book said: 'The government is now a powerful ship which ploughs through the world of citizens instead of the outboard motor which people just need now and then to get them back on course'.

1.5 WHAT DO OUTREACH WORKERS WRESTLE WITH IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF 'CARING FOR TO ENSURING THAT'?

'Sometimes be ineffective, at times do something which is absolutely not useful or perfectly practical, do something which is completely superfluous, and bring for once some poetry.' Mrs Muller-Lulofs¹⁶ gained this insight more than a hundred years ago when working with a family with whom she, as visitor to the poor, had a difficult relationship. As long as she behaved as an 'institution', she was confronted with surliness and distrust. This changed when she impulsively and well-meaningly bought a bunch of flowers when a child died in the family. This 'poetry' changed the relationship and formed the beginning of social work on the basis of respect and trust. (M. Kamphuis, 1950)

What Mrs Muller-Lulofs calls 'completely superfluous', the 'poetry' from person to person, outreach social workers try to place at the centre of their work in the five practices studied. They make better use of the strengths in the lifeworld¹⁷ and wish to free themselves from the 'socio-industrial complex' that has come to exist through NPM. In this they meet with both 'top-down' as well as 'bottom-up' opposition. People have adjusted themselves to a world in which services are products and they are consumers (including the accompanying claim behaviour) (see Kruijer, 2010). 'During the Reagan and Thatcher years, citizens were redefined as clients, customers or consumers' (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2009, p. 14).

Many people in vulnerable circumstances even appear incapable or unwilling to adopt this consumer role. Many social workers also refuse to place people in such a role, because this disregards their vulnerable circumstances (see Duijvendak, Hoijtink & Tonkens, 2009). These people would preferably not come to such organisations and if they come, according to Donkers (2010), they put up unintentional barriers by demanding help, quickly giving up or by indeed coming very frequently. In this way social-work organisations become deadlocked in their provider role. Even if they declare the loudest that they are working integrally, it is a fact that the organisation of social work has become fragmented through NPM: divided up into sectors, disciplines and areas of life and linked to them, separate competences and financing. The consequence is that the 'system world' with its sorts of work, specialisations, office hours, methodologies, protocols, codes and timetables is completely unable to work integrally. So they do not reach certain groups of people in vulnerable circumstances or they reach them much too late. Important strengths in the lifeworld also remain unused. In the five outreach practices studied by the Amsterdam WMO workshop, professionals do try and establish links and

work with these strengths.

What is so different? In the project with lonely old people (PLV) we see a number of ingredients which also occur in the four other practices.

- a. Beforehand there is an immediate cause (sense of urgency) and motive for innovation. At PLV this was the pressure on the Care & Community counter. This was reduced as the throughflow of clients increased. This led to the idea of approaching 'counter addicts', people who ostensibly come knocking at the counter for every trifle, separately. Researchers discover the cause: loneliness. It is warm in the waiting room, there are other visitors and the coffee is free of charge. It is better than staying at home.
- b. Outreach workers approach these people, who clearly need something other than the regular provision. Social workers develop a vision. It is clear that they are not acquiring a good overall picture of these people via this counter structure: what occupies them, what are their lives like, what are their obstacles, what do they need and what do they want and what are they able to do? For this other information is needed. They acquire this by making contact in a different way than via the counter and gaining trust. The counter does remain the location where the first contact takes place.
- c. From this vision a new approach is developed. The 'counter addicts' are invited to a 'non-problem interview' with a competence agent. That is a social worker. Initially this is complicated, because social workers are trained in problem interviews but not in non-problem interviews where, together with the 'client', apart from the obstacles and limitations, his/her talents, needs and possibilities are also mapped out.
- d. In this way more of a demand and solution-orientated approach comes to exist: how can the support of these people be brought about geared to expanding competencies, strengthening the ability to cope and activating or reactivating the social network? In this, PLV makes use of mentors (volunteers).

These four steps are the pattern of the 'new style' of working in all five practices: urgencies lead to new motives for a new vision of professional action. These lead to new work forms. This can also be seen in the practice for loitering street youth (PVS). When a youth worker is arrested when he protests about the arrest of one of his clients, this is the signal for politicians, governors, managers and practising professionals that the communication between youth workers and the police is inadequate. It is the ambition there to improve the communication between the police and social work. The urgency of this is far from being felt by all those involved. They act on commission (under the authority of others). This is evidently crippling for the trio: urgency-vision-mission. The project acquires no dynamics. To acquire clarity about why this happens, we will first go more deeply into the conditions under which outreach professionals call a halt to the over-expansive system world in favour of the available strengths in the lifeworld.

18 **1.5.1. How does promoting individual strength and the ability to cope work in practice?**

The residents of the ex-homeless project DIZ want a roof over their heads and on the long-term, their own accommodation. That is the perspective in mind. For this reason they are motivated to utilize their own strengths for their recovery and to carry out the fight against negligence and irresponsibility. Client guidance and self-control via the formation of networks appeals to them. They have had to contend with setbacks so often in their lives, with indifference and rejection, with being sent from pillar to post and with a lack of listening ear or a helping hand. Just in time, DIZ is the opportunity for them being able to learn to stand on their own two feet once again. In the 'old' social care their potential was insufficiently used. The residents share this conviction with the management and the social care staff who support them. Together they make the motive: recovery via client guidance and self-control, the founding value. This vision provides direction for the action of the participants (residents and professionals) and quickly becomes standard practice.

What do the professionals do? They carry out outreach and supportive work. They stimulate the responsibility being with the residents to the maximum. They support the residents to share this responsibility, both in word and deed. They ensure that the so-called pullers, withdrawers and the solitary, newcomers and old timers are able to continue working together. This is not forced with rules and sanctions, but manoeuvred through a mix of confrontation (make an appeal to the group as a means and in so doing about the importance of social cohesion) and letting go (demonstrating that learning by experience works). They set great store by loyalty. Loyalty is a counterweight to the many mental escape routes which many residents have made their own in a life full of disappointments and conflicts. Such an escape route may be expressed as: What do I actually care about DIZ, after all I'll be out of here in a while? Loyalty grows as residents create rules with each other and follow them, which guarantee the continued existence of and social peace at the DIZ. This only works if the professionals themselves first serve as a model of loyalty: always cautious and upright. At the same time they have to gain trust (not letting things run their course but patiently, and whilst maintaining contact, searching for opportunities and strengths) and where necessary be confrontational (standing no nonsense). Naturally the social workers (just like the residents) experience countless disappointments. A major difference with the social workers in the teenage mother project PJM is that they remain searching for the ways in which the gulf between vision (client guidance in self-control) and reality can be closed.

In the teenage mother project PJM the social workers, who are called project supervisors, together with the young mothers also want to discover and use their strengths and opportunities, but in practice this does not live up to its promise. 'Caring for' remains dominant and 'deciding for' is never far away. This is because the trio urgency-motive-vision at PJM is not interpreted from the bottom-up. The frameworks have been

agreed top-down between the management with the social services (via the specifications agreed to when the tender was acquired): PJM acquires 'clients' from the social services. The assignment is: bring these girls from rung two to rung three in the participation ladder in ten months. In other words: prepare them for a place in the labour market where they can acquire an income and live without benefit. This is a legitimate goal, but it means that in the course of the project that the motive is repositioned into working with a problem and supply orientation. That is at odds with the motive that the project supervisors had initially when they wanted to work with the girls with a demand and solution orientation. This requires the girls to also want this, but for them PJM is primarily an annoying obligation. This had already been the case in the beginning and it remains so (you have to do this otherwise you risk losing your benefit). The project supervisors and the young mothers are not able to find a way out of this paradox. The researchers see – after six years of practice – that the game of support and letting go has become subordinate to control and intervention. The practice has remained at odds with the girl's sense of urgency. Because the trio urgency-vision-vision has been imposed, the relationship between the girls and the project supervisors cannot evolve well into establishing contact, through gaining trust, into loyalty and reciprocity. In the entire project a reduction in their benefit remains a real threat.

The example of PJM demonstrates that a local authority service can be an obstacle to making use of individual strength and promoting the ability to cope. That representatives of steering force can play a decisive role in the transformation to the lifeworld is evident in the practice for people living in isolation (MSS: Social Support System). This is also a top-down initiative. The responsibility for citizens in vulnerable and isolated circumstances and the care of clients and ex-clients by the Public Mental Healthcare Service (OGGZ) is decentralised through the WMO to local councils and city districts. At the MSS practice a city district board wishes to break with the NPM working method. The city district clearly takes the direction. A policy advisor is one of the initiators and is occupied with its elaboration and implementation. The city district itself appoints the practice manager. It stimulates that outreach contact is sought with people in vulnerable circumstances. This is done by a district team consisting of members of staff from various organisations: a social worker, a debt counsellor, a member of staff for home administration and two socio-psychiatric nurses. The team searches for isolated people or they are referred to them. An attempt is made to adopt a broad view: as much as possible consider the person as a whole and not only the problems. In this they involve the environment. They also appeal to mates, confidential advisors, support women and men or contact with the female neighbours. The professionals regard unofficial care not as a helping hand, but as a partner. They believe in the strength of the closeness of unofficial care and the use of the collective approach. Their balancing problem lies in ensuring that the official care and the unofficial care workers get to know and trust each other: knowing each other's 'face' and

each other's efforts and qualities. The so-called neighbourhood table is apparently a good means for this. This is a cooperative association of official and unofficial organisations which meet each other every two months. They discuss new developments, the progress of the cooperation and cases which are continually being introduced by other organisations. This offers scope and time for developing a joint vision and approach. So professionals at MSS, supported by policy and local council officials, are constantly occupied with making the efforts of unofficial workers more effective. Not all professionals find unofficial care always so useful. Some people miss the conviction that breaking through the social isolation of people is a shared responsibility.

These practices demonstrate that officials from the steering force can also play an important role in the switch to the life-world. They can make it or break it. The local authorities contribute financially to the ex-homeless practice DIZ. Up until now, they have also helped the residents to move on to independent accommodation. They follow the bottom-up development of the practice at a distance.

At the teenager mother project PJM the social services establishes a top-down working method which forms an obstacle in two ways. The outreach professionals are given insufficient scope to work together with the girls on the basis of loyalty and reciprocity. Mutual cooperation between the client managers of the social services and the PJM project supervisors is also not stimulated. Although they both have these girls as 'client', little more than agreement takes place between them. In Chapter 2 we will consider the opportunities for cooperation which are missed in this manner.

At MSS the city district imposes a top-down working method which nevertheless offers scope to professionals and residents to develop and a bottom-up practice. There the cooperation between professionals and residents is already much richer.

1.5.2. What are the conditions for good cooperation between people in vulnerable circumstances and outreach social workers?

One outreach practice makes more progress than another. In their approach – and their elaboration on the principles of cooperation, recovery and reciprocity – MSS and DIZ progress the most: they break through their client's passive attitude, encourage them to come up with their own solutions and in this way they strengthen their ability to cope. Together, outreach professionals and 'clients' make plans on the basis of individual strength and if necessary adapt them along the way. The guiding principle is: I support, but you do it yourself/yourselfes (together with people in your environment). This causes a chain reaction which is all about honesty, trust, loyalty and reciprocity. It starts with: what do you want, what can you do? Where are

the opportunities and possibilities? How are you going to do that? The work of the outreach professional concerns forming relations, motivating and teaching, not about implementing methodologies;¹⁸ thus creating considerable extra value.

The principle of reciprocity has major consequences for outreach professionals:

- a. You have to make full efforts to facilitate individual strength and the ability to cope;
- b. You have to work integrally, from trust and daring (from two sides: the professional also has to learn to think and act integrally);
- c. You have to ensure that change can take place and do not in principle take over;
- d. You have to allow support (encouraging and nourishing) to prevail above control (setting boundaries, working with provisions and sanctions);
- e. You have to cooperate to the maximum with the social network of people in vulnerable circumstances (the ability to cope together).

In all the practices studied, professionals develop a new repertoire of action such as making contact, making scope for individual strength and sources for help, bestowing trust and stimulating individual initiative. So people in vulnerable circumstances learn to analyse their situation in the light of how they can improve themselves, supported by professionals and unofficial helpers. Social workers have to break free from their problem and supply orientation, and specialist approaches which are also divided along social lines. In one practice this succeeds more than in another. Where it goes well professionals and citizens help each other to consider more broadly the needs and solutions and abandon the clinical model which makes a strict division between professional (subject) and 'client' (object). In the clinical model professionals work with individual clients. The work is contextualized by a case load which is calculated on the basis of measurable production. Each new contact begins with a standard intake interview, even if this has already frequently taken place, which is certainly the case for 'worrisome' people. Afterwards a plan is drawn up within the narrow assignment of the workers, who after all have numerous other things to do and have no say about what is actually needed. They increasingly learn to not to reflect upon things, their bosses do not require it and their organisations are not accountable for it. Within terms determined in advance, they have to take control, work towards the goals established in advance and demonstrate that they do this in the prescribed manner. This clinical perspective leads to problem fixation and to the fragmentation of the help provision. In the practices studied, neighbourhood tables, peer groups and families help to break away from this clinical model. Forming networks appears to be an important success factor for strengthening self-direction,

¹⁸ This is also according to the theory of common factors, which proposes that the success of social work is not determined by the intervention, the protocols, the setting (group, relation, individual), long or short term, the professional discipline or the work experience and training of the social worker, but through the interaction between the person helped and the social worker, and its quality. See de Vries, 2007.

20 precisely for people in vulnerable circumstances. We do not see by far in every practice that the social workers are capable of forming networks on the basis of dialogue and cooperation. It also appears that a network for people in worrisome circumstances sometimes only consists of professionals and volunteers.

In successful practices social workers acquire a good overall picture of what people are capable of and the value of their social environment. This occurs most radically at MSS and DIZ. Here the professionals try to shift the initiative to the residents. Linking up with the lifeworld and experience world a search is apparent for ways to unite form (reciprocal, dialogical and together) and contents (solutions stemming from individual strength and the ability to cope). Returning the responsibility to the lifeworld requires inventiveness and the art of balancing. The worker has to be able to make contact with people in vulnerable circumstances on an individual level, develop a trustful relationship and stimulate them taking their own initiative. On a collective level they have to look for connections in the network with individual strengths and sources of help: family, peers, neighbours and friends. This also applies to other unofficial helpers such as mates, family conference coordinators, confidentiality advisors, support men and women. And for official workers: professionals in other teams, institutions and sectors. On all levels – individual and collective – workers make contact, gain trust and pass on responsibility with the perspective of restoring the ability to cope and social cohesion.

The practices which successfully link up with strengths in the lifeworld have the common characteristics:

- Contact has to (ultimately) be desired from two sides (citizens and professionals);
- Professionals have to ensure that the relationship remains pure and not become tainted by acting on commission (as happens with the social services in the teenage mother project (PJM) or from the police in the street youth project (PVS);
- This means that people can take their own responsibility and use their scope for action (this scope takes place between the system and lifeworld);
- It will thus be possible to abandon the power relationship with 'clients' and to do things with them, no longer deciding and acting for them;
- The consequence of this cooperation is that participants are more prepared to introduce positive changes in their behaviour.

The perspective that the morbid growth of the market logic can be conquered comes closer by in this way. Morbid growth such as ignoring certain problems and groups (everything which

is not measurable and everyone who is not objectionable or dangerous and does not know the way to the counters of the system world), the explosive growth of the second-line system world (with its authoritarian talking about and deciding for) and the stagnation of the first-line system world (remaining stuck in the paternalistic 'caring for').

The social discipline framework by McCold & Wachtel depicts the shift well. Vertically the control (setting boundaries, disciplining) increases from the bottom to the top. Horizontally the support (encouraging, enticing, nurturing) increases from left to right.

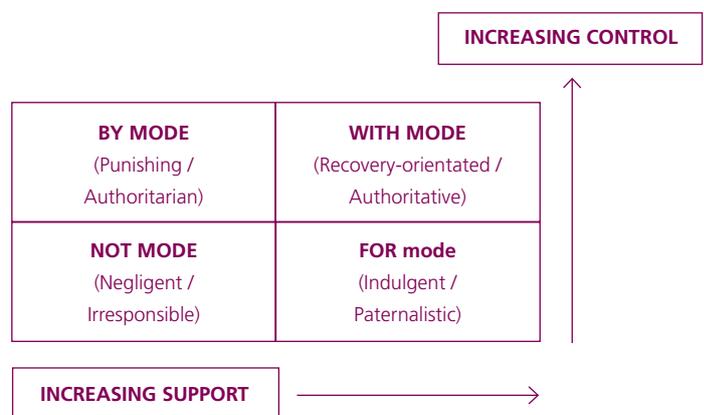


Fig. X (Source: McCold & Wachtel, 2004).

In three modes we recognise the NPM ideology: the irresponsible NOT mode of ignoring problems and groups, the authoritarian BY mode of the specialist second-line system world,¹⁹ and the paternalistic (caring) FOR mode of the first-line system world. Our five cases experimented with the WITH mode, in which professionals derive their authority from connecting strengths and not from ignoring, over-powering or taking over. That connection is based on the conviction that it is only when people support each other and nurture great expectations of each other, the way is clear for forming a reciprocal²⁰ relationship (between Subjects).

The differences between the practices can be converted into signature processes,²¹ in other words to the degree in which people succeed in introducing values such as reciprocity, cooperation and recovery into the practice. This happens in one case more consequentially than in another. This is not surprising, because attitudes based on reciprocity, cooperation and recovery have been repressed. The researchers saw this occur in the practices with teenage mothers (PJM), street youth (PVS)

¹⁹ For the BY mode the degree of control by the system over the individual is at a maximum whereas the support of the individual strength is at a minimum. As practitioner, a GGZ (mental health care) case manager, for example, takes decisions about the patient's treatment. In its more extreme form this has a very authoritarian character, in which the autonomy and freedom of the patient is seriously limited by being sectioned.

²⁰ 'Reciprocity prevents dependence and creates more equality in the relationship: there is a greater balance between giving and receiving. A stronger network will come about, in which contact can be intensified. It is not seldom that friendships stem from this.' Scheffers, p. 115.

²¹ Gratton (2007) uses this term for the way in which acting professionals express principles and values which constitute the foundation of their organisations. The reduction which NPM brings about with its technocratic orientation to measurable effectiveness and efficiency hinders the capacity of social professionals to achieve such signature processes through their passion (calling).

and the lonely elderly (PLV). These professionals are trapped in the field of tension between autonomy (waiting) and paternalism (taking over). Contributing to self-determination requires that social workers (competency agents, project supervisors and youth workers) have new competencies which initially appear to be contradictory: pro-active (enterprising) and actively restrained, connecting and letting go. That places high demands of their creative and improvisational capacities. There is often too little time for disentangling this knot. As reaction the researchers observed all sorts of counterproductive behaviour, measured according to the network and direction-strengthening ambitions: moralising, postponing, waiting, taking over. PJM, PVS are PLV are thus the practices which hold on to an individualizing approach the most.

1.6. WHAT DO REPRESENTATIVES OF STEERING FORCE HAVE TO DO AND NOT DO TO PROMOTE THE STRENGTHS IN THE LIFE WORLD?

Civil servants who are educated in the management and further development of systems to keep society going, may think that the world consists of interlocking systems directed by the government. Whereas in everyday life the government is practically absent. Turning the welfare state into a facilitating society will therefore not appeal to many people. The majority of people already live according to this guiding principle. Most people support family and friends when they have setbacks. It is important that civil servants are able to project themselves into the everyday lifeworld and primarily into groups which are underprivileged. Because, after the loss of its pillars, society has primarily developed a horizontal stratification and the middle classes (where the civil servants belong) have scarcely any knowledge about how the underprivileged in society (where the most risks of dropping out of society occur) run their lives. This means that the innovative and creative capacity of society is assessed incorrectly. The research results of the Amsterdam WMO workshop can be translated into a device for representatives of steering forces: do not overestimate the learning capacity of people, but also do not underestimate their strength.

That society is no longer based on 'compensation of individual strength' (how people learn to conquer their limitations) but on compensation with an external intervention (someone takes over the problem) we have already seen. The reflex to a setback is no longer: 'how do I work to get out of this?', but 'who will help me get out of this?'. Naturally a helping hand is also necessary: for serious debts, debt restructuring is perhaps sensible. But if nothing further happens, it will go wrong very quickly. The relapse after debt restructuring is enormous. People behave as victims and wait passively to see who will solve their problems. People thus have to be coached in how to improve their situation. Who does this is the question. Here a role has been set aside for social organisations and not for the government itself. After all, civil servants have their hands tied by the granting of equal rights and will far sooner have the tendency to set up diagnostic and categorising systems.

How can representatives of steering force nevertheless contribute to the better utilization of the strengths of the lifeworld?

The research provided the following indications:

- a. The government will achieve this by working from the bottom-up, for example with a district director who is both in touch with the system world of the local authorities as well as the residents. The government has to return to the streets and conduct outreach work.
- b. They will achieve this by redressing the relation between goals and means. The goal (macro: for what reason do we have a welfare state?, micro: how can this citizen be supported in improving the quality of his/her life?) should not be replaced by means questions such as: how do we provide compensation and how do we do this as effectively and efficiently as possible? Goals and means are often separate. The means question dominates.
- c. They will achieve this by regaining the direction of the goals.
- d. They will achieve this by earning respect.

If the government wants to link up with the strengths in the lifeworld, then it has to be set up from the basis – from the level of a neighbourhood network. Not by taking over but by facilitating. This requires representatives of steering force that they, as market masters, are able to judge the initiatives and responsibilities of and with residents, that they are able to distinguish when there are opportunities which can make the 'WITH mode' possible and when the 'FOR', 'BY' and 'NOT modes' are really needed.

The WITH mode can even mean that representatives of steering force can do things together with residents: you take care of the communal garden/clean the street with the residents. This places special demands on these 'steerers': they have to be able to listen, have the power to overrule and also be available in the evening. Outreach representatives of steering force leave the system reality of office hours, memos and meetings and participate in practices in which people in vulnerable circumstances work on social cohesion and the ability to cope. They also meet the outreach social workers there, and see their system-transcending (not to be expressed in quantifiable indicators) activities.

The FOR mode means that the government does things for residents and their lifeworld. You clean the street for the residents. Our research demonstrates that this mode has expanded enormously through NPM and that this is deeply nestled in the expectations and the behaviour of all those involved. 'Steerers' can help in pushing back the patriarchal FOR mode by looking at what is needed for residents to become detached from the consumer and client role. They can help the transition from consumer to co-producer by putting it in process terms (time, money, scope for development, learning). That is always tailored work.

The BY mode means that the government intervenes in the self-determination of citizens and their lifeworld. Specialists in the second line take over the responsibility by placing people

22 under supervision, treatment and in custody. By stimulating that residents do things themselves and that professionals support them in this, 'steerers' can promote prevention and early indications and help prevent local problems being passed on to the second line. They therefore have to be alert about the strengths in the lifeworld and the first line (neighbourhood-related unofficial and official helpers), able to recognise residents who take the initiative to do things themselves and understand what is necessary if citizens in vulnerable situations want to do or learn to do things for themselves. Breaking away from the BY mode means that 'steerers' prevent authorities from taking over the problems.

Breaking away from the NOT mode means that representatives of steering force gain insight into groups of people in vulnerable situations who are left to fend for themselves and who are precisely those people who need help and support. For this purpose they should have regular contact with outreach social workers and unofficial helpers who are active in the lifeworlds of vulnerable citizens and trust their ears, eyes and insights.

In all four modes the 'steerer' learns to look at what is needed for the structural solution of problems on the basis of the restoration of social cohesion and the ability to cope. This has not been the case up until now. To achieve this conditions are necessary. How can the government support this?

Representatives of steering force who make work of the WITH mode will talk about the tensions and conflicts that they experience. On the one hand they talk about the tension between the loyalty to activated people and the ideal typical neutral, valueless governmental apparatus on the other hand. That requires a new interpretation of the integrity principle of the government, in which from general principles such as equal treatment, reasonableness and fairness, practical solutions for local issues and individual problems are sought. If scope and trust become the normal state of affairs for all stakeholders – from managers, civil servants and professionals to citizens – who then checks whether this happens according to the laws and rules? What are the margins of the law? Outreach professionals and 'steerers' have to combat fraud, but also make it discussible. Their managers have to realise that they are wrestling with dilemmas and that scope for action is necessary. Such an outreach 'steerer' has to connect (be involved) and be simultaneously neutral (treat people equally in the eyes of the law). This tension can be partially solved by clearly formulating in advance which initiatives will be given priority. A checklist can help: initiatives have to be geared towards promoting 'inclusion', without the risk of narrow self-interest and with sufficient and demonstrable ability and willingness. An independent check by a third person is an option.

What if trust is betrayed? If a civil servant participates in (is involved in) a district, he/she has to act less through distrust and control than when he/she remains neutral 'at a distance'. If you get matters going in the lifeworld, this concerns trust. You see what people do and know what is happening. The facilitating government has to ask itself: how do I treat you equally while in

the implementation of the work you can no longer be objective/detached? How do you unite your assertive and supportive roles? With the FOR, WITH, BY and NOT mode framework representatives of steering force can distinguish normative dimensions: rightfulness is the main thing for FOR, reliability for WITH, necessity for BY and justice for NOT. For a government which withdraws and has to do more with less resources, the four modes model constitutes a compass for how it – beyond the bureaucratic and market logic – can approach tensions, conflicts and dilemmas, can push back the over-expansive BY and FOR modes and in so doing can promote the perspective of the ability to cope by citizens in vulnerable circumstances.

1.7 WHAT DO REPRESENTATIVES OF STEERING FORCE NEED?

'Steerers' always work within the context of a politically-governed environment. That implies that there is an administratively-established framework for this outreach form of working. It is important that in the dialogue between politics, citizens and social organisations, a form of contract is developed in which all parties subscribe to this manner of working as the basis for the transformation. This does not have to be complicated, because almost all political parties and every politician employ 'close to the citizen' as a mantra. Both the local council as well as the municipal executive have to be well aware that work processes then start in relation to which they should adopt a detached attitude. The role of the responsible councillor should be decisive in guarding the transformation processes, so that they cannot be disrupted by political interventions. A fraternally operating municipality is an advantage, because in these processes setbacks are inevitable. Scope is necessary for experiments. In a polarised political situation this approach requires a robust 'steerer'.

1.8. CONCLUSION

NPM has created four monsters:

Paternalism ('we know what is good for you');

Utilitarianism ('everything of value has to have a price tag');

Consumerism ('give it to me, I have the right to it');

Fragmentism ('chop up the intractable reality into bits and set at it with specialisms').

Outreach work combats these monsters with a different way of thinking and acting which stem from a different way of looking at social issues: what are people able to do themselves? Outreach work stems from sense of urgency and other feelings, vision development and practical passion. Hidden under this shift from the system world to the lifeworld are transformations which we have touched upon. These transformations are concerned with the secondary working process: how does the division of labour, legislation, cooperation and the development of knowledge take place? If citizens and professionals acquire more of the lead, these secondary processes should be organised in a more bottom-up way. Who decides about what? How do obstructive habits become cleared up? How do we guarantee results in new rules, competencies and 'tools'? How

do new cooperative associations acquire form? How do social workers and their managers acquire the new competencies which they need?

Outreach social workers are fully occupied with all these aspects. They cannot say to team leaders or managers: Arrange this for us, because we've got our hands full with the transformation to the lifeworld. In actual practice they are searching for a solution to the obstacles of top-down steering which stand in the way of the bottom-up capacity for development. They are also searching for a solution to the fragmentation of issues and the specialisation of disciplines, which stand in the way of an integral approach. Our five practices demonstrate that these are difficult processes. The most convincing practices (MSS and DIZ) prove that the transformation of secondary work processes takes a long time, in which the ideas, energy, talents and expertise of many people are needed. The knowledge about these supportive processes provided by our research will be described in the next two chapters. We will further consider the conditions under which outreach workers and representatives of steering force can re-discover their new roles.

PUBLIC - System world	Lifeworld - PRIVATE
Government, politicians, civil servants	Citizens, professionals
Town hall, local council	Neighbourhood, district, street
Policy	Activity
Large-scale	Small-scale
Problem-oriented	Solution-oriented
Specialist	Generalist
Rightful/Lawful	Arbitrary
Procedural	Emotional
Formal/Official	Informal/Unofficial
Risk avoidance	Passion/pleasure
Controllable	Practical
Organised hierarchically	Horizontal – network nature
Institutions	People
Information/PR/marketing	Social media
Steered implementation	Helpful support
Bureaucratic	Activating

Fig. X (Source: McCold & Wachtel, 2004).

CHAPTER 2

FROM THE TOP-DOWN TO THE BOTTOM-UP ORGANISATION OF THE WORK

- 24 How can the government stimulate in a top-down way that citizens and social professionals take their freedom and responsibility in a bottom-up way? In this question there is a paradox. We established that the top-down development and implementation culture made citizens into consumers of products, has diminished the interest in the strengths of the lifeworld and has created situations that for people in worrisome circumstances have led to the erosion of the ability to cope. Through NPM the government has come to regard social work as a debit entry which has to be restrained in a top-down way (through standardisation, time budgeting, detailed product descriptions, etc.). Means have become goals. We also saw that the most successful outreach practices came to exist with support from the government. Representatives of steering force appear to be crucial for the success of the transformation from system to lifeworld through their capacities to create scope, connect and inspire. For doing this, they have to abandon their trusted client/provider model and search for more interactive and 'learning' partnerships with implementation organisations and active citizens. This applies to civil servants just as much to managers of welfare institutions and to councillors. Everyone has to master a new repertoire, because bottom-up innovation by professionals – not withstanding citizens – has barely played a role in the dominant NPM culture up until now. The transference of considerable steering force to local councils is asking for difficulties if the question is not simultaneously asked about how managers, civil servants and administrators – who make NPM their second nature – are going to fulfill their roles in a different way. Their narrow-mindedness leads to incorrect notions and blind spots about the (the lifeworlds of) people who least fit into the profile of a successful client. It is precisely about working with these people which concerns this book. How can social workers, managers, administrators and councillors break free from these blind spots and notions?

In this chapter we will deal with six questions:

- What are the consequences of the top-down organisation philosophy of NPM for the secondary work processes?
- What is the bottom-up organisation of work processes?
- What are outreach workers wrestling with who are occupied with the transformation from top-down to bottom-up?
- What are the conditions for a successful bottom-up development?
- How can representatives of steering force promote bottom-up work processes?
- What do representatives of steering force need for doing this?

2.1. WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE TOP-DOWN ORGANISATION PHILOSOPHY OF NPM FOR THE SECONDARY WORK PROCESSES?

NPM organises the relationship between professionals and clients via products which are standardised and have protocols.

People may use these products, providing that this has been confirmed through an intake interview or a diagnosis and referral and their client-linked budget (CLB) or healthcare insurance is sufficient.²² The standards set by NPM have started to live a life of their own. They assume the place of qualitative objectives (van den Burg in Jansen et al., 2009). This is coupled to the reduction in professional pride and self-respect of professionals (Jansen et al., 2009) and with a withdrawal into the system world where they (Donkers, 2010) lose track: 'Many people are of the opinion that they are unable to do much more than adapt themselves to the increasing call for more certainty, security, rules, structure, standard solutions and fixed procedures' (p.30). Often their energy and creativity lies in the avoidance of risks and conceiving reservations (Kruiter et al., 2008). For social workers the production standards of NPM remain alien, because they do not stem from the problems and tensions that they experience in practice and because they strongly deviate from what they had been used to for making their work meaningful. 'Scoring' according to measurable standards are unrelated to values such as social justice, respect and human rights, which constitute the foundation ('calling') of social professions (Freidson, 2001, Tonkens, 2003, 2008). To the extent that social workers are still capable of critical reflection of their work their critique of NPM has had little response from administrators and policy makers for a long time now. This changes when it becomes clear that the results of NPM does not live up to the expectations and it can be demonstrated that making use of unofficial networks is cost efficient (see de Winter, 2008, Steyaert 2010, van der Lans 2008).²³

It is the primary motive of outreach workers from the very beginning: they return to the foundations of their profession, take distance from the free market with its counters, protocols, product books and over-expansive specialisations.²⁴ They seek 'bottom-up' connections with the 'holistic' lifeworld of people in vulnerable circumstances (Räkers & Huber, 2009). As outreach social workers make this their 'core business', they also have to gear the supportive secondary processes to it. You cannot keep up with demand-oriented work if you are compensated for provision-oriented work.

2.2. WHAT IS THE BOTTOM-UP ORGANISATION OF WORK PROCESSES?

We have seen how in the social domain a transition from governance power to local councils takes place. This is coupled with economic cutbacks: more has to happen for less. A broad coalition of liberal, Christian democratic and social-democratic parties expects much from the development and solution potential that can be used in the lifeworld of people. We saw that such a transformation requires a creative mix of feelings (for example the sense of urgency), thoughts (for example in vision development), will (for example in the formation of mission) and

²² There is no diagnosis and referral for services and products of welfare work. The group which was earlier referred for day treatment AWBZ (general law on exceptional medical expenses), is 'moved' by the WMO to the local council. The risk exists that local councils will feel forced to make diagnoses and referrals once again. In this, the political pressure to arrive at far-reaching diagnoses and referrals or categorisation is great.

activities (for example practice development). Such a mix does not allow itself to be prescribed from the top-down. No party can achieve this on its own. How can implementation organisations and civil services which are used to streamline their work and cooperative processes via management layers and planning & control-cycles give it a more bottom-up setup? How does the shared urgency, vision and mission formation take place? Which working forces take the lead? Which shift from power relations to self-determination does this go hand-in-hand? Which tensions will be encountered by those involved? In which new roles would such a transformation from top-down to bottom-up be guaranteed? Outreach social workers and the working forces which support them from governance and management and from research and education are characterised by the following four roles:

1. Roles which are necessary for the organisation and positioning of outreach practices:

- a. *Leaders* are not at the head of practice, but in the middle of it and they ensure that everyone takes care of their responsibilities and uses their capacities, regardless of their position or importance;
- b. *Ambassadors* celebrate successes under the motto: good intentions are not enough, you have to make your right to exist broadly credible.

2. Roles which are necessary for making work frameworks suitable for creative processes:

- a. *Monitors* of the underlying values know how to utilize all strengths, also counter-strengths, with a sharp eye for details and for constructive frictions;
- b. *Developers* do not work from ready-made models (methodologies), but ensure there is an integration of feelings, thinking, wanting and doing for the participants.

2.2.1. Roles for the organisation and positioning of outreach practices

In all the practices studied, teams – within specific result agreements (the Object of action) – are responsible for a group of clients. This team works within and between institutions together with citizens and other teams. It concerns not only teams of social workers, but also supportive services (finances, HRM, logistics services, etc.), the management of an institution and civil services and administrators. They provide leadership for the transformation, draw up policy and take care of the financing. The switch from top-down to bottom-up management of this cooperation requires new leadership.

a. Leaders are not at the head of practice, but in the middle of it and they ensure that everyone takes care of their responsibilities and uses their capacities, regardless of their position or importance

However paradoxical it might seem, it is precisely in the transformation to a more bottom-up organisation of the work that the role of civil servants, administrators and management appears to be crucial. In all the practices studied the management abandoned the top-down power relationship, but differ in the way in which they stimulate the cooperation between professionals and residents. For the Ex-homeless in Self-management (DIZ) and Social Support System (MSS) the administrators regard the transformation not as yet another project, but as an opportunity to do away with the oppressive organisation model caused by NPM. Warmly and with full conviction they facilitate the cooperation of the people who are developing and implementing the transformation in a bottom-up way. Sometimes the management come to the fore by appointing motivated project leaders who are good at stimulating cooperation and team formation. They can help in focusing the steering mission and the supporting vision and in the operationalization of the underlying values with the help of signature processes. But usually the steering force plays this role in the background as facilitator, supporter, listening ear and sounding board.

At Project Safe & Social (PVS), Project Counter Addicts (PLV) and Project Young Mothers (PJM) the management does not take on any of these roles. It does not provide any direction to the transformation from top-down to bottom-up, so that the bottom-up development all too quickly meets no response from the implementers. They are left with dilemmas and conflicts which they are unable to resolve, so that they return to old routines. They miss a clear, jointly supported sense of urgency, mission and vision. Through this the cooperation between the participants becomes diluted. In these practices the professionals have great difficulty in determining a goal with the citizens and working from it towards the ability to cope. The guidance provided by social workers remains strongly hierarchical. They miss the means for further deepening and operationalizing the WMO vision within their own team, not to mention the rest of the institution and between institutions. There is some freedom (scope) to give the innovation form, but their managers offer too little or even too many frameworks.

At PLV the approach is diluted when it enters its regular phase. For the professionals the pressure increases for fitting the approach into the normal work, and whatever is in conflict

²³ A calculation by research agency Stade Advies in assignment to the local council in Woerden indicated that help to a problem family certainly cost an average of 40,000 euros per year. This amount is a total sum of the social security plus the costs of the social work, youth care, debt assistance, mental healthcare or providers of parental support. I. Horstik & A. Veuger (2012), *Kwaliteit van samenleven* (quality of society).

²⁴ 'The abundance of information, possibilities and choices and the decline of recognisable patterns and social embedding render it factually impossible to reduce social problems and social behaviour to a one-dimensional solution. Our inner and outer surroundings are very complex. To not be dragged under by complexity, supervision, coaching, offering support, being observed, help based on that which has been offered in the past exist rather than specialised treatment.' Ewijk, van (2010, p. 37).

26 with this is rejected or abandoned. Under the pressure of the considerable amount of work and a lost tender they revert to the familiar pattern of provision and problem-oriented working. We also see such a reaction at PJM. There the management prioritize the specifications of the Social Services to such an extent that the creativity and the entrepreneurship of the project supervisors are ultimately stifled. The same reversion to working 'old style' can be seen at PVS. There the ambition is to improve the cooperation between the police and social work, after mutual conflicts take place in the approach and dealings with street youth. Better cooperation cannot succeed if it only happens on a coordinating level (agreement between what the police are doing and what the youth workers are doing). The urgency of the conflict between the police and youth workers induces greater cooperation, also with the young people involved and their parents. The managers and administrators share this ambition, but this is hardly the case for the professionals involved. Here the managers leave too little a mark on the transformation, so that separate cultures come to exist in which there is no knowledge sharing or transfer. The professionals involved think that they are busy enough and can do without new experimental tasks. They think that the project is a modish game by administrators which they put at the bottom of the pile of the other modish whims by their bosses. In this way for the street youth, making contact with, creating trust and respectful treatment of the people involved does not get off the ground. The young people concerned remain at a distance. Instead of talking to them, they are talked about, even in the media. The consequence is that an overall picture cannot be drawn up of their strengths and needs.

Insufficient steering force and leadership hinder the innovation process. In the practices for street youth, counter addicts and teenage mothers we see the professionals involved who – with an assignment which is either too small or too large – are left to fend for themselves and whose reaction to this is surly or resigned, because they are not capable of keeping the practice going or keeping it afloat. In this way it becomes evident it is not only the quality of the management which is important for the success of a transformation, but also the quality of the social workers. They should not be afraid of the unexpected, but feel challenged and be enterprising. A strong conviction, an investigative attitude and a flexible disposition are necessary in addition to the capacity to make contact, gain trust and establish connections. Good management stimulates this leadership in professionals and enables them to develop leadership competencies. This is clearly evident at MSS and DIZ. There the participants are not waiting for direction, support and the establishing of frameworks, but motivated they set to work on their own.

At PJM the professionals started in this manner, but from being challenging, co-creative and open, their leadership becomes introverted. They become increasingly better at thinking of reservations and in isolating themselves from the outside world (there is barely any contact with another PJM in the city) and

doing things on their own instead of acting cooperatively. At PVS and regular PLV, we see professionals who are awaiting their time, are strongly dependent on the management and are also unable to keep matters which have become deadlocked afloat on their own. From the start exclusivity is ingrained in these practices because the management only discusses the transformation with a small number of people. For this reason, the ownership of and the motivation for this transformation remains fragile. The management does not stimulate the bottom-up flow of information. The rest of the organisation is not informed about the task of these professionals. It is just one of the many pilot projects, while the 'regular' work goes ahead. The professionals do not even succeed in regularly organising an integral work consultation.

On the contrary, the MSS and DIZ are good in facilitating leadership. There harmony exists about a new vision, a new approach and a new manner of dealing with responsibility. There the social workers succeed in sharing their ideas about the transformation with citizens, with other teams within and outside their own institutions and with the management. There the managers are not exclusively responsible for the external communication about the transformation, nor for the public relations with other bodies. All participants have to get used to the new roles: how do you utilize the available expertise as well as possible? How do you keep everyone well-informed? How do you ensure that everyone's vote (perspective) counts? How do you arrive at a workable task load and a logical allocation of tasks? In together providing direction for this exploration, the administrators, management, professionals and participants come to terms with and strengthen each other at DIZ and MSS.

b. Ambassadors celebrate successes under the motto: good intentions are not enough, you have to make your right to exist broadly credible

Another role which has to flourish for the success of the transformation to a more bottom-up organisation is that of ambassador of one's own practice. This can clearly be seen at MSS and DIZ. These are open practices where a full discussion about what is useful, necessary and effective is carried out, from the top (town council and executive board) to the bottom (members of staff other than social workers and also the unofficial workforce and residents) and from small (the micro world of the one-to-one relationship between resident and supporter) to large (the macro world of another approach to the homeless and derelicts in the light of the WMO). So the circle reflecting on and coming to conclusions about the application of people and means becomes larger and the profundity of the solutions found grows. In both practices the researchers are given easy access and the willingness to learn from the outcomes of the research is great. At DIZ as well as MSS the unofficial helpers and 'clients' (participants) are part of the Community of Practice. Because of this, different perspectives are taken into account in the reflection.

We developed a model of four forces which turn top-down

into bottom-up practices: citizen force, professional force, steering force and learning force (see §2.4.). In a cooperative bottom-up practice the participants (derived from these four forces) interpret the role of ambassador together. The vision of outreach work becomes increasingly more a communally-shared story. A successful transformation has an expanding radius of action. This is expressed in new alliances with forces outside the original practice. But this is also expressed in profiling activities via lectures, workshops, congresses, websites and articles. MSS and DIZ have participants who can perform as ambassadors of the project. They visit organisations and meetings, act outside their own circles and seek contact with stakeholders on various levels: from unofficial to official. For this purpose they have to learn to communicate and cooperate in various manners: with and without technical jargon, steering and following, activist and pragmatic, orally and in writing. By displaying pride, the social workers recover their professional pride. At the other three practices we see hardly any professional pride. There social workers have become introverted, left to their own devices, frustrated by the many doubts and uncertainties, less prepared to participate in the research and less generous with doubts, dilemmas, tensions and successes.

Conclusion

What is noticeable about the new authorities, tasks and responsibilities which the bottom-up organisation of the work involves is that social workers make the change from being the people carrying out the work which is organised by others to being the owners of it. This change manifests itself the strongest in the growth of their leadership and ambassadorship. The same applies to the other participants from the other three 'forces'.

2.3. WHAT DO OUTREACH WORKERS WRESTLE WITH IN THE TRANSFORMATION FROM TOP-DOWN TO BOTTOM-UP?

What also makes a difference between a successful and unsuccessful transformation is the power of conviction to external parties concerned with money and policy. Respectful treatment in the light of strengthening people's self-direction requires professionals to link up with what citizens can and want, and in this at their tempo. This is at odds with the official performance requirements and accountability systems which are anchored in detailed ways of timekeeping. There is every reason for celebrating successes and showing results, because innovations are vulnerable. The survival of the practice is uncertain, no matter how successful the interpretation of the principles of the WMO and WNS are. This was discovered by MSS (socially isolated) after the merger of districts. None of the five practices succeeded in making their results demonstrably convincing so that they would continue to exist. The participants of PLV (counter addicts), MSS and DIZ (ex-homeless) did succeed in making executive boards and other 'steerers' accept the importance of the practice, even if the successes that people took a pride in were ambiguous. A success for the professional and the 'client' does not need to be a success for the commissioner of the assignment. A day of hard work does not always provide concrete

results. It is difficult to gain insight in the time and effort required in being supportive using output criteria. The legitimacy of practices via qualitative criteria requires shared understanding and recognition. That shared understanding has to be anchored in shared insight. Putting that insight in terms of standards can serve to legitimize an innovative practice. The research of the Amsterdam WMO workshop (Stam 2012) is an example of this. Establishing practices which work in handbooks is in its early days and has limited value.

Participants should take on the responsibility for the quality of their practice together in bottom-up developing. An important gauge is how people interpret the effectiveness, pleasure and challenge of the work. A transformation from top-down to bottom-up steering requires reflection about the tension between the individual scope for action (doing your own thing in the way that suits you) and frameworking that action in communal rules and standards. At PJM (teenage mothers) we see that once the description of the new working method has been elaborated upon, the project supervisors operate on automatic pilot: as long as they achieve their targets (going from rung 2 to 3 in ten months). The externally determined output frameworks which directly determine the financing, work as obstacles for the further development of the bottom-up transformation. The professionals are unable to achieve a further refinement of rules and standards.

2.3.1. Roles which are necessary for making frameworks suitable for creative processes

Bottom-up work processes revolve around utilizing the tension between one's own qualities (with the extreme pole being acting on your own) and collective standards and rules (with the extreme pole being hermetic frameworks). We saw what tightly restricted frameworks did with the bottom-up process at PJM (teenage mothers). And if one's own qualities are given the upper hand, a practice disintegrates into no knowledge sharing and transfer such as at PLV (counter addicts) and PVS (street youth). Which roles are needed in a team to achieve a balance in this?

a. Monitors of the underlying values know how to utilize all strengths, also counter-strengths, with a sharp eye for details and constructive friction

In the top-down organisation model it is not possible to utilize the available strengths well. If the frameworks are established from the top-down in a detailed level, this will stifle much creativity and intelligence. A bottom-up organisation has to ensure that the participants solve the questions and dilemmas which they are faced with themselves. This requires elbow room. It is only in this way that participants of a transformation can leave the old routines of provision, problem and system world oriented action behind them. We saw how the management at PLV (counter addicts) in the pilot phase, at DIZ (ex-homeless) and MSS (socially isolated) consciously facilitated scope for experimentation. They granted their professionals freedom in the development and implementation. At PLV this is for as long

28 as the project had pilot status. At MSS and DIZ the bottom-up principle is the point of departure for drawing up standards and guidelines together. It enables the social workers to experiment with new working methods, thinking out-of-the-box and work off the beaten track. This is not temporarily but permanently because they thus acquire an extra responsibility: interpreting and designing the frameworks together. In both practices the participants opt for doing this in an inductive manner: by sharing experiences and in so doing coming up with rules. In this way they safeguard that the individual scope for action does not turn into operating and searching for solutions on your own. They thus also ensure that progress is made in the signature processes, so the vision and implementation of the work maintains communal support.

Working on your own devices – without good interaction – can be seen in the case of the competency agent at PLV (from sheer necessity because the manager does not come up with instructions and frameworks), the social workers at PVS and also initially the external professionals at DIZ. They bide their time and do not contribute to the development of a new practice. At DIZ this leads to such a major conflict that these external professionals are given a warning by the residents. This also applied to the researchers. Their plan of approach with research questions and goals are in the first instance rejected by the residents with the remark: use normal Dutch before you come back again. After this reprimand or rather because of it, the ‘steering together’ between researchers and residents turns out alright after all.²⁵ Counterforce and debate are necessary for being able to achieve clarity about rules and their importance with each other. This was an important success factor at MSS and DIZ: the participants develop their knowledge and competencies not in an abstract manner but on the basis of specific questions and problems, which are measured and approached from underlying central values. It requires dialogue and commitment from all of those involved. This interprets itself in terms of communal vision development and loyalty to the ‘cause’. By constantly placing the fundamental values at the centre of debate and reflection, the participants acquire clarity about what has priority and where efforts have to be made.

At DIZ client steering and self-control are the central values. They are the benchmark for what is good and what is not. At MSS the central values are cooperation (breaking through isolation) and reciprocity. The consequence of the communal retention of central values is that professionals cannot claim a separate status which would give them the right to acting on their own and at their own discretion. They would even not have the right to end the relationship with residents if they are confronted with threats or abandonment on the part of a resident. The guiding principle is that the professionals at MSS and DIZ never unilaterally break off the contact with residents. The practices grow because they do not run away from but utilize the recalcitrance they encounter. It succeeds because

they use the underlying values and the object of the practice as a compass. The object (goal and mission) surpasses the relationships that the individual participants have with each other. This means that it is possible to learn from the tensions and conflicts which occur on a daily basis. Participants deal with undesirable behaviour in the interest of the ‘cause’. The principles which are at issue – with the first principle being recognition and acknowledgement of the perspective of the various people involved – work as stabilizers. Arguments may become heated, certainly at DIZ, but by regarding them as expressions of structural tensions, they can lead to greater insight into the object of the practice and the significance of the underlying values. Reverting to the underlying values and the goal which is being aimed for, usually results in a resumption of the leitmotif in a constructive manner. Outreach social workers know that it is difficult to gain the trust of isolated people in particular, because justifiably and unjustifiably they have been let down as far as this was concerned. Both professionals and residents have to experience that it is possible, allowing themselves the time to gain trust and for doing this, moments and acceptance have to be sought. They finally decide together which rules, guidelines and standards would be valid as a framework for action. It provides the much-needed mainstay amid all the uncertainty and unexpectedness entailed in the bottom-up transformation.

b. Developers do not work from ready-made models (methodologies) but provide for the integration of feelings, thinking, wanting and doing

How do you prevent the rules and working frameworks from becoming too restricted so that they stifle the mix of experiment, reflection and debate which is necessary for bottom-up development? This is clearly demonstrated at MSS and DIZ. The new working method is not considered to be a semi-finished product which has to be ‘completed’ within a set period of time: a standardised methodology with a fixed set of guidelines and regulations for action. People work from the realization that a methodology which works today will not provide solace tomorrow or to another group of people. The social reality of people in vulnerable circumstances is too changeable to encompass it in a ready-made methodology or fixed set of rules for action or protocols. At DIZ and MSS the guiding principle in the organisation of the work is that tough problems are the norm and not the exception. Accentuating and adjusting the rules thus remains a constant concern for the participants.

In the regular phase at PLV (counter addicts) and in the first phase at PVS (street youth) an inadequate cooperative position results in half-hearted behaviour: the social workers say they want the innovation, but wait for others to do something. The Community of Practice is weak; there is no sum of its parts to enable the individual members to surpass themselves. There is no response to feedback. We see professionals falling back on old routines (PVS), dropping out (PLV) or privately giving their own meaning to the transformation (PJM). The project supervi-

²⁵ See Huber & Bouwes, 2011.

sors are not good at encouraging each other in the innovation. We saw earlier in Chapter 1 that in these three practices the sense of urgency and the supporting vision were not powerful. That makes the innovation ad hoc, so that new plans are started enthusiastically without the previous ones being completed. The consequence is also that after their introduction, new working methods become snowed under by regular affairs and pass into oblivion.

MSS and DIZ distinguish themselves because a working method is maintained permanently rather than incidentally so that people overcome the stress and uncertainty together. In addition to courage and perseverance, these learning processes require taking distance from risk avoidance, from yes-but behaviour (Kruiter et al., 2008) and from going along with ‘the increasing call for greater certainty, security, rules, structure, standard solutions and fixed procedures’ (Donkers, 2010, p. 30). It is precisely continuing to work on the development of standards and rules that makes it possible to utilize uncertainty instead of avoiding it. Chapter 3 focuses on how that learning and developing is done.

2.4. WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS FOR A SUCCESSFUL BOTTOM-UP DEVELOPMENT?

We developed a model which does justice to the complexity of the bottom-up transformation of primary and secondary working processes. It describes the various expertises, interests and perspectives of participants in innovative, outreach practices: citizen force, professional force, steering force and learning force.²⁶

CITIZEN FORCE	PROFESSIONAL FORCE
Introducing the right to self-determination in practice	Integral and pushing back boundaries
Applying individual strength	Courage and love
Develop direction/self-determination	From ‘caring for’ to ‘ensuring that’
Utilize network	Close to citizens
LEARNING FORCE	STEERING FORCE
Gear education to integral workers	Trust as driving force
Warm research supports the innovation of practices	Developing new governance styles together
	Different accountability

Four force models presented at the Eropaf Lustrum Congress 2011

Citizen force: de Boer and van der Lans (2011) use the concept ‘citizen’ in one breath with resident, client and customer. For them, ‘more’ citizen means ‘less bureaucracy, fewer rules, less provision, fewer imposed intentions’ (p.11). People in a vulnerable position and with multiple problems, and their immediate

living circumstances, have to be seen far more as co-producers rather than consumers and much more as experience experts than as ignorant clients. Citizens (citizens coming out of their cocoons) are people with rights, and first and foremost is the right to self-determination (protection against systematization). Good cooperation with the lifeworld and experience world of these citizens requires that social workers link up with three strengths in the lifeworld of people in vulnerable circumstances: their own strength (the ability to cope), the social network (‘the ability to cope together’ according to Peter Hilhorst) and unofficial workforces (self-organisations, volunteers, experience experts, etc.).

Under NPM citizen force was reduced to being a consumer of services, volunteer or discussion partner in consultation and inquiry procedures. In these roles the dimension of bearer of the development is missing. At MSS and DIZ we see how consequently the responsibility – also for the transformation – is passed back. People in vulnerable circumstances and their social network are approached by outreach social workers. These people want to be treated with respect and decency. They want to tell their story and not be confronted with unnecessary complicated procedures. Outreach social workers approach them as co-producers, endowed with strengths and opportunities. Distance is taken from a clinical interpretation of the relationship between ‘client’ and professional. The guiding principle is supporting individual and social strengths.

These practices demonstrate how people as a participant in a co-creative process contribute to a balance between well-understood individual and general interests. This restoration of the intermediate role of citizens between their own and general interests is the way out of the opposition accentuated by NPM: society has to increasingly appeal to citizens’ own interest as client – to keep them satisfied (van der Lans, 2008). And the government forces itself further into the private domain of the citizen for surveillance, maintenance and control (Kruiter, 2010).

Professional force: professionals have to care less for people in vulnerable circumstances and ensure more that their ability to cope is increased. In this professionals have to have a broad view of the strengths and opportunities in the lifeworld and moreover have a great radius of action. This requires capacities which they have not been well-trained in yet:

- working in such a way that transcends boundaries and in this linking up the strengths in the system world with each other and with those in the lifeworld, beyond the boundaries of professions, institutions and sectors;
- making a multi-level analysis by linking the micro, meso and macro aspects of an issue with each other;
- learning to look with multi-focused eye, in other words, learning to deal with multiplicity of interests and talents, doing

²⁶ This actually concerns five strengths: in previous research we studied the co-creation between social workers and members of staff at housing corporations (Stam et al., 2009). Corporations and insurers are the first of a series of socially accountable enterprising businesses (business force) which we wanted to include in our research into putting the WMO into effect. Because such a business world is absent in the cases researched now, we limit ourselves here to four forces.

- 30 justice to legitimate agreements of the various stakeholders, in order to arrive at jointly-supported solutions;
- having an investigative attitude from which, as long and as often is necessary, approaches and cooperative forms are experimented with until the goals have been achieved.

Such an approach requires outreach social workers to contribute more to the cooperation between colleagues within and between teams, where they work in Communities of Practice on knowledge, methodology, rule and learning development. This will be further elaborated upon in Chapter 3.

Steering force: outreach social workers are not autonomous workers within the social sector. They realise that they operate within legal and financial frameworks. This challenges them – because they often think these frameworks are too restrictive and they want to interpret them differently – to relate to steering force. But steering force is caught up in market and bureaucratic logics. The promotion of expertise for social professionals sooner happens via extra training (which evidence-based studies have demonstrated it to have little effect: Bolhuis, 2000; Ruijters, 2006) rather than via the support of learning Communities of Practice.²⁷ How can politicians, administrators, councillors and managers help themselves to break away from this 'hostile to learning' approach (Vermaak, 2008)? 'Whatever concerns learning, development, personnel, cooperation and culture, is supplementary and perishes easily in barren times' (p. 67). Managers of welfare and care institutions have to combine their aim of having 'the house in order' with facilitating bottom-up learning to cooperate.

This is an important success factor in the practices studied. Financiers and managers of successful practices such as MSS and DIZ want, in addition to a return and a balanced budget, also a transformation geared to the strengths in the lifeworld. The financier of the practices, the government, wants laws and rules to be respected which concern legal certainty, legitimacy, equal opportunities, democratic decision making, social justice and human dignity. These human rights have moved into the background under the influence of NPM, in favour of technocratic values such as effectiveness and efficiency. Human rights are the basis for cooperation between professional and steering forces. The result of this is the increase in value in terms of reciprocity, self-determination, self-consciousness and self-control.

In three of the five practices – not coincidentally the practices which from the viewpoint of the transformation are the most successful – steering force plays a decisive role. At MSS, from the beginning, councillors and civil servants have taken a directorial role in stimulating co-creation between the four forces. At DIZ steering force actually plays a role in the background and it

is from here that scope is provided for the experiment and the choices of the participants. At PVS the local council steering force breaks through the impasse which exists when the professional forces acquire the lead and do not know what to do with it. In the two cases in which the least amount of bottom-up cooperation can be said to exist steering force works as a hindrance. At PJM steering force (the social services and directors) gives the professional force too little scope for taking the transformation further. At PLV steering force (in this case management and directors) are too indecisive and too inconsequent for being able to realize the opportunities for cooperation.

Learning force: study programmes have to train the professional of tomorrow and not those from the day before yesterday. They have to therefore elaborate upon the starter competencies of social workers more from the profile of outreach workers with a cooperative and experimental orientation. It is therefore necessary that they abandon their ivory towers and together search for what works and think about the dilemmas which become perceptible in innovative practices. Practice-oriented research into outreach work with people in vulnerable positions helps the various participants in social practices to acquire an eye for these dilemmas. In this researchers work inductively because within the social sector there is limited consensus about the methods with which valid results and solid knowledge development can be achieved.²⁸

Cooperating with learning force (educators and researchers) also appears to be an important factor for the success of outreach work. Researchers from the Amsterdam WMO workshop have contributed to tracing the success factors. The research method, Learning History, enabled participants to express their expertise and interests. This method also promoted the cooperative capacity of the researchers. By joining in, being involved with the target group and by posing reflective questions they learn to see new perspectives. The alternation between distance and closeness regarding the participants of the primary process help them to build bridges between theory and practice. The more present and close by, the better their view was of the recalcitrant reality of the participants. The more justice that was done to the recalcitrance, the greater the binding role was of the researchers. That succeeded primarily at DIZ and MSS. There the researchers came so close by that at a certain point the professionals and residents accepted them as participants. In the other practices the relationship was more distance and reserved.

The warm part of the research (with the narrative Learning History method) ensured in all cases that the respondents were able to provide their stories. The researchers enabled the interviewees to tell their stories by pursuing questions, establishing links with earlier comments and encouraging them to

²⁷ Communities of Practice are groups which share an Object of action and who deepen their expertise by regularly exchanging their knowledge and experience with each other (Wenger E., et al. 2002).

²⁸ See Kirk & Reid (2002), Science and social work. And: Jan Steyaert et al. (2010), De bijziendheid van evidence based practice (the short-sightedness of evidence-based practice).

talk about critical incidents. In the cold part of the research, in which the researchers took their distance, the interpretation and analysis by the researchers was not separated from the stories. The researchers interpreted the tensions which emerged with the help of the model of expansive learning by Engeström (1987). In this way they exposed the underlying oppositions and came to the formation of meaning about the separate cases. This led to the context-transcending final conclusions which we are presenting here.

Learning force also plays an important role in interpreting the research results in terms of competencies and study programmes. In master classes and in the Master's in Social Work lecturers present the outcomes to social workers, who are invited to hold them to the light of their own practices. In the six-month minor programme (thirty credits) in Outreach Work they are presented to fourth year Bachelor's students. There they are also the point of departure for further discussion and research. So the principles of bottom-up bonding and cooperation between the four forces permeate other (and future) practices.

2.5. HOW CAN REPRESENTATIVES OF STEERING FORCE PROMOTE BOTTOM-UP WORK PROCESSES?

How do 'steerers' contribute to the cooperation of the five forces (including business force)? To do this they have to break through routines which are connected to top-down work processes. A characteristic of this is the strict distinction between the roles of client and provider. On this basis governmental resources are shared. The provider – welfare institute, school or hospital – supplies services which are taken up by clients. The provider has to make efforts to be as successful as possible. For them the client is someone who is going to use its services. For the client a school or welfare institute provides services just like a shop or public transport do. Clients may assume that their wishes are complied with. If there are no results then this is the fault of the institute. So it is not social workers but their clients who have a say. Even if having some say is limited to that of a consumer, they may complain and protest about the service provided. If there are many dissatisfied clients, then the client can punish the provider.

Suspicious of the secret agendas of calculating social service organisations the government often plays tricks. That suspicion is felt and creates tension which hinders innovation. 'Steerers' can break through this pattern by not remaining at a distance, but by participating in transformations. How? Participating means cooperating with the implementing body. If 'steerers' do not do this, a practice will not get off the ground. The project for street youth (PVS) is a clear example of this. It has to ensure that the underlying conflicts become a thing of the past and that friction in the approach to nuisance by young people is transformed into a cooperative relationship between the police, council and the social service provision institute Polire, but what it primarily demonstrates is that in about 2009, the local council is not used to direct things on the basis of the WITH mode. Even if it deter-

mines the policy, establishes the broad frameworks, offers scope to operate and moreover provides the finances, it has little or no control. How is this possible? Social workers, respondents in the research, say that their managers are used to taking on projects which the council offer (also when the efforts cannot be realised). Whereas the local council gives the assignment to Polire because they think it will be successful. And the council think this because the managers promise that they will fulfill the assignment. The management does indeed take on the assignment but puts it 'aside' within the organisation, in other words, looks for people to manage it in practice. For them it is also an ad hoc task which they have to carry out on top of a considerable amount of other work, without being given scope and time for doing it. In this double transfer from council to Polire and from management to workers there is no scope for having breathing space together and to further specify the assignment, monitor its progress and establish conditions to make the project succeed. When the project leader at Polire acquires a new job a couple of months later, no one new is appointed in his place. All too quickly the researchers realise that the professionals cannot support the bottom-up development of PVS. They wait for the new project leader. But none comes. Then the team with its various disciplines ask for greater direction. When it does not come they become stoical. The researchers face resignation. The respondents are not regretful because they put so little effort into PVS. They are busy enough already. They speak about the project in the past tense. PVS is no longer a priority for them. They do not undertake any action for improving the situation. They do not regard it as their responsibility. It becomes apparent that there is little support by the professionals for the transformation. How is this possible? Had the incident with the arrest of the youth worker affected one of them after all? The implementing professionals (youth workers and social workers) at Polire are also used to taking on what comes in. For them this means: carry out what is assigned. The management think that professionals want to participate in projects and ideas that they come up with as a matter of course. The professionals think that the management asks too much of them. They can of course refuse, but feel the pressure of being loyal, so that in practice they would not do this. The consequence of this is that they are given increasingly more tasks which have to be done in the same amount of time. This is at the cost of their own initiatives and participating in projects which have their own preferences. The more tasks are imposed and carried out ad hoc, the more that the structure and ownership of their work is lacking. No one feels really responsible or takes on the responsibility. Because of this, tasks and projects are put to one side and are not developed. It is not only for the managers but also for the professionals that the top-down-mentality appears to be crippling for the result.

PVS leaves many matters to the professionals, but in their turn they subsequently let them drift. In the interpretation and allocation of roles and tasks the workers do not take any initiative. Interdisciplinary cooperative relationships remain of little concern. When the project leadership is withdrawn, a great lack of clarity comes to exist about tasks, authorities and

32 responsibilities. No decision-making about working methods, rules and the allocation of labour follows. The commitment of the professionals to PVS sinks to zero. PVS actually stops existing when the professionals abandon the project and put their time into other work.

This is thus not the way it should happen. The trio: sense of urgency, vision formation and mission with support, is not cooperatively interpreted at PVS. Everyone thinks that this is fine. Does the incident with the youth worker speak volumes after all? But communal lessons are not learned from this and everyone has their own version of the story. The bottom-up development of working processes requires binding leadership. That can be clearly seen at DIZ (ex-homeless) and MSS (socially isolated). The development there is a continuous process with a large, diverse group of people involved. In addition the goal of the practice shifts. It becomes deeper, broader and richer. Every day new problems, opportunities and solutions present themselves. Planning and implementing bottom-up transformations do not succeed if the leadership takes distance, because on the way new and unpredictable possibilities constantly occur. While the work is already taking place it becomes clear what has to be developed and learned. For this reason there are few frameworks determined in advance at DIZ and MSS. In facilitating and stimulating cooperation, steering force plays an important role.

2.6. WHAT DO REPRESENTATIVES OF STEERING FORCE NEED FOR THIS?

It is important that there is good teamwork between civil servants and 'steerers', in the present case, their councillors. On the basis of the contract formulated in §1.6 between local council, citizens and implementers, the role allocation between civil servants and councillors has to be guaranteed. The councillor is the coach of the players in the field. He/She is well-informed about the developments and is directly approachable for all parties. For him/her commitment is the guiding principle. From a higher standpoint than those directly involved the councillor is precisely in the position to follow the developments and to estimate their value. The council being regularly and well-informed can promote the tendency to break away from performance culture or clientalism.

2.7 CONCLUSION

It is clear that the transformation of the primary and secondary work process is complex. How can the four forces: citizen force, professional force, steering force and learning force be mastered at the same time as well as learning to cooperate and learning to abandon old roles and learning to master new ones? In the next chapter we will explore these learning and development processes further. They play a role on three levels: in the solution to social issues (macro level), in learning to realise these solutions efficiently and effectively in social work practices (meso level) and in embedding solution-oriented approaches in the lifeworld of individuals and families in vulnerable circumstances (micro level).

ASPECTS OF INNOVATION	CO-CREATIVE INTERVENTIONS	CONVENTIONAL INTERVENTIONS
Interaction	Everyone's truth is true. In dialogue, learning each other's vision and perspective. Differences in vision are positive and contribute to collective learning.	Discussion and debate primarily take place. One person is more right than another and differences are regarded as problems.
Interaction	The involvement of a large and (very) diverse group of stakeholders ensures there is a broad view of the reality, as the basis for information and strategic decisions.	The limited view of the reality of a small group forms the basis for information and strategic decisions. Other interested parties 'after all have nothing strategic to contribute'.
Commitment and responsibility	People also feel responsible for the result of the practice and also steer and support the process of change together.	People only feel responsible for their own tasks.
Communication	Plans are developed and communicated in real time.	The strategy for change is communicated in informative notices.
Flexibility	Reflective communication ensures that there are cyclical process of development steps and the revision of goals. The awareness of actual reality is expanded.	Linear thinking means there is a programme with steps determined in advance for established goals. There is seldom the opportunity of looking at goals anew and of adjusting them.
Scope in thinking	Reflective communication brings insight into the complex web of causes/consequences. A question is regarded in a broad context, including trends in development.	Frequently a question will be regarded from a context which is too small and possible postponed reactions are not considered.
Perspective on change	Change is regarded as an integral component of the work.	Change is regarded as a temporary disturbance of the 'real' work.
Tempo	Change at a high tempo and in real time, within and between teams, organisations, sectors and lifeworlds.	Change at a low tempo and in specific centres of an organisation. People talk about changes.
Planning and implementation	Planning and implementation progress simultaneously, in the entire practice environment at the same time.	Implementation comes after the planning phase. The world is considered to be at a standstill while the planners are at work.
Supervision	A facilitator (supporter) ensures that the participants of a practice act according to their capabilities.	The process is supervised by a powerful chairperson or consultant, who can control meetings, is an expert as far as contents are concerned and has a good hold on the strings.
Motivation	Learning from each other and the development of a communal knowledge system, is enjoyable in itself and provides energy.	Incentives, tricks, energizers and all sorts of trimmings have to ensure that participants enjoy the project.

Adapted from Jacobs, 1994.

CHAPTER 3

INDUCTIVE LEARNING AND DEVELOPING INNOVATIONS

- 34 This chapter concerns the transformation from deductive to inductive learning: how can the government better utilize the local knowledge and innovative capacity of citizens and social workers?

In this chapter we will answer six questions:

1. In what ways do deductive and inductive learning and developing differ?
2. How does NPM damage the learning and development capacity of the social sector?
3. How do you create conditions for integral cooperation?
4. How do you provide for knowledge development to make innovations, stronger, more effective and richer?
5. How do 'steerers' contribute to the expansion of the productive capacity of the social sector?
6. What do representatives of steering force need for this?

3.1. IN WHAT WAYS DO DEDUCTIVE AND INDUCTIVE LEARNING AND DEVELOPING DIFFER?

Boutellier (2010) observed an attitude in administrators which he typified as 'pragmacracy': 'if no one knows what to do, we opt for what seems "the best": good practices, effective interventions, evidence-based policy'. Mintzberg (1993) regards this as an example of deductive thinking. NPM has made this way of thinking dominant in the social sector. Deduction places specific cases under general, already known categories, so that each category can then be placed in a provision model. Whether it now concerns counters or specific interventions, these are all designed on the basis of the provision mode. This model has narrow descriptions in protocols, also in terms of time and money, authorities, responsibilities and expected solutions. For issuing and accepting an assignment, clients and providers have to agree in advance about the problem to be dealt with, the solution-orientation and about the approach itself.²⁹ This leads to the development of knowledge which is geared to what is standard and which siphons off some quick success and is measurable. For simple problems this works well, but for the 'tough problems'³⁰ in the social domain this is much too limited. According to Mintzberg (1993), solving social issues (tough problems with an interweaving on micro, meso and macro levels) requires inductive thinking, in which it is precisely the unique and that which has not yet been classified which has to be fostered.³¹ Outreach social workers therefore give priority

to working from an integral perspective in the lifeworld instead of the specialist perspective from the office. They therefore also look for creating connections between the strengths in the system world of the government and institutes with the lifeworld of people.

Through the top-down prescription and setup of the work, NPM has marginalized the innovative capacity of the social sector. The phenomenon 'learning organisation' (with knowledge management and learning from innovating) has undergone a stormy development in the business world since the eighties (Argyris, 1985, Senge, 1992). This happened due to the insight that knowledge – in addition to labour and capital – is the third decisive factor for successful enterprise. To a great extent, this development had limited influence on the social sector and government. The chairman of the National Audit Office says 'that it appears to be difficult for the government to learn from experience. In recent years we have seen in our research that policy is piled upon policy, while the effects of existing policy are not year clear' (National Audit Office, 2006, p. 5). That the government took over the organisation philosophy of NPM from the business world, but not the new learning philosophy, was to the detriment of the social sector. It has led to the delusion that something will only work if has been proved and that knowledge development progresses through proven evidence via separate specialisations and deduction. This approach has a counterproductive effect on tough problems and according to Hargreaves & Shirley (2009, p. 28) leads to 'an enervating "mindlessness" that promotes habit, ritual and compliance, rather than learning, creativity and change'.

A deductive model creates all sorts of system refinements which result in considerable work in the wrong place (in the system world and not in the lifeworld).

According to Baart (2000) this leads to six paradoxes:

- a. Greater knowledge differentiation leads to greater precision, professionalism, specialisation and responsibility. But also to greater fragmentation, loss of cohesion, accountability which results in greater bureaucracy and managers who do not understand the daily work experiences and tasks.
- b. More methods and procedures lead to more technical-instrumental competencies and a high level of predictability. But also to the de-politizing of problems, standardisation and repression of normative discussions.

²⁹ Categorising target groups is an inextricable part of the rationalisation of the processes in the social sector. You cannot simply provide direction by sharing out scarce resources amongst groups of people without categorisation. The consequence of the justice principle however has a prohibitive effect on inductive learning, which on the contrary is based on the unique, changeable and unpredictable.

³⁰ 'Problems are tough because they are complex in three ways. They are dynamically complex, which means that cause and effect are far apart in space and time, and so are hard to grasp from firsthand experience. They are generatively complex, which means that they are unfolding in unfamiliar and unpredictable ways. And they are socially complex, which means that the people involved see things very differently, and so the problems become polarized and stuck.' Kahane, 2004, p. 2.

³¹ Noordegraaf (2006) about the importance of inductively learning practices: 'Frontlines in police care, care, welfare and education require 'learning practices', certainly if it concerns 'multi-problems' which cannot be captured in 'univocal representations'. Ambiguous cases, difficult cases, diffuse tendencies and unmanageable clients are however linked to a political and social appeal for discipline, robust and quick solution, while this is not possible on those frontlines. Learning practices are not practices which univocally do what is assigned by citizens and politicians, but 'subdued' practices in which political-muscle language and citizens' desires are assuaged. In this way time is won, an increase in knowledge can take place and cases and resources are linked with each other.' p. 209.

- c. Bureaucratic justice leads to the more equal treatment of similar cases. But also to greater emotional distance, indifferent treatment and formalistic behaviour.
- d. Market mechanisms and businesslike thinking, in an increase in scale, lead to greater economic efficiency and cost control. But highly educated professionals are degraded to factory workers and difficult cases are passed on to others or painstakingly avoided.
- e. Instrumental calculations lead to the strict supervision of the work by managers, which in turn leads to better planning and greater ease. But also to less place for narrative knowledge (stories of those involved), less moral forming of meaning and less attention for clients with what Baart refers to as 'slow life questions'. Problems are redefined in manageable institutional terms (also see point b).
- f. Status of the profession. According to Baart professionals in welfare and care acquire greater status and respect in society, despite the internal degradation. But this is at the cost of direct contact with people in vulnerable circumstances. There is disapproval of such contact.

This makes deductive knowledge in the social sector certainly not unusable. Deductive knowledge offers a reference framework on the basis of which practice-oriented knowledge can be developed and applied. Chapter 1 is an illustration of this, for example where the phenomenon and the backgrounds of poverty are described on the basis of deductive SCP research. In the PLV case (counter addicts) we see how, by cutting short research into a specific group of people, the power of deduction remains under-used. But the deductive model is unsuitable for the sort of knowledge creation and the accompanying learning and development processes, which are necessary for the problems that we are dealing with here: bonding with the lifeworld and with various strengths in a bottom-up way. It hinders reciprocal cooperation between the forces that are present (and needed). It makes innovating and experimenting sooner a closing item rather than guiding principle of the budget. This is what we see at three of the five practices studied: the teenage mother project (PJM), the street youth project (PVS) and the project for counter addicts (PLV). There the managers, the implementing social workers and the citizens involved do not break away from the deductive model which chops up the world, divides the work into social lines and reduces the learning. We will demonstrate this using the project for counter addicts.

3.2. HOW DOES NPM DAMAGE THE LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT CAPACITY IN THE SOCIAL SECTOR?

In the institute where PLV is developed and implemented there is a lot going on. The institute is the result of a succession of mergers so that it is continually growing and being reorganised. Simultaneously it has to relate to the changing demands of the government and society and vie with increasing competition. In between the many activities and responsibilities PLV is an insignificant little practice, even if the directors refer to it – the researchers think that it is already defunct – as a pearl of

'welfare new style'. It started in 2006 with preliminary research into 'counter addicts', people who reported to the Care and Community counter very frequently. This led to a design phase. In 2008 the pilot started, after which a phase of waiting and postponements followed. In 2010 PLV started operating as a regular provision and came to a standstill once again in 2011. Things had already started going wrong in the preliminary research. When the time elapses for the city district to finance the research, the management decides to discontinue it. This happens before success indicators are formulated, so that evaluation criteria are lacking and no effect registration is possible. Deductive frameworks which could lend the development process direction and accentuation are not formulated. NPM is not carried out well.

The group of dedicated professionals set to work inductively. They carry out lively discussions. They gather expertise from the four product groups: social advisers, social service provision, prevention and information, and community development. A team from these product groups draw up a design for the new PLV practice. People want to break away from working in the 'old style' in three ways: a. an 'integral' viewpoint: beyond the boundaries of disciplines for being able to approach people more effectively as a complete whole; b. outreach working: isolated residents who do report to a counter are also important (if institutes only do what is measurable, problems like this will never come to light); c. working with a demand-orientation: people who do not ask for help but who do need it, even if they do not fit into the existing provision (in this case the counters) will be helped in a suitable manner. In the pilot phase which starts afterwards, cooperation is also intensive, interdisciplinary and inductive. The design is tested. In the evaluation members of staff and residents appeared to be very satisfied. The project seems to be a success: in an inductive manner an integral, outreach and demand-oriented approach to 'counter addicts' is developed.

Yet it goes wrong. After the pilot the management deserts the motto: 'Never change a winning team' and the inductive approach. The multidisciplinary team which has been free to design its own working method is disbanded. The management makes one of the four product groups, the social service provision, further responsible for PLV. Under the direction of a manager each product group is an autonomous unit responsible for results. The manager of the social service provision thinks PLV is finalized and gives two members of staff one day per week to subsequently work on the proven model. He uses the model deductively: as a standard upon which implementers can sail blindly, without complicated, normative considerations. This appears to be a serious miscalculation. By bringing it under one product group a couple of the original trendsetters disappear from the project: they are in another product group. If the underlying process of development, leadership and ownership are not included, it appears that 'learning by doing' is of limited value.

36 We see how at PLV learning and developing reach an impasse. As long as an appeal is made to the learning and developing capacity of 'process groups' it goes well. As soon as the leadership is given top-down from deductive models (product groups, the name says it all) it goes wrong. The product logic of NPM incorrectly estimates the results of the process logics. The manager does not see successes in the area of learning and development and wants to continue PLV further using protocols. Through this the necessary methods, competencies, rules, allocation of tasks and forms of consultation are not further elaborated upon. The implementation of PLV (dealing with counter addicts) stagnates, goals are not achieved and the frustration of the members of staff grows. Just as at PVS (street youth) and PJM (teenage mothers) they appear to be incapable of breaking through the impasse from the bottom-up.

These three matters appear to be conditional for further developing a practice:

- How do you create conditions for integral cooperation?
- How do you ensure that inductive development makes a practice stronger, more effective and richer?
- How do you ensure that innovation remains a continual process?

For an answer to these questions, the practices for isolated people (MSS) and for the homeless (DIZ) offer the most guidance. We will therefore describe the inductive processes which are given form there. What has already been noted is the collectively supported wish for practice innovation. The participants are passionately occupied with learning. At the other practices that passion is weak or only periodically present. At DIZ and MSS the participants convincingly break away from the protocolled 'NPM' approaches. They try to offer tailored solutions in supporting people to come out of their isolation. Both practices start from a strong conviction which has a lifeworld and bottom-up orientation. The researchers also recognise once again the corresponding learning attitude: participants look in an enterprising manner for what is necessary and act accordingly. Thinking and doing, reflection and action, are not worlds apart. There is no theorizing about the theory, nor doing your own 'thing' according to your own devices. There is no waiting for insights into solutions from elsewhere, nor advice from the 'top' (managers and administrators). The results booked are collective performances.

At the other practices there is great pressure to remain learning vertically and deductively (usually in a top-down direction). Participants derive certainty from old attitudes where you know where you are: producer or consumer, implementer or someone bearing the final responsibility. In the transformation they come

up against a lack of routines and too much unpredictability, which - in addition to the work and other pressure which such a transformation brings about - causes extra uncertainty. How do the participants at DIZ and MSS utilize their uncertainty instead of avoiding it?

3.3. HOW DO YOU CREATE CONDITIONS FOR INTEGRAL COOPERATION?

The successful development at DIZ and MSS is the result of 'horizontal learning' (Engeström, 2001) via bottom-up cooperation. This means that the participants in the practice learn by solving problems and conquering conflicts and tensions together. In the first instance these are learning processes on a micro and meso level, in which individual and collective learning are inextricably connected. There is a link between the personal learning of the participants and the development of the team and the shared practice. This is clearly evident at DIZ. Anticipatory professionals have difficulty in linking up with the collective learning process. Some of them become excluded: found unsuitable by the residents. The professionals (and researchers) who do fit in are automatically part of the learning processes which take place and grow in their roles. In this way they become the mainstay of the transformation.

Horizontal learning progresses differently from vertical learning.³² Horizontal learning is more than a correction of deductive learning through bottom-up impulses. This is the correction called for by experts in change (e.g. Boonstra (2000), Vermaak (2010)). They regard bottom-up learning to innovate as a success factor for breaking free from the systematic top-down change. We have to question vertical approaches to expertise. They regard competency in individual and linear terms. They say: starter professionals are people with a limited and badly organised basis of knowledge, who consider events and processes unilaterally, which limits their capacity to solve problems. On the contrary, experts have well-developed knowledge bases, so they have a multitude of external and internal solutions. At DIZ (ex-homeless) we see something a little different. There the supporter, just graduated as a Bachelor in social work, knows how to deal with the principles of bottom-up development and inductive learning just as well as the two senior veteran professionals. He grows just as far in his role as researcher and ambassador as they do. As developer and 'reflector in action' he collaborates equally. 'Experts' do not always perform excellently and novices can exceed the experts in tackling new or unfamiliar situations. These findings confirm the image of research (Miedema & Stam) and unsettle the old, vertical and linear expert concept (of learner (junior), to assistant (senior), to master (expert)). It does not concern time and experience, but what you do with that time and experience. That the young

³² 'The acknowledgment of the horizontal dimension calls attention to dialogue as discursive search for shared meanings in Object-oriented activities' (Engeström, 1999, p. 17).

³³ 'Criteria of expert knowledge and skill are different in the various contexts. Experts face the challenge of negotiating and combining ingredients from different contexts to achieve hybrid solutions' (Engeström, Engeström & Kärkkäinen, 1995, p. 320). The participants in boundary crossing have to actively interpret, transform and regenerate the knowledge and skills from different contexts.

supporter succeeds so quickly in becoming an important mainstay also happens because he is well-supported. Winning and gaining trust appear to be parallel processes to the residents and members of staff.

Horizontal learning ensures that the radius of action for a practice expands, because it is not the case load which is the guiding principle but the Object (goal and motive). Expansion can also be sought in boundary crossing³³ to the surrounding teams within and outside of the institution, the management and the client. At DIZ this happens for example through the knowledge Network of client-steered projects and at MSS through the Great Consultation and the Head Team. So learning not only takes place within the demarcated context of a team and its 'clients' (micro/meso level), but also on meso/macro level of cooperation within and between organisations.³⁴ These horizontal learning processes lead to new concepts, ways of thinking, forms of communication and cooperation. How does such learning progress?

At DIZ crises, such as tension with external professionals, researchers, enterprising and unenterprising co-residents, result in horizontal learning. The conflict is not avoided, but used as a siphon for sharing frustrations with each other and wrestling towards a new allocation of meaning. This brings the practice further. So individual border crossings (a consequence of impossible situations which force the restoration of spiritual balance and recovery of lost meaning³⁵) are used for collective learning processes. These learning processes are missing at PLV (counter addicts) in the regular phases, at PVS (street youth) in the first phase and at PJM (teenage mothers) at the end of its existence. The heavy emotions linked to border crossings divert the attention from deeper causes. The emotions are transposed into feelings of anger and disappointment towards others or in negative feelings towards themselves: guilt, failure, powerlessness, having shortcomings, uncertainty and fear (also see Miedema & Stam).

At DIZ (ex-homeless) and MSS (socially isolated) participants use border crossings for both individual learning processes as well as for further developing the practice. At DIZ, where the residents live together in a pressure cooker due to the lack of scope and the large-scale development that they as hyper individualists are experiencing, the conflicts are heavy and fitful. MSS is

more peaceful, although crises and tension do occur. At DIZ the individual border crossings have to become collective: the pressure cooker allows little scope for denials, avoidance, withdrawal or slipping away without a fuss. MSS bridges over individual and collective learning by once again involving participants who have a tendency to be in denial or withdrawn and considering the situation together. Based on a strong sense of urgency in this way a communal vision grows of a shared motive, of shared values and of a joint future perspective.³⁶ At MSS and DIZ the transformation succeeds through the capacity of the participants to transcend the border crossings with each other and make the underlying conflicts and tension into the point of departure for learning and development processes. What are the conditions for a good processing of border crossings?

From research (Miedema & Stam) it has emerged that the transformations which come to exist through external pressure or top-down direction progress differently than when they happen from an internally felt necessity in a bottom-up way. Yet this does not say anything about the durability and success of a transformation. An innovation which is started top-down, can lead to a successful transformation (such as at MSS) while an innovation which begins from the bottom-up can falter or become stranded (such as at PLV). This concerns all sorts of processes which are similar to what happens between professionals and citizens: does the manager assume the responsibility or is he/she able to let it go? Can the professionals take the initiative or do they remain dependent on the manager? These questions are just as valid for councillors and their managers and administrators.

We have demonstrated how breaking free from deductive learning and development calls upon the cooperative utilization of feeling (border crossings), thinking (reflection about the similarities in the unique) and wanting (direction from the underlying values). This requires inductive working: you 'cannot approach problems which are in essence unknown and unpredictable by simply applying a plan to them which has already been proved or elaborated upon' (Kahane 2010, p. 133). Breaking away from the deductive model requires the utilization of uncertainty: by making uncertainty, complexity, instability, uniqueness and a conflict in values (Schön, 1983) the departing point for communal reflection. Concealed under this is the capacity for recognising and trusting the value of everyone's con-

³⁴ 'Many administrators primarily concern themselves with the ins and outs of their own organisation and in so doing do not see the necessity of serving a transcending interest.' van Delden, p. 53.

³⁵ Following Meijers and Wardekker (2001), we understand this to be 'a special sort of conflict experience which is linked to negative emotions: (...) when an individual attempts to participate more or more fully in a social practice and in this ends up in a situation in which he/she is not capable to acting adequately because he/she cannot fully identify with the new situation and the role and other demands which are required of him/her in that situation'. Also see Miedema & Stam, 2008. Border crossings 'are situations of impossibility (...). Impossibilities of living, of realizing the internal necessities of life'. They require 'particular internal work, by means of which a person overcomes and conquers a crisis, restores lost spiritual equilibrium and resurrects the lost meaning of existence' (p. 10). In Russian: *perezhivaniye* (±lived experience): 'the struggle against impossibility, the struggle to realize internal necessities – that is experiencing. (It) is a repair of a 'disruption' in life, a work of restoration.' F. Vasilyuk, 1991, p. 28

³⁶ Oers, van: 'It is clear that a close cohesion exists between the motives of a person for participating in an activity and the goals which come to exist in it. Here we also see once again that the existence of new goals within that context also become influenced to a strong degree by the communication within that activity and by the concentrations of attention which are stimulated by this by the participants. The possibility of "carrying on using individual strength" within that activity is connected to this dynamic of motives and goals, but it also becomes clear that the "individual" here always has a social dimension in the sense that the voices of others can always be heard there.' (2001, p. 13).

38 tribution. How do they learn this? Success is dependent on the trio: making contact, gaining trust and finally cooperating on the basis of loyalty and reciprocity. Crucially for the transformation from deductive to inductive learning is the shared urgency, vision and mission (Object). That motivates the participants to learn to share their knowledge with each other, despite the various interests and 'languages'. That the dialogues do not fly off the road, is because of the transcending and binding contents. The power of this makes other learning mechanisms possible other than just the transfer of knowledge or learning by doing.

3.4. HOW DO YOU TAKE CARE OF KNOWLEDGE DEVELOPMENT WHICH MAKES INNOVATIONS STRONGER, MORE EFFECTIVE AND RICHER?

We base ourselves on Paavola & Hakkarainen (2003) who find the learning metaphors 'acquisition' and 'participation' (which represent the dominant visions of learning in the social sector) too limited for a theory about the learning of professionals. Acquisition regards learning as concept development. For example, knowledge about what does and does not work, such as in schooling or in methodology. In this the guiding principle is the transfer of knowledge by someone 'knowledgeable' (lecturer) to someone 'unknowledgeable' (student).

For participation learning is sooner geared to activities (knowing) rather than results or products (knowledge). Learning stems from participation in socio-cultural practices and is regarded as 'becoming a member of a community and acquiring the skills for subsequently communicating and acting on the standards valid in it' (Miedema & Stam, p. 35). The guiding principle of a work placement, for example, is that newcomers who participate in a practice, are informed by old-timers who guarantee the continuity.

In themselves there is nothing against these vertical ways of learning (based on the knowledgeable/experts versus unknowledgeable/non-experts). However, these ways have become so dominant in the study programmes and practices of social work, that they hinder the implementation of new learning insights. Paavola & Hakkarainen introduce a third metaphor for learning: knowledge creation. This concerns the question about 'how new knowledge, new practices, new work processes and instruments are created' (Miedema & Stam, p. 36). It assumes a capacity on a micro level of being able to deal with uncertainty ('border crossings' by Miedema & Stam). Participants have to be prepared for work circumstances which are not very stable and where disturbances and unexpected events frequently occur. This concerns the competency for learning what is not yet there instead of relying on routines and formulas. Knowledge creation regards learning as a continual process in which various partici-

pants are involved proceeding from a communal vision and mission (Object).³⁷ This form is necessary in the transformations in the social domain. They require creativity and capacities to develop new knowledge. And connections between various ways of learning (by doing, reflection and knowledge acquisition) and links between micro, meso and macro levels. 'Knowledge creation', on the basis of reciprocity, takes place between all participants at all levels. The expertise of the student (education) or the client (social work) is explicitly put into action in the learning process. 'Knowledge creation' also implies the creation of social structures and cooperative processes which enable new ideas and solutions to repeatedly exist. At DIZ (ex-homeless) and MSS (socially isolated) the practice of this is clearly visible: the shared urgency, vision and mission make it a matter of course that an appeal is made to the capacity of the participants. So something is achieved which had not previously existed. For this purpose a view has to be taken beyond what already exists. This requires reflective capacities which are founded on various sorts of knowledge: experience knowledge, methodological knowledge and scientific knowledge. The communal sense of urgency and shared vision prevent the dialogues from lapsing into trench warfare and squabbles. Deductive knowledge is also prevented from remaining dominant. Experimenting with knowledge creation, so with inductive ways of learning and developing, appears to be a condition for a successful transformation. How do the participants learn to deal with uncertainties and with cooperation-oriented and border crossing forms of reflective communication?

3.4.1. Social workers are knowledge sharers who utilize the forces present, also their own and those of colleagues

For inductive learning one source of knowledge is not necessarily more important than another: citizen force with its experience knowledge, professional force with its context transcending practical knowledge (often based on methodologies) and learning and steering forces with scientific (context independent) knowledge and theories. In contrast to this communal knowledge development is deductive learning, based on what Freire refers to as 'banking' knowledge (Freire, p. 72).³⁸ These three sources of knowledge are so interlinked at DIZ (ex-homeless) and MSS (socially isolated), that the opposition between theory and practice is overcome. From academic to functionally illiterate, everyone in both practices contributes to the communal knowledge base. Here there is no dominance of the theory and the primacy does not also lie purely in the practice. Praxis can be said to exist in the sense of symbiosis of action and reflection from various perspectives (Freire). By working together on a transformation, also on the tension and conflicts which accompany it, critical reflection of the practice takes place, which once again leads to further developments.

³⁷ Paavola, Lipponen & Hakkarainen (2004) therefore speak of dialogical learning: dialogue within the bedding of a communal Object. Social developments form the basis for the increasing importance of knowledge creation. Technological developments make new forms of cooperation and interaction possible.

³⁸ In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. (Freire, p. 72)

The neighbourhood table at MSS is a good example. These are meetings where delegates from official and unofficial organisations meet each other every six weeks. People become acquainted with each other, make use of each other (for example by engaging mates and volunteers), people serve as a sounding board or source of knowledge for each other and discuss cases, in which the goal is to improve the care for people who are socially isolated. In this linking of heterogeneous sources of knowledge the participants at MSS and DIZ differ from the other practices which, in their development of knowledge, remain holding onto the strict division between professional and client and between manager and implementer.

3.4.2. Social workers are co-creators, who derive their productive capacity from reflective communication and horizontal learning

Horizontal learning from the lifeworld means that the importance, goal and result of the cooperation become increasingly accentuated (richer, deeper, and broader). This happens via reflection, in which differences and disturbances become productive. The sum of this reflective communication is co-creation. This can be said to exist if the participants a. work on an urgent goal which brings curiosity and enthusiasm to the fore, b. have a cooperative working method based on equality, so that vulnerability and fallibility are accepted in each other (condition for mutual care and dedication), c. learn horizontally and by transcending borders (so not divided along class lines and fragmented) and d. know how to make differences and disturbances in reflective communication productive. Teams who work in such ways are referred to as hotspots by Gratton (2008). Helped by activating leadership, they direct their productive capacities and energy to positive strengths: a communal vision and an operationalization of the higher goals and values of the organisation. Through these signature processes the participants can achieve a 'flow': so that what they do and who they want to be go hand in hand. Opposite hotspots Gratton refers to coldspots. They are characterised by competition, rivalry, thinking in terms of divisions along class lines (knowledge and emotions are not shared) and a performance and gossip culture. In coldspots arbitrariness dominates, there is no scope for reflection and energy is wasted. Mistakes and uncertainties are not learned from, because they have to be avoided and concealed.

How do participants make border crossings and other unexpected incidents the point of departure for collective learning? What hotspots are and how co-creation (horizontal learning in relation to reflective communication) works are evident at MSS (socially isolated) and DIZ (ex-homeless). There the participants approach the strengths in the lifeworld not from indifference (NOT mode), patronizing (BY mode) or paternalism (FOR mode), but from the WITH mode. 'Forms of participa-

tion which are practical, engaged and prepared for conflict offer a superior example for democratic strength with regard to forms of participation which lack cohesion, are distant and dependent on consensus, or rather are rational' (Bent Flyvbjerg, in Kahane 2010, p. 132). This cooperative manner of feeling, thinking, wanting and doing makes it possible to utilize uncertainty: dealing with circumstances which are less stable, full of disturbances and unexpected events, which sometimes emerge in the form of heavy conflicts and tension. They learn neither to avoid them nor to automatically accept them. Driven by the ambition and urgency of the motive and goal supported by the practice, they learn to deal with these unexpected events and to utilize them in finding out what is needed.³⁹ From the urgent goal they are firstly motivated to develop a communal language, bridge over differences on the basis of equality and loyalty and develop pride and appreciation for each other. This is a fragile basis which can be strengthened by co-creation. In this we are working on the assumption that unpredictability is sooner the rule rather than the exception and that the utilization of uncertainty should therefore be the basis of the work. 'It is an illusion that you can be master of the co-creation and that you can maintain direction of what can and what cannot be co-created. You cannot apply a model to this. Co-creation exists at moments that it does not suit you' (Tops, 2011). In this, we interpret co-creation more fundamentally than other authors,⁴⁰ who use it for coordination and harmonisation practices. They interpret it as something temporary (a step in a process) or as a general principle (it belongs there). Whereas it concerns a guiding principle for a successful transformation. The more participants better master this co-creative capacity the less they resort to routines, formulas and regulations (reduction and avoidance of uncertainty).

Co-creation requires:

- Respecting the various expertises, positions and interests (from the realisation: for recalcitrant problems which are linked to the transformation, you have pull out all the stops / to bring everything into play / mobilize all the forces to employ full sail);
- Developing what is needed from the realisation that working according to plan and targets are never the entire story and the entire solution (even if you work with a solution-orientation, you have to remain alert for blind spots and unexpected events);
- Not depending too much on methodologies and other certainty providers. Each innovation progresses according to a certain pattern, it can be that this pattern does not necessarily have a linear order (that is the meaning of the motto: if it can't be done as it should, then it should be done as it can, in other words: link up with the motivation and expertise which is there and also look for made-to-measure tailored work in the dynamics of the transformation);*

³⁹ The philosopher Alexander Kluge is of the opinion that confusion strengthens the muscles of our power of imagination. (Der Spiegel, 2000)

⁴⁰ Alford (2009) describes co-creation for the public sector as the introduction of interested parties (citizens, companies, interest organisations, experts and social organisations) in the drawing up of agendas for and developing and implementing governmental policy. De Koning & van den Broek (2011) define co-creation between the government and citizen as 'on an equal level, developing and improving policy and services together with citizens and professionals'.

- 40 - Being prepared for each phase having its own recalcitrant problems (from giving differences in meaning to a sense of urgency to the lack of a supportive vision and from a lack of being aware of the problem to a lack of unanimousness about the new methods, competencies, rules, allocation of tasks and forms of consultation);
- Looking for the durability of solutions by expanding connections (from various levels, disciplines, dimensions and perspectives).

*The cycle of expansive learning (also see §2.1.3) describes these phases as zones of near developments (knowledge sharing and creation) of the participants who are occupied in the innovation process with overcoming oppositions (Engeström, 1987, p. 184). The 'overcoming' of one opposition leads to another, which has to be 'overcome' in the next phase of development. In this Engeström also describes a succession of motives for the participants to learn: bringing something up for discussion, analysing, converting, experimenting, establishing, recording, evaluating, after which the cycle begins once again with bringing something up for discussion, etc. (Engeström, 1987).

3.5. HOW DO 'STEERERS' CONTRIBUTE TO INCREASING THE PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY OF THE SOCIAL SECTOR?

The government grossly over-estimates itself when it all-knowingly takes up a position with detailed assignments where implementing organisations should be able to come up with a budget for them as a sort of blanks exercise. Society is as mobile as its citizens. Blueprints do not work. Detailed specifications are already out of date from the moment of their registration. The government has to learn to regard society as a jazz orchestra (Boutellier, 2010) for which it is at the most the co-producer. A government which thinks it can compose will have a rude awakening. The orchestra will not swing, will not demonstrate creativity and the audience will run away screaming. Sign up the right band leader and give him/her the freedom to choose the musicians and music. Say what sort of audience there will be, discuss how this audience can be touched and then give him/her the scope to continue. By taking trust and scope from social workers (band leaders) NPM has damaged the creative capacity of the social sector.

If the system world remains dominant, if research into the recognition of people's own strength and the ability to cope remains of marginal importance to this and if professionals are left to their own devices by their managers (as in the first phase of the integral youth approach of PVS, in which the council, social work institute and police work at cross purposes) or if they are placed in a tight strait jacket by their managers (as in the project for teenage mothers, PJM), then co-creation will not succeed. That does happen at DIZ (ex-homeless), MSS (socially isolated) and PLV (counter addicts) up until and including the pilot phase and in the second phase of PVS (street youth), even if that co-creation stops when the participants at PVS and PLV know how to find alternatives for an output, system and problem oriented service provision, but do not know how to guarantee it. This does work at MSS and DIZ. There people gradually become more social and articulate and the willingness to take responsibility grows. You have to

want and dare to learn from mistakes together. This applies to citizens as much as to professionals, educators, researchers, managers, civil servants and directors. Co-creation is not immediately possible: you first have to learn to tolerate each other – and the differences and uncertainties that this involves – and in this learn to cope with the fact that there will not always be clarity. This characterises the transformation to inductive learning: not being afraid of unpredictability and learning the hard way. For the development and expansion of that co-creative capacity the participants need the support from steering force and learning force.

At MSS and DIZ the top-down development and the accompanying division into class lines is broken away from the most. There the border crossing capacities of the various powers are expressed the best. There horizontal learning is the most successful. Creativity and innovation come to exist bottom-up, because the participants acquire 'scope to play'. The most academic and technical discoveries come from researchers who start to experiment through curiosity. Create such free scope for implementing organisations. Spend ten percent of your budget on innovative projects – they may also be allowed to fail. Naturally they do have to be well-evaluated. For innovations it is therefore required that objectives and assumption are formulated in advance, so that targeted assessments and adjustments can be made.

3.6 WHAT DO REPRESENTATIVES OF STEERING FORCE NEED FOR THIS?

A government facilitating creativity and resilience bottom-up does not do this as if it were an interfering parent acting out the boss. You facilitate by indicating as 'steerer' what you more or less wish to achieve. If learning systems nestling in each other can be said to exist (the congruency of scale systems from our section about the lifeworld) this strategy is the most effective. But it is also the scariest, because things can go wrong. Stronger still: things will go wrong. And when things go wrong, the councillor will be taking risks and if he/she wants to delude the local council with too much of a rose-tinted picture, it will turn into a pool full of sharks. If the councillor takes risks, then this would be double the case for the civil servant in question. Then the civil service organisation will become an unsafe working environment where the stars are swept from the top to the bottom: the council secretary calls the sector manager to account, who calls the department manager to account until the policy civil servant is given a hiding. So he/she will never want to take risks again and instead of letting go will demonstrate the opposite reflex: he/she will act out the boss, will take over a bit of implementation where the greatest innovations should be taking place and only let go of it when the new situation has been achieved. The disadvantage of this is that the energy and creativity which are released if the lifeworld takes this responsibility itself will not be used. The relations there are far more refined than what is visible from the town hall. If the right assignment is formulated, new directions for solutions can be developed in the networks which are impossible to create on

the drawing board. The movements and relationship networks are too complex for drawing-board models. The risk of system failures by a government that wants to keep the innovation in hand are sooner increased than decreased.

Distrust is the opposite of loyalty. Civil servants are extremely loyal to their administrations. Every administrator will confirm that civil servants are good at dealing with a political changing of the guard and put themselves up for service for a councillor with a different political agenda than his or her predecessor. But there are also risks attached to this. A new administration will sometimes want to build upon the previous one, but sometimes they will also want to thoroughly shake it up. Then it is good if there is a structure in place which accommodates the experience of years of thinking, developing and implementing. The civil servant also has to build up his/her own expertise and believe in it. It is precisely through this he/she can give a very good indication of how a political change of course can be carried out without having to reinvent the wheel and breaking up the relationship network which has already been developed. Although the dividing line between the 'what' as the domain of the administration and the 'how' as the domain of the civil service organisation (and the network partners in the implementation) is not always all that clear, it is good that civil servants claim this position. An expert civil servant knows how to direct a new political situation very well so that it is effective. An expert civil servant also ensures that the level of knowledge for the administration, board and the implementing organisations is equal. A civil servant who is known for his/her expertise will be consulted by other groups more easily and is so able to prevent that surprising decisions are taken with irreparable results. An expert civil servant has political sensitivity.

This civil servant works at various fronts simultaneously on a cultural shift in the internal and external cooperation:

- a. Create a team spirit around you in the organisation which is geared to building up a culture of letting go and trust. That means that as far as policy is concerned, there also has to be scope created for innovation, with clear frameworks about the temporariness of its financing and how the proceeds will be dealt with. By means of pilots in which various implementation organisations are equally involved, with a process manager who is strongly geared to generating learning outcomes and new practical applications. From the MSS practice (socially isolated) it appears that the innovation was advanced to the maximum: an external expert geared to the innovation for the process management, with a mandated civil servant in a steering group as linking pin between the implementation and local council. In this work integrally. Not only in the sense of linking up with a holistic cohesion of problems and solutions, obstacles and opportunities in the lifeworld of people, but also of connecting with micro, meso and macro developments. On a daily basis, a bottom-up transformation brings new tensions, activities and disappointments with it. Through not avoiding recalcitrance, tensions and conflicts,
- insight will be gained into the many facets of multi-problems. In these complex processes the ideas, energy, talents and expertise of many people are needed on different levels. DIZ (ex-homeless) and MSS (socially isolated) develop themselves – in comparison with PVS (street youth), PLV (counter addicts) and PJM (teenage mothers) – the most into integral practices. Outreach social workers are supported in this by representatives of steering force;
- b. Create a correct level of expectation about the route of the innovation: expectations which are too high offer no 'scope for learning'. Learning implies making mistakes, because learning without mistakes is not real learning. Try to get the organisation, the board and the local council to support this manner of innovation by marking 'the dot on the horizon' in a top-down way. Engage the profession in dialogue about how people, using the creativity, expertise and energy of people and implementing professionals, can bring this about. Give the responsibility back to the professionals. Important responsibilities of professionals have been taken from them by NPM. Ten Have (2009) observes that imposed targets impose limitations, whereas shared goals challenge. At their best, targets lead to 'satisfying' behaviour, whereas goals lead to 'maximizing' behaviour. That is clearly demonstrated at PJM (teenage mothers) where the empowerment of the young mothers (and the practice development) is curtailed by the targets which the mother company has agreed to with the financier (Social Services). At DIZ (ex-homeless) the values client-steering and self-control lead to a continual development process which is coupled with learning processes which occur during the working process. In addition they are supported by representatives of steering force who highlight the successes and make the right to exist safe from the system world. From this continual learning follows the third principle of a successful bottom-up transformation;
 - c. Formulate policy frameworks which give the implementers scope for development. This can be done by formulating the assignment qualitatively. The ball will then be in the implementing organisations' court to develop a quantitative plan of approach, with performance indicators which are in keeping with the chosen working method and which do justice to the expertise of the members of staff and the organisation. This way the members of staff can concentrate on their core task. In the five promising practices it is clear that for outreach social workers this consists of the support and activation of participation of groups of people in vulnerable circumstances. 'Caring for' is therefore less appropriate than 'ensuring that'. For this reason at DIZ (ex-homeless) and MSS (socially isolated) 'clients' are stimulated to formulate their goals themselves and together. There the outreach social workers remain wrestling with the tension between letting go and taking over. They regard this as the core task. This is possible because the professionals continue to handle the direction of this wrestling (and do not seek shelter or have it imposed by an automatic pilot of regulations and guidelines). Representatives of steering force can support them in interpreting this role of leader.

- 42 d. Work visits and audits: regularly organise work visits geared towards learning between implementers, chain partners and government. Audits go a step further: a well-prepared audit with protocols geared towards social results can be a working method which:
- partially replaces the constraints of administratively far-demanding performance contracts;
 - is geared to quality improvement and the promotion of the learning capacity of the implementing organisation.
- Audits have to add value instead of leading to the loss of energy through the desire for control. Steering force has to promote the respect and self-respect of professionals which has been affected by NPM. Restoring this is apparently tough, but ultimately provides much for professionals and citizens. Make use of specific agreements that politicians have with implementing professionals: they base themselves more on real life stories than official managers and policy members of staff. A basic form of inductive learning is also at the basis of political practice: see how often politicians punctuate their arguments with anecdotes. These are the illustrations of their policy and their political intentions. Work visits with considerable scope for exchanges with implementing professionals and citizens are therefore important. Plan precisely this component well, analyse what emerges and embed it in the practice under development.
- e. Do not claim success: successes are thanks to the active citizens and the workers in the field. Allow them the 'moment of glory' if there is anything to be celebrated.

CLINICAL-ACADEMIC KNOWLEDGE PRACTICE	CO-CREATIVE KNOWLEDGE PRACTICE
subject – object	subject – subject – object
autonomous, univocal self	relational, multiple self
'aboutness knowledge' (power about)	'withness knowledge' (power to/ power with)
language as representation of reality	language as intervention in the social reality
focus on universal knowledge / product	focus on local, socio-cultural and historically situated practices & relational processes
monological knowledge development	dialogical knowledge development
the other is positioned outside the self and 'studied'	in co-creation knowledge comes to exist about 'how to act well'

After Shotter, 2008. Adaptation Gaby Jacobs

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

- 44 Which conclusions does this research reach for the various forces in the transformation to working with a more bottom-up, inductive lifeworld-orientation? Which recommendations can we formulate (and what about)? And what clearly requires further research?

4.1. CONCLUSIONS

Whoever finds themselves in an age which began with Reagan and Thatcher and ended with the debt crisis and wants to discard NPM routines has to be able to do two things: a. let go of obstructive routines through learning from experience in practice; b. look beyond the daily ups and downs and develop convictions which transcend bureaucratic and market logic. In this they will be confronted with clashing value orientations. These can be transformed into oppositions which emerge in every period of time in the form of tensions and conflicts: capital or labour; theory or practice; pragmatic or principle; money or happiness; quality or quantity; general importance or individual importance; have or be; profit on the short or long term. Social workers have always been masters of balancing these oppositions (Michielse, 1977 coined the concept of 'double character' for this). Donkers (2011, p. 41) still characterises social work as striving for healthy human relations, with 'balance between self-care and care for another, between individual interests and communal interests, between distance and involvement and between autonomy and solidarity'. This balancing act has been disrupted by globalisation, individualism, consumerism and economisation, and also by NPM. Our five practices make it clear that a radical change is necessary, if citizens, social professionals and the government wish to be able to restore the balance together.

This book is build up around the three assignments which the social sector stands for:

- The transformation from less of a system world to more of a lifeworld.
- The transformation from 'steering' in a less top-down to a more bottom-up way.
- The transformation from less deductive to more inductive learning and development.

One cannot happen without the other. Discontinuing the first two oppositions is being fully worked upon in actual practice, even if the shadow cast by NPM with its 'greedy governance'⁴¹ is seldom far away. We studied five practices which were occupied with this with varying success: how can the government better utilize the creative capacity of citizens and social workers? In so many words, participants at the practices are even talking about more lifeworld, more bottom-up. Less evident is

that they are wrestling with a third opposition: about learning and developing in a deductive versus inductive manner. This wrestling progresses primarily implicitly and comes in the form of knowledge and action shyness and superficial tensions and conflicts. Working from the lifeworld and bottom-up forces requires a different manner of dealing with time, power, emotions, knowledge (experience) and available strengths. For this purpose participants need scope for action so that they can put citizen force and professional force in a better place on the map. And also scope for acquiring knowledge, bonding and sharing. This requires other competencies than for welfare 'old style': more enterprising and dialogical, more learning and reflective, more expansive and transcending borders, more flexible and result-oriented, more knowledge-oriented and co-creative.

Learning from co-creation works on the assumption of communities of practices which reflect upon it. They look at how citizen force, supported by other forces, can contribute to a solution. They also look at how justice can best be done to the expertise of these forces.

That means that the participants (if possible also outreach representatives of steering force, researchers, lecturers and forces from the business world) take time and scope to find answers to these questions:

- How can participants of an innovative practice learn to utilize tensions and conflicts for co-creative learning processes? And recognise border crossings as a starting point for collective learning?
- How can they learn to utilize expertise and interests on the basis of equality?
- How can they learn to utilize the synergy of sources of knowledge (theoretical knowledge, methodological knowledge and knowledge by experience)?
- How can they work out the WITH mode (equality, reciprocity and loyalty) from a communal goal?
- How can they reduce the distance between pullers and followers in an innovative practice?

Can local councils choose between 'more client' or 'more citizen'? The client approach is so deeply ingrained that the question is whether local councils will be able to make the above described principles of a third logic (bottom-up, inductive lifeworld-oriented working) a foundation of policy. It is certainly true that through the WMO the question has become more important: what do you do about this as people, and how can professionals better facilitate your own strength? It is also true that from the lifeworld professionals and representatives of steering force are better at distinguishing who really needs help,

⁴¹ Trommel (2009) even talks about a NPM doctrine which has borne an administrative child that he refers to as 'new social governance'. 'Where the sense of community on a societal level is under the threat of disconnection, a government has declared it will apply itself to the 'recovery of the social body'. (...) All of this is coupled to what I refer to as a discourse of decisiveness. The 'recovery of the public domain' is talked about, with the core tasks for actors such as 'neighbourhood directors', 'town mariners' and 'frontline workers'. (...) New social governance is top-down directed, goes beyond social diversity and aims to construe a new social middle field from a uniform value perspective' p. 8. He talks about 'greedy governance' which applies itself to fabricating social relations, but in its offensive eagerness displays a harrowing lack of reflective and self-changing capacity.

how people can be persuaded to give up illegal constructions with which they prop up their unstable existences, and who doggedly and cunningly commits fraud. Less sure is how reliable and loyal the local governmental body is. This appears to be decisive for the success of the outreach approaches at MSS (socially isolated) and DIZ (ex-homeless).

Local councils have to act within the frameworks of the State. These are paradoxical, according to public administration expert Kruiter (2010). On the one hand the State stimulates the government to withdraw and increase people's ability to cope, but on the other hand it forces local councils to have more control, to economise, be effective and efficient. Simultaneously it promotes local councils to force their way into people's lives on a value and detail level, too far into the private domain 'behind the front door'. According to Kruiter a technocratic government is not occupied with discontinuing but increasing the gulf between lifeworld and system world (he talks about the gulf between democracy and welfare state). Local councils are being forced to concentrate on social control instead of expanding the democratic capacity. Not to mention the recovery of social cohesion and the welfare state in the sense of collective loyalty. However much the State says it is aiming to achieve social responsibility and decentralisation, in practice something else is happening. The bureaucratic system is being extended. This in turn strengthens individualism (people are reduced to being consumers), which in turn leads to more bureaucracy. Kruiter is sombre about the restoration of the autonomy of people, as is the aim in the outreach practices studied. Citizens in vulnerable circumstances are becoming increasingly dependent on the government and local governmental bodies are becoming increasingly responsible for problems which they cannot deal with. 'The government is simply not equipped to give people social and individual responsibilities. In brief, governments can make laws, grant subsidies and attempt to convince people with publicity campaigns. The effect of the last instrument is nil. "Decency has to be practised" and variations are experienced as extremely patronizing. The granting of subsidies is at odds with the desired economies and just increases dependence, and individual and social responsibility can never be forced by law, without being totalitarian. Simultaneously local councils, who have to realise the greatest amount of economising, perceive that citizens are not that able to cope so that simply closing the governmental factory would automatically result in a public Valhalla.' (Kruiter, 2011). His conclusion is that the opportunities for the government to 'care for' are on the decrease but they still have a lot of ground to cover for 'ensuring that'.

The research conducted by our WMO workshop endorses this conclusion and demonstrates how the transformation of citizen force (from consumer to co-producer) and of professional force (of caring for to ensuring that) is possible. Decisive for a successful transformation to working with a more lifeworld bottom-up and inductive orientation is that steering force also transforms. This is in keeping with earlier findings (see Miedema & Stam) about the role of steering force. This is firstly on a mi-

cro/meso level with individual people, their relations and families. But also at a meso/macro level, steering force has to ensure that this manner of working at institutes has to be central. Otherwise local practices will remain standing on feet of clay or cast in the shadow of NPM. Representatives of steering force have to realise that it concerns congruency between the three specifications (teach as you preach: more lifeworld implies more bottom-up and inductive working). This appears to be time-consuming and in the light of economising and the changeability of the governance environment, extra vulnerable (the successful MSS practice becomes unsettled when after three years they have to deal with a merger of town districts).

We conclude that representatives of steering force cannot ultimately fulfill the role of director in the transformation of the social domain geared to the strengths in the lifeworld. They can help to make the transformation less dependent on 'higher powers'. The transformation cannot be limited to micro/meso processes with individual people, their relations and families in specific neighbourhoods. It is important that local councils, citizens and social work organisations look together for more horizontal approaches to tough problems. The WMO and WNS invite this, even though this research also demonstrates that the transition to a participatory society (civil society) does not consist of a fixed scenario. Whoever does think so, is too dependent on NPM.

The transition of local councils (from caring for to ensuring that) is frustrated by the State which forces them to economise and have more partial control, but despite this the perspective for co-creation between the local council's steering force and citizen, professional, learning and business forces lies within reach. The practices studied provide the impetus for this. Further research is needed into the conditions under which the co-creation of forces is successful. The bottom-up development of forces in the lifeworld is the mode with which 'steerers' on a local council level can distance themselves from patronizing, interfering and excluding. Local councils therefore have to dare to choose between approaching their residents as client or as citizen. They can ensure that trust and loyalty is strengthened and that the citizen, also those in vulnerable circumstances, is given greater courage.

4.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

Our research has a performative goal. It wishes to promote the success of practices which work on the basis of a more bottom-up and inductive lifeworld-orientation. It contributes to combatting four monsters which are nestling in the social domain: paternalism ('we know what is good for you'); consumerism ('give it to me, I have the right to it'); utilitarianism ('everything of value has to have a price tag on it; if it doesn't then it is worthless; if it does then it has to have 'low hanging fruit', otherwise it will require too much trouble/or cost too much'); and fragmentation ('chop up the recalcitrant reality and let go at it with specialisms'). These monsters can be combatted with new logic. The route for doing this is threefold complicated, but it is possible:

- 46 a. In the social domain a system construction of established interests has come to exist which is prepared to put up with working at cross-purposes, so that one hand does not know what the other is doing and where resources become goals. Local councils can steer for co-creation and in so doing help to tackle these obstructive layers of clay. They therefore have to learn to think in terms of citizen force. Furthermore outreach professionals need to have more scope to act, so that they can practice with the WITH mode in the primary processes. They also desire more scope for developing the necessary conditions for doing this (including cooperative and research competencies) in the secondary process.
- b. It is an enormous step to switch from a culture of uncertainty avoidance and reduction to a culture based on the utilization of uncertainty. The way to such a culture is full of unpredictability increasing the uncertainty, disturbances and border crossings. We have seen that it is possible to come out of the deductive top-down culture by once again giving primacy to the lifeworld strengths. In this the engagement of outreach social workers who can mediate the first line between the lifeworld and system world is important. By virtue of their profession they are familiar with recalcitrant problems. In their daily work they learn to deal with the certainty that it is different for each individual, family, neighbourhood and every day. They therefore experience difficulties with deductive models of working with protocols and evidence-based practice. Their expertise in dealing with uncertainty has to gain greater recognition and become utilized.
- c. Co-creation requires a third sort of learning (knowledge creation), for which the unexpected, disturbances and border crossings are the driving force. Organisations in the public domain – including schools – have little experience of this. Co-creation and learning, reflecting and developing together which are linked to this are considered to be unimportant and exceptions in the social domain. This is in sharp contrast to the business world, upon which NPM bases its organisation philosophy: there is money there for experimentation, knowledge management, reflection in & on action (Schön, 1983) and sharing knowledge. You cannot learn co-creation according to the model of a ‘knowledgeable’ (lecturer) who teaches an ‘unknowledgeable’. And also not by doing, such as doing a work placement, where ‘new-timers’ learn from ‘old-timers’. The experience of old-timers often has obstructive effect in developing something which is not yet there. Practice participants master co-creation via horizontal learning and inductive knowledge development.

Learning this threefold transformation requires support, time and scope, but from such a deep investment you will also gain as society: and a recovery capacity for people; and enterprising and flexible professionals who are experts in utilizing uncer-

tainty; and steering force which has liberated itself from the yoke of an over-expanding, deductive, top-down system world; and learning force which helps guarantee the knowledge basis at practices through research and education; and business force which from the slogan ‘cooperative socially-accountable enterprises’ supports the co-creative practices in the social sector.

4.3. QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This research underlines the findings (de Vries, (2007); van der Laan (2007)) that it is not the method but the engaged, Object-based relationship which determines the effectiveness of outreach social work. Now that we know more about the conditions which make such common factors effective, further research can be conducted into specific characteristics of a more holistic and inclusive manner of working, and into the way in which the underlying knowledge of the participants can be of service to this (instead of a dominant source of knowledge).

In-depth research is needed into the role of outreach social workers in the promotion of participation, commitment and resistance. How does their integral approach contribute to the cohesion and the ability to cope for families, neighbourhoods and communities under the pressure of globalisation, individualisation, commercialisation and economisation (see Chapter 1)?

The question is also how social workers, by cooperating with outreach representatives of steering force, can form a co-creative alternative on an more structural basis for the dominant knowledge and development culture in the social domain (still strongly top-down, based on the ‘banking model’). In the times of crisis this has the tendency to arm itself with even more systems (efficiency, accountability, planning models, etc.). Surrounded by advisory and training agencies that preach learning organising, bottom-up development and force-oriented, solution-oriented, result-oriented, integral, systematic, generalist working etc., but are often based on models of learning which maintain the gulf between the system and lifeworld and between top-down and bottom-up development.

Ultimately it is also the question of how such a bottom-up, inductive lifeworld approach can lead to a brake on the increasingly greater occupation of the lifeworld by the system world. There are hopeful developments in restorative justice⁴² in which strengthening the forces in the lifeworld contribute to the reduction of the (expensive and in the light of social and individual restoration rather ineffective) judicial system.

How do the investigative, reflective, enterprising and communicative capacities that co-creation is based upon acquire a place in the profile of the outreach social worker? The Amsterdam WMO workshop and the associate professorship Outreach

⁴² ‘Restorative Justice’ is known worldwide. The British Minister of Police and Justice, Nick Herbert (2011), explained it as follows: ‘The decade of rapidly rising public spending on the criminal justice system has of course come to an end. We are now in a process of fiscal retrenchment, and therefore value for money drives the whole system. Restorative justice can contribute to that drive. (...) The approach is to move away from a system where central government is always saying how things should be done, to a system where we are encouraging local innovation.’

Work and Innovation, building further on the most promising practices in the first phase, wants to conduct research into these questions in two types of practice in the period 2012 - 2015:

- outreach work between the 0th and 1st line, geared towards the prevention and observation of problems and linking up with and activating people in vulnerable circumstances ('Eropaf', front line teams, Better Together, social support systems (further builds upon MSS));
- outreach work between the 2nd and 0th line, geared towards supporting people who have been living in vulnerable circumstances for a long time (social inclusion, recovery-oriented, direction strengthening work strategies (further builds upon DIZ)).

APPENDIX:

BRIEF SKETCH OF THE FIVE CASES STUDIED⁴³

48 A. PJM: PROJECT YOUNG MOTHERS⁴⁴

PJM started at the end of 2004 and in six years has involved approximately 250 young mothers. PJM is a project in which teenage mothers are approached as 'peers' (empowerment by and for 'companions in adversity') instead of as individuals. The first three years, until 2007, the project is financed by State money. When that stopped, the Social Services became the client. In this the Social Services pays for and determines the frameworks. The Social Services put someone forward, after an intake and advisory interview. Afterwards expertise is exchanged and the lines remain short: the project supervisors coach the participants and the client managers concern themselves with rules. The agreement between the mother company with the Social Services for the period 2007 - 2010 is the realisation of a positive outflow of 65 to 70%. The result achieved in 2007 was 60%. The agreement with the Social Services was that PJM offered the young mothers a 32-hour programme per week. The programme at PJM consists of group classes, individual project supervision, work placements and referrals to care provisions. The young mother is supervised by a programme supervisor. At the beginning of the programme they discuss which modules the young mother will be following.

Because the essence at PJM increasingly comes to lie on result-oriented working (meeting the agreements with the Social Services) the actual outreach work comes under pressure. It means the programme supervisors lack the scope and the willingness to do more about the position of the teenage mothers than allowed for in the contract with the Social Services. They want to give a greater interpretation to the paradigm switch from caring for to ensuring that, but this is 'now simply' impossible. Even if the programme supervisors do not find the PJM approach ideal, they still think it will have to do. Although their mother company probably thinks differently when the Social Services puts the project out to tender in 2010 and another institute for youth care provision acquires the project. So that PJM ceases to exist.

B. DIZ: THE HOMELESS IN SELF-MANAGEMENT⁴⁵

In this project ex-homeless people live in self-management in a communal accommodation facility. Through mutual cooperation and through 'steering together' with professionals they give a personal interpretation to their own recovery. At the end of 2007 with the support of an organisation for the Homeless and Derelicts (DAT), under the motto: 'direction to the citizen, the client central', a house for the former Homeless and Derelicts in Self-management (DIZ) is set up. The local council provides sub-

sidy. Since 2008 sixteen former homeless people⁴⁶ have lived in the self-managed facility. There are five satellite houses linked to the DIZ where residents from the DIZ move on to, with the final goal of living independently and recovery (in the broadest sense of the word). According to their own plan they may only stay in the house for one year. Afterwards they can possibly live in satellite accommodation for another year. Later these rules were made a little more supple. We came across various professional supporters at DIZ: support for the group process, support for contact with external parties, the individual support of residents, practical and psycho-social support, in preparation for living independently and the supervision and monitoring of the satellite residents. These professionals had the capacity of dealing with uncertainty. That requires reflection on a meta level: you have the guiding principles (recovery-oriented work on the basis of the support and direction of the residents): which consequences do these have for a specific situation? An incident occurs, what does this say about these guiding principles? This capacity to reflect is often pushed aside for the issues of the day (the difficulties which constantly recur). Maintaining the guiding principles of client steering and self-management requires extreme patience and perseverance from the supporters. You are performing within the lifeworld of the residents and even more far-reaching: you are part of their world of experience, in which distrust surfaces when residents express their doubts, disappointments and uncertainties. Professionals have to work round that distrust to link up with the ambitions, dreams and passions of the residents.

C. PLV: PROJECT 'COUNTER ADDICTS'⁴⁷

At PLV the social services provision and volunteers (mentors) join forces to drive back the worrisome loneliness of regular clients of the Care and Community Counter (ZeS). People can consult the counter with all sorts of possible questions. On a regular basis the same clients turn up with relatively simple questions. Because these people hinder the inflow of new clients, an institution for social service provision (IMD) decides to further draw up an inventory of their problems and to develop a different provision for them. In November 2006 the IMD applies for subsidy at the town district. In 2007, research into the files starts. In 2007-2008 the management at IMD sets up a broad consultation group for developing an approach for dealing with 'counter addicts'. The project has a pilot phase between September 2008 and February 2009. After the pilot phase nearly a year passes before the working method is restarted as part of the regular service provision. The project leader is allocated four hours a week for this. The starting-up progresses with difficulty;

⁴³ Once more for the final reports about these five studies – with an extensive description of each case – see M. Stam (2012), Geef de burger moed (give the citizen courage).

⁴⁴ This information is derived from the research report by R. Metzke: Participatie Jonge Moeders (participation of young mothers) and the thesis by E. Bruggeman: Kansen voor jonge moeders (opportunities for young mothers).

⁴⁵ This information is derived from the research report by T. Bouwes and M. Huber (2011): De tegenstelling voorbij (beyond the opposition); from the chapter by Huber et al. Gewoon Doen – Je Eigen Stek: wonen in zelfbeheer (Just do it - your own place: living in self-management); and from the book under the editorship by Huber and Bouwes (2011): Samensturing in de maatschappelijke opvang (steering together in social care).

⁴⁶ The preference is given to term the homeless or homeless people because the people involved experience it as being less stigmatizing than the negative 'derelicts'.

⁴⁷ This information is derived from W. Hellings': a. Basisdocument PLV (2010, basic document PLV) and b. Eindverslag PLV (2011, final report PLV).

in January and February 2010 various preliminary consultations take place. But no new clients are referred to the social worker who is also allocated four hours per week. According to the manager of the Social Service Provision this is because there is a lack of clarity precisely about who should be giving the starting signal, and how.

If we compare the efforts and ambitions put into PLV in the five years (2006 – 2011) to the outcomes, then it is above all a monument to futility. The project has numerous impulses for respectful treatment, coaching supervision and stimulating more network support. Even if the professionals in the pilot phase also appear to adequately have the capacity to deal with uncertainty and develop vision, at IMD the 'old' way of working remains dominant. In other words, everyone goes back to what is familiar. The interdisciplinary cooperation in the pilot phase leads to the application group, a communal group office hour transcending the product group. In the light of the original PLV ambitions this remains however a minor haul and is in sharp contrast with the flair and vigorousness with which DIZ deals with its own deconditioning of old habits and the formation of new behaviour.

D. MSS: SOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEM⁴⁸

The most important goal of MSS is: reach and support isolated people in the neighbourhood. To reach these citizens a neighbourhood team and neighbourhood table is set up. The neighbourhood team can be engaged before people end up in a crisis. The team leaders search for isolated citizens or have them referred to them. They establish contact, look at many areas of life (model 8 areas of life), after which they offer motivation and support in setting up a network of unofficial and/or professional care. The team takes a broad view: they look at the whole person and not only the problems. They start up the care provision and work closely with the zeroth line.⁴⁹ Cooperation between official and unofficial stakeholders and a collective sense of responsibility do not appear to be a matter of course. A number of conditions are therefore necessary, including an awareness of shared responsibilities in the organisation and 'steering' of cooperation between official and unofficial participants. The team consisting of different disciplines gradually develop a communal approach from a number of guiding principles: individual strength, the efforts of unofficial helpers, generalist approach and taking a broad view of the opportunities and problems. We have presented this practice as an example of a successful WMO practice. The city district in question fuses with three others in 2010, preventing the qualities of the approach from becoming overlooked by administrative vicissitudes. A year later these practices are inspiration for a frontline approach for the whole of Amsterdam. In this approach the findings from MSS are further developed in a Community of Practice actively

learning. That leads to outreach professionals with far more scope for action and backing from the team leader (who if necessary supports breakthroughs). They develop themselves into generalists, working with and on behalf of each other, they acquire more time for tailored work and work with a demand orientation, so that the citizen/family in question determines the demand. In the follow-up study by the WMO workshop we want to conduct further research into both the process as well as the results of this innovative way of working.

E. PVS: PROJECT SAFE AND SOCIAL⁵⁰

In October 2008 the integral approach to youth troubles starts. The approach includes neighbourhood negotiating, increased supervision and a mobile team of street coaches. The Project Safe & Social (PVS) has to ensure that the mutual conflicts are consigned to history and that friction is turned into a cooperative relation between police, local council and Polire. People gear themselves to young people who are part of two groups each of which hang around a fixed place and cause trouble. The intention is that youth work and social work, police, local council, parents and young people would work together to prevent the escalation of trouble. Contact with the parents by a social worker and with the young people by a youth worker should help chart the nature and size of the problems. During our research it appears that PVS does not meet its objectives and has insufficient effect. Both the numbers as well as the implementation practice are disappointing. The effect of the project is not clear. This is not surprising because the objectives are not established. A project plan is also not made. The project loses momentum, its progress and continuity decline. A new start at PVS takes place mid-2010 under the name 'Instruct action' (ASA). Just as at PVS use is made of a warning letter to the young people creating trouble and their parents. The selection of the young people however comes from an intensive screening by the various network partners; not only the police, youth work and social work, but also bureau HALT (a programme for preventing juvenile crime). The home visit is given more structure and is carried out by a social worker and someone from the HALT programme. On location they examine which level of aftercare is suitable and desired. This second phase is characterised by a clear directorship. The local council appoints a director with the authority to take decisions. For breaking through the impasse the ASA appears to be very successful. Within the ASA the managers are increasingly concerned with discussing and directing mutual communication and cooperation. The local council demonstrates that it is alert and decisive. They pick up the failure of PVS and transform it into ASA. They utilize external eyes by joining in with our research twice. The findings from the first study contribute to the well-defined formulation of success and failure factors, which are learned from in the setup of ASA.

⁴⁸ The information in this chapter is derived from P. Sedney's: a. Basisdocument MSS (2010, basic document MSS) and b. Eindverslag MSS (2011, final report MSS).

⁴⁹ With zeroth line we refer to all those involved/strengths in the lifeworld.⁵⁰ The information in this chapter is derived from a. Bichbich: Basisdocument PVS (2010, basic document OVS) and b. Bichbich & van Noorden: Eindverslag Jongerenaanpak (2011, final report, youth approach).

⁵⁰ The information in this chapter is derived from a. Bichbich: Basisdocument PVS (2010, basic document OVS) and b. Bichbich & van Noorden: Eindverslag Jongerenaanpak (2011, final report, youth approach).

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