

InnoSI
(Innovative Social Investment: Strengthening communities in Europe)
Grant Agreement Number: 649189

WP4: Case studies
The Netherlands

Case Study 't Groene Sticht/The Green Sticht

Editor/written by		Alfons Fermin (editor), written by Alfons Fermin, Marijke Christiansson, Lia van Door and Gercoline van Beek	
Version		Final version	
Date		26 th October 2016	
Work Package		WP4: Case studies	
Deliverable		The Netherlands, Case NL 1: 't Groene Sticht/The Green Sticht	
Dissemination level		Public	
WP Leaders		MMU	
Deliverable Date		26 th October 2016	
Version	Date		Modified by

Final	26/10/2016		AF/LD
-------	------------	--	-------

Table of contents

Executive Summary	5
1. Introduction	10
1.1 The Green Sticht ('t Groene Sticht) initiative	10
1.1.1 The initiative	10
1.1.2 Realisation of the initiative	11
1.1.3 The policy area	12
1.1.4 Financial framework	13
1.1.5 Main actors	13
1.2 National context	14
1.3 Local context	16
1.4 Selection of the project: social innovative elements	17
1.5 Report structure	18
2. Literature review	19
2.1 Policy analysis	19
2.1.1 Policy developments	19
2.1.2 Legislative framework	23
2.1.3 Academic analysis	26
2.2 Previous evaluations	28
2.3 Conclusion	30
3. Needs assessment	32
3.1 Introduction	32
3.2 Existing needs assessment	32
3.3 New needs assessment: methodology	32
3.4 Needs of the target population	33
3.4.1 Target population	33
3.4.2 Population need	35
3.4.3 The nature and magnitude of the problem addressed	35
3.4.4 Characteristics of the population in need	38
3.4.5 The needs of the target population	40
3.4.6 The services needed	42
3.4.7 The amount of services needed	43
3.4.8 Required service delivery arrangements for the target population	43
3.5 Conclusions	44
4. Theory of change	46
4.1 Introduction	46
4.2 Lack of an existing theory of change	46
4.3 New theory of change: methodology	46
4.4 Theory of change of the Green Sticht project	48
4.4.1 Background	48
4.4.2 Long-term outcome	49

4.4.3 Intermediate outcomes	50
4.4.4 Assumptions and Justifications	53
4.4.5 Interventions and outputs of the Green Sticht Foundation	56
4.4.7 Program Logic	61
5. Process evaluation	65
5.1 Introduction	65
5.2 Methodology	66
5.2.1 General approach	66
5.2.2 Focus: evaluating a networked non-profit	67
5.3 Implementation of the project according to its plans	69
5.3.1 Organisation for implementing the interventions	70
5.3.2 Evaluation of the implementation of the interventions	72
5.4 Mechanisms by which the goals were achieved and distribution of roles	83
5.5 Target population reached?	86
5.6 Experiences regarding the intervention: how well implemented?	87
5.7 Critical contextual factors to the implementation	88
5.8 Unintended or wider delivery problems encountered during implementation	89
5.9 Conclusions	89
6. Impact evaluation	91
6.1 Introduction	91
6.2 Impact evaluation methodology	91
6.3 Results	94
6.3.1 Did the project achieve its stated goals?	94
6.3.2 The social outcomes and effectiveness for the various target groups	96
6.3.3 The social and psychological impacts on the target group	98
6.3.4 Did the initiative strengthen the public participation of the target group?	100
6.3.5 Unintended outcomes	100
6.3.6 Comparison with other initiatives	101
6.4 Conclusions	105
7. Economic evaluation	107
7.1 Introduction	107
7.2 Methodology	107
7.3 Results	108
7.3.1 What was the true cost of the programme?	108
7.3.2 The social returns of the interventions	110
7.3.3 Did the achieved outcomes justify the investment?	111
7.3.4 The efficiency of the project	111
7.3 Conclusions	112
References	113
Plan of the Green Sticht	119

Executive Summary

Alfons Fermin

The Green Sticht project has been set up to reintegrate homeless people by giving them a home in a unique mixed housing project, in an attractive area to live, to work and to spend leisure time. It combines a variety of residential and working functions for a mixed group of people with and without a socially vulnerable position. The residential area combines various housing options: a guest accommodation for the homeless, a group home for a living and working community (Emmaus), rooms for students, social housing for socially vulnerable people, the elderly and people who choose to live there up to their ideals, and a few owner-occupied properties. The working functions include a thrift store (Emmaus), a furniture workshop (for recycling of furniture) and a restaurant which employs people with intellectual disabilities. In order to create a sense of community and to support social cohesion, active participation and mutual support are promoted. The social innovative element of this project is the provision of a safe haven and social support to homeless people by offering a favourable environment for their process of reintegration into society, and an informal support structure for socially vulnerable people living in the mixed neighbourhood.

Chapter 2 offers a review of the literature relating to the policy area of the care sector and social relief policy in the Netherlands. It deals with the developments in and discussions about care policies, the outcomes of the “de-institutionalisation” for socially vulnerable citizens, and the policy approaches to homelessness. Over the past few decades we have seen an increasing awareness of the importance of participating in “normal everyday life” for vulnerable citizens and people with an impairment. There is also a greater awareness of the importance of carefully designing these alternative forms of care. All the experiments with different forms and arrangements have made

one thing clear: the efforts of the local government alone are not enough. To guide vulnerable citizens towards independent living with any measure of success, it is important for self-reliant citizens to form an informal support structure around these citizens, with the public authority mainly fulfilling an encouraging, facilitating and monitoring role. This approach can create a connection with the neighbourhood and surroundings, so that the residential arrangement is not an isolated but an integrated entity, and consequently is less vulnerable. This is precisely the need addressed by the Green Sticht initiative.

Chapter 3 provides the basis for an overall evaluation, by assessing the needs of the target population at the time of the development of the Green Sticht plans around 1997. The project was developed by the Foundation the Green Sticht without carrying out a needs assessment. Due to the absence of a needs assessment, we have to reconstruct our own assessment. The Green Sticht project aimed at addressing a complex of issues. However, when focusing on the homeless issue, the core problem the project addressed was: (1) the desperate situation of the growing population of homeless people in Dutch cities; (2) a lack of facilities for shelter and reintegration, because of (3) inadequate government support and efforts in combination with (4) public resistance in neighbourhoods where facilities for homeless were planned. The target group of the Green Sticht are homeless people who are in work or are prepare to work, with prospects of reintegration. They would only need limited personal counselling at regular times, in combination with the security of a dwelling for the next months in a supportive and tolerant neighbourhood.

Chapter 4 reconstructs the theory of change that underpins the project plans at the start of the project, in 2002/2003. The Green Sticht theory of change is actually a combination of three distinct key assumptions:

1. It is possible to overcome neighbourhood resistance against the establishment of a homeless shelter by reversing the order: first a shelter, than inviting the neighbours;

2. Homeless people are able to recover and re-integrate by offering them the basic conditions (housing, work and social support), in combination with a limited degree of professional support;
3. It is possible to create and maintain a mixed, solidary neighbourhood, where people care for and support each other.

Each of these three elements may be an ultimate objective of separate projects. However, in the Green Sticht project they are combined. They represent three key elements of processes of re-integration or recovery of homeless people: shelter and housing, work or meaningful daily activities, and acceptance and social support by neighbours. The project planned an integrated approach to the problem of recovery of homeless people, with advantages of mutual coordination and the possibility of a tailor-made approach. A diagrammatic representation offering a simplified interpretation of the theory of change and the causal relations between its elements can be found in chapter 4 (page 63).

Chapter 5 provides an evaluation of the process of implementation of the Green Sticht project between its inception in 1997 until now. The organisation structure of the Foundation and its partners bears close resemblance to a network organisation or a “networked non-profit”. The specific features of the networked non-profit require a different evaluation perspective. For instance, networked non-profits are characterised by the absence of strict standards for measuring progress towards the mission, nor is there a centralised control. Evaluating the process, we can conclude that the project plan interventions have been implemented as intended. There have been several self-evaluations, feeding the processes of improving and continuing the activities of the partner organisations and all involved. The residents and staff are constructively critical, searching for ways to improve the organisational and social functioning of the Green Sticht neighbourhood. Awareness increased about the importance of involving all and to strengthen the bottom-up approach in realising social change. At the same time appropriate professional support and guidance are considered essential. The main

mechanisms to achieve the project plans are related to the particular structure of the foundation the Green Sticht and the cooperation with partner organisations, the selection of residents and the ballotage mechanism, and the role of the coordinator.

The impact of the project is evaluated in *Chapter 6*. The results of the various evaluations carried out by the Green Sticht, especially in 2008 and 2014, show that, by and large, the project has achieved its stated goals in the opinion of directly involved residents and staff members. There are two elements of the project where expectations have been too high from the start. The first was the creation of extensive work possibilities for the guests of the guest accommodation at the Green Sticht, the other the high expectations concerning community building. However, the neighbourly support structure for socially vulnerable residents is still one of the most important outcomes, but it needs a better ballotage and stronger support (by a social broker).

The initiative has never been replicated, but recently, two projects started in Utrecht inspired by the Green Sticht. These projects show that it is possible to make various combinations of the main elements and mechanisms that have made the Green Sticht initiative successful. Also mixed housing projects emerge without former homeless people, focussing on temporary housing needs. These initiatives contain many comparable elements and mechanisms as the Green Sticht initiative. The rise of mixed housing projects is encouraged by the current social and care policy context. In the retreating welfare state, the socially vulnerable must in the first instance rely on their social network and neighbours for social support.

The economic evaluation of the project (*Chapter 7*) is rudimentary, because of the lack of financial and other data on the guest accommodation part of the project. But this is a component that should have been realised anyway. Much more interesting are the social returns of the activities of the foundation and the residents' association, in advancing and realising social cohesion, mutual involvement and support, and the integration of socially vulnerable neighbours in the neighbourhood. The social returns on investments are huge in this respect, while the costs are marginal.

The strong point of the project is that it only needs initial financial support to start the project. After its start, the rental revenues suffice for the key coordination activities. Third parties manage the thrift shop, the furniture workshop and the restaurant, while the housing corporation owns and rents the social housing properties. Thus, with minimal efforts, a mixed, supportive community has been realised that offer optimal conditions for reintegration of (former) homeless and other socially vulnerable people.

1. Introduction

Gercoline van Beek, Lia van Doorn and Alfons Fermin

1.1 The Green Sticht ('t Groene Sticht) initiative

1.1.1 *The initiative*

't Groene Sticht (the Green Sticht) is a residential and working neighbourhood in Leidsche Rijn, a newly built housing district in the west of Utrecht,

The *Green Sticht* plans originate from a March 1997 conference organised in Utrecht by the “De Rafelrand” (Dutch for “Fringe”) Working Group under the inspiring leadership of Ab Harrewijn. Ab Harrewijn (1954-2002) played a key role in the development and realisation of the Green Sticht plans. He was a charismatic preacher, activist, social entrepreneur and politician. He was a member of the left-wing political party Green Left (Groen Links). From 1995-1998 he was chairman of the Green Left political part and from 1998-2002 he was Member of Parliament for this party. He was strongly committed to helping people in the lowest ranks of society, including homeless and addicts. As chairman of the Fringe (Rafelrand) Working Group he initiated several conferences between 1995-1997 to tackle various dimensions of the issue of homeless people, first to discuss the main issues, then “to do business”.

The “doing business” (“zakendoen”) conferences aimed at building commitment and reaching agreement of key stakeholders to specific projects that address the problems of homelessness in Dutch cities. Although highly socially engaged, Ab Harrewijn was also pragmatic and result-oriented; “deeds, not words” was his motto (Davelaar 2013).

During the March 1997 Utrecht conference, three projects were proposed with the aim to improve the situation of the homeless in Utrecht: the Green Sticht project, a buddy project, and a “corporation hotel” (preventive residential facility for people at risk of

becoming homeless). Stakeholders committed to all three projects; all have been realised eventually.

At the Utrecht “doing business” conference, various stakeholders committed themselves to support the development of the Green Sticht project: including organisations offering shelter and support to the homeless in Utrecht (The Tussenvoorziening and NoiZ), Emmaus Haarzuilens¹, a social housing corporation (Juliana, later merged into the national corporation Portaal), and some aldermen of the municipality of Utrecht. The project plans were developed between 1997-2002 by the Foundation the Green Sticht. An advisory board provided additional support.

1.1.2 Realisation of the initiative

In 2002, the foundation stone was laid for an entirely new neighbourhood, and the first residents arrived late 2003. In the neighbourhood, a mixture of people who choose to live there (out of idealism) and people who have little choice (socially vulnerable people) live together, with working opportunities for the socially vulnerable ones. The residents of the Green Sticht include socially vulnerable citizens such as (former) homeless people, and people with psychological and psychiatric problems or with disabilities, as well as self-reliant citizens motivated by engagement with the socially vulnerable, including students, elderly, single people and young families.

The Green Sticht comprises 32 rented social housing apartments (32 households, most are one-person households, a few two-person households, thus around 40 residents), an Emmaus living and working community (13 residents, including homeless people and core group members), a guest accommodation for residential homeless people (11 residents), 9 owner-occupied houses (housing families, around 36 residents), 9 single rooms for students (9 residents) and an accommodation for the social managers of the guest accommodation (3 residents); thus around 110 residents in total. In addition,

¹ Emmaus is an international solidarity movement founded in Paris by a Catholic priest to combat poverty and homelessness. Emmaus Haarzuilens was closely involved in the development of the ideas of the Green Sticht and financed the first developments of the plans.

people with a mental disabilities – and staff members - work in the restaurant and furniture workshop, but they live elsewhere. Thus the neighbourhood is characterised by a social and generational mix, a mix of residential forms, and a mix of living and working.

The initiative focuses on citizens that are excluded or at risk of exclusion because of social and individual problems: the target group are “the (former) homeless, (former) detainees, people with social and psychological handicaps or disabilities” (the Green Sticht 1998, 2003). The guest accommodation focussed on homeless people, but they commonly are struggling with multiple problems: psychological or psychiatric problems, addiction problems, debt problems, while several of them have committed minor offences and have been former detainees. The focus of the initiative is a local one, and it is a stakeholder-led initiative.

1.1.3 The policy area

The Green Sticht initiative offers an integrative approach to the problem of re-integration of homeless and other socially vulnerable people. Therefore, the initiative covers various policy areas: housing and social exclusion, but also health care issues, as well as unemployment.

The initiative has its roots in the emancipatory movement of homeless people. In 1994, homeless people intended to set up a self-managed shelter in Utrecht, but were unable to find a suitable location. Since the second half of the 1990s, awareness increased among the local government – in Utrecht, but also in other municipalities- about a chronic lack of shelters in the city, while it was also confronted with a growing resentment among local residents against shelters in their neighbourhood. In the mid-1990s there were around 200 rough sleepers, including many drug addicts and an open drug scene, in a tunnel near the central station and shopping centre of Utrecht (Van Scheppingen 2013; interview Jules van Dam). Only in 2001 the local government secured facilities to end this unsustainable situation.

The project reflects a shift in programmes and policies to support the homeless. Since the turn of the century there has been a gradual turnabout in national and local policies towards homeless, with an increasing preference for individualised treatment of homeless people, based on close co-operation, mutual trust and a solution-orientated work attitude. Since then, the aim is to solve the problem of homelessness using inclusive and participative concepts. The individualised treatment of the homeless has to be shaped by creating a phased program in which personal aims are included in the areas of housing, care, income and daily occupation for each person in the target group. This contrasts with the past decades where social relief mainly focused on low threshold support such as the 'bed, bath and bread' services. As part of an integrated plan of action, social relief has to offer support for homeless with long term solutions.

1.1.4 Financial framework

Various care organisations, local authorities, the national umbrella of housing associations, religious organisations and other social organisations contributed to the realisation of the Green Sticht, including Emmaus Haarzuilens with a substantial loan. The Green Sticht foundation also received a grant from the EU structural fund. The Green Sticht does not depend on project subsidies for its operation. Income is generated by renting out rooms in the residential/working community, the farmhouse (homeless shelter and a restaurant) and office space, and through the Emmaus thrift shop. The collaboration of private parties (the house owners), a semi-public partner (social housing corporation), and a NGOs (Emmaus), prevented direct dependence on public money.

1.1.5 Main actors

The following organisations are involved in the Green Sticht: Woonvereniging the Green Sticht (residents' association, both of the tenants and the house owners), Emmaus Parkwijk, the Tussenvoorziening, Reinaerde (all of them care organisations). The Tussenvoorziening provides residential floating support and counselling to the

residential homeless in the shelter. The NoiZ was responsible for the selection and self-management of the consumer run guest accommodation (the NoiZ merged with the Tussenvoorziening, and currently this organisation selects the guests). Reinaerde is responsible for the restaurant, the conference centre and the furniture workshop. The residential association and partner organisations together form the board of the Green Sticht. The residential association ensures the social cohesion in the district. It recruits and selects residents, it manages the public places, the garden, the return desk and the website. It also organises festivities and cultural activities and it publishes a local newsletter.

1.2 National context

In The Netherlands Social Relief offers support to homeless people. During 1980s and 1990s the number of homeless rose up to 30.000. The shelters for homeless where packed and in the four biggest cities – Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht - more and more people were sleeping rough. Homelessness became a severe social problem and often a nuisance. Citizens complained: they felt embarrassed and intimidated by the rising numbers of beggars, drug-addicts and rough sleepers on the streets.

Something had to be done. Therefore in 2006 an ambitious National Homeless Strategy was launched by the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports, in the four major cities: Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. A ‘Plan of Action’ for Social Relief was implemented to improve the living conditions of people who were homeless (or at risk of becoming homeless) and, in doing so, to substantially reduce the nuisance, disruption and criminality that is often associated with their behaviour. The driving force behind this strategy was Zalm, the Dutch Minister for Finance, who was responding to the plea by the head of the Dutch Salvation Army on the situation of homeless people in the Netherlands. The Minister of Finance promised €480m for the period 2006 to 2010 (Hermans 2012).

The Plan of Action contained two phases. The first phase of the Plan of Action aimed to get the homeless – in particular the long term homeless and rough sleepers - off the streets. During the second phase of the plan (2011-2014) the focus was more on (improving) prevention and recovery. For the shelters to provide sufficient capacity, resettlement to independent housing is essential. Most of the clients are dependent on the social housing sector. The term 'housing ladder' (which is related to 'the stepped care model') was introduced. The term housing ladder refers to a number of steps in housing between street life and the regular life. The intermediate steps would fulfil a function for both the homeless as people who are evicted because of rental arrears or anti-social behaviour.

The Plan of Action was developed in close cooperation with the four large Dutch cities. Afterwards the Plan of Action was enrolled nationwide. In particular 43 Dutch cities and their regions (where the cities are in charge of the coordination of Social Relief for their region), where supposed to translate this Strategy Plan into a so called 'City Compass' strategy with measurable aims. These strategic plans underpin the contracts between cities and the autonomous parties in the care and housing sectors. The budget for the local strategies consists of a special allowance for the 43 cities (€ 297,528.000 in 2014; FEANTSA 2014). However, due to current austerity measures and the effects of the economic crisis, the numbers of homeless people in the Netherlands has increased with 13.000 homeless between 2009 and 2015 (CBS 2016). Statistics Netherlands (CBS) estimates that there were 31 thousand homeless in the Netherlands in 2015.

The VNG (Dutch Association of Municipalities) started in July 2015 with the support program Care and Protection. It is a program for municipalities aimed at supporting the municipal tasks around care and sheltered housing. The program follows on from the previously described 'Plan of Action' and the 'City Compass' and is a part of the Social Support Act (WMO), introduced in 2007 and completed by 2015. Together with the law on long-term care (WLZ) and the Health Insurance Act (Zvw) the Social Support Act (WMO) forms the basis of the system of care and welfare in the Netherlands. The Social

Support Act regulates the responsibility of municipalities for social support of their residents. It concerns the supply of services to citizens who need support because they are insufficiently self-supportive or able to participate. Because of the introduction of the WMO, municipalities can provide flexible care and achieve a greater commitment of caregivers, volunteers and citizens. Municipalities have much discretionary power to shape the performance so that the implementation can vary widely by municipality.

1.3 Local context

The project has its roots in Utrecht, the fourth largest city in the Netherlands, at the centre of the country. It inhabits more than 300,000 inhabitants in a metropolitan area of about 650,000 inhabitants.

The Green Sticht is a socially mixed neighbourhood in Leidsche Rijn, the Utrecht new town extension under construction since 1997 situated in the west of the city. Leidsche Rijn is the largest town extension to be built in the Netherlands. It is planned to host 100.000 residents in 30,000 houses and 40,000 working places by its completion in 2025.

Utrecht is a well-developed city. 60% of Utrecht's labour force is highly educated. This is related to the status of Utrecht as a university city, with the Utrecht Science Park as the heart of Utrecht's knowledge-based economy (Utrecht University, the University Medical Centre, the and various innovative companies are located there).

A high number of jobs in Utrecht are in the business services (39,600), followed by jobs in healthcare (36,309) and jobs in the creative sector (17,809). Utrecht's main employers are the University Medical Centre Utrecht, the Rabobank, Utrecht University, Capgemini and the Municipality of Utrecht.²

² Municipality of Utrecht website, 2016: <https://www.utrecht.nl/>

1.4 Selection of the project: social innovative elements

The Green Sticht project has been set up in order to reintegrate homeless people by giving them a home in a unique mixed housing project, involving homeless and non-homeless people. The creation of this mixed housing neighbourhood constituted an innovative and strategic approach, to handle the “not in my backyard” sentiment present in the city of Utrecht at that time and to create an informal support system for socially vulnerable people. Also the self-management of the homeless shelter was an innovative element, inspired by the self-managed night shelter in Utrecht (NoiZ). In this sense it was a forerunner of the policies of client co-determination and participation of experts-by-experience.

Innovative is also the organisational structure of the Green Sticht project. It is a typical networked non-profit organisation, with an important role for the residents’ association. Furthermore, the combination of living and working and the deliberate choice for a mixture of residents in terms of age, income and social vulnerability is also innovative. People with debts (the homeless often have debts) live alongside owners of rather expensive houses. To prevent the formation of small islands, all sorts of activities are organised by the residents’ association. The Green Sticht should not turn into an anonymous neighbourhood was one of the departing points. This applies also to the residents of the guest accommodation, homeless people who can stay no more than a year. They are intentionally involved in all activities, for example by having them look after the catering at major neighbourhood festivities.

The project is an experiment in community building in a mixed neighbourhood. People who wish to rent a home here not only have to comply with the local authority's establishment requirements, they also have to become members of the residential association. They are expected to have an affinity with the project and an intention to contribute. There are various ways of doing so: they can help in the ecological garden, in the Emmaus shop, in the return shop or behind the bar, or by becoming active in one of the working groups. In the Green Sticht people can be found in a socially vulnerable

position (people who have a treatment history) as well as regular residents. People demand something from the neighbourhood, but they also want to give something back. The restaurant and the workshop add facilities and liveliness to the neighbourhood, but they also cause tensions. They are visited by customers, and sometimes local residents are unable to park their cars because all parking spaces are occupied. It is therefore important to maintain the social infrastructure in the neighbourhood. This is one of the main objectives of the Foundation, in collaboration with its partners.

Since the project is still running 13 years after it started, the identification of the effective approaches and interventions is a highly valuable exercise. The evaluation of the social outcomes for the various actors, contributors and beneficiaries will benefit other possible similar social programmes.

1.5 Report structure

The report will follow the evaluative structure common to all InnoSi case study reports. Thus, the next chapters will provide:

- A literature review (chapter 2)
- A needs assessment (chapter 3),
- The theory of change underpinning the project (chapter 4),
- An evaluation of the implementation process (chapter 5),
- An evaluation of the results and impact of the project (chapter 6) and
- An economic evaluation (chapter 7).

2. Literature review

Gercoline van Beek and Lia van Doorn

2.1 Policy analysis

2.1.1 Policy developments

De-institutionalisation of care

The Dutch care sector has undergone rapid de-institutionalisation in the past decades. Until well into the 1970s, the common approach was to put people with a (chronic) psychiatric disorder or mental impairment in an institution, often literally tucked away in dune and forest settings. However, in the past decades the trend was increasingly to house them in a 'regular' dwelling in a 'regular' town or city neighbourhood. This movement away from intramural care led to the closure of countless institutions. The new approach was to let vulnerable citizens live 'in the neighbourhood', with a limited form of support and supervision (Andriessen, De Jonge, & Kloppenburg, 2014; Verplanke & Duyvendak, 2010).

This de-institutionalisation policy was inspired by a growing awareness of the negative effects of living in institutions for these target groups. Thus, institutions were criticized for taking over too much of these peoples' lives and thereby making them dependent on institutional life (Belknap, 1956; Dunham & Weinberg, 1960; Goffman, 1961; Scheff, 1966; Stanton & Schwartz, 1954; Strauss, Schatzman, Bucher, Ehrlich, & Sabshin, 1964).

In response to such criticism, the care sector began to develop more of a community-based approach. Care should no longer be kept within the walls of institutions, but should be provided in the home environment as much as possible. The conviction took hold that the target group clearly needs care, but that it is in their best interest and that

of society as a whole that they continue to be part of society and to live as independently as possible. When one realises that helping these people to connect to their direct social environment is often the very goal of the care provided, then it is fairly obvious that this goal can best be pursued within that social environment. (Andriessen, De Jonge & Kloppenburg, 2014; Kloppenburg & Hendriks, 2013).

It was stated explicitly that it required a high degree of social involvement to enable vulnerable citizens to live independently in the neighbourhood. The community-based trend resulted in the establishment of smaller and open facilities within existing communities and neighbourhoods that offered light and low-threshold counselling, supervision, assistance and day treatment for independently living citizens, so that these citizens essentially remained responsible for their own lives (Andriessen, De Jonge, & Kloppenburg, 2014).

Normalisation

These developments were driven by certain changes in social norms. In the first half of the twentieth century, people who were 'slightly different' were often labelled as 'unsocial' or even 'social deviants' who had to be trained to live a normal life under strict supervision. All across the country, residential neighbourhoods and institutions were established where 'unsociability' was addressed with a fairly harsh hand; examples are Zeeburger village and Aster village in Amsterdam, Zomerhof in The Hague and Houtplein and Kerkweg in Utrecht (Dercksen & Verplanke, 1987). The end of the 1970s saw a growing focus on the issues underlying the unsocial behaviour, and the idea began to take hold that these problems were not (only) due to the individuals but (also) to social structures; specifically, to social inequality in terms of power and opportunities, and to the resulting deprivation (Kloppenburg, Hendriks, & Van Doorn, 2010; Milikowski, 1961). This in turn fuelled the idea that unconventional behaviour should be tolerated and that people with an impairment should be helped to integrate in society. They, too, are entitled to a normal and self-reliant life, as much as possible

(Nirjé, 1971). In the 1970s this normalisation process pertained particularly to people with a psychiatric disorder (mental healthcare) and a mental impairment (care of the mentally handicapped). In the 1990s this approach was expanded to include vulnerable elderly people and young people, and also took hold in the vision on social care and forensic social work (Andriessen, De Jonge, & Kloppenburg, 2014; Verplanke & Duyvendak, 2010).

In the past decades, the normalisation approach has had an effect on the notion of the participation society as expressed, for example, in the goals formulated in the Dutch Social Support Act (*Wet op de maatschappelijke ondersteuning, WMO*): *“People who are limited in their social participation ability can, if necessary with some assistance, manage their lives in and around the house and can continue to live independently and to participate socially for a longer time. They have more faith in their own capacities and are less dependent on state support and professionals”* (Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport, 2010).

Aside from the influence of the normalisation principle on care arrangements, it has also had a vital impact on the (expected) attitude of professionals towards clients and vice versa. Care providers were expected to no longer care for citizens in a paternalistic manner, but especially to ensure that citizens gained or regained the capacity to participate in society (Andriessen, De Jonge & Kloppenburg, 2014; Kloppenburg, Hendriks, & Van Doorn, 2010; Tonkens, 2003). The awareness grew that it does not help vulnerable citizens if professionals take over their basic responsibilities. At the same time, today’s increasingly complex society is an increasingly challenging place and not every citizen is able to cope with all the social demands and expectations and to look after himself. It is therefore important for social workers to support vulnerable citizens and to create a structure around them to help them take care of themselves (Van Ewijk, 2010). This focus on participative citizenship is reinforced by a government that is retreating from public roles, for both substantive and financial reasons (Andriessen, De Jonge, & Kloppenburg, 2014).

The other side of de-institutionalisation

Overseeing these developments, the question arises whether the de-institutionalisation movement actually achieved its goal. Did vulnerable citizens manage to connect or reconnect to society more successfully by continuing to live independently in their home environment, as much as possible? A large proportion of this target group avoided every form of care or assistance on account of previous negative experiences, while others failed to find their way to care facilities for other reasons. At the same time, the aversion against unsolicited ‘intervention care’ and the emphasis on how clients were the victims of social structures was so pervasive that it even began to seem as if no such thing as problem families existed (Kloppenburger, Hendriks, & Van Doorn, 2010). As a result, while systematically fewer people were admitted to institutions, there were barely any care professionals to be found in the community. Professionals turned a blind eye to the problems, and the anticipated informal social support systems did not quite live up to expectations. Not infrequently, these developments meant that people did not connect or reconnect more successfully, but instead found themselves increasingly isolated and alone, and began to neglect themselves, and starting causing annoyance in the neighbourhood and accumulating debts, and stopped paying their utility bills and rent, and ultimately faced eviction (Andriessen, De Jonge, & Kloppenburger, 2014).

At the end of the twentieth century, the number of homeless people was clearly growing, consisting to a significant extent of people with a psychiatric disorder. It became increasingly clear that a substantial group of citizens does not possess the required degree of self-reliance and is unable to express their own care need, so that they are at risk of developing steadily more serious problems, and certainly in a highly individualised society like the Netherlands (Andriessen, De Jonge, & Kloppenburger, 2014; Van der Lans, 2009, 2010).

In response to these issues, older approaches such as intervention care and outreach work were dusted off again. Whereas people affected by social problems in the nineteenth century were mainly dependent on their family and immediate environment for support, and when professional care began to emerge it mainly consisted of looking up people and simply being there for them, in the twentieth century care had increasingly disappeared from 'normal life'. Once the negative consequences of this development started to become clear, care providers were called upon to no longer hide in their consultation offices but to actively go into town and city neighbourhoods and to (literally and figuratively) peek behind people's front doors to identify possible problems. Once simply a matter of course, it now became a propagated norm for care providers to visit clients at home (Kloppenburg, Hendriks, & Van Doorn, 2010; Van der Linde, 2011). The neighbourhood-oriented approach became the standard approach: care providers had to once again become a visible presence in the community (Roeg, Voogt, Van Assen, & Garretsen, 2012; Kloppenburg, Hendriks, & Van Doorn, 2010; Van der Lans, Medema, & Räckers, 2003; Vlaar, Kluft, & Liefhebber, 2013).

2.1.2 Legislative framework

History repeats

To diminish the distance to the care-needing citizen, care providers increasingly moved into the neighbourhoods in recent years, each operating on the basis of his or her own discipline. Sometimes this resulted in more than ten different care providers visiting the same family home. Once again the care providers tended towards taking over their clients' lives, albeit not within the walls of an institution but within the walls of their own home. As a consequence, the costs of care grew higher and higher (Van Doorn, Huber, Kemmeren, Van der Linde, Räckers, & Van Uden, 2013).

Unsurprisingly, this has recently led to a new transition: the classic Dutch welfare state has now made way for the 'participation society'. Per 1 January 2015, with the

enactment of three decentralisation acts – the Social Support Act (WMO), the Youth Care Act and Participation Act – the responsibility for social support, youth care and job market participation was transferred from the state government to the municipal level, with the goal of providing care more efficiently and more affordably. In this way the state government withdrew further from the public domain, and care is now arranged in closer proximity to the citizen.

The idea behind this transformation was that, as in the 1980s, professionals should predicate their work on people's self-reliance and should seek to connect to existing social networks instead of taking over the care and support entirely (RMO, 2012). As part of the drive towards relinquishing the care paradigm and to promoting 'normalisation', the number of places in social support facilities and mental healthcare institutions have been reduced and vulnerable citizens are encouraged to live independently in a 'normal neighbourhood'. Thus history seems to repeat itself: by concentrating on what citizens are capable of, the group of citizens that cannot look after themselves and that lack a supporting network appear to be lost from view, while there are (as yet) insufficient informal support systems in place, and the envisaged neighbourhood teams have yet to be fleshed out properly.

For people with a psychiatric disorder and/or light mental impairment who are in a vulnerable (domestic) situation as a result of social and/or psychological circumstances, and who are unable to live independently, the support from the social environment (if any) is insufficient to prevent or reduce problems. As a consequence they often wind up in the street, where their overall condition and situation tends to deteriorate rapidly. The number of people with serious debt problems and the number of home evictions is on the rise, and the waiting lists for social shelter are growing longer by the day (De Graaf & Van Doorn, 2012). Given their homeless status they are often difficult to track down, and even if they are 'in the picture' by using low-threshold day and night shelter facilities, they are often difficult to reach and hard to counsel. They have often been forced to vacate their home, or have been homeless for long periods of time or must

make do with marginal accommodation, and are unable to build and keep a stable domestic situation without support and assistance. And if they do manage to find a roof over their head then this is generally in deprived neighbourhoods where cheap rental dwellings can be found, which cuts them off even more from mainstream society (Verplanke & Duyvendak, 2010).

Mixed communities

Given the emphasis on participation, self-reliance and de-institutionalisation on the one hand, and the necessity for housing associations to develop innovative concepts in the accommodation of special target groups on the other, various initiatives were developed in the Netherlands in recent years to encourage mixed living, or mixed communities. This entails the deliberate creation of situations in which vulnerable citizens live alongside self-reliant citizens, and in which the latter can look after the former and the former can find support and stimulation in their 'stronger' neighbours (Veldboer, Duyvendak, & Bouw, 2007).

However, these concrete initiatives were often not elaborated far beyond the abstract notion of de-institutionalisation. Thus, although it was clear that living independently was in the best interests of both the vulnerable citizens and society as a whole, exactly how to go about realising this was often still very sketchy (Verplanke & Duyvendak, 2010). The ambitions and expectations were furthermore often at a high level, but any insight into the extent to which the initiatives were actually successful was often lacking. At the same time, in many neighbourhoods the citizens resisted the housing of vulnerable citizens in their vicinity, under the motto of 'not in my backyard'. This often resulted in a polarisation that magnified or exaggerated the differences between the old neighbourhood residents and the socially vulnerable 'newcomers' (Andriessen, De Jonge, & Kloppenburg, 2014).

2.1.3 Academic analysis

Academic analysis on homeless populations and housing issues in The Netherlands are basically revealed in two recent PhD thesis on homelessness.

The first recent academic study on homelessness is *'On the Way up? Exploring homelessness and stable housing among homeless people in the Netherlands'* (Van Straaten, 2016). This is an observational longitudinal multi-sited cohort study which followed over 500 homeless people in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht for a period of two and a half years, starting 2011. This thesis focuses on: a) factors related to homelessness (such as substance use, intellectual disability and care needs) and their development over time; b) predictors on stable housing; and c) changes in indicators of social exclusion and association between changes in indicators of social exclusion and psychological distress.

In particular research questions b. and c. from this thesis (Van Straaten 2016) are most relevant in the context of the case study on the Green Sticht.

The longitudinal study on homeless people (Van Straaten 2016) stresses the importance of stable housing for homeless people. Negative predictors of stable housing are substance abuse, having income assistance, belonging to an older age group (over 40), having an arrest history, and a longer duration of homelessness. Among the positive predictors of stable housing are: an intimate partner relationship, having others who are dependent on the homeless person for food or shelter, a better psychological adjustment, recent current employment, earned income, adequate family support, no current drug treatment, entitlement benefits and being female. The cohort-study stresses: homeless with characteristics negatively associated with housing stability should receive more extensive and individually-tailored support services to facilitate achievement of housing stability.

In regard to social exclusion, the study reveals that homelessness is inherently associated with social exclusion because the characteristics intertwined with

homelessness (such as lack of housing, financial debts and lack of social support) are also considered components of social exclusion.

The overall results of this cohort study show that the homeless included in the cohort, are on the way up after two and a half years, but also that ongoing support of these people is still required (Van Straaten 2016).

The second recent academic study on homeless people is: *'HOUVAST: a strengths-based intervention for homeless young adults. Effectiveness, fidelity and determinants for quality of life'* (Krabbenborg, 2016). In the Netherlands, both homeless and professionals have expressed the need for improving the quality of care for homeless. This academic study focusses on the need of high quality service provision for the specific group of young homeless people. The expected increase of homelessness among young adults in the Netherlands is worrying. Low-threshold services include drop-in services or night shelters for homeless people. These services provide emergency help by fulfilling basic needs such as food, shelter and a safe haven during the day or at night. Often, no distinction is made in support between homeless young adults and homeless adults. Because of the lack of evidence-based and well-grounded interventions in the Netherlands, a strength based intervention for homeless youth was developed, in close cooperation with homeless young adults and professionals in this field. HOUVAST is a strengths-based intervention developed to improve homeless young adults' quality of life by focusing on their strengths and stimulating their capacity for self-reliance.

The PhD thesis aims to contribute to quality improvement and professionalization of care for homeless youth. The model fidelity and effectiveness of HOUVAST were assessed in five shelter facilities for homeless young adults in different cities in the Netherlands. The development of a strong working alliance between homeless young adults and their professionals is seen as essential for the recovery of homeless youth. The study concludes that autonomy, competence and relatedness are the most important aspects to improve the quality of life of these homeless young adults (Krabbenborg, 2016).

2.2 Previous evaluations

The Green Sticht project

The Green Sticht is an initiative that has continually functioned well during its relatively long period of existence and that it continues to form a lively and sociable neighbourhood. The project has been evaluated twice by the involved residents and stakeholders, to assess the extent to which it meets the Green Sticht ideals and expectations. These evaluations provided input for the revised multi-annual plans. Only one external evaluation has been conducted, by researchers of Movisie, the Netherlands' centre for social development (Kluft & Metz 2010). This qualitative evaluation study shows that the initiative has achieved its goals, but that the maintenance of the social infrastructure of the neighbourhood requires constant maintenance. To realise its goals, the positive contact between the various participants was the leading principle, rather than the vulnerability and problems of some of them. Thanks to this focus and the combination of different participation options, the Green Sticht also attracted people that deliberately choose to live and/or work in this setting, forming a more casual local arrangement than the traditional, more strictly organised social supportive arrangements (Kluft & Metz, 2010). The results of these evaluations of the Green Sticht project are discussed extensively in chapters 5 and 6.

Comparable projects

Although the project is quite unique in its extent, there are several comparable initiatives. In an effort to reverse the 'NIMBY syndrome, a variety of pilot projects were conducted in recent years. Thus, people who previously lived in collective care or shelter facilities are assisted in starting or continuing to live independently, and other people are actively recruited who are willing to live alongside these citizens and to build social relationships with them. For example, in Rotterdam-Rijnmond the project *Flexibel*

Wonen ('Flexible living') was launched, in Leiden the project *Nieuwe Energie* ('New Energy'), in Apeldoorn the project *Omnizorg* ('Omnicare'), in Hoogezand *Begeleid Wonen* ('Assisted Living'), and in Amsterdam the project *Je Eigen Stek* ('Your own place'). These projects have not been systematically evaluated.

Currently, municipalities, housing corporations and other non-profit organizations experiment with temporary accommodation options that mix various target groups, including vulnerable ones such as migrant workers, refugees with a resident permit, and people leaving intramural institutions, with more self-reliant ones such as working youngsters, students and expatriates. Sometimes also some (former) homeless people are included. Platform31 has explored several of these mixed residential projects (Van der Velden et al. 2016); they share many characteristics of the Green Sticht. Many of these projects have started recently. They are rarely evaluated. Platform31 has not compared these projects systematically, but only provides an overview. On this basis, the authors draw some conclusions on common mechanisms that seem to work well, as well as some pitfalls. The main results of this Platform31 overview are presented in chapter 6 (section 6.3.6).

One of the objectives of the Green Sticht project was to function as a pioneer and a benchmark project. It especially has had a major influence on other initiatives in Utrecht. Regarding the situation in Utrecht, there are a number of projects experimenting with different residential set-ups. The residential facility the Green Sticht was launched in 2003. Parana started in 2014, followed in 2015 by *Majella Wonen*, set up by the Foundation The Tussenvoorziening (an organisation offering social shelter, supervised living and financial support to homeless people and those at risk) and Enik Recovery College by Lister (an organisation for people with psychiatric and/or addiction problems). For these later projects, the Green Sticht served as benchmark. These residential facilities share the principle of housing together different 'categories' of citizens, thereby building social relationships between them. However, the projects pursue different approaches in their actual implementation (Davelaar, Van Doorn, &

Ooms, 2016). All these projects started quite recently. Only Parana has been evaluated, for internal use, by its project coordinator (Ooms 2015). These Utrecht projects are discussed in chapter 6 (section 6.3.6).

2.3 Conclusion

The developments described in this chapter provide insights that have been summarised by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (Koops & Kwekkeboom, 2005) as follows:

- By converting intramural care into extramural arrangements in the fields of care, welfare, living and work, the social participation of people with impairments has been increased.
- When specialised and general institutions collaborate to create and run these extramural arrangements, social integration and acceptance has been increased.
- By also involving special interest groups representing people with impairments in the design of these arrangements, they will meet the target groups' needs more successfully.
- The required coherence and coordination can best be realised at a decentralised (local or regional) level, as this minimises the distance between care providers mutually and between care providers and the care users.
- To stimulate the coherence and coordination at the regional and local levels, the responsibility to create an integrated range of services and facilities can best be assigned to the local government.
- By also involving (members of) the local community in supporting and assisting people with impairments, as an informal support structure, the target group's social integration will be increased.

- The local government is best positioned to encourage and support the informal support structures in society.
- The local government is best positioned to ensure that formal and informal care structures connect to each other *and* to the specific needs of the target groups, and hence to play an orchestrating role in this respect.

In sum, over the past few decades we have seen an increasing awareness of the importance of participating in 'normal everyday life' for vulnerable citizens and people with an impairment. There is also a greater awareness of the importance of carefully designing these alternative forms of care. All the experiments with different forms and arrangements have made one thing clear: the efforts of the local government alone are not enough. To guide vulnerable citizens towards independent living with any measure of success, it is important for self-reliant citizens to form an informal support structure around these citizens, with the public authority mainly fulfilling an encouraging, facilitating and monitoring role. This approach can create a connection with the neighbourhood and surroundings, so that the residential arrangement is not an isolated but an integrated entity, and consequently is less vulnerable (Blom & Van Soomeren, 2015; Duyvendak & Wekker, 2015).

3. Needs assessment

Alfons Fermin and Marijke Christiansson

3.1 Introduction

Prior to developing a plan to provide services for a specific target group, one has to assess the needs of the target group the plan intends to address. A needs assessment is also the starting point of an overall assessment of a project. This chapter provides this basis for an evaluation by assessing the needs of the target population at the time of the development of the Green Sticht plans around 1997.

3.2 Existing needs assessment

The initiative has been elaborated and implemented by the Foundation the Green Sticht without carrying out a needs assessment.

3.3 New needs assessment: methodology

Due to the absence of a needs assessment, we have to reconstruct our own needs assessment of the initiative, by answering the central question: what were the needs of the homeless people in Utrecht at the time the plans of the Green Sticht project were conceived, agreed upon and developed, from 1996 up until 2003.

The needs will be assessed retrospectively, to reconstruct the needs of the homeless population in Utrecht at the end of the 1990s, at the time the initial plans for the Green Sticht were discussed and agreed upon. In this way it will constitute a departing point for the other chapters of this evaluation report.

It is not easy to carry out a needs assessment of a project that stems from a 1997 conference (thus 19 years ago). The first plans for the Green Sticht were developed during a conference organised by the Fringe (Rafelrand) Working Group in Utrecht,

March 26th 1997, chaired by Ab Harrewijn. Unfortunately we were unable to collect conference documentation and minutes. And the project plans and other documents on the Green Sticht, written after the conference in 1996 until the realisation of the project in 2003, only provide scant and fragmented information on the needs of the target group. Moreover, the homeless in Utrecht had been hardly investigated at that time.

The vagueness about the problem to be tackled and the needs of target groups is due to several factors: (1) It was an initiative of NGOs and not a governmental project, thus accountability was required to a lesser extent; (2) Pragmatism and generating commitment among the key stakeholders to address various homelessness issues dominated the Utrecht "doing business" ("zakendoen") conference organised by the Rafelrand Working Group; (3) the project was innovative precisely because of its multidimensional nature: it addresses several target groups and multifaceted issues at the same time.

Due to the absence of conference documentation and an existing needs assessment, we had to reconstruct the needs assessment. This assessment is based primarily on available sources and interviews with key players at that time, thus on qualitative research methods. Quantitative data on homeless and their needs around 1996 are largely absent.

We will do our best to avoid that the understanding of the needs of homeless at that time are not unduly interpreted from today's perspective and standards. This risk will be reduced by comparing the findings from the interviews with information from documents published around the time of the development of the Green Sticht initiative.

3.4 Needs of the target population

3.4.1 Target population

What is the target population of the project? The Green Sticht is a complex project; thus the issue is: on which target group to focus the assessment? From the outset, the Green

Sticht aimed at addressing multiple target groups and needs. This is precisely the innovative element. It provides shelter for formerly homeless, it offers employment opportunities for people with intellectual disabilities (in a restaurant and a furniture workshop) and people with a vulnerable social position (in a thrift store), and it provides housing for both socially vulnerable people as self-reliant citizens, thus people who have little to choose and those who choose to live there inspired by their ideals. The project was inspired by socialist and anti-psychiatric ideals of a small, mutual supportive community combining living and working.

What makes the project innovative is precisely the combination of these elements in a mixed neighbourhood where the self-reliant residents support the participation of the vulnerable ones; it thus also offered a safe and stimulating environment for former homeless people to get their life back on track. From the start, the (former) homeless people were the main target group of the social innovative project. The guest accommodation, the Emmaus living and working community, the mixed neighbourhood and the thrift store and furniture workshop all offered accommodation, support and employment opportunities for homeless people. The employment opportunities offered to people with intellectual disabilities (in the restaurant) are less innovative, because similar initiatives for this target group were undertaken elsewhere in the Netherlands around that time. More important, the working people with intellectual disabilities do not live in this area. The socially vulnerable citizens that have difficulties to cope in the highly individualised society is the target population of the mixed neighbourhood. They include homeless people, but also other vulnerable people in need of an informal social support structure to live independently. However, this broad target population of socially vulnerable people has never been further specified.

An additional question is whether we should focus on the actual needs of the homeless people living in Utrecht around 1996 or on the interpretation of these needs by the project initiators? The needs assessment is the starting point for the other evaluation activities. Therefore it makes sense to start from the viewpoint of the initiators, and

their interpretation of the target group's needs. If possible, this will be compared with data about the actual needs of the target group around 1996 as expressed in available publications.

3.4.2 Population need

The needs assessment will answer the following questions from a historical perspective:

1. What are the nature and magnitude of the problem to be addressed?
2. What are the characteristics of the population in need?
3. What are the needs of the population?
4. What services are needed?
5. How much service is needed and over what time period?
6. What service delivery arrangements are needed to provide those services to the population?

These questions are answered below, each in a separate section.

3.4.3 The nature and magnitude of the problem addressed

The project plans and other documents on the Green Sticht written after the 1997 conference until the realisation of the project in 2002/2003, as well as the interviews do not provide for an indication of the exact nature and magnitude of the problem to be addressed by the Green Sticht project. They indicate the problem to be addressed in general terms only. There had been already many previous conferences on the topic of homelessness organised by the Rafelrand Working Group. Furthermore, the "Tussenvoorziening" (the In-between Facility, a Utrecht non-governmental organisation offering shelter and support to the homeless) and the NoiZ (Nachtopvang in Zelfbeheer;

Night shelter in self-management) both participated in the Utrecht Rafelrand conference, representing the target population. Former homeless people participated in the board and were employed as staff members of the NoiZ, a grassroots organisation. Ab Harrewijn also visited the homeless shelters, including the consumer-run NoiZ night shelter, to listen to the opinions and hear about the experiences of the users of the shelters (Interview Edwin Peters). The NoiZ and the Tussenvoorziening indicated that a lack of shelters for working homeless people and recovery facilities were one of the major gaps in the service structure for the homeless. Their indication of the problem constituted a starting point for the proposed project.

The Green Sticht project aimed at addressing a complex of issues. However, when focusing on the its intention to help solving the issue of the homeless in Utrecht, the core problem it addressed was: (1) the desperate situation of the growing population of homeless people in Dutch cities - clearly violating the values of a growing group of concerned citizens and organisations; (2) a lack of facilities and favourable conditions for shelter and the process of recovery, especially for those who have work or are prepared to work., because of (3) inadequate government support and efforts in combination with (4) public resistance in neighbourhoods where shelters for the homeless were planned (NIMBY problem). Each of the points is elaborated below.

The desperate situation of homeless in Utrecht

Sources on the situation of the homeless in Dutch cities indicate that in the course of the 1990s, the situation of the homeless in the Netherlands in general and in Utrecht in particular aggravated and authorities largely ignored the problems of the growing numbers of rough sleepers and drug addicts in public spaces (Van Doorn 2002). There were some facilities for the homeless, but the supply was insufficient and limited to provision of food and night shelter. At the same time there was a growing awareness among various stakeholders – especially among some religious inspired organisations - that the situation of the growing numbers of rough sleepers was untenable and violated values of human dignity (Interview with Jules van Dam).

Lack of facilities for shelter, housing and reintegration of homeless

Around 1996, there was hardly any public homeless policy while funding possibilities for homeless people in the Netherlands were limited. In Utrecht, there was only a Sleep Inn (night shelter) and an “in-between” bus (Tussenbus), to provide blankets and food for homeless on the spot, along with some shelter facilities offered by charity organisations, mainly by the Salvation Army. However, the municipality was wary of providing more facilities to homeless, as a result of the common conviction at that time that more supply would create more demand. Another prevailing assumption was that homelessness is a consequence of personal characteristics and government cannot do much about it, except by providing food and night shelter. The late 1990s were a tipping point, with views gradually changing at that time. Homelessness was increasingly perceived in relation to certain structural developments within society (see Chapter 2). At the same time, the population of the homeless was becoming more diverse and also more assertive. Organisations for homeless stressed that not only shelter, but also prevention and recovery should be paid due attention. Facilities for recovery and reintegration were hardly provided for yet, because this was a new way of thinking not broadly supported yet, and there was a lack of public funding. Some homeless people demanded participation, and they eventually established a consumer-run night shelter in Utrecht (the NoiZ).

Lack of government support and efforts to provide facilities

The welfare state was already retreating at that time. The initiators of the Green Sticht indicated in their project plan that the persons in need of help “increasingly rely on aid and support facilities, which cannot cover the demand, partly because of a retreating government”, while they at the same time held the idea that “it is unfair to expect from the state to shoulder the entire load” of the problem of supporting the homeless” (Emmaus Haarzuilens and De Rafelrand 1997).

Neighbourhood resistance: NIMBY problem

The few plans for establishment of homeless shelters in Utrecht immediately caused a public outcry from residents of the respective neighbourhoods, while at the same time the city council of Utrecht was divided on this issue and didn't considered it important enough to pursue the plans. A small group of the homeless in Utrecht claimed self-management in the Utrecht night shelters, as well as support for the reintegration into society. In 1994, a group of homeless people occupied a vacant property in Utrecht, because all the plans for night shelters were obstructed by protests from local residents. This action led to the establishment of the grass-root foundation 'Night Shelter in Self-Management' (NoiZ) in 1995 (Van Scheppingen et al 2013).

The Green Sticht project in part was a continuation of these ideas on a consumer run shelter, combined with ideas to circumvent the habitual neighbourhood resistance by establishing homeless facilities in a new housing estate, and to create favourable conditions for recovery and reintegration in a mixed neighbourhood, with living and working functions. The project wanted to avoid dependence on public funds – because the uncertainty that it entails – and this was secured by obtaining commitment of several private parties, and especially a social housing corporation, as well as support and financing by especially Emmaus Haarzuilens and the municipality of Utrecht (and EU funding).

3.4.4 Characteristics of the population in need

The main population in need were homeless people in Utrecht that sought refuge in the public domain and availed themselves of the day and night shelter and other temporary accommodation. For the majority of the population in need the actual loss of accommodation was usually preceded by many years of problem accumulation. (Van Doorn 2002). A distinction was made between homeless people in terms of their potential to reintegrate and the phases in which they found themselves. Some homeless

only needed an accommodation, others had a long road ahead, while some could never live independently. The target group of the Green Sticht was a group in the middle of this hierarchy and in the second phase, after they had stayed in the night shelter (interviews Jules van Dam, Edwin Peters and Nico Ooms).

The causes that hinder people to live their life independently temporarily or permanently and causes of homelessness are only briefly indicated with keywords in the Green Sticht project documents, for instance as: “low income, a weak or no social network, limited social and bureaucratic skills, sometimes also problems of addiction and / or psychiatric disorders” (Green Sticht Project plan March 1998).

The population of homeless was changing during the late 1990s. While for a long time the majority of homeless people were relatively elder men, most of them with an alcohol problem, around the late 1980s, new groups became homeless: youngsters, women, hard drugs addicts and asylum seekers whose asylum application had been rejected. There was a lot of diversity among the homeless people, both in age, ethnicity, social-economic background and educational attainment as well as their potential to get their life back on track. (Van Doorn 2002).

A 1998 study into the Utrecht homeless population by Reinking and Kroon (cited in Van Doorn 2002) provides some data. There lived around 800 adult homeless people in Utrecht in 1998 (total inhabitants of Utrecht in 1998: 240,000). The Utrecht homeless consisted predominantly of men (93%), with the average age of 38, including some with a migrant background. Almost all were single people with a low educational attainment, and without a regular job. Two third of them were living on benefits, and three quarters lived below the poverty level. They were homeless for a continuous period of two and a half years on average. There were relatively many rough sleepers in Utrecht at that time. Although there was some mobility between the cities, the homeless tended to be rather geographically stable. They were frequently involved with the police, 80% had been convicted of an offence and 63% had spent at least two weeks in prison. 13% was mentally retarded, 53% was dependent on drugs, and 22% on alcohol. Relatively many

of them had to cope with psychiatric disorders, often in combination with an addiction.
(Van Doorn 2002: 61 – 62).

Once living on the streets, homeless people try to adapt to street life. These adaptation strategies on the one hand make life on the streets more bearable, whereas on the other they increasingly hamper social integration and thus sustain the state of homelessness.

Once these people try to terminate homelessness, they tend to struggle with ambiguous orientations because they are keeping double standards and identities. They might also struggle with loyalty conflicts, between for example ties to family members that have been restored and former buddies on the streets. In addition, the institutions and services that could help homeless people to reintegrate into society were unfit for this task (Van Doorn 2002).

The Green Sticht project focused on a specific category of homeless: those with (or prepared to) some work or meaningful daily activities, thus a category that is already taking its first steps towards reintegration, but still cannot live on their own. There are no data or specifications on this category.

3.4.5 The needs of the target population

In the Green Sticht project plans and related documents, there are only few and brief references to the needs of the target population. These plans refer to the need for a shelter or a dwelling, support and guidance, participation (empowerment), income, social support by other people to help them regain a regular life, independence and self-esteem (Project plan March 1998).

These ideas can be elaborated by using insights from the research of Lia van Doorn (2002, 2005). She investigated the homeless population in Utrecht between 1993 – 2000 in various research projects, which ultimately resulted in her thesis (Van Doorn 2002). She presented findings from her research projects during a 1995 conference on homeless people in Utrecht organised by the Rafelrand Working Group, thus to people

who later initiated the Green Sticht project. Several of the needs mentioned below are also referred at by interviewed stakeholders.

Their needs included the following elements (Van Doorn 2002, 2005):

- First of all: the need for shelter or housing. Depending on how long they have been on the streets and other factors that influence whether they are ready to return to a 'normal' housing situation.
- Safety and stability: Being all the time in the public domain is experienced by most as very unsafe and stressful. Linked to the needs for safety is the need for stability, for some peace of mind. Living on the streets means training your survival skills. A less stressful live might also make it easier to reduce the use of drugs (Interview Jules van Dam).
- Healthcare. Living on the streets implies that your health is at stake. For a lot of homeless people their mental health and/or their addiction are already an issue.
- Social networks. The longer the homeless people stay on the streets, the further they drift away from mainstream society. They will lose their contacts with former friends, family, colleagues, and neighbours. If they want to return to a regular way of life, (re)establishing new social relationships is an essential condition (and obstacle).
- Social support and counselling to support their social restoration and behavioural change. To escape from homelessness, you have to go through learning processes in order to become again accustomed to the regular and settled way of life.
- Respect and identity. Reintegration into mainstream society is a long-term process, and requires again entering into contacts with non-homeless, abandoning the homeless subculture, and assuming a new identity as non-homeless.

- Financial means or income. Homeless people can improve their quality of life by earning an income from work or social assistance. Many of them have debts, so there is a need for debt counselling.
- Work or meaningful daily activities. When living on the streets, the regular labour market is for most of the homeless unattainable. Activation and participation in voluntary work and daily wage projects however are linked both to their need for identity as a meaningful person and to their need for structure and stability.

3.4.6 The services needed

The services needed are the security in terms of a temporary shelter for a certain period of time, counselling and support by a (floating) social worker, social support by fellow residents and neighbours, sufficient income and work or other daily activities. The important thing is that homeless people take the next step away from the survival spirit that characterises the night shelter.

The required services vary for the different types of homeless people and they depend on the stage of their process of reintegration. The primary target group of the Green Sticht guest accommodation consists of those homeless people that are in principle able and willing to undertake work or daytime activities for a minimum of 20 hours per week (this was and is a formal requirement). In addition, a comparable group of homeless may apply to join the Emmaus Parkwijk living and working community. Moreover, homeless people in a subsequent phase of living independently are a target group of the Green Sticht social housing apartments.

Thus, the services needed are:

- The target group is in need of housing beyond night shelter, where they can stay for a longer period of time. This fulfils their need for safety, stability and social interaction with co-inhabitants and neighbours.

- Counselling and support is needed, to help them with problems of reintegration.
- Treatment and guidance by healthcare professionals, for homeless with problems of addiction and psychiatric problems.
- Legal and financial coaching services. For instance, the procedures for claiming benefits or opening a bank account are complicated. Support for debt assistance is also crucial, because the majority has debts. (Van Doorn 2005)
- Furthermore, informal social support is needed, the need for 'normal human contact'.

3.4.7 The amount of services needed

The main services needed for reintegration according to the initiators of the project were: the security of a shelter/housing, an informal social support structure, and work or daily activities. In addition, personal counselling and support to re-integrate was regarded essential. The guest accommodation for the homeless was always meant as an intermediate step in the process of reintegration.

3.4.8 Required service delivery arrangements for the target population

The central idea behind the project is that it should not offer separate services for each specific need. It departed from an integrated or holistic approach: no extensive services structure was needed, because the neighbourhood supports the re-integration and because homeless people run their own guest accommodation. Only limited support offered by a floating support service (social workers) of the Tussenvoorziening would be needed. According to the project plans, it is essential to the service delivery arrangements that they are de-compartmentalized (for an integrated approach), outreaching, addressing the potentials and own strength of the former homeless, and promoting their participation and self-help.

One should keep in mind that the Green Sticht was just one option for a specific category of homeless people. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, various new accommodation services were created for different categories of homeless people in Utrecht.

3.5 Conclusions

Due to the absence of a needs assessment, we had to reconstruct our own needs assessment of the project, based primarily on available sources and interviews with key players at that time.

A formal needs assessment was not considered by the initiators because of the focus on action, commitment, and feasibility, but also because representatives and advocacy organisations of the target group participated in the process. It was assumed that they could provide sufficient practical knowledge of the situation and the needs of the target group.

The Green Sticht project aimed at addressing a complex of issues. However, when focusing on the homeless issue, the core problem the project addressed was: (1) the desperate situation of the growing population of homeless people in Dutch cities; (2) a lack of facilities for shelter and reintegration, especially for those who have (or a prepared to) work, because of (3) inadequate government support and efforts in combination with (4) public resistance in neighbourhoods where facilities for homeless were planned.

The main population in need were homeless people in Utrecht that seek refuge and avail themselves of the day and night shelter and other temporary accommodations. There lived around 800 adult homeless people in Utrecht in 1998. A lack of shelters and housing for homeless people and recovery facilities was one of the major gaps in the service structure for the homeless at that time.

The primary need of the homeless is a shelter. Next to that also safety, stability, healthcare, social support, respect and work or daily activities are important needs taken into consideration by this project.

The services needed are the security of temporary shelter for a certain period of time, managed by former homeless, floating counselling services, informal social support by fellow residents and neighbours, sufficient income and work or daily activities. It is crucial that an opportunity is offered to take the next step away from the survival spirit that characterises the night shelter. At the end of the stay at the guest accommodation, the inhabitants have to be referred to a subsequent step, for instance assisted, sheltered living or and independent accommodation.

The project departed from a holistic approach: there is no need for an extensive services structure, because the Green Sticht community provides informal support to the re-integration and because homeless people run their own guest accommodation.

4. Theory of change

Alfons Fermin

4.1 Introduction

To evaluate the initiative, not only a needs assessment is required but also an elaboration of the assumptions about how the project or programme should work. This is commonly referred to as the Theory of Change (TOC), the programme theory which underpins the project. This chapter will construct the theory of change that underpin the Green Sticht project. It focuses on the TOC at the time the establishment of the Green Sticht. Thus, this chapter answers the question: What promises for change can be retrospectively defined at the time the project plans were developed between 1997- 2003?

4.2 Lack of an existing theory of change

The Green Sticht project lacks an elaborated theory of change on how and why the desired social change was expected to happen due to the programme interventions. As already indicated in the previous chapter, the project lacked a detailed substantiation of its plans. This is partly because of the highly pragmatic approach, focussing on generating commitment among the key stakeholders to address a specific issue. Furthermore, the project organisation was a typical network organisation, delegating the elaboration as well as the implementation of the specific goals and plans to its partners.

4.3 New theory of change: methodology

The absence of an elaborated theory of change forces us to construct it retrospectively. The methodology to collect and analyse the information will be based on qualitative research methods consisting of a review of:

- Programme documentation, including project plans, the statutes of the foundation and self-evaluation reports;
- Interviews with key informants and stakeholders;
- Secondary sources about the project (esp. Kluft & Metz 2010);
- A process of validation of the theory of change by stakeholders to generate agreement around it, by means of a focus group meeting.

A theory of change includes the following elements (cf. Baines et al. 2016):

- The context of the initiative, including the state of the problem the project sought to influence;
- The desired long-term change that the initiative sought to support;
- The process or sequences of change anticipated to lead to the desired long-term outcome: the intermediate outcomes that will lead to the ultimate goals, and the interventions and additional inputs that are key to programme delivery and that will lead to the intermediate and long-term outcomes;
- Assumptions about how these changes might happen, thus the reasoning that underpins the causal links.

For the case of the Green Sticht we will take the perspective of the initiators (project organisation) as the departing point, how they intended to bring about social changes with their interventions. Furthermore, we focus on how the Green Sticht project benefits in particular (former) homeless people as well as socially vulnerable people in general. The focus is on a reconstruction of the theory of change underpinning the project plans as developed between 1997-2003. In the meantime, the project plans have been evaluated and adapted twice, in 2009 and 2014, as a basis for formulating new multiannual plans. These changes will be discussed in the next chapter, evaluating the process of implementation and adaptation.

4.4 Theory of change of the Green Sticht project

4.4.1 Background

A theory of change starts with a description of the context of the project and of the needs and problems the initiative intends to influence. The social, political and economic context, the problems and unmet needs and the stakeholders that were able to influence the changes together constitute the departing point of the theory of change. The previous chapters already described this background, therefore this section mainly recapitulates the main elements of the context.

The various versions of the Green Sticht project plans and annual reports (1998, 1999, 2001, 2003)³ describe the problem and context in general terms, as:

- A lack of shelter and housing facilities for (former) homeless people in Utrecht, especially for those prepared to re-integrate;
- A lack of provisions for rehabilitation of homeless people, including opportunities to combine work or other daily activities with shelter, guidance and social support;
- Strong neighbourhood resistance to the establishment of reception facilities for homeless people in their neighbourhood (NIMBY syndrome); together with a lack of perseverance of local authorities, resulting in inaction;
- Lack of an informal social support structure for socially vulnerable people (including homeless) that have problems to live independently in the highly individualised society;

³ The sections on context, problem, objectives etc. of the project remain remarkably similar (almost copy-pasted) in the project plans and other documents between 1998-2003, only the organisational, practical and implementation dimensions have been further elaborated and adapted during these years. This shows that a clarification and elaboration of the definition of the problem and the objective of the project was considered unnecessary, while this was required for the practical and organisational dimensions and financial feasibility of the project.

- Lack of involvement of the target group in the development, implementation and management of initiatives designed to improve their position.

4.4.2 Long-term outcome

The project aimed to achieve a long-term social change by addressing a complex social problem in an integrated way. To have this impact, a network organisation was considered most suited, an overarching foundation and close cooperation of partner organisations. Each of the partners is responsible for the elaboration and implementation of sub-goals that contribute to the long-term objective or mission of the network organisation.

In the 1997 foundation statutes of the Green Sticht Foundation the long-term objective is formulated as:

- “The preparation, establishment and maintenance of one or more residential and work communities with shelter functions for the homeless, people with a psychiatric history and other people with a socially vulnerable position;
- The promotion of the integration of self-reliant residents with socially vulnerable ones with regard to housing, work and living.”

Thus, the target group is rather broad, including all kind of socially vulnerable citizens, with some facilities focusing on homeless people.

The two elements of the long-term objective are closely related. The first one implies the objective of realising a neighbourhood with accommodations and a shelter for socially vulnerable people, as well as work opportunities for people at a distance of the labour market. The second sub-goal of integration of self-reliant and vulnerable residents in housing, work and in living implies that they live alongside each other and that the self-reliant ones look after the socially vulnerable and provide them with informal support. In short, the aim is to create a mixed neighbourhood, in which people with different social background live and work together and support each other, while the neighbourhood also offers shelter to the homeless.

Project plans of the Green Sticht formulated some additional objectives, especially with regard to environmental sustainability: the neighbourhood should be a green, sustainable one, with environmental services for the surrounding areas. This is a core objective of the recycling activities and the thrift store of the Emmaus living and working community. Furthermore, the initiative was intended to serve as showcase project of such a mixed neighbourhood to inspire others.

The project partners NoiZ and the Tussenvoorziening were (and still are) responsible for the homeless shelter and support in the processes of self-management of the shelter and re-integration. The ultimate objective regarding the homeless people in the shelter is: to offer a temporary accommodation to homeless people aged over 18 years who are motivated (to continue) to work, as well as to support them to stabilize and to re-integrate into society and work (NoiZ 2003). For these residential homeless people the shelter was only a temporary phase in their recovery process. Referral to another type of accommodation (sheltered or independent housing) and continuation of work activities are marks of success. The first step involves accommodating to a more organised life in a shelter and continuation of daily activities or work, supported by floating social workers. Informal social support was (and is) considered essential for this process. Emmaus is responsible for housing, voluntary work and support of the homeless people who live in their working and living community.

The objective of the project is the continuation of the mixed neighbourhood without public money, because this would threaten its continuity. The informal support structure of the neighbourhood for vulnerable residents would reduce the need for professional assistance.

4.4.3 Intermediate outcomes

The intermediate outcomes aimed at by the Green Sticht Foundation are a mix of general and concrete targets. This relates to the character of the Foundation as a

network organisation. For this reason, the intermediate outcomes of the Foundation are formulated in rather general terms:

- Realising a guest accommodation for working homeless people;
- Realising or promoting the realisation of one or more companies that offer work for people who are distanced from the labour market;
- To promote that residents and staff members of participating organisations together, in a democratic way, give shape to a social and engaged community offering conditions for self-reliance and self-esteem to all residents and especially the socially vulnerable ones;
- Promoting the integration of all residents of different backgrounds;
- Realising and maintaining an informal social support structure for the shelter and housing of socially vulnerable people.

The partner organisations were the primary responsible actors to realise these intermediate objectives, while the Foundation should observe the pursuit of the general objective or mission and to facilitate the coordination between the partners.

The NoiZ was responsible for the guest accommodation and the self-management by the target population, in cooperation with the Tussenvoorziening (actually, the NoiZ was already part of the Tussenvoorziening, but maintained some autonomy at that time). It aimed at:

- Offering homeless people the security of temporary shelter for a specific period of time to continue their meaningful daily activities and to empower themselves to get their life back on track.
- Self-management and self-regulation of the guest accommodation by the target population including the guests themselves.

It was assumed that under these conditions, and informally supported by the mixed neighbourhood, after a few months, or a year at maximum, homeless people would feel themselves secure and safe enough to make the next step.

The association of the residents of the Green Sticht was responsible for realising an integrated, engaged and tolerant neighbourhood composed of people who had chosen to live there (inspired by their ideals) and those who have little to choose (the social disadvantaged). Reciprocity, realising a sense of community and informal support structures are considered key mechanisms for the integration of mixed neighbourhood. A mixed neighbourhood in terms of age, income, living unit and social position would have a lot of potential regarding informal mutual support, but would face serious integration problems. Therefore, integration should be promoted actively. It refers to ideals of transcending fundamental dividing lines in society, and promoting a sense community in the modern, individualised society.

Realising work and daily activities for people who are distanced from the labour market was partly the task of the Emmaus thrift store, but additionally a partner had to be sought to realise this task. The Emmaus living and working community has its independent tasks of realising the integration of the members of its living and working community. This living community consists as well of people who choose to live there (out of idealism, the core group members) and those who have little to choose, especially former homeless people. Here also the core group members support the socially vulnerable.

Another intermediate objective of the project was to create public support from the surrounding neighbourhoods for the Green Sticht mixed neighbourhood and homeless shelter.

4.4.4 Assumptions and Justifications

There are a lot of assumptions that underpin the theory of change. We focus on some of the most important ones, especially in relation to the re-integration of (former) homeless people.

Several elements of the underlying diagnosis were briefly indicated only in the project plans: “Some people cannot keep up in the individualised society, and become increasingly dependent on service assistance, which in turn becomes overburdened also due to the retreating welfare state; besides, these are not only the responsibilities of public authorities. The solution to this problem consists of creating social support and networks in small-scale communities to support the weaker fellow men, to create a modern type of solidarity. In addition, an integration of living and working is essential. A shelter is the first need for homeless people, but only in combination with work and a social living environment it will support them to take the next steps.” (Ab Harrewijn, Emmaus-Haarzuilens & De Rafelrand, 1997). This is the core justification of the project, in combination with assumptions regarding empowerment.

Two main assumptions that constitute the basis of the plans for the guest accommodation thus are:

- Empowerment and self-management: the target group should run the guest accommodation (consumer-run shelter)
- The combination of shelter, informal social support and daily activities or work is essential for the process of recovery of homeless people.

Empowerment (emancipation) and self-management were and are the characteristics of the NoiZ night shelter, and the Groene Sticht guest accommodation as its follow up. Because the shelter is run by former homeless people, they understand the guests and their situation very well. Guests can promote to staff functions if they show they are able to bear responsibilities. This idea of self-management was a radically new idea at that time (Interview Edwin Peters). Currently, client councils and audits that involve the

clients have become common, as well as the employment of experts-by-experience in services for the poor and the excluded.

The other assumption is that homeless people are capable of recovery. They are in need of a shelter, work or daily activities, and a safe and supportive social environment to start their process of recovery. For only these three elements (roof, work and social environment) together will help the homeless to take the next step in the process of reintegration. In contrast, at that time the dominant paradigm was that homeless were pitiful, destitute people, and only some patching up and mending was considered possible: a night shelter or a hostel hidden in a forest, and a soup kitchen. However, the Rafelrand working group promoted the radical new idea: the homeless are people like us. Homelessness is perceived as a risk in various stages of the life courses of all people, not an invariable characteristic of a specific category, that is of older, addicted single men. This risk is reinforced by social, economic and political conditions, including neo-liberal policies and an individualised and increasingly complex society.

Many homeless people had already seen too many professionals and therapists, to help them kick their habit and to get their life back on track. They were disappointed in this kind of professional treatment. Therefore, an important assumption was to start with the basics, and not with treatment and therapy (Interviews Maarten Davelaar and Edwin Peters). Recovery is possible before addicts have kicked their habits.

Furthermore, homeless who stabilize outside the hectic life on the streets will need and use fewer drugs (Interview Jules van Dam). Therefore, the Tussenvoorziening only offered floating housing support or counselling by social workers to guests of the guest accommodation. No extensive services structure was considered necessary in a tolerant and supportive neighbourhood with a self-managed guest accommodation. Of course, it was always possible to make use of professional assistance, if needed and desired.

Work or daily occupation were considered essential for the process of recovery, to structure daily life and to acquire contacts outside the small circle of homeless people. It would also help to improve self-respect. However, it was (and still is) not easy to

acquire and retain work or daily activities for people at the bottom of the labour market, who are unable to cope with regular work.

Next, social support and recognition by neighbours is essential for recovery. However, traditional networks have disappeared, and therefore, new informal social networks have to be created that offer support to the socially vulnerable (De Rafelrand 1997). A group accommodation was considered the most appropriate type of housing for the first phase of the rehabilitation process of categories of the homeless, to learn social skills and to support each other, and to support a gradual transition from night shelter to an independent dwelling. In a mixed and tolerant neighbourhood, the self-reliant residents live alongside the socially vulnerable ones, and are in the position to offer social support and recognition.

Creating an inclusive and supportive community required some social engineering: selection of the different types of residents and a structure to promote community activities. In this way, a safe environment for socially vulnerable people could be created, that offered them acceptance as equals, taking into account the differences in potential.

Like in convent communities in the past, some people choose to live in such a community inspired by ideals, while others have little choice, because they are temporarily or permanently unable to live independently. The term “Sticht” connotes “a convent community”.⁴ This kind of solidarity was already a basis for several of the residential and working communes of Emmaus in the Netherlands. The Green Sticht project aims to test this kind of solidarity in another present-day form. Heterogeneity offers opportunities to complement each other and for mutual support. For this reason, the residents should have different backgrounds, including differences in age (young adults and the elderly), and social status (social housing and owner occupied houses).

⁴ The name also refers to the “Sticht Utrecht”, the territory in the centre of Utrecht ruled by the bishops of Utrecht in the Middle Ages. The Green Sticht is located along the medieval road to Utrecht.

Finally, one of the main assumptions is that social support for homeless shelters and housing for socially vulnerable could be created. Establishing a shelter in neighbourhood always met fierce resistance. The idea was that resistance would be absent if the process was reversed: first the shelter, and then inviting the neighbours. This is only possible in newly-built areas. In addition, reciprocity is essential for public support, therefore, the project would offer neighbourhood facilities, including a restaurant, furniture workshop and a thrift store. Also nuisance should be limited, to maintain the public support.

Regarding the homeless people, the Green Sticht was intended only as one element of a more comprehensive service delivery structure for homeless people, offering various other housing and accommodation options as well as supplementary support services. The project intends to help homeless people to make the move to the next stage of independent housing or assisted housing.

4.4.5 Interventions and outputs of the Green Sticht Foundation

What are the planned interventions and activities of the Green Sticht Foundation to promote the intermediate outcomes? The main planned interventions are (cf. Statutes 1997):

- Managing and letting immovable property (the physical infrastructure) in the Green Sticht area to partner organisations;
- Realising work for people who are distanced from the labour market by cooperation with partner organisations;
- Promoting the integration of the residents in the neighbourhood,
- Promoting engagement between residents and staff members and participating organisations.
- Safeguarding the key objectives of the Green Sticht project in a democratic way.
- Obtaining financial resources to promote the objectives of the Foundation.

The direct interventions of the Foundation the Green Sticht are restricted. The Foundation owns the immovable property in the neighbourhood, except the owner-occupied houses and social houses units. This is an important source of revenue and at the same time an instrument to safeguard the objectives of the project. A coordinator (for two days a week) is employed and paid from the rental income, to organise the cooperation with partners, to attract new partners (for the realisation of the enterprises offering work), and to promote favourable conditions for the integration in the neighbourhood and engagement between residents and staff members of participating organisations. Finally, the Foundation has to safeguard the key objectives of the project, in a collaborative and democratic way. The direct output of these activities consists mainly of coordination, co-operation, and supporting activities, for instance supporting fund raising or advising on how to solve problems.

4.4.6 Inputs and interventions partners the Green Sticht

The partner organisations of the Foundation have to develop, organise and implement the more direct actions to realise the intermediate objectives.

NoiZ and the Tussenvoorziening

The NoiZ and the Tussenvoorziening are responsible for the management of the guest accommodation and the selection and support of the guests, as well as referral. The NoiZ was already part of the Tussenvoorziening at the start of the Green Sticht, but still had a special position in the larger organisation at that time. The NoiZ was responsible for the selection and management of the guest accommodation, the Tussenvoorziening for a floating support services for the guests (residential homeless) as well as the staff of the consumer-run guest accommodation. The NoiZ developed an elaborated work plan for the guest accommodation (November 2003) prior to its start. It was more or less based on the experiences with the NoiZ night shelter. The big difference was that the guests in the guest accommodation received 24-hours shelter and for a longer period of time, and therefore they had to receive housing support, to support them

learning to live again within four walls, to bring order into their lives and to live together with the other guests.

The guest accommodation offered temporary shelter for 11 homeless people (actually, 12 homeless people at the start). These homeless were selected from night shelters, especially the NoiZ night shelter, by the NoiZ in accordance with some criteria: they should have (or are willing to have) work or daily activities for at least twenty hours a week, and they should be ready to stabilise. The targets were not specified at that time in numbers per year and referral to next housing phases. The guests were assigned a room in the guest accommodation with a rental agreement per month (or week, for the first weeks), to be extended after each month up to 1 year, if needed and if there were no reasons not to renew it. Thus, the residential homeless guests are allowed time to become at ease and to further develop themselves, and to develop a more positive self-image and self-respect. Today, guests are selected by the Tussenvoorziening.

The guest accommodation is self-managed by former-homeless people from the NoiZ. Thus, the self-management principle of the NoiZ night shelter was applied to the Green Sticht guest accommodation. The staff of the self-managed shelter receive floating support by social workers of the Tussenvoorziening, both with regard to housing and work, to perform their staff functions in the shelter. Both guests and staff have to comply with strict rules, to avoid nuisance and aggression. If the rules are violated twice, the guests are evicted. They don't need to rehab, but they are not allowed to use hard drugs and alcohol in the public spaces. Some of the staff members of the guest accommodation were offered temporary housing in an accommodation with three rooms and a common room in the Green Sticht neighbourhood (rented by the Tussenvoorziening from the housing corporation).

Association of residents

The association of residents of the Green Sticht has to play a key role in building a social support structure and promoting the integration of people in the Green Sticht neighbourhood, be it out of idealism or necessity. All residents of the Green Sticht

houses and apartments are (obliged to be) member of the association of residents of the Green Sticht, except the temporary residents and the guests. Staff members of the guest accommodation who live in the neighbourhood are also member of the association of residents. In practice, the owners of the townhouses are also member of the association, although it is not mandatory for them. One of the instruments of the association of residents to promote a tolerant and solidary community is the ballotage of new residents. New residents have to meet certain criteria and have to write a letter of motivation.

Emmaus living and working community

Emmaus Haarzuilens (in a hamlet near Utrecht) was one of the initiators of the Green Sticht.⁵ Emmaus Parkwijk was established as part of the Green Sticht. There is room for 13 people to live and work in this community: people who have been homeless or socially excluded (including former detainees, former patients with psychiatric disease, and long-term unemployed), together with others who identify with the Emmaus ideology (core group members). Everyone who lives in the Emmaus community makes a contribution by volunteering full time in the social enterprises of Emmaus, especially in the thrift (second hand) store, but also related activities, such as repairing or recycling second hand objects. The money earned is used to finance the community and also for supporting international social projects. Volunteers not only work, but also live together in an adjacent building, with a private bedroom for each resident and common rooms for preparing and eating meals together.

This is a community on its own, but it has been integrated in the neighbourhood. It also offers work opportunities for people of the guest accommodation and other residents of the Green Sticht neighbourhood. The members of the “core group” (“kerngroepleden”)

⁵ Emmaus is in international movement. Emmaus International is made up of 350 member organisations in 37 different countries all over the world. “These organisations run income-generating activities at local level with people who have experienced social exclusion to access their fundamental rights and, through their collective action, demonstrate there are credible alternatives to injustice.” <http://www.emmaus-international.org/en/>

of the Emmaus community are those who are the primary responsible persons and mentors of the other Emmaus residents. These core group members are also members of the association of residents of the Green Sticht.

Neighbourhood facilities

Neighbourhood-oriented functions include the Emmaus thrift store, restaurant and the neighbourhood workshop. The restaurant was set up and managed by Reinaerde, a non-profit care organisation in the Utrecht region that focuses on people with intellectual disabilities.

Work facilities for vulnerable people

Realising work opportunities for people distanced at the labour market was one of the main objectives of the project. The restaurant contributes to this objective (although for a different target group than the homeless), and the Emmaus working community (also for homeless). It was the intention from the start to attract a company in the silo that would offer work to (former) homeless people, and more in specific those living in the guest accommodation ('t Groene Sticht 2003).

Input other organisations

Many other stakeholders were involved in the elaboration and financing of the project, but also after the realisation of the neighbourhood. The most important additional stakeholders involved were the housing corporation Portaal and the municipality of Utrecht.

Portaal is a social housing corporation⁶ involved in the project to realise and manage the social housing in two main buildings: 32 apartments for households of one or two

⁶ There are about three million rented homes in the Netherlands. About 75% of them are owned by non-profit private housing associations or corporations (part of the semi-public sector). Social housing is cheaper because it is subsidised by the state. The government sets the rules for the allocation of social housing. Housing associations or corporations are partly responsible for the quality of life in a neighbourhood. <https://www.government.nl/topics/housing/contents/housing-associations>

persons (3 rooms per apartment). The special feature is the mandatory membership of the residents' association that has the right to select new residents.

The municipality of Utrecht contributed to the realisation of the project by subsidising, and by incorporating the Groene Sticht plans into the plans of the newly-built district. Furthermore, after the start of the Groene Sticht guest accommodation, most guests receive a welfare benefit and they may ask for help and guidance of social workers and healthcare professionals, to tackle psychological, addictive and health problems.

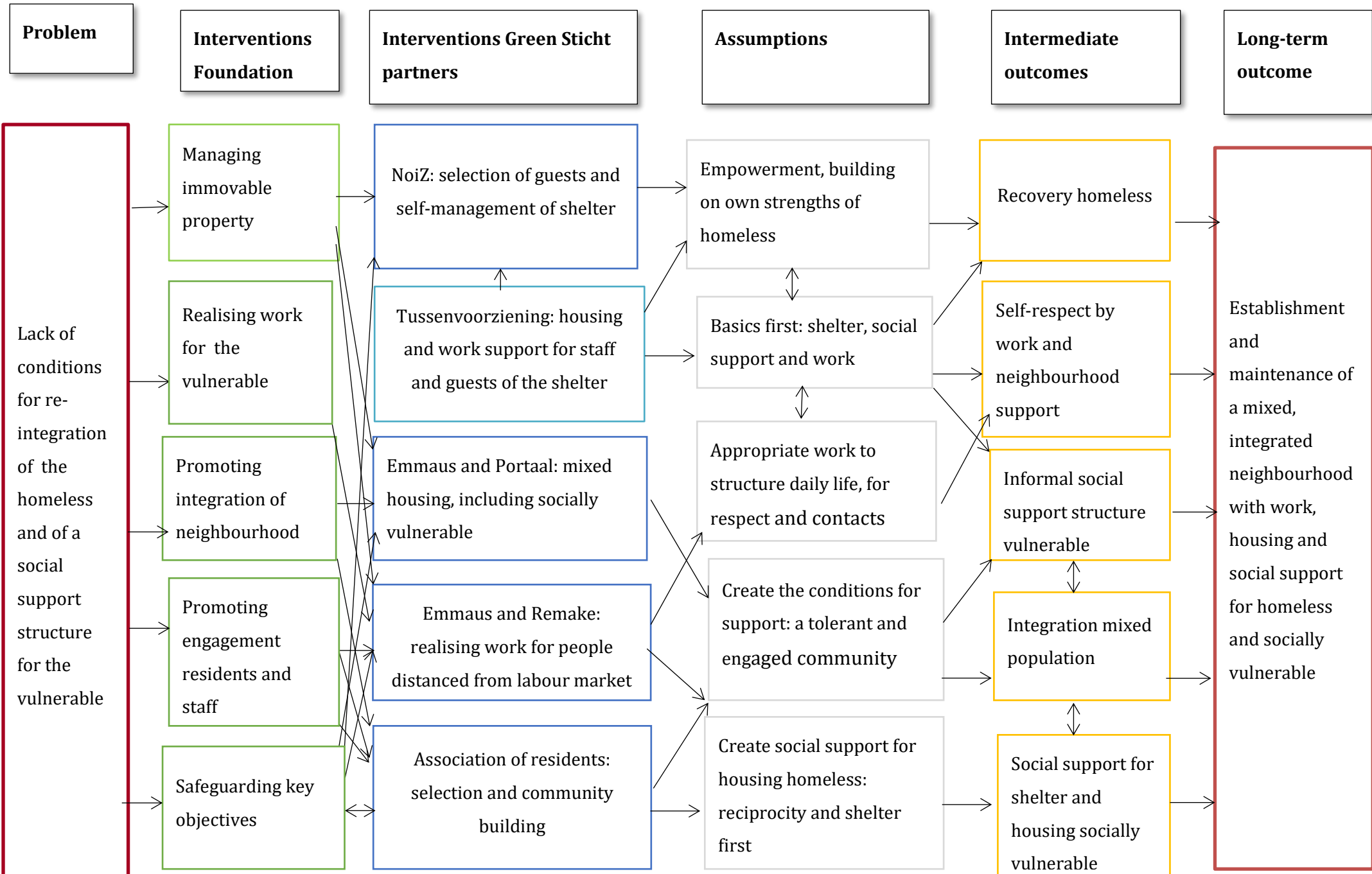
4.4.7 Program Logic

The Green Sticht theory of change is actually a combination of three distinct key assumptions:

4. It is possible to overcome neighbourhood resistance against the establishment of a homeless shelter by reversing the order: first a shelter, than inviting the neighbours;
5. Homeless people are able to recover and re-integrate by offering them the basic conditions (housing, work and social support), in combination with a limited degree of professional support.
6. It is possible to create and maintain a mixed, solidary neighbourhood, were people care for and support each other;

Each of these three elements may be an ultimate objective of separate projects. However, in the Green Sticht project they are combined. They represent three key elements of processes of re-integration or recovery of homeless people: shelter and housing, work or meaningful daily activities, and acceptance and social support by neighbours. The project planned an integrated approach to the problem of recovery of homeless people, with advantages of mutual coordination and the possibility of a tailor-made approach.

The causal links between the interventions, intermediate outcomes and ultimate goals are quite complex. The following diagrammatic representation offers a simplified interpretation of the theory of change and the causal relations between its elements.



5. Process evaluation

Alfons Fermin

5.1 Introduction

How has the interventions been implemented and have they helped to realise the objectives for change formulated in the project plans? What are the main mechanisms, and what have been the successes, failures, and adaptations of the initial plans? This chapter will answer these questions in evaluating the key processes of implementation of the Green Sticht project between its inception in 1997 until now (2016). Over the past two decades a lot has been changed in the context of the project, in the relevant policy domains, in the partner organisations, and even within the target group itself. Inevitably this has had an impact on the relevant processes and outcomes of the project.

To answer the main process evaluation questions, this chapter will answer the following sub-questions

1. Have all project activities been accomplished, or in other words: Has the intervention been implemented as intended? And if not, what activities were not carried out and what have been major adjustments?
2. What were the mechanisms by which the programme achieved its goals? In particular what was the distribution of the policy, social and managerial roles between public, private and third sectors and the legal framework used?
3. Has the intervention reached the target population?
4. How has the intervention been experienced both by those implementing it and receiving it? How well were program activities implemented, in their opinion?

5. What contextual factors were critical to effective implementation? In particular, what is the interaction and complementarity with broader social welfare policies? How have external factors influenced program delivery?
6. What were unintended or wider delivery issues encountered during implementation?

5.2 Methodology

5.2.1 General approach

To answer the evaluation questions, we will make use of qualitative research methods, consisting of analysis of documentation and semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and users.

Relevant quantitative data were not available. That is not surprising, for there were no measurable targets formulated at the level of the entire project, nor at the level of the subproject of offering shelter and support to the (working) homeless in the guest accommodation.

The process evaluation will make use of the previous evaluations by the stakeholders themselves (with the aim to develop new multiannual plans) and an independent evaluation by Movisie (the Netherlands' centre for social development). ⁷ We have confronted our findings with those of the Movisie report.

Key sources that constitute the basis for this process evaluation are: interviews with stakeholders and an onsite visit to the Green Sticht (including the guesthouse)⁸, annual

⁷ One of the two authors of the Movisie report (Judith Metz) was a resident of the Green Sticht at that time and also in evaluating the first multiannual plan and developing a new one. This involves both advantages (better understanding) as risks (of bias). We assume that this has been taken into account during the research, and controlled by the second researcher.

⁸ Actually, one of the researchers (Alfons Fermin) lives in an adjacent neighbourhood since 2004 and was already familiar with the Green Sticht. He visited some festivities, the thrift store, the furniture workshop and the restaurant before, and has made use of the shared car of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, he traverses the neighbourhood several times a week for his everyday purchases in the nearby shopping centre.

reports of the Foundation the Green Sticht and the association of residents, articles in the Green Sticht newsletter ('Overburen'), two evaluations of multi-annual plans and two new multi-annual plans of the Green Sticht. In addition, the external evaluation by two researchers of Movisie (Kluft and Metz 2010) is used. The final conclusions of the report have been presented to and discussed with a focus group of five stakeholders.

Table 1: data sources for the evaluation of the project

Primary data sources	Secondary data sources
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews with 12 stakeholders • On-site visits, guided tour and observation • Articles from Green Sticht newsletters • 2 informal, internal evaluation reports • Green Sticht annual reports • Green Sticht project plan and 2 new multi-annual plans • Focus group meeting with 5 stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External evaluation report Movisie (Kluft & Metz 2010)

5.2.2 Focus: evaluating a networked non-profit

The Green Sticht as a networked non-profit

One of the innovative elements of the Green Sticht is its organisational structure; and this structure has consequences for the evaluation of the process of implementation. The organisational structure of the Foundation and its partners bears close resemblance to a "networked non-profit" organisation (Wei-Skillern & Marciano 2008). A networked non-profit forges "long-term partnerships with trusted peers to tackle their mission on multiple fronts" (ibid). Three characteristics of a networked non-profit are:

- (1) putting their mission rather than their organisation (and growth of the organisation) at the centre of its activities;
- (2) the network is not governed by control, but based on trust; partners are sought that share the same core values and the network invests in building a shared vision and strengthening the shared values, as well as monitoring adherence;
- (3) A networked non-profit sees itself as a node in a constellation of equal, interconnected partners, rather than as a hub at the centre (ibid).

The organisation structure of the Green Sticht shares these traits of a networked non-profit. In that sense, it is an innovative type of organisation. In this chapter we will look at the advantages and risks of this type of organisation for the Green Sticht project. This type of organisation makes special demands, for instance regarding the leadership roles: leaders must put the pursuit of the mission at the centre, and not organisational activities such as fundraising, staff recruitment, and program development. It also implies that the board of the organisation doesn't have "strict, clear standards for measuring progress towards their mission" (ibid). Thus, the board must grant the non-profit leaders the autonomy to develop innovative approaches to achieve their mission in the long term. It also imposes special requirement on funders and donors: not encouraging collaboration among grantees in a top-down manner and going beyond funding restricted to specific programs (ibid). Networked non-profits can be highly effective and efficient in tackling complex social issues.

Evaluating networked non-profits

The specific features of the networked non-profit require a different evaluation perspective regarding the process, the impact and the cost-benefit analysis (see also Taylor et al. 2015). Not only the results matter, but also the connectivity in the networked non-profit and its "health": "its capacity to sustain the enthusiasm and commitment" of voluntary members as well as the professionals and the ability to work as a network to achieve the shared goals (Taylor et al. 2015: 23). Networked non-profits are characterised by the absence of strict standards for measuring progress towards the

mission or long-term goal, nor is there a centralised control. In addition, “holding networks accountable to strict plans and timetables for progress is not likely to yield useful findings, since network strategies and anticipated outcomes are likely to evolve” (Taylor et al. 2015: 25). In our evaluation we will take these features into account.

These characteristics make it understandable that the Green Sticht project never formulated measurable goals or targets, but instead focused on striving to achieve its mission, that is: to ensure that the activities of the partner organisations fit within the long-term objective and respect the Green Sticht values, including democratic participation, equality, reciprocity and respect for all, taking into account relevant differences. Complementary partners were and are selected that share core values and can help to realise the main objective. The partners have to develop and execute their own programs, and attract their own funding. It is too demanding to include the program development of the partners in a relative small evaluation project such as this. What is more, this would divert the attention from the progress towards the central objective and the connectivity in the network, for each partner organisation has its own organisational and strategic goals.

The specific features of the Green Sticht as a networked demand attention for the internal communication, coordination between the partner organisations at various levels, collective learning, strengthening shared values, and monitoring commitment to the social objectives.

5.3 Implementation of the project according to its plans

Has the intervention been implemented as intended? And if not, what activities were not carried out and what have been major adjustments? This section will answer these questions by presenting and analysing the process of implementation chronologically. This makes good sense for a project that has quite a long history and that has undergone many adaptation reflecting internal and external developments, events and pressures. We will start with a further elaboration of the organisational structure of the

Green Sticht networked organisation. Next, the implementation process will be presented for four successive periods of time.

5.3.1 Organisation for implementing the interventions

The previous section indicated the specific organisational structure of the Foundation: a networked non-profit. Before starting the evaluation of the process of implementation, we will specify the specific features of the networked Green Sticht organisation.

The organisational structure of the Green Sticht

The Green Sticht has a layered organisational structure (cf. Kluft & Metz 2010). The foundation is the formal initiator of the project and possesses the real estate. However, its power is limited by the Green Sticht residents' association, the control has been divided between them, legally. This is quite unique, and is - according to the coordinator Nico Ooms a result of Ab Harrewijns Marxist idea "that power should be divided so that the parties can constrain each other" (Nico Ooms during the focus group meeting). The residents' association does not have the power to decide to close the guesthouse accommodation, but the Foundation cannot function without the cooperation of the residents' association. The residents' association has the right to select residents and it has a seat and equal voice in the board of the Foundation. It also reflects the democratic ideal and the belief and confidence in a bottom-up approach to social change.

In addition there are participating non-profit community-based or private-sector organisations that develop within the Green Sticht area their activities and offer services that fit within the departing points and objectives of the Green Sticht. The most important partners have a seat in the board of the Foundation: the Tussenvoorziening, Reinearde, and Emmaus.

The Foundation owns the real estate and rents them to the various organisations. The advantage is that the foundation has the choice to whom it rents the buildings, to safeguard the key objectives of the foundation. It also avoids the risk that the project fails because one of the organisations goes bankrupt, or decides to change its policy so

that it no longer fits within the Green Sticht objectives (Kluft & Metz 2010). Thus, it constitutes a basis for stability.

The limited role of the overarching Foundation has not only to do with the guaranteeing continuity, but also with ideas of efficiency and democratic participation. It is the Foundation's intention that the Green Sticht is made by the partner organisation and the people living and working in the area, to avoid that the Groene Sticht ideal remains a management idea. In addition, it is an approach that safeguards the diversity of the perspectives of the residents and partners of the Green Sticht (Kluft & Metz 2010).

The organisational structure has remained the same over time, but some of the partners have changed: especially with regard to the partner that hires the silo (Remake) to create work for people distanced from the labour market.

There are various processes and procedures for the coordination and alignment between the partners. The coordinator (and before 2003, the project leader) is appointed and paid by the Foundation for two days a week, for the day to day coordination activities. His main tasks are advising and supporting the partners. In addition, there are monthly meetings of the coordinators (or managers) of the partner activities in the Green Sticht. Here again the point of departure is: no one is the boss. Thus the parties will try to find a common ground and how to reinforce and complement each other (Kluft & Metz 2010). The board of the Foundation meets three or four times a year, to monitor and discuss the main lines of developments and issues that cannot be solved at a lower level. Once a year, the board of the Foundation, the board of the residents' association and the coordinators (managers) meet to evaluate the past year and to determine the annual plan for the next year. In addition, there are occasional contacts with the surrounding neighbourhood, on issues such as nuisance, but also about potential involvement in neighbourhood activities.

5.3.2 Evaluation of the implementation of the interventions

The project plans are regularly reviewed and updated by the stakeholders. Therefore we will evaluate the implementation process by evaluating the performance of the Foundation and its partners in the four phases of the Green Sticht:

1. 1997-2003: development, elaboration and realisation of the Green Sticht;
2. 2004-2009: the first five years of the Green Sticht;
3. 2009-2014: a new multi-annual plan,
4. 2015-2020 the current multi-annual plan.

Project development: 1997-2003

This is the phase of the development, elaboration and realisation of the Green Sticht neighbourhood. The process was successful, for the realisation of the neighbourhood has been achieved. The usual planning phases were completed successfully between 1997 and 2003 by the initiative group: the feasibility studies, the elaboration of the project plans and the budget, and the construction of the buildings. After global agreements were made regarding the realisation of the project, at December 1st, 1998 a new project manager of the initiative group was appointed: Nico Ooms. Ab Harrewijn made the transition from project manager to president of the Green Sticht Foundation (GS 1999).

The initiating group put a lot of time in achieving the necessary commitment and support for the plans, for instance by forming a broad-based advisory council to critically assess the ideas and to help elaborating the plans. In addition, several expert meetings were organised to deepen understanding of the possibilities (GS 1999). The target group of homeless people was involved in elaborating the plans, by the involvement of the NoiZ.

After a suitable location was found in Leidsche Rijn (Utrecht), discussions and negotiations started with the municipality of Utrecht and the project bureau Leidsche Rijn about the price of land, the required number of dwellings per lot, the urban

development requirements and the purchase of the farm house. Then cooperation was sought with the housing corporation that had to fulfil the role as partner for building and renting the apartment buildings (housing corporation Juliana, which merged in Portaal in 2001). An information meeting for the neighbours of the Green Sticht was organised, to inform them about the plans including the establishment of a homeless shelter. The evening ended with applause. The plan was considered well thought and it offered facilities to the surrounding neighbourhood, while the preservation of the old farm house and trees was appreciated (Interview Nico Ooms).

The core group of the initiators consisted of Working Group 'de Rafelrand', Emmaus Haarzuilens, the Tussenvoorziening and the NoiZ. They collaborated very well, because of shared values and ideals, but also because the directors of the organisations already knew each other well. The latter three organizations already had gained experience with cooperation. In another Utrecht neighbourhood, Lombok, they collaborated in a large property, offering a night shelter for homeless in self-management, support to the staff and guidance to the homeless, and an Emmaus thrift store (without a living community).

The Green Sticht plans were inspired by this collaborative project in Lombok, but was more ambitious: a 24-hours shelter, within a supportive, mixed neighbourhood, and with various social companies with employment for people with a disadvantage on the labour market. Therefore, new partners were needed: to run the restaurant and to run the (furniture) workshop. A partner for the restaurant was quickly found: a non-profit care organisation for people with intellectual disabilities (Plaverijn, which merged into Reinaerde in 2001). However, Reinaerde was not directly included in the board of the Foundation, which was regretted afterwards, for it complicated the coordination and commitment during the final stage of completion of the buildings (Green Sticht annual report 2003).

Efforts to realise a Remake workshop in the silo encountered particular difficulties. The project leader of the Green Sticht, Nico Ooms, started with subsidised supported

employment trajectories in 2003, to continue this in 2004. However, this construction was considered undesirable, because the management function of the Foundation should be limited to coordination tasks, in combination with property management (Interview Nico Ooms). Of course, Emmaus - and Reinaerde, for a different target group - performed important functions in offering work in the neighbourhood. But this involved to a lesser degree work for the homeless people from the guest accommodation and the hostels (Green Sticht annual report 2003).

The association of residents of the Green Sticht was officially established March 2002, by a board of potential future residents. The residents' association signed an agreement with the housing corporation Portaal which gave it the unique right to select their own neighbours. Candidate residents were first invited to an information meeting. Then, if they were still enthusiastic, they could sign up for a ballot conversation with members of the board of the residents' association and another candidate resident. Long before the completion of the houses, the association and its working groups are developing plans for the new neighbourhood. The initial idea to reserve one of the apartment buildings for elderly residents was moved away quickly, as the elderly preferred mixing the generations (Interview Nico Ooms).

The first five years: 2003-2008

The Green Sticht was officially opened with a festive ceremony on 12-13 December 2003 during the National Homeless Days. The restaurant was run by Reinaerde with people with intellectual disabilities. At the start it also prepared meals for the members of the Emmaus commune and for the guests in the guest accommodation, but later it developed into a real neighbourhood restaurant. Emmaus launched a new core group, as the basis for the living and working community the Green Sticht, and opened the thrift store.

The guest accommodation

The first guests arrived in the guest accommodation predominantly from the NoiZ night shelter. The staff – former homeless – also arrived from that NoiZ night shelter (some circulated between both shelters). Floating social workers of the Tussenvoorziening supported both staff and guests, on a voluntary basis. A 24-hours self-managed shelter was a new format (in Utrecht), requiring flexibility in the initial phase. For instance, the estimated time of residence of a few months was quickly extended to six months, with the possibility of extension to one year. Later, the option was added for a prolongation of a further half a year, if the guests are waiting for a housing accommodation (with urgency). The Tussenvoorziening professionalised its support services these first five years, which was made possible financially by the financial boost that accompanied the Action Plan Social Relief of the four major Dutch cities together with the national government (Interview Jules van Dam).

Initially, the selection criteria of the guests were too rigorous, which resulted in vacancies. Then the requirements were watered down, which resulted in the entry of homeless people without work, but who had expressed the intention to work. Work had to be found for them, for example in the Emmaus thrift store and in the silo. The allocation also changed over time due to expansion of the housing facilities offered by the Tussenvoorziening and changes in the grant requirements of the Exceptional Medical Expenses Act (AWBZ), which made it possible to place homeless with more “severe” problems and thus a greater need for assistance in the guesthouse. This create more problems, more relapse and a less positive referral. At the start, the homeless remained a relatively isolated group in the neighbourhood, but increasingly, the partners involved the guests in their activities (Overburen, Dec 2008).

The residents' association

The residents' association played a major role in realising the social objectives, of integrating population groups in the mixed neighbourhood, and connection the neighbourhood with the surrounding neighbourhoods. In order to be able to achieve these social goals, selection of permanent residents is essential: a ballotage by the

residents' association. Selection of the temporary residents (in the guest accommodation and in the Emmaus commune) was the responsibility of respectively the NoiZ and Emmaus. Also the purchasers of the nine owner-occupied homes obviously are not covered by the balloting. And there is a separate balloting procedure for youth housing located above the thrift store, performed by the young people themselves.

All potential tenants of the social housing must be registered for social housing in Utrecht (on a waiting list), and they must become a member of the Green Sticht residents' association. All potential tenants have to write a letter of intent to participate actively in the neighbourhood, of course in line with their ability. From the outset, the selection of residents of the social housing apartments made a distinction between those who choose to live in the neighbourhood because of their ideals and people who do not have much to choose (socially vulnerable). After a few years these two categories of residents were called the "bearing" (self-reliant) residents and the "neutral" residents (to avoid stigmatisation). The potential new self-reliant residents also have to write a motivation letter about how they intend to contribute actively to the integration of the neutral residents, and they had to add a social resume (Kluft & Metz 2010). The new neutral residents have to be able to live independently.

Furthermore, it is definitely not the intention that fellow residents take over the role of the care professional or social worker. However, one should take into account the differences in background and abilities of the fellow residents (ibid).

From the start, the residents' association had to learn by doing. Because of the selection procedure, there lived enough active and enterprising residents in the neighbourhood. The working groups of the residents' organisation organised all kind of activities, such as a neighbourhood bar, gardening in the common garden, movie nights. The neighbourhood bar (noaberbar) in a room in the silo partially met the need for a meeting place. The association organises celebrations for neighbours from surrounding neighbourhoods, for example on the national holiday and culture festivals. The communication working group produces a neighbourhood leaflet or newsletter. Due to

difference in expectations, opinions and skills in the heterogeneous neighbourhood, tensions and disagreements are common. After a few years the novelty wears off and people want to do other things than contributing to a liveable neighbourhood. But then there are others to take over the baton (Interview Isaak Mol). Disappointments over differences in dedication lead to discussions on expectation and the ideal ratio of active and non-active residents in the neighbourhood. Thus, the ballotage became more rigorous (Overburen, Dec 2008).

If necessary, the residents' association could (and can) receive advice and support from the Green Sticht coordinator. Furthermore, the residents' association is a full member of the board of the Green Sticht, and participates in the monthly coordinators' meeting.

Remake

At the end of the first five years, the implementation of the project was more or less according to plan, with the exception of realising work for people with limited access to jobs in the silo. No company was interested, because of the municipal policy in this area. Reintegration grants for subsidised work for this target group required participation in an annual municipal procurement procedure. "In the opinion of the enterprises, the risks were too high, and the yields too small" (Interview Nico Ooms). From 2003 to 2008, the Green Sticht foundation filled the gap; the coordinator submitted grant applications for re-integration projects, with the aim of re-integrating people into paid work. He appointed a supervisor/manager. Homeless people participated in these projects. However, this was contrary to the organisational structure of the Foundation. (Interviews with Nico Ooms)

Therefore, a partner was needed. In 2008, Reinearde started with a pilot in the silo: daytime activities for people with intellectual disabilities. The pilot was successful; since then, Reinearde rents the silo Remake for a furniture workshop for its target group. Daytime activities and not re-integration to paid work is the objective. (Interviews Nico Ooms)

In 2008, a Leidsche Rijn volunteer centre was established in the Green Sticht area, until 2013. It boosted volunteering in the neighbourhood, and it also offered opportunities to volunteer for the guest of the guest accommodation. It was involved in the meetings of the coordinating managers. (Interviews Nico Ooms)

2008 evaluation of the first five years

At the end of the first five years, this jubilee was celebrated. The results were evaluated by both the residents and the board. The December 2008 issue of the Green Sticht newsletter (Overburen) celebrated the 5th anniversary of the Green Sticht with informal evaluative interviews with members of the board of the residents' association, residents, staff members and "outsiders". The overall assessment was that the neighbourhood has become a success, but that continued efforts are needed to keep the neighbourhood liveable, socially and lively (Overburen, Dec 2008). The board of the Foundation also evaluated the project and proposed revised objectives for the next five years, and subsequently discussed them with the board of the residents' association. The new multiannual plan was then presented and discussed in a meeting with all residents.

The second five years: 2009-2014

The 2009-2014 multiannual plan

January 9th, 2009, the board of the Foundation adopted the new multiannual plan of the Green Sticht ('t Groene Sticht 2009). Also the formal objectives of the Statutes were updated (formalised in 2011). The project objectives have not been changed fundamentally, but updated, taking advantage of the experiences from the previous years. In the updated statutes of the Green Sticht Foundation clauses was added on the engagement and cooperation between residents and participating organisations, and that residents and organisations together have to realise the conditions for informal social support needed as basis for the mixed neighbourhood ('t Groene Sticht 2011).

Permanent maintenance of the social infrastructure of the neighbourhood has become one of the objectives of the Foundation and its partners. It entails striving for the right balance in the social mix, informing and involving new residents and professionals, developing a common vision on what to expect from each other, and monitoring the quality of life in the neighbourhood ('t Groene Sticht 2009). The insight was gained that maintaining the social support structure of the neighbourhood required continuous efforts from all. Some of the issues that should receive due attention were mentioned in the multi-annual plan:

- Imbalances in the ratio of vulnerable and resilient residents in the social housing had developed, because the last ones regularly move to another place, in contrast to the socially vulnerable. Therefore, the admission procedure was adapted, with two separate waiting lists.
- Not everyone is active in the neighbourhood, even among the self-reliant residents. How to keep the right balance?
- Living and working activities should be kept in balance. Combining work and living is generally valued, but work – especially the restaurant and thrift store - can also cause inconvenience and nuisance for the residents. This requires improved communication between organisations and residents.
- New residents, including temporary ones and new professionals working in the Green Sticht have to be informed about the basic principles and vision underpinning the neighbourhood. New guests in the guest accommodation are informed during an interview.

Reciprocity as the central value of the neighbourhood is underlined in the multiannual plan. It is required for a strong social structure, that each one – residents and organisations - should complement each other so that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. Reciprocity need not always be direct. This is referred to as cross-fertilisation:

being significant for each other without expecting immediate return, from the confidence that the opposite also happens ('t Groene Sticht 2009).

Furthermore, the foundation intended to invest more in the involvement of residents from surrounding neighbourhoods in organising larger festivities which requires a lot of work. The foundation also intended to invest in the exemplary function of the neighbourhood. ('t Groene Sticht 2009).

2013 mini conference on 10 years the Green Sticht.

On December 12th, 2013, the 10th anniversary of the Green Sticht was celebrated with a mini conference in the restaurant, to reflect on the past 10 years and the ideals of Ab Harrewijn with discussions and presentation. (Overburen 2014). Also, speakers and guests from outside the neighbourhood were invited. This was an important event to keep alive the shared vision and values and to adapt them to current developments.

2014 evaluation of the multi-annual plan

Late 2014, the multi-annual plan 2009-2014 was evaluated extensively. While the 2008 evaluation had been more top-down, this one was definitively bottom-up (Interview Nico Ooms). 55 permanent and temporary residents, but also workers in the Green Sticht, were interviewed (by a researcher). On the basis of these interviews, an evaluation report has been written ('t Groene Sticht 2015a). Compared to five years earlier the ballotage appeared to function better, and the cooperation between residents and organisations working in the area has been improved. Involving residents from surrounding neighbourhoods in the organisation of festivities hadn't been successful. Green Sticht residents were no longer interested in organising cultural markets and other relatively huge festivities, but preferred small scale activities for the neighbourhood only.

There was – and still is - a need for a meeting place, to meet neighbours informally. The space of the neighbourhood bar had fallen into disuse, and it had to be retrofitted so that it can be used again. Moreover, there are often many people who want to participate, but few who want to take the lead (thus a social broker is needed). This is also because families with children move out of the social housing; for these accommodations are too small for families. Would it be possible to merge some of the smaller apartments to larger ones, to keep families in the neighbourhood? For precisely the heads of families are often the most socially active persons (Interview Nico Ooms). Furthermore, some experienced Emmaus and the guest accommodation as too much like islands in the area; they should be more actively involved in the neighbourhood activities.

Quotes from the interviews functioned as input for a “dialogue evening” on December 1st, 2014, with residents, workers and professionals. Ideas and points for improvement were discussed in small groups, on four themes: social living environment, the physical living environment, activities, and cooperation.

From 2015 on

The outcomes of the discussion (the dialogue evening), together with the evaluation report constituted the basis for the new, brief multiannual plan 2015-2020 (‘t Groene Sticht 2015b). The objectives of the previous project plans are still relevant. Major plans for improvements for the next years are:

- Improving communication, information and coordination within the neighbourhood. Since 2015, there are quarterly informal work lunches on the executive level, in addition to the meetings of coordinating managers. These meet the need for ground-level contacts and short lines of communication.

- The coordinator of the Green Sticht (Nico Ooms) is assigned some extra tasks: to support the board of the residents' association in discussing dilemmas regarding ballottage; and to take up the role of social broker in the neighbourhood.
- The ballottage for the rooms in the youth housing has to be improved; for these young adults are mostly not active in the neighbourhood.

Also important developments regarding the partner organisations were discussed during the same meeting at 13 January 2015. The situation in the self-managed guest accommodation is changing at that time. The function of social manager of the guest accommodation gradually disappears, for various reasons: changes in the target group of the homeless in Utrecht (more homeless with psychological problems, that are not able to perform this function), and because of a stricter municipal policy on working while retaining benefits (because of the Participation Law of 2015) (Interviews with Thijs and Dirk). Therefore, the relationship between the neighbourhood and the guest accommodation has to be reconsidered. Possibilities are discussed, for instance mobilising volunteers to maintain this connection (a buddy project).

Since January 2016, there are no social managers (former homeless) working in the guest accommodation to keep things in order. The guests have to manage the functioning of the guest accommodation themselves. A new role of the oldest of the group of guests has been created, to keep an eye on the functioning of the guest accommodation. Furthermore, a supporting supervisor visits the guest accommodation a few times a day, to provide feedback and to exercise some control. Two former social managers of the Green Sticht fulfil this role; one of them lives in the Green Sticht apartments (and is currently the chair of the residents' association). The floating individual support and guidance offered by social workers of the Tussenvoorziening hasn't changed fundamentally. However, these changes have changed the selection of guests by the Tussenvoorziening: guests have to be reasonably independent to live in the guesthouse (Ton Puntman during the focus group meeting).

We can conclude that the project plan interventions have been implemented as intended. In the process they were elaborated, specified and revised if necessary. The goal of an integrated, tolerant and mutual supportive neighbourhood requires continuous action and maintenance. "Reciprocity is not easy, especially with homeless people: they have not yet developed the capacity to contribute" (Ton Puntman, focus group meeting). The residents' association has to make a lot of efforts in promoting that as much residents as possible participates and contribute (Interviews with Dirk and Thijs).

In a networked non-profit, self-evaluation of the successes and failures in realising the ultimate goals or mission plays a crucial role. There have been several self-evaluations, feeding the processes of improving and continuing the activities of the partner organisations and all involved. The residents and staff are constructively critical, searching for ways to improve the organisational and social functioning of the Green Sticht neighbourhood. Communication and coordination activities, as well as reflection and self-evaluation have helped updating and keeping alive the Green Sticht ideal and values. Awareness increased about the importance of involving all - the permanent and temporary residents, the workers and the professionals and staff - in these processes, and to improve the bottom-up approach in realising social change. At the same time appropriate professional support and guidance are considered essential as well.

5.4 Mechanisms by which the goals were achieved and distribution of roles

What were the mechanisms by which the programme achieved its goals? In particular what was the distribution of the policy, social and managerial roles between public, private and third sectors and the legal framework used?

The main mechanisms by which the project achieved its goals are related to the particular structure of the foundation the Green Sticht and the cooperation with its partner organisations. The partners are full partners, who are represented in the foundation, where the motto is "no one is the boss". The partners have their own

responsibility to fill out their part of the programme. The board of the Foundation discusses regularly whether the parts fit within the overall plans and goals of the project.

Thus, the project organisation functions as a networked non-profit. Trust instead of control characterises the connections between the partner organisations. This is also reflected in the absence of detailed, measurable targets. The mission - the ideal of a mixed and integrated neighbourhood with work and shelter functions for homeless and other socially vulnerable people – is at the centre of the activities of the project organisations, not the organisation itself. The board of the Foundation functions as a node with a constellation of equal, interconnected partners, rather than as the centre. Furthermore, the Foundation and the residents' association are mutual dependence.

This type of organisational structure has brought clear benefits: a small, agile organisation, partners can be added without problem if necessary to achieve the objective, and innovation within the individual organisations will automatically be reflected in their activities in the Green Sticht. It also has the advantage that the Green Sticht ideal and values are kept alive in the actions and interactions of the residents, workers and staff members. A bottom-up approach and coordination at the execution level is promoted. This demands a lot of the interaction, coordination and communication at all levels and between all levels of the organisation. Over the years, a lot of efforts has been made to improve these elements. For example, informal work lunches on the executive level since 2015 shortens the lines of communication between the partner organisations. Another important mechanism of the Green Sticht concerns the regular moments of reflection and adaption of plans to the long-term Green Sticht goal or ideal.

Other important mechanisms in the process of implementation are:

- The limited role of the Foundation: not involved in executive activities. The Foundation was temporarily involved in such tasks (reintegration projects in the silo), but quickly noted that this was at odds with its responsibilities.

- The ownership of real estate by the Foundation: it has a stabilising effect; partners can be added or they can leave if they no longer match with the long-term goals of the project organisation. In addition, the property rental income is used to pay a coordinator.
- The role of coordinator of the project is a crucial one: limited in time and tasks, but at least once a week present in person on the Green Sticht.
- The selection of the residents, both permanent and temporary ones, has been vital for realising a mixed neighbourhood with a strong sense of community, together with the central role of the residents' association. The crucial role of the ballottage has been recognised and improved over the years.
- Self-management is a central idea and mechanism, not only in the guest accommodation, but also in the neighbourhood, also in a communal sense. Thus, the public domain is more important and larger in comparison to other neighbourhoods.
- The principal of reciprocity, in its various manifestations. For example, by offering facilities to the surrounding neighbourhoods, and by the mixed nature of the residents, there has never been opposition to the establishment of a homeless shelter. Reciprocity within the Green Sticht neighbourhood takes different forms and requires continuous maintenance.

The distribution of responsibilities between private, public and the third sectors looks quite modern, but was innovative at the time it started. The core of the project group consists of non-profit, non-governmental organisations. The local government was involved in realising the neighbourhood, both financially and with regard to fitting the plans into the urban planning. After its realisation, the public authorities are no longer direct involved. However, they play an important role by determining essential conditions of subsidies for supporting the socially vulnerable residents.

Furthermore, the involvement of the social housing corporation Portaal, a private organisation, was crucial for the project. Portaal agreed with the board of the residents' association its right to select the new residents. Portaal supports the liveability of the neighbourhood with a social worker.

5.5 Target population reached?

The target populations are definitely reached. At the start, the (former) homeless were the primary target population, but during the elaboration of the plan the target group for the whole neighbourhood was broadened to socially vulnerable citizens. The target population and the selection for the guest accommodation has been adapted to changing circumstances, including grant conditions and the changing housing needs of the total population of homeless in Utrecht.

The target population of the guest accommodation only consists of homeless people, with the intention to work at least 20 hours weekly. The target population was closely involved in developing the plans for the guest accommodation and managing the consumer run guest accommodation. Over time, the homeless population in Utrecht has changed – for instance, more homeless with psychological problems – while at the same time the housing facilities and service delivery structure for homeless people in Utrecht expanded and professionalised. All these developments have had an impact on the homeless people selected for a temporary stay in the guest accommodation. Regulatory and health policies have also had great influence on the selection of the guest for the guest accommodation. Since 2015 there is less supervision and guests are selected that can function already reasonably independently.

The Emmaus living and working community also receives homeless people, to help them to recover. Recently, the time they are allowed to stay there has been limited to 3 years (Focus group discussion). The support of homeless has been professionalised, and like the Tussenvoorziening, it departs from the strength-based practice in social work.

The work and daily activities in the neighbourhood were originally meant – at least partly – for the homeless. In this respect the target group is not reached very well any more, except by the Emmaus thrift store. Here, the governmental laws and regulations regarding re-integration projects constituted an insurmountable obstacle.

The social housing apartments were meant for a mixed population, including former homeless. Some former homeless have rented apartments in the neighbourhood.

However, the background of residents is not registered.

5.6 Experiences regarding the intervention: how well implemented?

As indicated above, the general opinion was and is that almost all program activities have been realised. There were only problems with realising work for the homeless people in the silo. In addition, the expectations regarding community building and the interaction and mutual support between socially vulnerable and self-reliant residents were a bit too high.

The various project evaluations and interviews demonstrate that this is the general opinion of both those involved in implementing the interventions as those receiving it. Moreover, it is difficult to make a sharp distinction between those implementing and those receiving the intervention, because self-management is a central principle.

Results of various evaluation reports, articles in the neighbourhood newsletter “Overburen” and the interviews for this case study with former guests and social managers (also former homeless) of the guest accommodation shows that the guest accommodation and its place in the Green Sticht neighbourhood was valued positively. The neighbourhood is appreciated; “neighbours have knowledge of your background, but don’t perceive it as a problem, they accept you as you are” (interview with Dirk and Thijs). In contrast, in other neighbourhoods former homeless people are ignored and avoided by the other residents (Ton Puntman, Focus group meeting). Guests are regularly involved in Green Sticht neighbourhood activities.

However, the connections between guests and residents of the neighbourhood remains a cause of concern. The guest accommodation – as well as the Emmaus community – is perceived by some of the permanent residents as a kind of island in the neighbourhood. This partly relates to the difference between temporary and permanent residents. Precisely because of their temporary character of their stay less need is felt at both sides to make connections. Furthermore, residential homeless withdraw quickly to their own group, also from feelings of shame; in addition, they are also less socially skilled. A linking pin is needed. In the past the social managers took up this role, now two former-homeless now residing in the social housing apartments stay in touch with the guest accommodation and try to involve the guests in neighbourhood activities.

The project implementation is also appreciated by the permanent residents. They are the primary actors to shape the neighbourhood. The most active residents are sometimes also the most critical ones, because they expected more commitment from others. Precisely because of their critical attitude, there is a potential for improvement and innovation present in the neighbourhood.

5.7 Critical contextual factors to the implementation

A critical contextual factor to effective implementation concerned the possibility offered by the urban planning of a large new housing estate in the west of Utrecht. This offered the possibility to start with a homeless guest accommodation, and then invite the neighbours to settle. This solved the problem of social support for homeless shelters. It offered also the possibility to design a neighbourhood that could accommodate a mixed population, with various working and living communities.

As mentioned before, external factors influenced program delivery significantly. That is because policies and laws concerning healthcare, welfare and participation of people distanced from the labour market have changed considerably over the last twenty years. These changes have had both positive effects (more subsidies in some cases) and negative effects (stricter rules, restrictions).

Furthermore, in 2006 an ambitious National Homeless Strategy (or Social Relief Plan) was launched in the four major cities, including Utrecht. A 'Plan of Action' was implemented to improve the living conditions of people who were homeless or at risk of becoming homeless. The action plan was accompanied by a financial boost. This not only allowed welfare organisations like the Tussenvoorziening to develop a wider range of housing facilities, but also the professionalization of homeless support. This has had its impact on the support offered to the guests and social managers in the Green Sticht guest accommodation (Interviews with Karin Kiers and Marieke van Vliet).

5.8 Unintended or wider delivery problems encountered during implementation

One of the main delivery problems encountered during the implementation process relates to the municipal policy regarding re-integration trajectories. This made it difficult to attract companies that offered sheltered employment for homeless people.

Other unintended delivery problems relate to a somewhat too optimistic vision on community building and solidarity. This turned out to be too ambitious. Still, the result is generally positive. Furthermore, homeless people seem to have a tendency to exclude themselves from contacts with others and they are missing some social skills, thus it will remain difficult to involve them in communal activities. Intermediaries and a social broker can play bridging role.

5.9 Conclusions

In 2016 it can be concluded that the project still exists, is supported widely, and renovated itself. The process of implementation has been quite complex, because of the networked non-profit character of the Foundation and its partners. The project is implemented in an open, democratic manner, according to the principle of self-management. This created favourable conditions for a learning organisation and for keeping alive the original ideal of an integrated and social mixed neighbourhood. The

project produced a wealth of experience on self-management of a mixed neighbourhood, and building and maintaining an informal social support structure.

6. Impact evaluation

Alfons Fermin

6.1 Introduction

Now it is time to evaluate the impact, after having considered the needs of the target group, the theory of change and the implementation process. This fourth evaluation dimension builds on the results of the previous ones, and answers the questions: did the intervention work, has it had the planned effects? What was the impact of the initiative on the re-integration of the homeless and on the support of socially vulnerable in the neighbourhood? And has it had an impact outside the Green Sticht area, on local and national policies or initiatives?

6.2 Impact evaluation methodology

Determining the impact of a complex project in the social domain is a difficult task. This is even more the case if the project plans are forged almost 20 years ago. The objectives have been adjusted in the meantime, the working methods of the involved organisations have been professionalised and adapted, and social, economic and political contexts has changed. The complex and layered structure of the Green Sticht organisation further complicates the determination of its objectives and effects. The partner organisations of a networked non-profit such as the Green Sticht Foundation, although sharing a common mission, complement each other and thus have their own sub-goals and organisational priorities and processes.

We will base the impact evaluation partly on existing studies, supplemented by information from our interviews and a literature study. The main sources are:

- The self-evaluation reports of the Green Sticht (already discussed in the previous chapter);

- The Movisie report (Kluft and Metz 2010), partly based on the Green Sticht self-evaluations (Judith Metz was also a Green Sticht resident at that time);
- Interviews, the focus group discussion and other primary resources;
- The results of a SCP questionnaire on social cohesion in Dutch neighbourhoods, including the results of the Green Sticht neighbourhood;
- Secondary resources on comparable projects.

All the evaluations of the impact of the Green Sticht project are based solely on interviews with Green Sticht residents, workers and professionals. They offer a good basis for improvement of the project organisation, but not a strong basis for determining the social impact. The project has never formulated measurable targets. This didn't fit with the nature of the organisation. Thus, progress can only be measured in qualitative terms. We didn't succeed in collecting quantitative data to measure the impact of the guest accommodation. The projects of the homeless clients are now closely monitored by the Tussenvoorziening, but data are not available separately for the Green Sticht guesthouse.

A promising approach to determine the impact consists of a comparison with comparable projects. This is a kind of theory-led design for an impact evaluation, recognising that interventions in social policy are complex and that an understanding of context is crucial to explaining impact (Baines et al, 2016). Thus interventions or programmes are – in the opinion of scientific realists – “not an external, impinging 'force' to which subjects 'respond', but instead work (outcomes) by introducing appropriate ideas and opportunities (mechanisms) to groups in the appropriate social and cultural conditions (context)” (Pawson and Tilley 1997, in Baines et al, 2016). We will use this perspective – looking at the Context-Mechanism-Outcome configurations - in comparing the effects of the Green Sticht initiative with those of comparable initiatives, as far as information is available. A comparison can yield deeper insight into

positive and negative effects of the Green Sticht project. This will be done in section 6.3.6.

This chapter focuses on the overall impact of the Green Sticht project as a mixed neighbourhood (the long-term objective), as well as the specific contributions of the partners to the re-integration of socially vulnerable citizens in general and the homeless in particular. Thus, we will look at (1) the Green Sticht project as a whole, with the aim of social integration of resilient and vulnerable people in a neighbourhood, and (2) the subprojects and facilities that contribute to the objectives of the Green Sticht, with a focus on the re-integration of homeless in terms of shelter, counselling, social support and work. We will take into account the changes over time in contexts and organisations. In this respect, there are two major moments for determining the impact of the project plans: the realisation of the physical infrastructure in 2003, and the realisation and the maintenance of the social infrastructure (evaluated in 2008, 2010 and 2014).

Impact evaluation questions

The evaluation of the impact of the implementation of the Green Sticht initiative will be examined on the basis of the following questions:

- 1 Did the project achieve its stated objectives? What are likely reasons why the project was or wasn't successful?
- 2 What were the social outcomes and effectiveness of interventions for the various actors, contributors and beneficiaries concerned?
- 3 What were the social and psychological impacts of the project on individuals and the community?
- 4 From the perspective of recipients, did the initiative strengthen or weaken their participation to the public sphere?

- 5 Did any outcomes occur which were not originally intended, and if so, what and how significant were they?
- 6 How effective was the Green Sticht initiative in comparison with comparable initiatives? How can the design or implementation of the initiative be changed to improve its performance?

6.3 Results

6.3.1 *Did the project achieve its stated goals?*

The ambitious plan to establish a neighbourhood consisting of “one or more residential and work communities with shelter functions for the homeless, and other people with a socially vulnerable position” presented at the 1997 meeting with stakeholders (Zakendoenconferentie) has been realised. That is an achievement in itself, in the context of the day, characterised by political disinterest and lack of will concerning the issue of the homeless. During the same meeting, initial agreements were made with stakeholders regarding some other initiatives to improve the situation of the homeless in Utrecht. Together, these initiatives have had their impact on the Utrecht homeless policy at the turn of the century. Utrecht started to develop a policy for housing and rehabilitation of the homeless. The creation of a neighbourhood with a homeless shelter set a good example and was an impetus for the Utrecht policy to realise in every district at least one homeless shelter facility.

The results of the various evaluations carried out by the Green Sticht, especially in 2008 and 2014, show that, by and large, the project has achieved its stated goals in the opinion of the directly involved residents, workers and staff members. One important contributing factor is that the Green Sticht was not set up in a previously existing neighbourhood, but was built as part of an overall new construction project with the aim of achieving a combination of and interaction between more and less self-reliant inhabitants, from the very start. In the opinion of the project leader until 2003 and the

coordinator of the project since that date, Nico Ooms, 90% of the original objectives have been realised (interview Nico Ooms). There were only problems with realising work for the homeless people in the silo. In addition, the high expectations concerning community building and neighbourly support to socially vulnerable residents had to be tempered to more realistic ones. In the process, the project objectives and interventions were revised if needed because of changing circumstances and new insights. It stimulated further democratisation, greater involvement of all concerned, including temporary workers and professionals, and improved coordination at all levels. Experience also showed that more support is needed to initiate some of the joint activities of the residents (by a social broker) or to solve some difficult decisions by the residents' association (not only on the right balance between self-reliant and vulnerable residents, but also to ensure that truly engaged people are selected).

Did the project achieve its stated goals for the target group of Utrecht homeless people with (the intention to) work? The Green Sticht offered and still offers a temporary accommodation to homeless people who are motivated (to continue) to work. The security of a shelter for a fixed period of time as such helps them to stabilise. Gradually the maximum period of stay has been adjusted from some months to six months, with an extension of one year, adapting the original plans to the reality. This proved to be the time necessary for stabilising and being prepared for the next step in the process of re-integration.

There are no some figures available on the number of guests per year and their referral by the Tussenvoorziening. Between 2010 and 2015, around 27 homeless arrived at the guest accommodation per year. Their average residence time fluctuated strongly, between 9 to 23 months. The successful referral to the next step in the residential career ranged from 50 to 81 percent between 2010 and 2015.⁹ These numbers are difficult to interpret without numbers for comparable shelters.

⁹ Data provided by the Tussenvoorziening.

Interviewed stakeholders indicate that the guest accommodation provides a good accommodation to the homeless, and that relatively many are referred to the next phase, of sheltered housing or independent housing. But several homeless people are evicted from the guest accommodation, or were relocated to supervised shelters. The recovery process of the homeless is often erratic, with moments of relapse.

The Green Sticht is certainly a neighbourhood where homeless people are accepted, in contrast to other neighbourhoods where they are ignored. Without sufficient informal social support, several homeless people don't succeed to live independently and relapse, as repeatedly underlined in interviews and the focus group discussion. Although the plans to create employment opportunities for homeless people have been less successful, the neighbourhood offers plenty of – mostly unpaid - work opportunities, for instance in the Emmaus thrift store, and in assisting with festivities or cleaning of the area.

The realisation of the neighbourhood has been a success because it met an unfulfilled need at that time. The fact that the project still exists makes it clear that it still meets a need, especially by offering a tolerant and supportive neighbourhood. Likely reasons for its success are the organisational structure of networked non-profit, the roles of the coordinator and the residents' association, the selection of temporary and permanent residents, and the functions provided by the Green Sticht to the surrounding neighbourhoods. The partial failure to realise work for the homeless in the area was mainly caused by the municipal and national policy.

6.3.2 The social outcomes and effectiveness for the various target groups

Social cohesion

One of the main social outcomes the project intended to advance is a social cohesive and engaged community. In 2011, the Netherlands' Institute for Social Research (SCP) investigated the social cohesion of the Green Sticht neighbourhood, as part of its

national research programme on social cohesion in neighbourhoods (Overburen 2012).¹⁰ The overall experienced social cohesion of the neighbourhood is expressed on a scale of 1 to 4, with 4 as the highest score. The social cohesion scores are:

- the four biggest cities (including Utrecht): 2.5
- the other municipalities: 2.7
- new residential districts built after 2003: 2.9
- the Green Sticht: 3.1

Thus, all the joint efforts of organisations and residents have realised a strongly cohesive neighbourhood. The Green Sticht residents are more likely to be satisfied with the built-up area, the commitment to the neighbourhood, the composition of the population and contacts with the neighbours than the average Dutch person.

Annoyance was mainly about rubbish on the streets, and noise and traffic nuisance. Of all Green Sticht residents 60% said to be active in the area one or more times per month, ranging from making a chat to organising festivities. Only 20% indicated to be inactive in the neighbourhood.

Outcomes and impacts for various groups

The Movisie study (Kluft & Metz 2010) evaluates the social outcomes and effects for the various categories of inhabitants and workers of the Green Sticht, based on information from interviews. Some of the results are:

- Temporary residents of the guest accommodation, the Emmaus community and the workers at the restaurant, as well as the socially vulnerable permanent residents in the social housing in general valued the social environment: to be

¹⁰ The results are merged in statistical data on neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. But the boards of the foundation and the residents' association received the outcomes, including answers to some extra questions on nuisance. 63 Green Sticht residents filled in the questionnaire, all permanent residents except for one guest of the guest accommodation. 78,000 people filled in the questionnaire in the Netherlands.

known and accepted has had a positive effect on their well-being. Furthermore, it offers them opportunities to be active in the neighbourhood.

- Permanent, 'capable' residents value the neighbourhood because it offers the possibility to express their engagement and to realise their ideal of a committed neighbourhood. Furthermore, they value the neighbourhood facilities and the green and its lively character (heterogenous, neighbourhood activities).
- The healthcare and welfare professionals offering support and guidance to the socially vulnerable temporary residents and workers are positive about the social and psychological impact of the neighbourhood on their clients. Tailor-made solutions are sometimes made possible by contacts and collaboration with other professionals and staff members in the neighbourhood.
- The staff of the partner organisations appreciates the welcoming context of the neighbourhood for their activities. In their opinion, the neighbourhood supports the social integration of the socially vulnerable.

These outcomes are confirmed by the interviews and focus group discussion for this evaluation report.

The impacts are clearly stronger for permanent residents, than for the temporary ones. Temporary stay – of the guests of the guest accommodation, but also in the Emmaus working and living community - turns out to be of great influence on the expectations and efforts to participate in the neighbourhood. But it is also related to the social skills of the temporary residents. This effect was not foreseen.

6.3.3 The social and psychological impacts on the target group

The previous section already indicated some social and psychological effects of living and working in the Green Sticht on the various categories of inhabitants.

The tolerant, open and cohesive neighbourhood has a positive effect on the socially vulnerable residents and the homeless of the guest accommodation. As Kluft & Metz

(2010) conclude on the basis of interviews: many of the neutral residents and temporary residents are proud to be part of the neighbourhood, it provides them with support and a positive identity. To be known and accepted has a positive effect on their well-being. It offers them opportunities to get involved in neighbourhood activities. This contrasts with the overall picture of homeless shelters in other neighbourhoods, where the homeless are ignored or excluded. Our interviews confirm this. At the same time homeless people still have difficulties to overcome their mistrust of others and to build self-confidence. This is a long process, but the Green Sticht neighbourhood provides good conditions for this process.

The self-managed guest accommodation has a positive effect on the guests, because their own strengths and sense of responsibility is addressed. This is a general effect of self-management of homeless shelters (Tuynman and Huber 2014). The social management of the daily affairs by former homeless adds to this positive effect, by bridging the us-them divide, while it offers guest a positive role model (HvA 2013). Research into the use of experts by experience demonstrates such positive effects.

The project had a positive impact on the identity of the permanent residents. The high social cohesion score already indicates a strong commitment to the neighbourhood. Many of the active residents have social ideals which they hope be able to achieve in the neighbourhood. They are frequently disappointed in this, but just as often they succeed in making and realising collaborative plans.

The diversity in the neighbourhood includes different generations. It was originally planned to house the elderly in a separate apartment building, but this faced opposition from the elderly themselves. Now all apartment buildings are mixed. In addition, there are a few separate rooms for students. Generational issues are apparent not highly relevant. Due to a lack larger rental housing, few families live at the Groene Sticht.

6.3.4 Did the initiative strengthen the public participation of the target group?

From the perspective of recipients, did the initiative strengthen or weaken their participation to the public sphere? The Green Sticht project explicitly aims to strengthen the public sphere in the neighbourhood, by promoting participation and joint activities. The residents' association, with support of the coordinator and partner organisations, develops and executes plans for joint activities in the area. Socially vulnerable neighbours are also invited and sometimes actively involved. Moreover, the residents are actively involved in evaluating and reviewing the (multi-) annual plans.

Temporary residents, the homeless, generally are less active in the neighbourhood. Yet their participation in neighbourhood activities is higher than in other neighbourhoods. They are regularly actively involved in activities.

Thus, although highly diverse, the category of families is to a lesser degree represented in the neighbourhood. This has to do with the absence of affordable family houses in the neighbourhood.

6.3.5 Unintended outcomes

There were certainly various unintended outcomes, but none of them had a major impact on the project. It proved to be impossible to create work for the homeless in the neighbourhood, except in the thrift store. Many homeless people were and are working elsewhere in Utrecht. As long as they can find work or daytime activities, the location is less a problem. However, the problem is more fundamental. The need for work by people with a distance to the labour market receives little attention by the national and local governments (Davelaar 2012). The recent Participation Law makes it more difficult for precisely these people to work with preservation of their social benefits. This was one of the reasons why the guest accommodation is no longer managed by social managers (former homeless).

6.3.6 *Comparison with other initiatives*

A comparison with similar cases may increase our insight into the effectiveness of the Green Sticht initiative and its central mechanisms. The Green Sticht is a complex project, and thus it can be compared on different dimensions:

- Comparison of self-managed homeless shelters with other types of shelters;
- Comparison with other types projects of mixed housing, mixing residents who actually choose to live there and residents who have little choice (homeless).
- Comparison with mixed housing projects in general, without (former) homeless residents.

All comparisons are made with projects in Utrecht or the Netherlands.

Self-managed and other types of homeless shelters

Research on self-management in the homeless shelters shows positive effects for the homeless. It supports their process of recovery and empowerment, and homeless of these consumer-run shelters more often take part in daily activities or work (Tuynman and Huber 2014). Another study (Bouman 2012) provides evidence that self-managed facilities generally provide services of good quality, are cheaper per bed than regular shelters and perform adequately in terms of outflow, social participation and reintegration. However, there are various requirement for self-managed homeless shelters to be successful, regarding support, organisation and the homeless guests (Huber 2016). Consumer-run shelters are certainly not suitable for all homeless people: some need much more guidance, others can live independently pretty soon (ibid). Self-managed shelters also brings risks with it, if not properly managed and the selection of the guest is not functioning properly. It certainly is not a panacea for all problems of sheltered housing (Huber 2016).

Nowadays, since January 2016, the Green Sticht guest accommodation is run without social managers. This change is partly due to the new legislation on social benefits. Various social managers worked for the NoiZ while retaining their welfare benefits. This became more and more difficult. The municipality puts them under pressure, with arguments as: if you are working for the NoiZ, you are also able to work in a regular job. This shows the impact of the policy context on the possibilities of self-managed shelters. Still, the consequences are not only negative. Now more independence is demanded from the guests, and so far they make it. Actually, now the guest accommodation is even more self-managed.

Comparison with other mixed housing projects with homeless

The Green Sticht was meant as an example project. It has received a lot of attention. Nevertheless, the project has never been replicated elsewhere. However, two recent projects in Utrecht are inspired by the Green Sticht example: Parana and Majella. Parana is most similar to the Green Sticht. It is an initiative of the Tussenvoorziening and Portaal housing corporation (both are involved in the Green Sticht project), and managed by the Tussenvoorziening only (and here also Nico Ooms works part-time as coordinator). The residential facility offers accommodation to 40 former homeless people for short, medium and long-term stays with guidance and support by the Tussenvoorziening (varying from a few weeks to 3 years or longer). In addition, there is accommodation for 25-30 regular home seekers, who want to make a positive contribution to the living environment. The ratio of regular and vulnerable residents is exactly the reverse of the Green Sticht: one regular to three socially vulnerable residents. However, Parana has a short-stay accommodation with only homeless people on the top of the building. Everyone – except the homeless in the short-stay accommodation - is obliged to join the residents' association, which organises common activities. The basic idea underlying the concept is that mutual contact and encounter can contribute to recovery and/or rehabilitation, comparable to the Green Sticht.

In the original project plan a social enterprise would provide work and on-the-job training trajectories to the socially vulnerable residents in the plinth of the building. However, this part of the plan failed because the social enterprise opted out.

The project started in 2014, and was briefly evaluated by its coordinator after one year (Ooms 2015). The project had a good start, except for the work component. Some problems have emerged – comparable to those of the Green Sticht – as the need for a meeting place in a common room, and the need to invest constantly in the social infrastructure, to counteract the risk of an us-them divide. Because of the different ratio, this project offers accommodation to relatively more former homeless. It remains to be seen whether it will be successful.

More recently, mid-2016, Majella Wonen started in Utrecht. This project is also a collaboration of the Tussenvoorziening and housing corporation Portaal, and managed by the Tussenvoorziening. In 66 apartments, former homeless people and regular home seekers are housed, in a fifty-fifty ratio. For 3 years, the homeless residents receive professional support from the Tussenvoorziening. After 3 years they should be sufficiently recovered to live independently. The objective is that 90% of the socially vulnerable residents will be able to live independently after 3 years. Then they can continue to live in the apartment, and they receive a housing contract on their own name. Regular residents are expected to make a positive contribution to a pleasant and social living climate. The residents' association selects the regular residents, with support of the Tussenvoorziening.

Majella Wonen just started, thus there is nothing to say about how it functions. However it shows that the Green Sticht still inspires mixed housing of socially vulnerable and regular residents. At the same time, these projects show that mechanisms of the Green Sticht project can be combined and applied in different mixed housing projects. The Tussenvoorziening currently prefers individual apartments over group accommodation (guest accommodation) for the former homeless, and this is reflected in these two projects.

Comparison with mixed housing projects without homeless

In the Netherlands, municipalities and housing corporations experiment with temporary accommodation options mixing target groups such as migrant workers, former asylum-seekers with a resident permit (refugees), and people leaving intramural institutions, with working youngsters, students and expatriates. Sometimes also some (former) homeless people are included. These different target groups are housed in a mixed way. Platform31 explored several of these mixed residential projects (Van der Velden et al. 2016). Many of these projects have started recently; they are rarely evaluated. Platform31 has not compared these projects systematically. However, their overview shows some commonalities.

Most of the explored mixed housing projects differ from the Green Sticht in one important respect: almost all are meant for temporary stay only. However, in other respects, there are many similarities, for instance in combining socially vulnerable and “stronger” residents (“Dragende en niet-dragende bewoners”), by allowing only socially vulnerable residents with mild problems, and a conditional stay with eviction if the rules are violated (this also applies to the Green Sticht guest accommodation). The study shows that the projects are constantly in search of the right mix or balance.

Common social engineering instruments are selection at the gate and attempts to influence the functioning of the mixed housing by creating favourable conditions. Solid management is required for mixed residential complexes with socially vulnerable residents, with a central contact point or hotline for reporting nuisance. A combination of professional management and volunteering appears to work well and is cost-effectively. All these characteristics are also reflected in the mixed neighbourhood of the Green Sticht. These mechanisms explain the mixed neighbourhood’s success. But the Green Sticht demonstrates that such mixed housing projects are also possible for a mix of temporary and permanent residents. In that case there are additional requirements, such as an important role for the residents’ association.

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter showed that generally the Green Sticht interventions have had the planned effects. On the whole, the project has had a positive impact on the re-integration of the homeless and on the support of socially vulnerable in the neighbourhood. However it is difficult to specify this effect, because of the absence of monitoring data.

The results of the various evaluations carried out by the Green Sticht, especially in 2008 and 2014, show that, by and large, the project has achieved its stated goals in the opinion of involved residents and staff members. There are two elements of the project where expectations have been too high from the start. The first was the creation of extensive work possibilities for the guests of the guest accommodation at the Green Sticht. This turned out to be more difficult mainly because of financing possibilities for the work in the silo. Work possibilities in the thrift shop of the Emmaus community have remained a valuable option. In addition, the high expectations concerning community building and neighbourly support to socially vulnerable residents had to be tempered to more realistic ones. However, it is still one of the most valuable impacts of the neighbourhood on socially vulnerable residents. Experience showed that more support is needed to initiate some of the joint activities of the residents.

The initiative has never been replicated, which is understandable: because of the size and complexity of the project and because the opportunity to start a homeless shelter and then invite the neighbours can only be found in a newly built neighbourhood. Recently, two projects started in Utrecht inspired by the Green Sticht initiative. These projects show that it is possible to make various combinations of the main elements and mechanisms that has made the Green Sticht initiative successful and sustainable, such as a combination of regular and former homeless residents, adequate selection of both types of residents, a commitment of the regular residents to actively promote an open and supportive living climate, a central role for the residents' association, and support

by a coordinator and case managers that support the socially vulnerable residents to live independently.

Thus, more mixed housing projects emerge, but often without former homeless people, and focussing on categories with temporary housing needs. These initiatives contain many comparable elements and mechanisms as the Green Sticht initiative. The rise of mixed housing projects is encouraged by the current social and care policy context. In the retreating welfare state, the socially vulnerable must in the first instance rely on their social network and their neighbours for social support.

All the other of mixed housing projects have less ambitious goals. And usually, the project is managed by one main organisation. This contrasts with the Green Sticht project. The ambitious social objective it pursues can only be effectively promoted by a networked non-profit.

7. Economic evaluation

Alfons Fermin and Marijke Christiansson

7.1 Introduction

The evaluation of the Green Sticht project concludes with an economic evaluation, building on the impact evaluation presented in the previous chapter. The economic evaluation is an extension of the impact evaluation, which seeks to concretise the costs and effects of the initiative, preferably in financial terms.

What have been the costs of the project and do they justify the benefits achieved? This central question will be answered by considering the following sub-questions (Rossi et al. 2004, cited in Baines et al. 2016):

- What was the true cost of the programme?
- Did the outcome(s) achieved justify the investment of resources?
- What were the social returns of interventions for the various actors, contributors and beneficiaries concerned?
- Was this policy or programme the most efficient way of realising the desired outcome(s) or could the same outcome(s) have been achieved at a lower cost through an alternate course of action?

7.2 Methodology

Various economic evaluation methodologies are available. This chapter is limited to a basic form of cost-benefit analysis. A Social Return on Investment (SROI) methodology would certainly be more appropriate for the Green Sticht initiative, for evaluating the project a networked non-profit with a clear mission. However, given the limits of time, we will apply this only to a limited extent.

The scope of the analysis

The scope of the analysis is the Green Sticht neighbourhood. The Foundation the Green Sticht only intends to have an impact on the neighbourhood, although temporary residents (residential homeless) will progress to a subsequent residential facility outside the neighbourhood. This impact on the Utrecht population of former homeless is too small to measure.

The Green Sticht Foundation is a networked non-profit organisation, thus the impacts are mainly realised by the partner organisations. Just like the impact evaluation analysis, the economic evaluation focusses on the effects for the target groups of (former) homeless in the guest accommodation and the socially vulnerable residents in the Green Sticht neighbourhood.

7.3 Results

7.3.1 What was the true cost of the programme?

Construction of the neighbourhood

The bulk of investments were needed to realise the neighbourhood and to construct the buildings.

Development and building of the Green Sticht (except the social housing apartments and owner-occupied houses) costed about 2.7 million euro in total. This was financed from an investment subsidy of about 180.000 euro from the Utrecht municipality for the guest accommodation of the Green Sticht, donations from ecclesiastical institutions and NGOs, the sale of owner-occupied property (houses) at market prices, European subsidies, and a low-mortgage loan of about 1.1 million euro of the Utrecht municipality and the rental and other exploitation income. Because the municipality has designated

the land of the restaurant and shop as residential and working area and not as an areas for commercial activity, the plot could be bought for a quarter of the average land price. (SEV 2001)

The farm has been transferred for free, on the condition that if it would be sold in the future and the owners are no longer committed to the objectives of the Green Sticht project, a payment for the farm still has to be made. (SEV 2001)

The social housing is fully financed and exploited by the housing corporation.

Exploitation

After the start-up subsidies, the project should be financially self-supporting, which means: independent of project grants. Maintenance of the physical infrastructure and costs of a coordinator (16 hours a week) and accountant (4 hours a week) are paid from revenues of renting out the buildings to the partners (Reinaerde and Emmaus). Guests have to pay rent for their stay in the guest accommodation. They can make use of regular government subsidies for citizens, like social welfare and housing benefits. Members of the Emmaus community will work as volunteer, with board and lodging plus some pocket money in return. The residents' association and the joint activities are not paid (volunteering). The residents' association has a small budget (3,500 euro yearly), comprising contributions from the members. For some community events subsidy can be requested from regular funds.

The yearly costs of the Foundation are relatively small. For instance, in 2011, the total costs were around 170,000 euros (and the benefits around 200,000 euros).

Costs and benefits of the guest accommodation and guests

There is no financial overview available of the costs and benefits of the guest accommodation, including the management of the guest accommodation and professional support offered to the guests and social managers.

7.3.2 The social returns of the interventions

What were the social returns of interventions for the various actors, contributors and beneficiaries concerned?

Overall returns of the project

The foundation makes few costs, which are paid out of the rental income. The social returns of the coordinating activities of the Foundation are significant but difficult to express in monetary terms.

The same applies to the costs and social returns of the residents' association. Social cohesion, quality of life and support to socially vulnerable residents are important social returns.

Guests and guest accommodation

Providing housing for homeless people has the following financial impact:

- Less costs for their stay in hospitals and prisons.
- The guests are supported in their 20 hours (un)paid activities. For the work activities for which they receive pay, the local government have to spend less on benefit payments.
- Because the guests are in a more stabilized environment, with the possibility of (financial) counselling (Mensink et al. 2009) less costs will be spend for behaviour like stealing, sale of stolen goods, drugs dealing, nuisance on the streets etc.

Cibeaon (2011) has made a general cost-benefit analysis of residential homeless people (living in homeless shelters). A main objective of supported living services for these homeless people is to prevent a relapse to the situation of homelessness. A relapse may involve the risk of developing into an active multiple offender. In addition, to promote that residential homeless take the next step, to sheltered housing and living independently, has significant positive social effects. Based on the available data, it is estimated that one euro paid for supported living services for this target group yields benefits in the order of about 3.5 euros. (Cibeaon 2011)

7.3.3 Did the achieved outcomes justify the investment?

The direct costs of the foundation and the residents' association are very limited, and, moreover, not dependent on public money. The social returns are substantial, but it is very difficult to indicate the specific benefits and to quantify their monetary value.

Most of the costs are made by the homeless shelter and the professional support of the guests. On the other hand, every quarter of the city should have a homeless shelter according to the Utrecht policy. If the one in the Green Sticht would not have been realised, another shelter should have been established in Leidsche Rijn. Thus the cost would have been made anyway.

7.3.4 The efficiency of the project

The overall objective of a mixed, integrated neighbourhood offering favourable conditions for the integration of socially vulnerable groups has been realised efficiently, for mainly on the basis of volunteering. The coordinating and supporting activities of the coordinator and the foundation are limited.

It is more difficult to assess the efficiency of the Green Sticht guest accommodation. On the one hand, self-management is relatively cheap. On the other hand, there are always opportunities for further optimisation through targeted efforts by an organisation as

the Tussenvoorziening and its partners (Cibeaon 2011). If the Green Sticht project would have been realised in 2016, the project organisation probably would not opt for a guest accommodation, but for individual apartments for the homeless, as is the case in the Parana project (Interview with Jules van Dam). Living together in an accommodation provides additional tensions and problems for this target group. However, this is less a problem in the Green Sticht guest accommodation. The whole context around it - a neighbourhood and work opportunities - makes it a complex project. However, the social yields are impressive, with regard to social cohesion, vitality and tolerance, and show that all the efforts have not been for nothing.

7.3 Conclusions

The economic evaluation of the project is rudimentary, because of the lack of financial and other data on the guest accommodation part of the project. But this is a component that should have been realised anyway. Much more interesting are the social returns of the activities of the foundation and the residents' association, in advancing and realising social cohesion, mutual involvement and support, and the integration of socially vulnerable neighbours in the neighbourhood. The social returns on investments are huge in this respect, while the costs are marginal.

References

Publications:

- Andriessen, G., De Jonge, E. & Kloppenburg, R. T. H. M. (2014). *Morele spanningsvelden in het ambulant sociaal werk [Moral issues in ambulatory social work]* Delft: Eburon.
- Appelman, Sonja & Van Doorn, Lia (2015) *Ik heb veel opgebouwd, maar kan het zo weer verliezen. 10 interviews over leven na dakloosheid.* Utrecht: Stichting De Tussenvoorziening en Hogeschool Utrecht
- Baines, Sue, Chris Fox, Jessica Ozan, Judit Csoba, Florian Sipos (2016) InnoSI WP 4 Case Study Research and Evaluation Guide. Draft. Paper 1. 26 January 2016
- Belknap, I. (1956). *Human problems of a state mental hospital.* New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Blom, S., & Van Soomeren, P. (2015). *Ontmoeten als keuze: Succesfactoren voor gemengd wonen. [Social encounter as a choice. Contributing factors for mixed residential arrangements.]* Amsterdam: DSP-groep.
- Boumans, J. (2012). Tussen regie en repressie. Een verkenning van het concept empowerment. *Tijdschrift voor Rehabilitatie*, 21 (1): 28-43.
- CBS (2016). Aantal daklozen in zes jaar met driekwart toegenomen.
<https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2016/09/aantal-daklozen-in-zes-jaar-met-driekwart-toegenomen>
- Cebeon (2011) Kosten en baten van Maatschappelijke opvang. Bouwstenten voor effectieve inzet van publieke middelen.
- Davelaar, M., Van Doorn, L. & Ooms, N. (2016). *Projectplan ontwikkelwerkplaats gemengde woonvormen. [Project plan development workplace for mixed residential arrangements.]* Utrecht: Hogeschool Utrecht.
- Davelaar, Maarten (2012). Lokale bestrijding van thuisloosheid in Nederland. In: D. Dierckx, S. Oosterlynck, J. Coene & A van Haarlem (eds.) *Armoede en sociale uitsluiting – Jaarboek 2012* (pp. 375-390). Leuven: Acco.
- Davelaar, Maarten (2013). *Droom en Daad. Het gedachtegoed van Ab Harrewijn anno 2013.* Inleiding voor de jubileumconferentie 't Groene Sticht, 12 december 2013. Utrecht: Verwey-Jonker Instituut.
- Davelaar, Maarten, Trudi Nederland, Marieke Wentink & Sandra ter Woerds (2005). *Aan de slag in de rafelrand. Werk en activering voor daklozen en verslaafden.* Van Gorcum.
- De Graaf, W., & Van Doorn, L. (2010). Daklozen van de straat. [Getting homeless people off the street.] In J. Uitermark, A. -J. Gielen en M. Ham (Red.), *Wat werkt nu werkelijk? Politiek en praktijk van sociale interventies. [So what really works? Politics and practice of social interventions.]* Amsterdam: Van Gennep.
- Dercksen, A., & Verplanke, L. (1987). *Geschiedenis van de onmaatschappelijkheidsbestrijding. [History of the campaigns against unsociable citizens.]* Amsterdam: Boom.

- Dunham, H. W., & Weinberg, S. K. (1960). *The culture of the state mental hospital*. Detroit: Wayne State University.
- Duyvendak, J. W., & Wekker, F. (2015). *Thuis in de openbare ruimte? Over vreemden, vrienden en het belang van amicaliteit. [At home in public space? On strangers and friends and the importance of being amicable.]* Den Haag: Platform31.
- FEANTSA (2014) The Netherlands, FEANTSA Country Fiche, Spring 2014.
<http://www.feantsa.org/spip.php?article853&lang=en>
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Hermans, Koen (2012). The Dutch Strategy to Combat Homelessness: From Ambition to Window Dressing? *European Journal of Homelessness*, 6(2): 101-118.
- Huber, Max (2016) Tussen zelf en samen. Zelfbeheer in de residentiële maatschappelijke opvang. Hogeschool van Amsterdam, Kenniscentrum Maatschappij en Recht.
- HvA (2013) Ervaringen met de inzet van ervaringsdeskundigheid. Hogeschool van Amsterdam, HvA.
- Kloppenburger, R. T. H. M., & Hendriks P. (2013). Outreach approaches in the private domain: An international study. *European Journal of Social Work*, 16, 605–619.
- Kloppenburger, R. T. H. M., Hendriks, P., & Van Doorn, L. (2010). *Nieuwe woonvormen: Experimenten van onderkantspecialisten voor bijzondere doelgroepen. [New residential arrangements: Experiments by fringe society specialists for special target groups.]* Rotterdam: SEV.
- Kluft, Maaïke & Metz, Judith (2010). *‘t Groene Sticht: beschrijving van de good practice.. [‘t Groene Sticht: Description of good practices.]* Utrecht: Movisie
- Koops, H., & Kwekkeboom, M. H. (2005). *Vermaatschappelijking in de zorg: Ervaringen en verwachtingen van aanbieders en gebruikers in vijf gemeenten. [The de-institutionalisation of care: Experiences and expectations of providers and users in five municipalities.]* Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Krabbenborg, M. (2016). *HOUVAST: Strengths-based intervention for homeless young adults. Effectiveness, fidelity and determinants for quality of life*. Arnhem: promotie in zicht.
- Mensink, Connie, Judith Vocks, Mienieke Muntendam and Judith Wolf (2009). *Stadsgeldbeheer Utrecht. Beschrijving van een voorbeeldpraktijk schulphulpverlening*. Nijmegen: Onderzoekscentrum maatschappelijke zorg van het UMC St. Radboud.
- Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport (2010). *Welzijn Nieuwe Stijl. [New Style Welfare.]* Den Haag: Ministerie van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport.
- Muusse, C en J. Boumans (2016). *Ruimte voor peer support! Een onderzoek naar de totstandkoming van Enik Recovery College*. Utrecht: Trimbosinstituut.
- Nirjé, B. (1971). The normalization principle: Implications and comments. *British Journal of Mental Subnormality*, 62, 62–70.

- NOIZ & De Tussenvoorziening (2003) *Werkplan Gastenverblijf NoiZ binnen 't Groene Sticht*. Een laagdrempelige woonvoorziening voor daklozen die werk hebben of aan het werk willen.
- Roeg, D., Voogt, M., Van Assen, M., & Garretsen, H. (2012). *De effecten van bemoeizorg: De resultaten van een onderzoek bij Nederlandse bemoeizorgteams. [The effects of intervention care: results of a study among Dutch intervention care teams.]* Tilburg: Tranzo.
- Scheff, T. J. (1966). *Being mentally ill: A sociological theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- SEV (2001) *Dakloos op stand. De mogelijkheden van opvang op nieuwbouwlocaties*. Rotterdam: Stuurgroep Experimenten Volkshuisvesting.
- Stanton, A. H., & Schwartz, M. S. (1954). *The mental hospital*. New York: Basic Books.
- Strauss, A., Schatzman, L., Bucher, R., Ehrlich, D., & Sabshin, M. (1964). *Psychiatric ideologies and institutions*. New York: Free Press.
- Taylor, Madeleine, Whatley, Anne & Coffman, Julia (2015). Network Evaluation in Practice: Approaches and Applications, *The Foundation Review*, 7(2), Article 5. Available at: <http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/tfr/vol7/iss2/5>
- Tonkens (2003). *Mondige burgers, getemde professionals: Marktwerving en professionaliteit in de publieke sector. [Assertive citizens, tamed professionals: Market forces and professionalism in the public sector.]* Utrecht: NIZW.
- Tuynman, M. en M. A. Huber (2012). 'Wij kunnen het beter'. Handreiking zelfbeheer in maatschappelijke opvang. Hogeschool van Amsterdam/Trimbos Instituut.
- Tuynman, M. en M. A. Huber (2014). Maatschappelijke opvang in zelfbeheer. Effectieve sociale interventies. Utrecht, Trimbos-instituut en Amsterdam, HvA. September 2014
- Van den Velden, Jeroen, Tiggeloven, Pim & Wassenberg, Frank (2016). *De Magic Mix. Een verkenning van wooncomplexen waar verschillende doelgroepen gemengd wonen*. Den Haag: Platform31.
- Van der Lans, J., Medema, N. & Räkers, M. (2003). *Bemoeien werkt: Naar een pragmatisch paternalisme in de sociale sector. [It helps to intervene: Towards a pragmatic paternalism in the social work sector.]* Amsterdam: De Balie.
- Van der Linde, M. (2011). *Doe wel, maar... zie om: Een pleidooi voor historisch besef in het sociaal werk. [Be assertive, but... beware: A plea for historical awareness in social work.]* Utrecht: Hogeschool Utrecht.
- Van Doorn, L., Huber, M. A., Kemmeren, C., Van der Linde, M., Räkers, M., & Van Uden, T. (2013). *Outreaching werkt! [Outreach work works!]* Utrecht: Movisie.
- Van Doorn, Lia & Tabak, Lin (1999). *Experts van de straat. Nieuwe trends in de dak- en thuislozenopvang*. JWF/NIZW
- Van Doorn, Lia (2002). *Een tijd op straat. Een volgstudie naar (ex-)daklozen in Utrecht (1993-2000)*. Utrecht: NIZW
- Van Doorn, Lia (2005). *Leven op straat. Ontstaan, continuering, beëindiging van dakloosheid*. Bussum: Uitgeverij Couthinho.
- Van Ewijk (2010). *Maatschappelijk werk in een sociaal gevoelige tijd. [Social work in a socially delicate time.]* Amsterdam: SWP.

- Van Scheppingen, M. , S. Lap, S. Appelman, S. Hautvast, T. van Oosten, W, Lammerink (red.) (2013). *De straat is geen thuis. Canon van de Tussenvoorziening*. De Tussenvoorziening 20 jaar. Jubileumuitgave, De Tussenvoorziening: Utrecht.
- Van Straaten, B. (2016). *On the way up. Exploring homelessness and stable housing among homeless people in the Netherlands*. Rotterdam: Erasmus University.
- Veldboer, L., Duyvendak, J. W., & Bouw, C. (2007). *De mixfactor: integratie en segregatie in Nederland*. [The mix factor: integration and segregation in the Netherlands] Amsterdam: Boom.
- Verplanke, L., & Duyvendak J. W. (2010). *Onder de mensen? Over het zelfstandig wonen van psychiatrische patiënten en mensen met een verstandelijke beperking*. [Among people? On psychiatric patients and people with a mental impairment living independently.] Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Vlaar, P., Kluft, M. , & Liefhebber, S. (2013). *Competenties Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning in de branche Welzijn en Maatschappelijke Dienstverlening*. [Social support competencies in the Welfare and Social Services sector.] Utrecht: Movisie.
- Wei-Skillern, Jane & Marciano, Sonia (2008). The Networked Non-profit. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, 6(2), 38-43. Available at:
https://ssir.org/articles/entry/the_networked_nonprofit

Unpublished documents:

- Issues of 't Groene Sticht community newsletter / bulletin "Overburen"(2002-2014):
<http://www.groenesticht.nl/nieuws/nieuwsbrieven/>
- Ooms, Nico (2015) Evaluatie Parana na één jaar. April 2015.
- Overburen 2012: De gelukkigste plek van Nederland (resultaten SCP onderzoek) + kort verslag van de resultaten van het onderzoek naar beleving van de buurt door bewoners van 't Groene Sticht (unpublished document)
- Stichting 't Groene Sticht (2009). Meerjarenplan 2009-2014: Een buurt waar mensen en organisaties met elkaar betrokken zijn (multiannual plan 2009-2014).
- Stichting 't Groene Sticht (1997) The Statutes of the Foundation.
- Stichting 't Groene Sticht (1998) Projectplan 't Groene Sticht, versie maart 1998. Utrecht.
- Stichting 't Groene Sticht (1999). Jaarverslag 1997 – 1998. Juli 1999. Stichting 't Groene Sticht.
- Stichting 't Groene Sticht (2003) Projectplan 't Groene Sticht, versie februari 2003. Utrecht.
- Stichting 't Groene Sticht (2011) Amendment of the statutes of the Foundation.
- Stichting 't Groene Sticht (2015b) Verslag bijeenkomst bestuur Stichting 't Groene Sticht, woonvereniging 't Groene Sticht en het coördinatieoverleg, 13 januari 2015.
- Stichting 't Groene Sticht (2015a). Evaluatie meerjarenplan 2009-2014. Nico Ooms en Irene Leijten.

Werkgroep De Rafelrand & Emmaus Haarzuilens (1997). Landelijke conferentie Woon-
Werkgemeenschappen met Opvangfunctie. Conferentiemap. 18 april 1997,
Haarzuilens.

Woonvereniging Parana (2010) Basisdocument 'Woonwerkvoorziening Parana',
October 1st, 2010

Interviews & focus group meeting:

Interviews with:

- Nico Ooms, various interviews, discussions, phone calls and e-mail exchange, including interviews on June 10th, September 19th and 30th; coordinator of the Foundation 't Groene Sticht, project manager at Foundation the Tussenvoorziening";
- Maarten Davelaar, on June 17th, 2016; he is currently independent researcher, in the late 1990s he was a member of former Working Group De Rafelrand,;
- Jules van Dam, June 21st, 2016; director of the Tussenvoorziening, since its start;
- Lia van Doorn, June 22nd; Professor in Innovative Social Service Provision at the Faculty of Society & Law at HU University of Applied Sciences Utrecht; she presented her research findings on the homeless in Utrecht at one of the 'doing business' conferences in 1996/1997;
- Edwin Peters, September 2nd, 2016; former director of the NoiZ, the self-managed night shelter in Utrecht and member of the board of Foundation the Green Sticht; currently independent consultant and owner of Barricadoor;
- Marieke van Vliet, September 16th, 2016; former sheltered housing supervisor at the Tussenvoorziening, supporting guests of the Green Sticht guest accommodation, currently member of an Utrecht neighbourhood team (WMO);
- Karin Kiers, September 26th, 2016; former sheltered housing supervisor at the Tussenvoorziening, supporting guests of the Green Sticht guest accommodation; currently activation counsellor/facilitator at the Tussenvoorziening;
- Frank Geppaart, September 27th, 2016; former homeless, one of the leading figures in the NoiZ self-management shelter, currently supportive sheltered housing supervisor Green Sticht guest accommodation, employed by the Tussenvoorzieing;
- Dirk and Thijs, October 6th, 2016; former homeless and guests of the consumer-led night shelter, one of them has been guest at the Green Sticht guest accommodation, both have been social mangers of the Green Sticht self-managed guest accommodation; currently they are residents of the Green Sticht apartments and members (chairman and secretary) of the Green Sticht association of residents,

- Isaak Mol, October 7th, 2016; a Green Sticht resident, owner of one of the private houses, former chairman of the Green Sticht association of residents.

Focus group meeting, 24th October 2016, chaired by Alfons Fermin. Participants:

- Nico Ooms, coordinator of the Foundation 't Groene Sticht, project manager at Foundation "De Tussenvoorziening";
- Dirk, former homeless, former social manager of the self-managed guest accommodation, resident of the Green Sticht apartments, currently chairman of the Green Sticht association of residents;
- Tom Puntman, sheltered housing supervisor of Green Sticht guests, employed by the Tussenvoorziening;
- Esther Colijn, core group member Emmaus living and working community at the Green Sticht;
- Erik Patist, social manager employed by the Portaal housing corporation;
- Marijke Christiansson, HU researcher.

The focus group meeting and several interviews (with Nico Ooms, Frank Geppaart, Thijs and Dirk and Isaak Mol) took place at the Green Sticht. Most of the interviews were conducted by Alfons Fermin and Marijke Christiansson together; however, the interviews with Karin Kiers, Frank Geppaart, Dirk and Thijs, Isaak Mol and some of the interviews with Nico Ooms were carried out by Alfons Fermin alone. Furthermore, both researchers have had a guided tour with explanations by the chairman of the Green Sticht residents' association through the Green Sticht neighbourhood, including the guesthouse accommodation.

Plan of the Green Sticht

Legend:

A/B: social housing apartment buildings (three room apartments),

C: Emmaus Parkwijk thrift store;

D: Living area of the Emmaus Parkwijk community members;

E: Emmaus storage space;

F: the silo, the furniture workshop (Remake);

G: NoiZ guest accommodation;

H: restaurant (Hoge Weide) and meeting facilities;

I/K: owner occupied houses.

Source: 't Groene Sticht 2003

