

# Community development through the sport canteen

A qualitative study of the experiences of stakeholders of the Vitale Sportvereniging



durf te veranderen

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## 1. Introduction

Currently, we are experiencing many changes in the way that the state seeks to organize society in The Netherlands. In the *Regeerakkoord* of 2012, government coalition partners Mark Rutte and Diederik Samson emphasize individual responsibility for success in life. They aim at a participation society, where every citizen is asked to take responsibility for his or her own life and environment (Troonrede, 2013). More specifically, the current Social Support Act (WMO) takes on a more 'activating character' and the Participation Act is just coming into force. The policy is based on the view of the citizen as an active citizen, and maybe even the communitarian citizen (De Wilde, 2014). A certain view on citizens plays out in power relations and therefore in different experiences for different groups.

This development, coupled with the fact that sport, and the sport club are increasingly used as a tool for social development (Bloyce & Smith, 2010), makes it interesting to study a project which combines both developments. One of these projects is the Vital Sport Club (Vitale Sportvereniging; VSV). VSV is a project aimed at deploying the sport club as a dynamic center of the neighbourhood. They attempt to achieve this by opening the facility during the day to offer activities to the local residents, study places, (sport-)internships, and through a re-integration project for long term unemployed people. A permanent feature of VSV is the club manager. This is a professional who is the contact during the day, generates a flow of capital, manages the employees, sets up a framework for the volunteers and develops extra activities at the accommodation. VSV wants to create connections between the sport club and the local residents, but also aims to strengthen the sport association and contribute to the participation and integration of vulnerable people in the neighbourhood.

Stakeholders are affected by VSV, especially the participants of this project. VSV is a project that fits in the broader idea of sport-for-development. Sport-for-development implies that sport or the sport club is used as a means to alleviate a variety of social problems and generally to 'improve' both individuals and the communities in which they live (Coalter, 2007). Much of the previous research centered on similar projects strives to fulfil a quantitative goal: to provide the evidence of policy effectiveness, as the importance has come to be placed on 'evidence-based policy-making' (Bloyce and Smith, 2010, p.20). Much of this research focuses for example on how many participants have moved to paid jobs or stay as volunteer at the sport club.

Building on a relational approach, this thesis will explore how policy processes and their outcomes can be seen as an "expression of unequal power relations and differential relational constraints between groups of people whose interests and perceptions are likely to diverge" (Bloyce and Smith, 2010, p.4). Local governments see these kinds of programs with the strength of the local community as the center, as a desirable answer and antidote to the poor cohesive state of these communities and the social exclusion which grows from it (De Wilde, 2014). The Vital Sport Club project is part of a broader policy focus on the supply side of work, and (at the same time) trying to strengthen the community.

However, “the *normal* result of complex processes involving the interweaving of the goal-directed actions of large numbers of people includes outcomes that no one has chosen and no one has designed” (Bloyce and Smith, 2010, p.4; see also De Wilde, 2014). Therefore, if we only focus on evaluating the goals of the program, unintended but important outcomes are not addressed. This research attempts to show another side of the project: the subjective, experience-based side. It is interesting to explore how power relations shape the experience of, and the outcomes for the stakeholders. As VSV is an integral complex approach, the project has to do with multiple groups and will have different outcomes for these different groups. This leads to the question:

*What are the perceived intended and unintended effects of VSV on ‘new’ and old volunteers and to what extent do these effects align with the VSV policy objectives?*

This question will focus on the experience of the participants of the project and the experiences of the current sport club volunteers. It specifically centers on the interpretation of their experiences, the role of the management of the sport club, the residents of the neighbourhood who make use of the sport club, and the employees of the VSV itself. It is important to take all of these actors into account because they convey the VSV policy or have to do with the VSV policy.

The sub-questions to answer the main question are:

1. *What are the VSV policy objectives and how can these be placed in the wider policy context?*

It is important to uncover the place of VSV in the wider policy context to understand the reaction and feelings of the interviewees. First, in order to classify the effects of VSV intended or unintended, it has to be clear what the VSV objectives are. Second, the wider policy context reveals the current discourse around participation, volunteering, responsibilities, et cetera. This will help to explain the success or failure of VSV and the support or neglect for VSV from for example sport clubs and the (local) government.

2. *What are the perceived effects of VSV on the employees and the volunteers, how are these effects achieved and for whom?*

This begins with the basis of which VSV participants-to-be are chosen and how are they approached. The first contact of the participant (to-be) and the project of VSV is important in shaping the experience of the participant about the project. Also, whether the participation is mandatory or voluntary influences the power relations and the experience of all stakeholders. This question is also aimed at revealing which possible participants are not chosen and why. Thereby, the question is open to the experiences that the participants regard as important.

Also, it is important to understand how the policy objective for implementing VSV is communicated to the current volunteers. How do they perceive the employees? Further, the question is open to the experiences that the current volunteers regard as important.

3. *In what way and to what extent does national policy shape the experiences of the stakeholders of VSV?*

As we will see in subsequent sections, the management views itself as being confronted with the need for a more outward orientation of the sport club. This is not solely driven by a desire to mean more to society; the change in sport policy from the focus on membership (sport club) towards general participation also creates many opportunities for initiating alternative sport activities to attract new target groups. This means that there is also pressure on sport clubs to be more externally oriented. There is a greater emphasis on participation in terms of inter-organisational cooperation (Waardenburg & Van Bottenburg, 2013).

The expected relationship between the main concepts used in this research is reflected in figure 1.1. This figure shows the conceptual framework, based on the existing literature and theory. A conceptual framework provides structure to the study, clarity to the concepts that are used and it reflects the theoretical assumptions adopted in the study (Hennink et al., 2011, p. 40-41). This study is based on an interplay between an inductive and deductive approach. The deductive conceptual framework provides some expectations about the relations of the concepts, but in this case the notion of expectations is rather 'softer' than the notion of hypotheses (Hennink et al., 2011, p.42). The inductive analysis reveals the importance of certain deductive concepts.

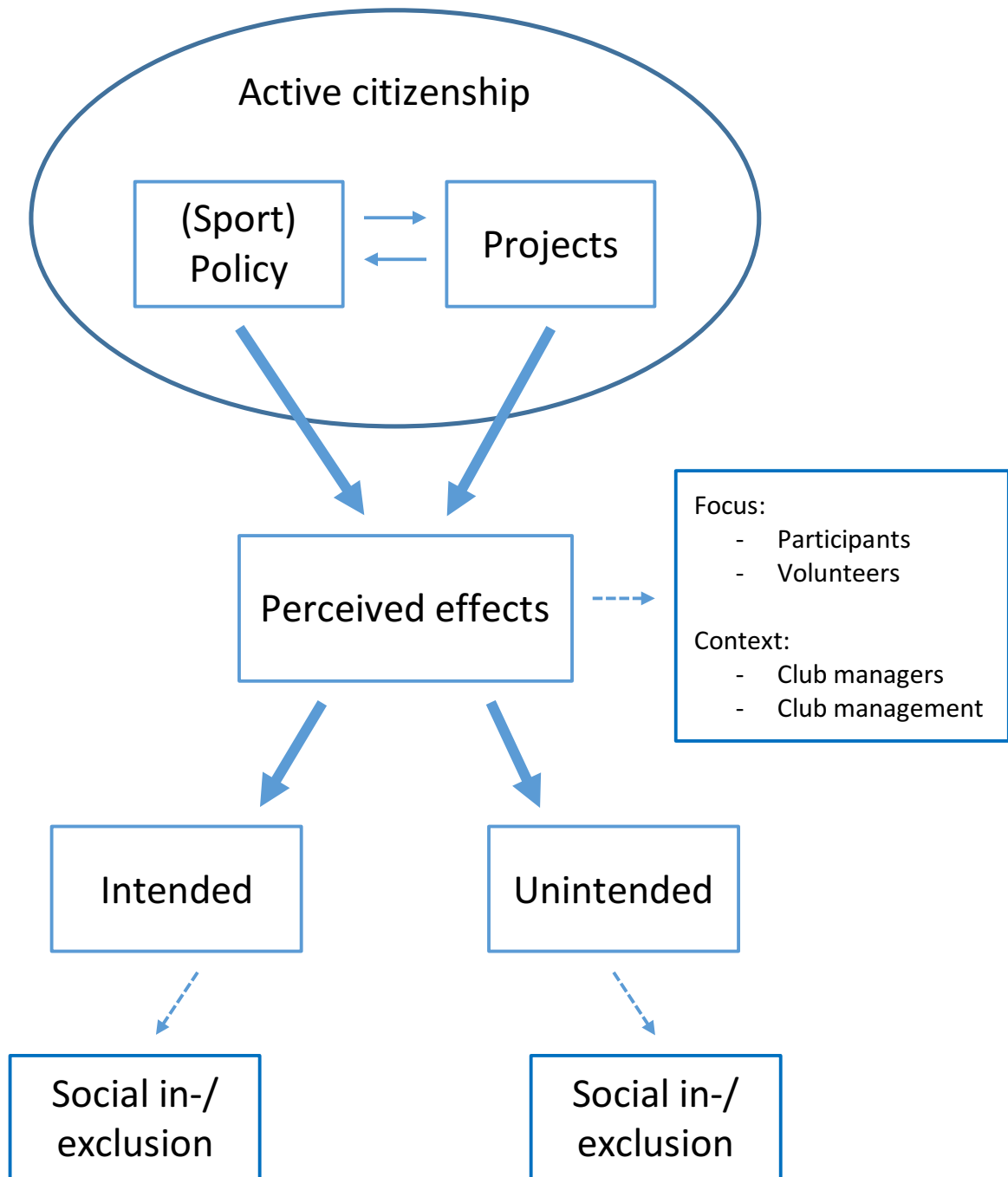


Figure 1.1: Conceptual framework

## 1.1 Relevance

Bloyce and Smith (2010) claim to see their work as “nothing more than a symptom of a beginning in the pursuit of developing a more adequate sociological explanation of the reality of sport policy making and of sports development activity.” (p.7). This research aims to complement this body of research by delving into the idea of active citizenship and employability. In what way do sport-for-employment projects contribute to an empowered citizen, or to an active citizen? How do citizens that are subjects of these projects view themselves? How do they perceive their participation in these projects? Bloyce and Smith (2010) state: “their [policy makers red.] policy objectives and the reforms they may wish to implement exist in a wider social context. [...] They are but one element in other human figurations and this is bound to have other, yet unforeseen and unintended, consequences.” (p.18). These unintended consequences are not always clear and can only be revealed in an empirical environment. Previous research on sport-for-employment projects is primarily aimed at checking outcomes from a monetary perspective or from at least a governmental perspective. This research will look from an emotional and power perspective, aiming to expand the work of Bloyce and Smith (2010) by looking at these unintended outcomes and the experience of the participants, in order to develop a broader understanding of the social relations and dynamics of these programmes.

In recent years, The Netherlands has placed great emphasis on the concept of the participation society. Although participation in society may take various forms, the economic dimension of participation is most frequently (Spaaij, 2013). In this way, these re-integration projects are especially interesting, because under the development of a participation society, these projects are particularly pertinent. But, as Coalter (2007; 2010) and even the NISB (Nederlands Instituut voor Sport en Bewegen) believes, there is actually little evaluation of sport-related projects and there is a lack of robust confirming evidence of the positive outcomes of these projects. Long and Sanderson (2001, in Coalter, 2007) state that the assumptions of these outcomes lie on the basis of “a mixture of belief and theory, professional and personal repertoires, political and organizational self-interest and ad hominem arguments” (p.22). Municipalities that implement these sport projects primarily rely on success stories from the field (NISB, 2015), but Spaaij (2013) concludes that “these ‘success stories’, however, conceal the fact that, even in those cases where participants have been successful in their quest for decent work, the sustainability of their employment varies greatly.” (p.1617).

The idea behind the participation society is that everybody should be included in society points directly at being active in society. The participation society aims at combatting social exclusion, which Saunders (2003) outlines, stating:

If we are to gain an understanding of the processes of exclusion, it is necessary to identify those whose actions exclude others as well as those who actually experience exclusion. Only then will we be able to understand the conditions that condone or encourage exclusion, and thus be in a position to alleviate or eradicate its effects. (p.7)

## 2. Theoretical framework

This theory chapter will not only provide the current insights of the used concepts or the embeddedness of the research questions in the existing theory, but also to sketch a context around the use of sport-for-development. I assume that projects such as VSV do not appear in a void, but rather are influenced by a changing society (Beuving & De Vries, 2015) and therefore the historical component is important to understand.

The used concepts are related in many ways. The relations between these concepts according to policymakers is reflected in figure 2.1. Sport or the sport club is used as a means to achieve active citizenship, which has to prevent people from social exclusion.

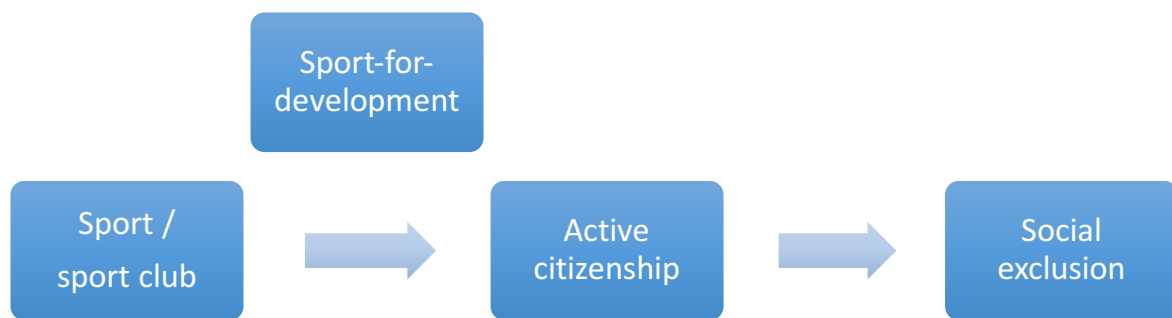


Figure 2.1. Relationships between concepts (simplified)

### 2.1 Historical context of sport policy

There is a complex relationship between modern sport, sport policy, and wider societal developments. To understand current sport-for-development policies, we must understand the political context in which these emerged. Coalter (2007) dedicates a chapter in his book to the rise of sport in social policy. Although his focus is at the United Kingdom, one can see many similarities occurring in the Netherlands.

In 1974, the Dutch government issued its first policy document that was explicitly and exclusively written on sport (Waardenburg & Van Bottenburg, 2013). In 1994, sport was introduced as a policy domain for the first time in the Netherlands. The cabinet changed the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture into the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport under the responsibility of Erica Terpstra. This change reflects an international tendency in this period to stress the growing social and cultural significance of sport and its multidimensional and malleable character to help to achieve non-sport policy goals (Waardenburg & Van Bottenburg, 2013). Under Terpstra the document 'Wat sport beweegt. Contouren en speerpunten voor het sportbeleid van de rijksoverheid' ('What moves sport. Contours and focal points for sport policy of the government') was created in 1996. It was the first document in which the instrumental approach of sport was stated, and became the basis of sport policy for subsequent years (Breedveld, Van der Poel, Elling, 2012). The importance of sport, according to the government, arises mainly from the ascribed values of sport in terms of health, education, cohesion and integration of excluded groups (VSW 1996, 2005).

In this respect, there has been a growing willingness to use sport and physical activities as vehicle of social policy designed to achieve a range of other non-sport objectives (Bloyce & Smith, 2010). When the role of sport becomes more central in policy, the effectiveness seems to be highly contestable. The presumption that sport can help to address the multifaceted aspects of social exclusion (reduce crime, increase employability, improve health) and contribute to community development and social cohesion implies that participation in sport can produce outcomes which strengthen and improve certain weak, or negative, aspects of processes, structures and relationships, or change negative behaviours thought to characterize deprived urban areas (Coalter, 2010, p.19). Sport is used for different governmental goals. Spaaij (2013) states that sport is increasingly becoming a substantial aspect of the neoliberal policy repertoire of cities aimed at generating social order in disadvantaged inner-city neighbourhoods.

## 2.2 Changing citizenship

### *Formal and moral citizenship*

From a sociological perspective, 'citizenship' is, according to Schinkel en Van Houdt (2009), a state regulated mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. From a social historical perspective, Schinkel (2007; 2009; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2009) analyses the shift from what he calls *formal* to *moral* citizenship. Formal citizenship is related to legal status, such as membership of a legal political order (a nation-state), but also to social rights. Moral citizenship is based on a non-legal normative interpretation of what it entails to be a good citizen or what a good citizen should be and do (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2009, p.51). When considering formal citizenship, which is related to legal status, it is clear that the people who have this legal status are 'included' and the people who do not have this status are 'excluded' from certain rights. Regarding moral citizenship, it becomes less clear where this 'line of exclusion' runs. According to this type of citizenship it is indicated that someone can stand outside society or do not join society. To summarize, the formal side of citizenship can be localized on the side of the state and is formal-juridical defined. The substantial side or moral side of citizenship belongs to society and is not formal, but discursive defined. This moral side plays a role in the discursive formation of what does and what does not pass for 'society' (Schinkel, 2007, p.72).

Schinkel (2009; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2009) identifies a relative shift from an emphasis on formal citizenship to an emphasis on moral citizenship. Schinkel places his ideas about citizenship in particular in the integration of migrants debate, where he argues that 'integration' *becomes* 'citizenship' and this has caused "that citizenship especially there is problematized where 'integration' is problematized. In other words: who is not integrated or is deficiently 'integrated', shows deficient 'citizenship'." (Schinkel, 2009, p.52, translation by author). This idea is not only valid for the integration of migrants, as Schinkel highlights, but it is also applicable to other groups who can be perceived as 'not integrated' or 'not joining society'.

This means that citizenship becomes a 'choice' to take part in society. As Schinkel (2007) notes, this policy discourse fosters the idea that the state becomes more active around the filling of the moral aspects of citizenship, which has to do with the assumed division between 'society' and 'not integrated people,' who are regarded as being 'outside of society'.

Current policy attempts to modernize and reform all aspects of government, "to strengthen civil society, to address issues of 'social exclusion' and to encourage 'active citizenship'." (Coalter, 2007, p.15). Coalter (2007) states further: "The responsible citizen is the participating citizen, with non-participation frequently viewed as potential threat to social stability" (p.8). Research has shown "that the last two decades has seen a shift of responsibilities from governments to citizens and an activation of citizens on many levels such as health care, social assistance, employment and the neighbourhood in Western European welfare states" (De Wilde, 2014, p.3-4). De Wilde (2014) goes even a step further than Coalter (2007), stating that a good citizen is now regarded to be a 'communitarian citizen': "a citizen who feels a sense of belonging and loyalty to her community, identifies with its members and actively engages with and contributes to its wellbeing" (p.4). Thus, the citizen has not only to be active, but active in the community. Schinkel (2009) complements this by stating that citizenship becomes two-sided; there is a culture-oriented thinking because the practices that characterize the 'active citizen' are the dominant normed practices. And, there is a loyal-oriented thinking because 'a good citizen' has 'loyalty' to 'society' (p.51-52).

#### *Role of the national and local government*

The shift from formal to moral citizenship identified by Schinkel inherently means that the state has begun to involve itself more with moral issues. As a result of this development, the role of the state regarding to citizenship changes from the protection of borders from the nation state, to borders from 'society'. This change in policy discourse makes clear that the state has become more involved in the filling of the moral aspects of citizenship which have to do with the earlier mentioned assumed cultural dividing line between 'the society' and 'the not-integrated' who are presented as 'being outside society' (Schinkel, 2009, p.51). Schinkel shows us here that by the emphasis of the state on moral citizenship, it excludes certain groups. Schinkel (2009) even speaks of a discursive abolition of citizenship by subordinating formal citizenship to moral citizenship. However, Spaaij (2013) shows that "a major focus of this policy discourse has been to promote active citizenship and engage 'marginalized' population groups with the purpose of enhancing or maintaining a socially inclusive and cohesive society." (p.107). A strange paradox is given shape here: the state excludes people by its involvement by the borders of society by stating that formal citizenship is not 'enough', but also tries to use this moral citizenship as an instrument to include these same 'marginalized' groups.

Thus, the government plays an active role in the construction of this specific image of citizenship. It creates policies to motivate citizens to participate in the community and emphasises the moral side of citizenship. Thereby, it gives local governments agency in social integration. According to De Wilde (2014), the development of these activation policies is the

result of various developments: among others, “a rise of neoliberal policy-making, the declining capacities of welfare states and a growing distance between citizens and their governments.” (p.4). As Bloyce and Smith (2010) state, local governments (in conjunction with schools and local sport clubs) are frequently identified as the best choice to play a central role in the development of “creative and innovative ways of using sport to help reengage people and to equip them with the skills and confidence to re-join the mainstream of society” (DCMS, 2000, p. 39 in: Bloyce & Smith, 2010, p.82).

But, where the national government gives the responsibility to the local government, this local government seeks to engage and utilize the local community as an answer to the complex social challenges (Tonkens, 2006; De Wilde, 2014). The local government facilitates and creates the conditions, while citizens carry out the ideas which fit into these policies. This shows the changing relations between the citizen and the government, where citizens “are firmly invited to play an active role in the public domain” (Tonkens, 2006, p.9). As Wijdeven, De Graaf and Hendriks (2013) state, the arguments for the quest of this kind of citizenship is partly ideological in nature, but there are also economic objectives at play. Coalter (2007) emphasises that neoliberal policies are aimed at strengthening civil society, addressing issues of ‘social exclusion’ and encouraging active citizenship. Of course, these ideas cannot be considered separately from each other, as they are intertwined and extend on each other.

### *Activation policy*

To give shape to the activation of certain citizens, specific measures are taken by the national and local government. The national WMO (Social Support Act; Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning) and the Participation Act (a contraction of the Wsw, Wajong, WWB) are the result of social developments, which are underpinned by a shift to an active welfare state (Tonkens, 2009). The WMO is aimed at participation and care, which make the ‘daily activities’<sup>1</sup> of this study particularly interesting.

The Participation Act is aimed at getting more people into paid jobs, including people with a labour limitation. The municipalities have various tools to assist in this goal; for example, a sheltered workplace for people with labour limitations, but also the compensation<sup>2</sup> is a part of this act. These acts can often be intertwined with each other, which was showed in 2009 by the ministers of Public Health, Welfare and Sport (VSW) and Social Affairs (SZ). In a letter to the Second Chamber, they wrote:

*Everyone’s participation in regular employment stays the starting point, but participation in other than paid work is also of great importance and provides especially possibilities to the*

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<sup>1</sup> Internationally seen, there is no accurate English translation for the Dutch word ‘dagbesteding’. In this study, it is referred to as ‘daily activities’.

<sup>2</sup> The ‘compensation’ (‘tegenprestatie’) is a policy measure which requires compensatory work from welfare receivers. The local councils are obliged to give substance to this compensation measure in a regulation. The compensation has an obliged character and when the client does culpably not execute this request, the local government has to impose some kind of measures (cut backs on welfare for example) (SZW, 2015).

*people who can not find their place in the regular labour process. People who are active at a sport club, or enlarge the liveability of a neighbourhood, or are active as care taker, make also an important contribution to the social cohesion. Besides this, connecting people causes extension of the social network and can increase the possibilities to join social life. (VWS, 2009, p.9, translation by author)*

This indicates that a shift is taking place, from only using paid employment as measure of activity in society, to a recognition of other forms social activity. On the one hand, the increased interest that policymakers attach to volunteering can be understood as an attempt of the national government to connect to the fight for recognition of unpaid labour—a topic of contention since the sixties (Kampen, 2014, p.22). On the other hand, this development is viewed with suspicion. Muchlebach (2012) (in Kampen, 2014) is highly critical of the recognition that the government is giving to unpaid labour, especially because labour in the domestic sphere is not as highly valued as volunteering outside the house, although the fight for recognition was aimed at both. According to Muchlebach (idem), this is because keeping house “does not enable the government to repel public tasks, while volunteering does” (p.23).

In extension of Schinkel, Kampen (2014) also states that because of the recognition of volunteering, full citizenship is harder to obtain: “The battle for recognition of voluntary work as entrance to the status of full citizen, is seized by the government to raise the bar: if you want to be a full citizen, you have to come in action.” (p.22, translation by author). This fits seamlessly into the idea of active citizenship.

According to Tonkens (2009), citizenship in the activating welfare state and the predecessor of the participation state is as much as possible defined in terms of duties and responsibilities and as less as possible in terms of rights. The policy measure of compensation is one result of this development. The Netherlands is the only country in Europe that mandates voluntary work for welfare receivers. Outside of Europe, only Australia knows obligatory volunteering (Kampen, 2014). While other countries also have activation policies, a remarkable difference with this policy measure is that in this case welfare receivers are obliged to do an activity which people normally do on their own initiative, in order to serve a social interest. Thereby, until 2004 it was forbidden for welfare receivers to do voluntary work. These receivers had to be available for re-integration projects and were supposed to apply to paid jobs. The implementation of the Participation Act gave the local government space to ‘socially activate’ welfare receivers by requiring activities which are ‘beneficial to society’. Here the perspective on the relation between re-integration and voluntary work is changed: First, voluntary work was seen as an activity that possibly kept people away from paid work. Now, it is seen as an activity that possibly helps people to paid work.

Kampen (2014) states that this changed perspective is also due to a changed conception of Dutch citizens according to *deservingness*, who *deserves* to receive benefits of the state. The notion of deservingness is changed over time. The emphasis is no longer based on whether one is in need, but whether or not someone can influence his or her situation. So, a question of guilt becomes more important. Kampen (2014) says about this: “This [question of guilt], in combination with the emphasis on own responsibility on every policy area, leads

to a negative spiral of irresponsibility and ‘undeservingness’. The public condemnation is only escapable by taking visibly responsibility as volunteer.” (p.23, translation by author).

Although paid work is still the central goal of the participation policies, there is a noticeable shift in the recognition of voluntary work which fits perfectly within the emphasis of the government on active citizenship. However, the WMO and the Participation Act actually serve two different goals. In short, the WMO is implemented to support people who cannot participate in society on their own, while the Participation Act is aimed at leading people to the labour market. It is evident from the WMO that unemployed people can make an important contribution to the support of those in need. From the perspective of the Participation Act, voluntary work enables the unemployed people to reduce the distance to the labour market. By using volunteering to execute these acts, there might be a tension between the participation goals of both acts.

### 2.3 Social exclusion

While previous welfare policies were based on a largely economic concept of ‘poverty’, the new idea of welfare policy is based on ‘social exclusion’ and combatting this development in relational terms, identifying the issues in terms of inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power (Room, 1995). This emphasis on social exclusion, and therefore social inclusion, has increased in the policy agenda of many Western governments:

Within the EU, for example, Articles 136 and 137 of the Amsterdam Treaty, which, among other things, helped place greater emphasis on citizenship, democracy and the rights of individuals through an expansion of the powers of the European Parliament, recommended that social exclusion should be one of the social policy goals of Member States. In one of the declarations annexed to the Treaty, the role sport is perceived to play as a tool of social integration was emphasized. (Bloyce & Smith, 2010, p.81)

Regarding sport policy alone, the concept of ‘social exclusion’ is discussed at length (Lake, 2011) and is defined in the context of wider society as “the lack of access to basic systems of democracy, welfare, the labour market and family and community” (Commis, 1993 in: Lake, 2011, p.2). But, in this study this definition would be rather broad because the focus is on the idea that ‘active citizenship’ is seen as a solution to combat, among other things, social exclusion (Tonkens, 2006). Collins (2014) can offer a solution here, where he (based on Ruth Levitas, 1998) distinguishes three main forms of discourse and the political implications of them (see figure 2.2).

<i>Redistribution</i>	<i>Moral underclass</i>	<i>Social Insertion</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• emphasises poverty as the prime cause</li> <li>• implies better benefits as the solution</li> <li>• could valorise unpaid work</li> <li>• if inclusion=citizenship, not a minimalist model</li> <li>• goes beyond materialism in addressing social/cultural/political spheres</li> <li>• focuses on processes of impoverishment</li> <li>• implies radical redistribution of power and resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• underclass are seen as distinct from mainstream society</li> <li>• focuses on behaviour of individuals, not structures</li> <li>• implies benefits encourage dependency, and are bad for recipients</li> <li>• inequalities in the rest of society are ignored</li> <li>• gender-stereotyped argument about young male criminals and immoral single mothers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• narrows definition to paid work</li> <li>• neglects why people not in paid work are poor</li> <li>• obscures inequalities between employees</li> <li>• ignores women's low pay/poorer jobs</li> <li>• neglects differences between workers and those with capital</li> <li>• fails to address unpaid work, and undermines its legitimacy</li> </ul>

Figure 2.2 Three main forms of discourse (Collins, 2014, p.9)

Although the three discourses overlap in some respects, the *Moral Underclass* discourse is most appropriate lens to use when focusing on social exclusion in the current participation society. Before completing my fieldwork, I assumed that the *Social Insertion* discourse was most applicable in this study. While national policy is particularly aimed at becoming active in a paid job, voluntary work has obtained more and more recognition as an appropriate 'substitute'. Therefore, I believe that a mixture of these both discourses exist in our society.

In the Troonrede of 2013 about the participation society, King Willem-Alexander emphasised that the Social Support Act (WMO) must have a more active presence. There is more responsibility assigned to the unemployed citizen and it is expected that he or she will actively search for new jobs OR be active in another way. In the discourse of Social Insertion, social exclusion and exclusion from work are used as interchangeable terms (Collins, 2014). This definition would impact new developments around the unemployment policies which seek to involve unemployed people. Although paid work continues to be the main goal, activating also implies being socially active. Inactivity is seen as being socially excluded. Social exclusion and therefore social inclusion, is a cross cutting policy concept, and can not only be looked at from the employment perspective. So, social exclusion is multidimensional, and can encompass a lack of access to employment, legal redress and markets but also a lack of political voice and poor social relationships.

Social inclusion can therefore also occur from participating at other terrains, such as volunteering or doing work for the community. It is intertwined in multiple relationships with society, and has to be "addressed by multiple departments. Sport made the claim to make some contribution to overarching policy objectives" (Coalter, 2007, p.17-18). Regarding to this idea of social inclusion, Bloyce and Smith (2010) state:

This concern with community renewal, social inclusion and personal responsibility has been expressed in a variety of ways, not least in the emergence of a plethora of policy initiatives designed to combat the outcomes of those processes that are strongly associated with experiences of social exclusion amongst people and the communities that they form. (p.80)

The *Moral Underclass* perspective shows itself in the responsibility that is attributed to welfare receivers. According to Kampen (2014), ambivalent feelings prevail in relation to the welfare benefits. On one hand, we agree as society that the right to receive welfare should be retained. On the other hand, we seem to think that there has to happen something to discourage the use of welfare because it would deactivate people. The prevalent idea is that welfare receivers should do 'something back' for society.

### *Relational approach*

As previously stated, current policymakers are more aware of the relational dimension of social exclusion. This means that much of policy aims to create a network around the 'excluded' person, trying to develop social and economic ties, in order to create some sort of social inclusion. However, Saunders (2003) notes:

[M]uch of the empirical literature on social exclusion has focused on the characteristics and conditions of those who have been excluded from various domains of economic and social life, with relatively little attention paid to the acts of exclusion themselves, and even less to identifying those individuals, institutions, structures or conventions that implicitly endorse and are thus responsible for accommodating various acts of exclusion. (p.7)

This is also the case by the discourse of Social Insertion and Moral Underclass, which was previously discussed. Within these discourses, one emphasises the responsibility of the 'excluded', and neglects mostly the structures and relationships around this person. Therefore, not only these discourses, but most of the existing literature ignores that 'the excluded' are included in other networks. To deal with social exclusion and inclusion as a relational concept, it is interesting to follow Hospes and Clancy (2011). Hospes and Clancy (2011) build on Saunders' idea and developed a different way to look at social inclusion. They state that "the concept of *embeddedness* and *scale* can be applied to uncover the way social inclusion as a policy discourse may exist in parallel to social exclusion in practice." (p.21, italics by author). The focus will now be on *embeddedness*, as it studies the way in which relationships shape experiences. For this small study, the concept of *scale* would make the research unnecessarily complicated.

Embeddedness, a concept borrowed from Social Network Analysis, assumes that individuals, or groups of individuals, are not permanently included or excluded from all possible social systems or fields. Berkel et al. (2002) (in Hospes & Clancy, 2011) argue that social inclusion and social exclusion is a continuum. Therefore, one must assume that interventions directed at social inclusion contribute to social inclusion *and* exclusion at the

same time (Hospes & Clancy, 2011, p.26). This means that we must analyse these interventions in *context* and *processes*. The perspective of embeddedness can be interesting because it “offers a contextual perspective on policies directed at social inclusion by turning attention to the social worlds, rationalities and relationships of those targeted for social inclusion.” (Hospes & Clancy, 2011, p.32-33).

Using embeddedness as a tool to approach social inclusion, certain critiques on social inclusion can be removed. A general critique is formulated by Hickey and Du Toit (2007), who claim that the concept is based on an ‘underlying moral meta-narrative’ which assumes that social inclusion or integration, as the opposite of social exclusion, is inherently good and desirable (p.3). By using embeddedness, it is taken into account that this opposite may not exist because of the continuum of social inclusion and social exclusion. This inherently means that the underlying moral meta-narrative where Hickey and Du Toit (2007) write about, is less strong present.

Coalter (2007) criticizes the policy idea of social inclusion. He states that policy aimed at generating social capital for unemployed people through their work within the sport club will probably fail, because “social capital is based on activities, relationships and norms *freely engaged in* by individuals” (p.66, *Italics by author*), and activation policies are in a way based on coercion or pressure. So, in Coalter’s view, social capital cannot be forced upon people. Social inclusion is in this view based on an emotional commitment to the sport club, and this cannot emerge when people are forced, or have the feeling to be forced, to commit to a club. The notion embeddedness can also here help to explore a better understanding of social inclusion. Although Coalter (2007) states that a network cannot be forced onto people, embeddedness means also that you have to *become embedded* in a network. Looking at social inclusion and exclusion as a process will help to clarify how this ‘forced’ commitment works.

In this regard it must be clear that policy is always contested and social problems are socially constructed, and hence politically charged. Social exclusion is a socially constructed concept, and can depend on an idea of what is considered ‘normal’. As such, the concept of social exclusion is contested, in that it is often difficult to ‘objectively’ identify who is socially excluded, as it is a matter of the criteria adopted and the judgements used. We must keep in mind that a policy outcome is tangible for the subjects of this policy and that discourses shape our view of the socially excluded. It is important to understand that discourses, and therefore policies, can change.

## 2.4 Sport as an instrument

Why use sport as instrument to combat social exclusion? As stated earlier, sport is associated with value related to health, education, cohesion and integration of excluded groups (VSW 1996, 2005). As a policy document from the end of 1996 states: “Sport influences the society at large and contributes inter alia to the enlargement of citizen participation, the creation of new jobs, the integration of minorities, the improvement of public health and the liveability in deprived neighbourhoods.” (Tweede Kamer, 1996, p.12, translation by author). Sport was approached as an integral interdepartmental tool to contribute in various ways to the general

policy plans “for example the activation of citizens; enlargement of their participation and challenge their (co)responsibility; enlargement of the liveability and tolerance, especially aimed at big cities; extension of the employment rate; increase flexibility of employment- and live patterns” (Tweede Kamer, 1996, p19, translation by author). In this respect, Coalter (2007) is critical about the underlying ideas of sport policy of the government. He emphasises that “the mythopoeic nature of sport and a policy desire for relatively cheap and apparently convincing solutions leads to the potentially positive benefits of sport being regarded as almost inevitable outcomes of participation” (p.22). Bloyce and Smith (2010) follow Coalter, stating that the use of sport as a policy instrument can also be due to budget cuts: “While governments can always invest in sport and physical activities as vehicles of social policy, they cannot always – indeed, are sometimes unwilling to – provide longterm, sustainable, effective solutions that may help to tackle the complex causes of social disadvantage.” (p.85).

Spaaij (2013) shows that it is important to understand public investment in sports-based employability programmes within the context of contemporary policy discourses on social exclusion: “Social exclusion is a contested concept that can be seen to refer to non-participation in key activities in society. Although social exclusion has important non-economic dimensions, many analysts interpret social exclusion first and foremost as precariousness of employment.” (Spaaij, 2013, p.1609).

The sport club is an indisputable factor in the idea of sport as an instrument. In the last few years, the sport club is seen more as (having a possibility to develop itself as) a social enterprise and as a partner in policy aimed at neighbourhood development, encouraging of sport- and exercise participation of special groups, preventive health policy, and other interests (Breedveld et al., 2012, p.17). Although there remains a big emphasis on the sport club as centre of sport practices, Waardenburg and Van Bottenburg (2013) state that the more outward orientation of the sport club is not only driven by a desire to mean more to society, but the change in sport policy from the focus on membership (sport club) towards general participation that creates many opportunities for initiating alternative sport activities to attract new target groups. Therefore, there is greater pressure on sport clubs to be more externally oriented. There is a larger emphasis on participation in terms of inter-organisational cooperation. But, although sport clubs can be critical about the occurring pressure, Breedveld et al. (2012) state that the fear of the end of the sport club, as is so often expressed in the past, can be definitive seen as unfounded. For this, “the sport club proves itself too resilient [...] a sustainable answer to sustainable questions from society” (p.18).

Since the late nineties, there has been an attempt to illuminate the benefits of sport. But Breedveld et al. (2012) emphasise that to make use of the side effects of sport, like cohesion or health improvements, people first need to sport. They continue with stating that in the Netherlands ‘being able to sport’ still traditionally assumes the proper functioning of sport clubs. Effective sport policy is therefore eventually dependent of the continuity in the availability and the deployment of the sport club volunteers (p.17). Then, the ‘vitality’ of a sport club comes into play. Breedveld et al. (2012) want to make a distinction on the basis of

the degree of 'vitality' of a sport club to play a more or less active role in the achievement of sport-external goals (p.17).

Sports base in community and voluntarism has been perceived and legitimized as a policy tool for strengthening social inclusion. As Spaaij (2013) states:

The use of sport to achieve wider social outcomes is viewed as a whole-of-government objective that transcends the sports sector, where sport has shared policy agendas with multiple other government portfolios, including community development, social policy, health and education. This means that sport is now but one tool to be used in tackling a range of social issues. (p.113)

Although Breedveld et al. (2012) point to the instrumental value of sport with regarding to the ascribed wider social role, Bloyce and Smith (2010) warn that we have to be aware that there are different outcomes for different people:

Indeed, it would be misleading to think that just because the provision of particular kinds of sports in particular social contexts may help bring about desired change among some individuals or groups this can be generalized unproblematically to many other participants. Thus, since the experience of programmes varies differentially between individuals and groups of young people, it cannot simply be assumed that they will each derive the intended benefits, if any, of the programme in the same way, or for the same reasons. (p.103)

## 2.5 Operationalization

In the original study design, 'embeddedness' was a small part of social exclusion and a way to look at the social dynamics in the field. As the research continued, more value could be ascribed to the concept of embeddedness. Because of this concept's importance it is necessary to operationalize this concept.

Embeddedness is a concept emanating from Social Network Analysis. The idea of an "embedded" individual is contrasted to the idea of an atomized actor; this implies that the individual's choices and actions are generated, in part, by the actions and expected behaviour of other actors. It is a relational concept; the embedded actor exists in a set of relationships with other actors whose choices affect his or her own choices as well. This entails that actors' preferences can only be understood and interpreted within relational, institutional, and cultural contexts. And this in turn implies that the choices actors make are not wholly determined by facts internal to their spheres of individual deliberation and beliefs; instead, actions are importantly influenced by the observed and expected behaviour of others. "Their attempts at purposive action are instead embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations." (Granovetter, 1985, p. 487).

Actors are also embedded in 'categorical social units' or 'sub-populations' defined either by shared attributes or shared membership. For example, being a member of the volunteer group of a sport club or being a figurative 'member' of the same group by sharing the motives to do voluntary work. The embeddedness hypothesis predicts that tightly

connected actors will be more similar in their behaviour and attitudes. In addition, it predicts that embedded ties are more stable and new ties are more likely to be established when they are embedded in existing cliques or existing ties. The notion that if there exists a strong tie between A-B and between A-C, it is highly likely that there is also a tie between B-C, is called 'closure'. Closure is an important indicator of tendencies to establish and maintain embedded ties, as is the multiplicity of relations: the extent to which a tie on one social relation duplicates a tie on another social relation, for example being colleagues and family.

This line of thought is an important contribution to how we can understand social behaviour in different contexts. The key premise is that individuals choose their actions in consideration of the likely choices of others, and this means that their concrete social relations are critical to their actions. Thus, this implies that very similar individuals, confronting very similar circumstances of choice, may arrive at very different patterns of social action dependent on their histories of interaction with each other.

Embeddedness in a network can vary in strength, depending how 'tight' one is 'knitted' into a specific network. This can be indicated by bridging and bonding ties. Bridging ties refer to weaker ties between different types of people and bonding ties refer to strong social ties, between similar people (Putnam, 2000).

Hanneman and Riddle (2005, chapter 8) state that there is 'no single "right" way of indexing the degree of embedding in a population that will be effective for all analytic purposes'. There are various ways to calculate embeddedness of an individual in a network, but because this is a quantitative study, I will not calculate the density of a network, or the transitivity of a network. The 'measurement' of embeddedness will be focussed on the multiplicity of relations that the interviewees indicate. Thereby, the amount of trust will be taken into account. Embedded ties are assumed to enforce group norms and enhance trust, and therefore pressure people into the same behaviour because there are then parallel ties or because the two actors involved in a tie share common relations who supervise their behaviour. According to Granovetter (1985), trust is an important condition of embeddedness. Being embedded in the same network (having mutual friends) makes it more likely to trust someone. Which also implies that for who is not in the same network as you, it is harder to gain your trust and vice versa.

### 3. The case

#### 3.1 Project De Vitale Sportvereniging (Vital Sport Club)

The goal of the project de Vitale Sportvereniging (VSV) is to enhance the social structure in the neighbourhood by making use of the sport club. This is two-sided: on one hand, there is the goal of the extension of the possibilities of the sport club accommodation. The idea is that this accommodation is often empty during the day, because the sports training, meetings and other activities are most of the time in the (early) evening. VSV wants to open this accommodation during the day to facilitate a continuous offer of sport and activities to serve as a kind of community centre: "In this way the club is becoming the central meeting point in the neighbourhood for everybody" (VSV, n.d., p.1, translation by author). This also entails being open for the neighbourhood and connect to the (social) partners in this neighbourhood. On the other hand, this project is aimed at participation of local residents with a distance to the labour market. In the view of VSV is a sport club an accessible space to "grow and develop labour market skills" ("De Vitale Sportvereniging", n.d.). Through work (voluntarily or not) at the sport club, the goal is to get more work routine so that residents may climb the participation ladder. We can say that this part of the project is aimed at combatting socio-economic inactivity among people who are not in employment, education or training.

The VSV argues that the sport club contributes positively to the liveability of a neighbourhood. Central to a successful implementation of the VSV is the 'Club Manager' ('Verenigingsmanager'). The club manager is a (ideally) fulltime employee who establishes, stabilizes and maintains the connections with the neighbourhood and the partners (VSV, n.d.). The club manager has to live in the neighbourhood or at least the city of the sport club where the project is implemented. His or her tasks are defined as facilitating the sport club management in the area of purchase, catering/hospitality and membership fees; managing the activities on the sport accommodation and open up the sport location; managing, coaching and inspiring of 25 long-term unemployed people; communication- and window function for the sport club; initiating and coordinating of new (neighbourhood)activities and sport concepts; design innovative ideas around the attainment of new target groups; search for new relations regarding new partners, use of new media, etc. (idem, p.14).

VSV is a so-called 'flywheel project', which means that VSV sets up the framework of the club manager, the community network and the finance. After three years, the club manager has to maintain a place in the sport club. This is particularly aimed at finding a financial construction to keep the club manager independent of VSV in the club. VSV chose this construction because of the feeling of ownership at the sport club. The more the club manager is embedded in the club network, instead of an external organisation, the more he or she can achieve within the club. Thereby, the sport club has to feel the responsibility to work with the club manager and the re-integration participants. The professional club manager is not a care provider but a supervisor.

The selection of the re-integration participants takes place in dialogue with the municipality. The club manager drafts the available vacancies for the specific sport club, which

is often aimed at hospitality, cleaning, administration and gardening. The municipality searches in their databases for people who match these profiles and introduces them to the club manager. The municipality informs the candidate that he or she is going to be called by the club manager for an invitation for a job interview at the sport club. This job interview is taking place at the sport club so that the candidate can see the environment and experience the atmosphere. In the job interview, which is held with the candidate, the club manager and the contact person of the municipality, the expectations of both parties are explored and especially motivation is checked by the club manager. Most of the time, the candidate is 'hired'. If the candidate refuses the job offer, he or she will be placed somewhere else by the municipality. In Enschede, welfare recipients are obliged to do a service in return for their benefits.

The goal of the re-integration part of VSV is to lead participants, long-term unemployed people, to the labour market. This process takes several steps and it differs among participants. Firstly, the participant has to make an own a daily structure again. This entails waking up on time, go to the workplace on time, keep to a work schedule, pause on certain times and plan the work activities for that day by yourself. Secondly, there is an emphasis on developing social skills. This is not only listen to an employer, but also work together, deal with conflicts and build a social network or just set up some social contacts. Thirdly, this emphasis shifts to work attitude. This entails not so much someone's attitude towards the job itself, like cleaning or weeding, but it is more aimed at confidence, motivation and taking initiative. Fourth, the 'real search' for a paid job is initiated, which is done in multiple ways. It can be the case that the UWV calls the club manager and asks if there is someone in his or her group who would be suitable for a certain job they have to offer, or there is someone from the municipality who assists the participants in searching for jobs. Sometimes the participants are assisted with writing application letters or the club manager establish a meeting with sponsors of the sport club.

With the deployment of the participants, VSV pursues a two-sided goal. On one hand, the participants are supported in their search for a paid job or a day-structure. On the other hand, the participants facilitate the club volunteers by taking over work. This is particularly intended to be work around the actual voluntary task. For example, when the task is to run the bar, during daytime the participants take care of the cleaning of the bar, the filling of bar, and other chores to facilitate the volunteer.

So, they must live close by to ensure that the participants attain more contacts in their living environment. It must also be possible for them to visit the sport club outside their working hours.

#### *WMO – Social Support Act*

VSV refers actively in its handbook to the Social Support Act 2015 (WMO) (idem, p.7). VSV positions itself as an instrument to work with the new WMO, and given the fact that VSV was founded in 2008, the VSV actively adjusted its handbook to this new version of the WMO. They state that if the municipality connects its WMO and its club network to each other, and

if it ensures shared goals and if it creates a shared corresponding message, the WMO ambitions can be realized. They summarize this in stating that it essentially is all about a municipality stimulating its residents to, via (sport) clubs, participate (again) in society (idem, p.7). According to the Handbook VSV, VSV is an important partner for the local government according to the new WMO, because a club who implements VSV contributes, from its specific values, to the promotion of a healthy lifestyle, social cohesion, economy and liveability of a neighbourhood and a city. The focus of VSV is on these themes and not on certain target groups (idem, p.8). The VSV aims at creating a community center, not only for members of the sport club, but for all neighbourhood residents.

### *Community center*

Although VSV does not focus on certain target groups, they still categorize a certain 'inflow' of participants from the neighbourhood, namely long-term unemployed people, Wajongers, people who are unable to work, low educated people and socially isolated people. Long-term unemployed people can be forced by the municipality to join this project. In the program they are called 'new volunteers'. These new volunteers are led by the Club Manager, who sets up a social, financial and educational framework. The Club Manager makes a week planning for them, provides work clothing, makes a task division, identifies educational and training possibilities, etc. (idem, p.18). The 'established' or 'old' volunteers (people who volunteered already before the club became a VSV) work together with the new volunteers.

VSV strives to create a place in the neighbourhood where everybody can come together. Not only to participate in sports, but also to meet other people, do homework, play cards, have workshops, and have dinner. VSV is a reaction on the indignation of Wouter Du Gardijn, the 'founding father' of VSV, on the emptiness of sport accommodations during the day and on the existing of multiple accommodations for sport clubs who are situated next to each other. He thought it was strange that the local governments subsidize an accommodation for seventy percent, so the sport club has to pay thirty percent of the original price to use it, but no one can make use of the accommodation during the day. During the evening, only the sport club members can make use of this accommodation. Also, although a tennis club, athletics club, and a football club exist next to each other, each have their own accommodation which is subsidized. VSV sees this as 'waste' of money and space and instead of a sport club connecting people, it separates them in different accommodations.

VSV is also aimed at using the existing sport club accommodation as often as possible. Their mind map (see appendix 9.1) states that every outdoor sports association features some kind of 'social property', which is unused during the day. VSV emphasises that a sport club can play a bigger social role in the neighbourhood by opening the accommodation during the day for residents of this neighbourhood, schools and other parties who want to make use of this space. VSV wants to integrate different activities and groups in one accommodation as much as possible.

### 3.2 VSV sites

The VSV project is executed at multiple sport clubs, specifically football clubs, in Enschede and Katwijk. At the moment, there are also advanced plans to start a club in Amsterdam. In Enschede, the clubs Avanti Wilskracht, Sportclub Enschede, S.V. Vosta, C.V.V Sparta, V.V. Rigtersbleek, Victoria '28 and Enschedese Boys execute or executed by VSV. Rigtersbleek currently has no club manager, and may of give shape to VSV in a different way. Victoria '28 and Enschedese Boys chose to quit the project after one year. The other clubs implemented VSV for three years and have now internalised the club manager and the VSV goals, without the VSV being present (as the project intends, because of the 'flywheel' function). At Katwijk, the participating clubs are V.V. Katwijk and Valken '68, which are both running a six-month pilot program.

Figure 3.1 provides a visual overview of the VSV sites in Enschede. They are spread over Enschede and situated in different neighbourhoods. As several club managers indicate, the club is a reflection of the neighbourhood. In this case, background information about the physical surrounding of the clubs provide more insight in the function of VSV at the different clubs (see Table 3.1 for an overview). V.V. Rigtersbleek stands in the district Twekkelerveld, neighbourhood Twekkelerveld. This neighbourhood was built after the Second World War. Twekkelerveld contains many rental houses which are mainly inhabited by elderly people, non-native Dutch citizens and students (University of Twente is nearby). S.V. Vosta is situated in the neighbourhood Scheurserve. This neighbourhood is overrepresented by an aging population, as the club manager indicates. Here, one finds mostly rental houses. The shopping mall of this neighbourhood is also 'run down', and is known as 'the Bronx of Enschede'. Shopping mall Stokhorst was in 2012 selected as most ugly place of The Netherlands by the VPRO-program 'De slag om Nederland'. Avanti is located in district Glanenburg en omgeving, neighbourhood Eekmaat-West. Eekmaat-West is part of De Eschmarke, a Vinex neighbourhood which connects the village Glanenburg with the city of Enschede. Around and within De Eschmerke is a green zone. During the construction of this neighbourhood, the ecology is taken into account. There are three eco-zones which connect three nature reserves.

Sportclub Enschede is situated in the neighbourhood Varvik-Diekman, which was largely built in the '50s. This neighbourhood consists particularly of duplex houses terraces. In Varvik-Diekman there are many sport facilities, Aquadrome, Diekman sports hall, climbing hall, tennis hall, squash hall, etc. Victoria '28 and Enschedese Boys are located in Wesselerbrink Zuid-West, which is a typical product of urban design of the 60's. Gallery flats cut the District into four parts, which are further cropped with low-rise houses. There is an overrepresentation of low income households.

Club	District	Neighbourhood	Residents neighbourhood	Own/rent house	Average annual income	Low income/high income
V.V. Rigtersbleek	Twekkelveld	Twekkelveld	4185	19/80%	19.800	58/5%
S.V. Vosta	Ribbelt - Stokhorst	Schreuserve	2390	39/61%	22.200	53/9%
Avanti	Glanerburg en omgeving	Eekmaat - West	3280	77/22%	28.900	37/20%
Sportclub Enschede	Hogeland	Varvik - Diekman	3550	46/53%	25.600	45/15%
Victoria '28 Enschedese Boys	Enschede Zuid	Wesselerbrink Zuid-West	2510	29/47%	20.000	55/5%

Table 3.1 Overview characteristics neighbourhood clubs<sup>3</sup> (CBS, 2011)

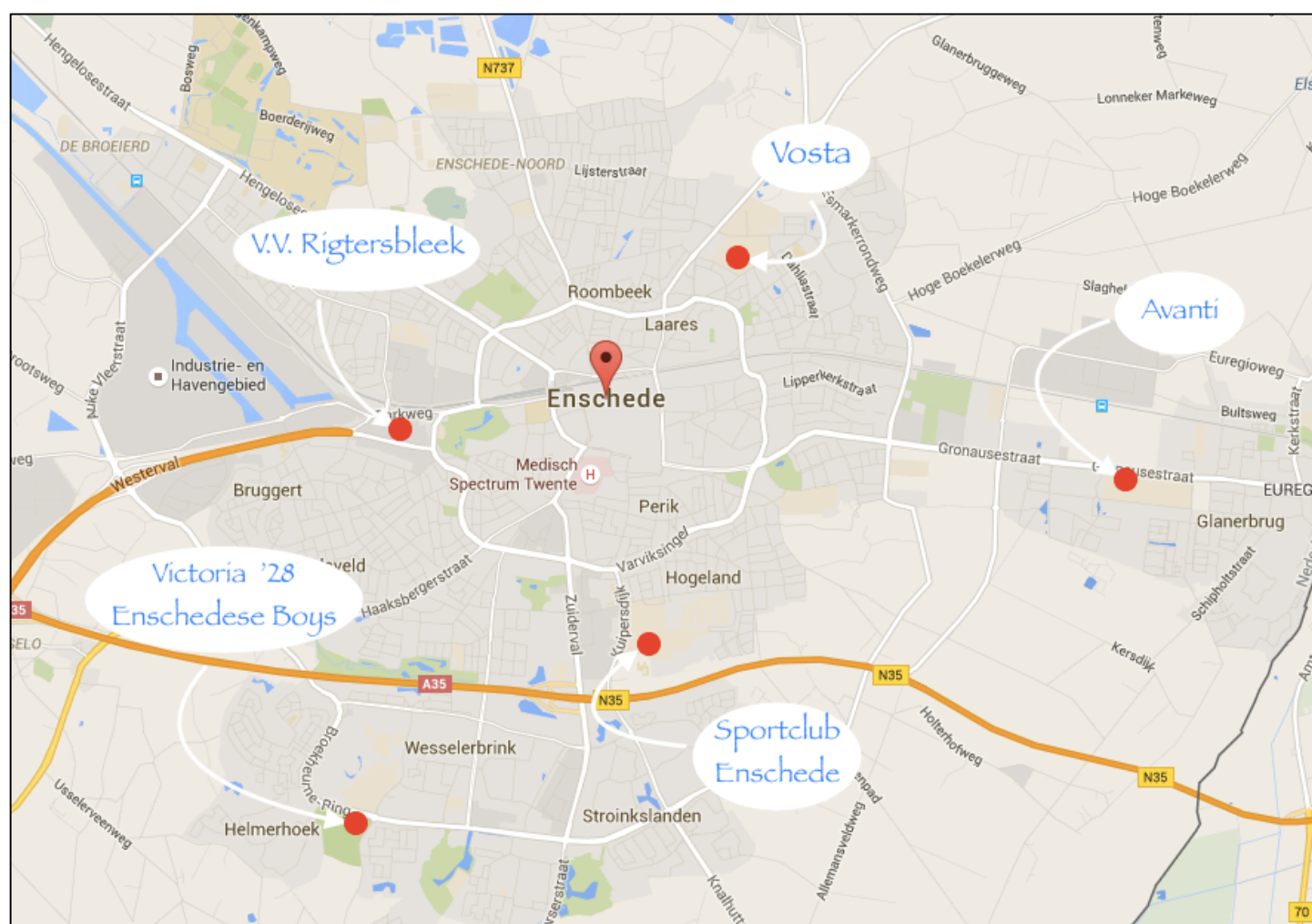


Figure 3.1 Overview VSV sites Enschede

<sup>3</sup> Based on 2011

## 4. Methods

### 4.1 Methodological perspective

For this research, “a theoretical framework is needed that links—rather than separates—the macro- and micro-levels of analysis, focuses on power relations as its central theme, and considers long-term social processes.” (Lake, 2011, p.3). This study will focus on networks of interdependent humans, and thus, uses the concept of embeddedness as a guiding principle. Therefore, the *relational* or *network perspective* is particularly suitable.

One must keep in mind that awareness in this study is required, in that “the social network in which a person is embedded today presents only a snapshot in a continuously changing figuration” (Beuving & De Vries, 2015, p. 152). It is important for a researcher to understand that networks are not static and constant in flux.

This study is based on an interplay between a deductive conceptual framework and an inductive analysis. By coding the interviews from an inductive perspective, the importance of certain deductive concepts came to light.

### 4.2 Research site

In recent years, voluntary sports clubs have become targets— “prime locations for sport policy implementation. They have been forced to balance governing body expectations alongside requirements of existing members” (Lake, 2011, p.1). Lake (2011) shows the relevance of the sport club as a research site:

Sport settings recently have become more commonplace for ethnographic analyses [...] in part, given their growing recognition as important sites where broader societal processes and issues are reflected (Crossley, 2008), and as institutions where social norms, values, ideologies and power relations can be critically challenged or reinforced (Crosset, 1995). Sport clubs in particular, with their relatively autonomous and established hierarchical structures, provide excellent locations for analysing power relations between members, and how social status and cohesion are emphasized [...]. (p.3)

A sport club is an easy accessible space for a researcher, especially when the sport club also tries to fulfil the role of a community centre. Thereby, according to a policy executer of the sport department, the sport club is also an accessible place for people who are unemployed. There is less pressure than at a company and the atmosphere is more informal (personal communication, 12 February 2016).

The research sites are three VSV sport clubs at Enschede: S.V. Vosta, Avanti-Wilskracht Omnisportvereniging en Sportclub Enschede. V.V. Riggersbleek is the first sport club where the VSV concept was implemented, but it is not included in the research because the club had no manager at the time of the research. Thereby, two interviews were conducted at V.V. Katwijk. This sport club is running a VSV pilot, so not every part of the VSV concept is executed

there yet. This research site is included in the research so that we may see how the VSV concept is moving to another city, as well as the adjustments must be made.

### 4.3 Research methods

To understand the choice of the research methods, it is important to emphasize that the VSV project is primarily situated in Enschede, whereas the researcher lives at 3 hours travel time from this city. This means that non-participant observation was almost impossible. To become “acquainted with the study setting and community and to identify the different types of activities that are conducted” (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011, p. 186), one full day of direct observation was conducted. The initiator of VSV introduced me to the club managers, showed me the VSV clubs and the non-VSV clubs and allowed me to speak with several volunteers. In doing this, I was able to introduce myself and create a trust before asking for an interview.

#### 4.3.1 Interviews

Hennink et al. (2011) writes that in-depth interviews may be described as a conversation with a purpose. This type of interview is suitable to reflect the emic (or insider’s) perspective that is characteristic for qualitative research. Hennink et al. (2011) view that a *semi-structured interview* would be most appropriate to prompt the data collection for in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews are primarily used to capture people’s individual voices and stories.

For this research, I am interested in the experiences of the volunteers, the employees and some stakeholders of the VSV project. This means that the subjectivity and the context of the interviewee is important: what are the economic, physical, social and cultural context where decisions and behaviours are shaped by? How does this stand in relation to their role in the VSV project? Because the VSV project strives for social inclusion (combatting social exclusion), it was interesting to hear about the assumptions held about the role that the interviewees took in this social setting, and maybe even in society at large. Of course, these places in the sport club and in society at large can also differ.

I conducted interviews in Dutch. For this research, sixteen interviews were conducted: four club managers, seven club volunteers and five employees interviewed. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the interviewees and their characteristics. It is remarkable that of the 16 interviewees, only two of them are woman. There are no female club managers, but the group of club volunteers and the employees consist of man and woman.

Access to the interviewees was facilitated with help of the club managers, as they selected the interviewees. Although this selection method influences the sample, as the interviewees are filtered by the club manager, this was the most ideal strategy. The club manager has access to the employees and club volunteers and to other stakeholders. Concerning the club volunteers, the requirement was that the volunteer was not in a club management position, but rather doing more executive volunteer work. This choice is made because this volunteers did not choose to be part of VSV, but have become part of it and experience the change.

There are five VSV club managers, four of which have been interviewed. The fifth club manager had just started his role two weeks earlier and had no ‘employees’ yet, so it was not relevant to include him in this research.

SEX	Club manager	Club volunteer	Employee
Man	4	5	5
Woman	0	2	0

AGE	Club manager	Club volunteer	Employee
20-29			
30-39			
40-49			
50-59			
>60			

YEARS ACTIVE AT CLUB	Club manager	Club volunteer	Employee
0-3			
3-5			
5-10			
20-30			
30-40			
40-50			

Table 4.1 Characteristics of interviewees

For this research, the first two interviews served as pilot interviews. Some questions were adjusted after these interviews. The interviews were conducted in a quiet room with the door closed. Appendix 9.2 provides example questions of the interviews. During the interviews I tried to sit on a corner of the table so I could sit adjacent to the interviewee. This was less formal than sitting opposite to each other with a table in between. I always spoke to the interviewee at the beginning and end of the interview, to show that I was interested in them as a person, not only as a research object. Every interviewee signed an *informed consent*. In the appendix (9.3) there is an empty informed consent adjusted.

#### 4.4 Data analysis

The 16 interviews are transcribed, focussing on the informational content of the interview and the social or cultural meanings attached to this content. So, “the focus is on what is said, rather than how it is said.” (Hennink et al., 2011, p.211). The transcription started during the interview period.

After the transcription process, the collected data was coded in Atlas TI. It was a conscious choice to first finish the transcripts before starting to code. If some codes already

turned out to be important, it could influence the process of transcription of the last interviews. This was possible because the interviews were not transcribed word-for-word, but paraphrased. So, things that may be of importance, could be let out because of the focus on the already existing codes.

First, the interviews were coded inductively, which created 69 codes. The frequency of the use of the code showed the importance of the concepts. Second, the interviews were coded deductively, which resulted in 17 codes. The deductive codes provided structure and focus to the many inductive codes. Through the comparison of the inductive and deductive codes, the most important concepts became clear.

#### 4.5 Terminology

During the interviews it became clear that I used different words than the interviewees did. This sometimes caused confusion in the questions and answers. I used the term 'new volunteers' to denote the long-term unemployed people who participate in the re-integration project. This term was used in the Handboek VSV (n.d.), but in practice it appeared that club managers, as well as club volunteers, used the term 'employees'. The term 'new volunteers' created confusion. This was confusing because during the interview period, the employees were not obligated to work at the sport club anymore. Their contracts with VSV were ended in April, so they actually were volunteers now, but still preferred to use the term 'employees'.

## 5. Results – Social embeddedness

In the results section, the findings about the perceived effects of VSV on the ‘employees’ and the club volunteers will be discussed. Taking into account what appeared to be the most pertinent concepts, this chapter will examine how these effects are achieved and for who. This information is gathered using a deductive framework, but specified by inductive input. Every discussed concept will end with a discussion of the experiences of the interviewees in the bigger picture of national policy.

The concept of social embeddedness in the club network was a very strong presence in the answers of the interviewees. Embeddedness reveals itself when an individual makes choices or act in a certain way because of his or her place in a network. In this study this became especially clear when there were (not) named multiple relationships within the sport club, when the networks of the employees and the volunteers became (not) mixed and when tie-making was (not) present.

### 5.1 Multiple relationships at the club

Most of the club volunteers have multiple ties within the club. They almost all stated that they became acquainted with the club through family or friends. Most of the time, it was not described as a rational choice to become a volunteer on the sport club. The decision to do volunteering work was in general based on two kinds of relations: firstly, the individual was part of the club network since childhood and grew up in this club network. Some volunteers said that they were part of the ‘club family’ from their beginning:

*I’m a born Avanti’er. My parents were at Avanti and I came already as a little boy at the sport club. First gymnastics, then handball and after that, football. This year I am a member for 50 years. (volunteer, 57 years)*

Others highlighted their ties with others within the club:

*I’ve also friends and family who are volunteering at Avanti. We were already friends before we became volunteers. We all grew up within the club, we are already friends for 50 years. We have done multiple things within the club, that is natural for us, we are part of the club. (volunteer, 67 years)*

The second way to become a volunteer is at a later moment in life. Mostly when one’s children are going to play football at a club, or when they meet someone who is part of the club network. Often, they became volunteers because there was a shortage of people for a certain function, and they help out once.

*I came here because of my husband and his family. They were all at Sportclub. My brother-in-law played football there, my mother-in-law did volunteering work inside, like canteen, and my*

*father-in-law did work on the outside. When it was busy they asked if I could help them out, and that is how volunteering started at Sportclub for me and my husband. (volunteer, 59 years)*

Another volunteer's brother was in need of an assistant trainer:

*Then I thought that I could be an assistant trainer... I already watched my brother playing every Saturday, I could just do some more. Gradually this became more of an official position and the year after I started I was official leader and trainer of the team. (volunteer, 22 years)*

The club volunteers have in common that they have multiple ties within the club, and many have grown in the club network. Some play or have played football themselves or have children who play football. Most of them have friends or family who volunteer at the club and see their colleague volunteers also outside the club environment. This means that the personal social network is blended with the club network.

Although the employees are called 'new volunteers' in the handbook of VSV (n.d., p.18) they have a very different way to become volunteers than the club volunteers. First of all, there is a compulsory component from the local government, and they are summoned by the municipality to register at some workplace. Most of the time the employees did not know anyone at the sport club before they became to work there.

*There are no friends and family who come to the club. They have nothing with football or Sportclub Enschede, so they have no reason to come. (former employee, now volunteer, 32 years).*

For the employees, the sport club is seen as a workplace, not as an environment of their social network. The social contacts which occur there are mostly connected to the sport club as physical place.

*The club plays not a really important role in my life. The club is not really interfering in my life, only at the sport club. There I have nice contacts with the people who are also there, but that is something at the club, not at home. (employee, 54 year)*

Another employee stated that it is not "about the sport" for him, it is just a workplace. He has no tie with the club, it could also have been somewhere else:

*I am not really a football fan. So, Vosta is just the club where I work. It is not that I love football, I do not want all that. (employee, 52 years)*

*I went to Sportclub Enschede to do volunteering because there was a vacancy. If the activities would stop here at Sportclub, I will search for a job at another sport club. Work is work. (employee, 53 years)*

Volunteers and employees work at their sport club for different reasons, pursuing different goals. Employees see their work on the sport club as 'a job'. A place where one goes to do work, have social contacts, and return home. These contacts are bounded to a physical space: the sport club. Volunteers see their work on the sport club as something logical—an extension of their network. They want to help their club and want to ease the work for their friends or relatives who also do something for the club.

A lot of times, this different approach to the same work causes no problems. The employees do their job and because of that, the volunteers are eased in their work on the club. But, sometimes this difference does cause problems, especially when certain expectations are not met. One employee gave an example:

*The agreement was that we would work until 12 o'clock. But, the volunteers continued to work after this time and they watched us with amazement when we stopped at 12 o'clock. Then I started a discussion with the volunteers that we were no construction company. We work with a lot of guys who are forced to do this by the municipality and some like the work, but some do not like it. You can not expect that they work until 3 or 4 o'clock. The volunteers did not agree with that, they felt that, because we were here from the municipality, we just had to do the work. But I think it just doesn't work like that. You can't force people to do anything you want if they are not motivated. (employee, 32 years)*

This example makes clear that there is a dynamic of expectations of both sides which are not always met. Thereby, it shows also a subtle hierarchy difference: "they felt that, because we were here from the municipality, we just had to do the work". This indicates that volunteers see the employees in this case not as equal volunteers, but as workers from the municipality who need to be activated and controlled. The employees see themselves as 'employees' who have set work hours, with a starting time and an end time. So, the different starting point of the volunteers and the employees to do 'the same' work on the sport club makes that there are certain expectations that are not always met.

## 5.2 Two worlds

*Vosta is my employer on Sunday, yes. During weekdays I'm from VSV. For me, these are two separate things. (employee, 52 years)*

Although the sport club who adopts the VSV concept is called a Vital Sport Club, the volunteers and the employees see the sport club and the VSV as mutually exclusive entities which occasionally interact. This is especially due to the working hours; the employees are working in general at daytime at weekdays, while volunteers are generally working on the weekends and during weekday evenings.

*Most of the volunteers don't see the employees actually. Then we really have to stop by during the day, or start at 7 o'clock, because VSV works until 7 o'clock and after that the volunteers take over. (volunteer, 59 years)*

This means that the volunteer and the employee must make extra effort to meet the 'other group' and establish ties with them. This enforces the existence of 'the other', instead of an 'us'.

These two worlds are not only reinforced by the different starting point of the work at the sport club, but also the different goals of the volunteers and the employees. Volunteers are in general working on the sport club to help the club forward and to strengthen the club:

*It is important because it is my club, somebody has to do it. If everybody sits around doing nothing, it is not working. I see that the canteen is an important source of income, and if we can increase this and we can make that the people who are running canteen service have some fun, that would be great. (volunteer, 57 years)*

The employees do not have in general a connection with the club in itself, but are doing their work there for other reasons. Most employees indicate that they work there for work experience, to practice their language skills or to have some daily structure.

*At the sport club they can already see how somebody acts and whether they really want to work or not. They can pick the good ones out if there is a vacancy, because they can see who is suited for the job. It is a benefit that they have a little insight in who can do what, because if an employer hires someone who was sitting at home, he has to wait and see how it will work out. When you are here, they can already see what you are capable of. (employee, 54 years)*

*I do this to upgrade myself. I have to learn the language and I have to gain experience in working in The Netherlands. After this I want to find a job. (employee, 28 years)*

*Before I participate in this project, I watched a lot of television, even in the night. Every day I tried to find some money to buy a bottle of liquor and sometimes I had a party. I went to bed really late and slept all day. It was actually a worthless life. Now I am happy if make it until 9 o'clock when I haven't to set the alarm in the morning. I feel much better with this daily structure. It is such nice weather, there is nothing better than this, right? (employee, 54 years)*

These different starting points become clear in that most of the employees have never done any volunteer work before. Without VSV, they may never have come into contact with volunteering—they just didn't think of it, or didn't saw it as an option. Although the perspective of volunteering for some of them is changed, they perceive each other as unequal, and they have the feeling that they are not in the same group as the employees. The volunteers and the employees often speak about each other using the terms 'we' and 'them'.

The club managers state that they struggle to merge the groups, as it is a very slow process. This is already clear by their role. They are seen by the employees as their employer,

but are not seen as such by the volunteers. The club managers emphasize that they do not want to be seen as an employer by the volunteers, and even try to minimize their role as such by the employees. The role of the club manager relative to the volunteers differs, but this role is almost always small in the sense of direct contact. The club manager should facilitate and support. This can be by setting up an organisation structure to provide insight in where people are needed, attracting new volunteers, involving new partners from the neighbourhood, and taking care of the ancillary matters by helping the employees to support the volunteers. The role of the club manager in relation to the employees exists more in the actual management of people. Here, the club manager is the contact person.

### *Two worlds come together*

Sometimes these two worlds converge, which can be because the employee does volunteering work outside his or her VSV work, because the volunteers work together with the employees for special events, or because the work hours of the volunteers and employees overlap.

Some employees become more embedded in the club network and help, for example, with tournaments in the weekends. This kind of volunteering is viewed differently than the work they do for VSV and is perceived as extra appreciated. The volunteers as well as the employees classify that kind of work also as volunteering work, different from the work the employees already do.

*One woman is working for VSV but also does volunteering for the club, and now her husband does that too. That is great, isn't it?! (volunteer, 59 years)*

*For the school football tournament, the club wanted to open the cafeteria and they let me handle that. I organize that because I've worked in a snack bar for 10 years. They don't know what to order and they ask me then, I really like that. (employee, 54 years)*

These activities that the employees do for the club have no obligatory component, and are viewed differently. The employees experience appreciation, responsibility, and more autonomy. It seems like a subtle difference, but it changes the perception of work and the relationship between the employee and the volunteer becomes more equal. But, especially due to the multiple embeddedness of most of the volunteers, the employees who do extra volunteering work can't still be classified as a member of the club network, as most of the time they do not come to parties or activities of the club, but they are nevertheless more integrated in the club environment.

Sometimes the volunteers and the employees work together, especially when there are events coming up, like parties for the championship, theme parties, playback shows or tournaments. The idea of VSV is that the employees have a supportive function and unburden the volunteers in their work. The employees decorate the place, clean up before and after the party and fill the bars, so that when the volunteer comes everything is ready to start and he or she can go home after they are done with their activity. On the one hand, this task division

reinforces the ‘two worlds’ separation, because the employees actually work for the volunteers here. They do the preparation and the cleaning of the event, but most of the time they do not come to the event itself, although they are invited.

*Last Monday they really entered a chaos, at that time I really had pity. That was after the championship party, after that party is was one big mess. The party was really fun, but I did not see the employees there. (volunteer, 59 years)*

On the other hand, the work that the employees do for the events are very tangible for the volunteers, so they pronounce their appreciation more than when employees do for example daily cleaning work or maintenance of the field.

*Lately, they had put everything in front of the container, because we needed that material again for the Oktoberfest. Then they really think along! (volunteer, 57 years)*

Last, these ‘two worlds’ come together when work hours overlap. This is especially the case when the VSV executes an eatery (eetcafé). The eatery is run by the employees, and some volunteers and club members make use of the eatery and are very positive about it. The work hours of the volunteers start when the eatery is still open. This means that the volunteers and the employees have personal contact at this times.

*That cooking club, as I call it, that is when you can eat here on Tuesdays and Thursdays, I think that is going very well. The ladies who cook and serve are doing a great job and they are very nice. I’ve eaten there with my husband, I enjoyed it. (volunteer, 60 years)*

The club managers state that after three years of implementing the concept, these different worlds are blending more and more. This does take a lot of time and requires patience, because it centers on trust and expectations.

### 5.3 Employee turnover

One goal of the VSV project is to re-integrate long-term unemployed people into the labour market. The project wants to provide work skills and daily structure to prepare these participants for paid work. Every volunteer was enthusiastic about this pursuit and some even say that they see too little flow rate to these paid jobs. But, the pursuit to place people ‘back’ in the labour market has an effect on the tie-making between the employees and the volunteers. The volunteers see new faces all the time, and do not bother to invest in a relationship which may not last long.

*I tell them [the employees] every time when somebody new starts “you are welcome and you are needed, but we hope that you leave as soon as possible because that would mean that you have found a paid job”. For me it doesn’t matter if it is Jantje or Pietje, because when someone leaves for a paid job, there will be another one who is joining the team and can do this job. (club manager, 29 years)*

*That's why I say that I have a connection with club volunteers, that is easy. And you see, the rest I see as dropped by, forced volunteers. (volunteer, 46 years)*

This also means that also when the employees build relationships with each other, these contacts are not really sustainable. So the goals of VSV are in this case paradoxical, on the one hand the goal is to bring together people who live, from the social point of view, at distance from each other, so they can build a diverse social network and strengthen each other. But on the other hand the goal is to create a flow from unemployment to a paid job and thus cutting off these new build ties on the sport club.

These goals, which turn out to be paradoxical in general, are not always conflicting. Some cases showed that these goals can go together, one employee for example found a job and is still volunteering at the sport club.

*I work four days, and I do not feel like sitting home for three days. So I go to the sport club to do some odd jobs. I still know the people from VSV and I know almost 75 percent of the club. (employee, now volunteer, 32 years)*

Although these cases were present, in this study this turned out to be exceptional. Most frequently, when an employee found a paid job and it did not work out, he or she returned to the sport club. They experienced the daily routine as pleasant and they felt comfortable there.

*I told them that this job was nothing for me, it was also a 45-minute bike ride and in the winter! I called the company and said: "Sorry, I really want to work but this is too far away and not my thing". After that I sat home for 1 or 2 weeks, but I thought "this isn't working also". So, I called the club manager and asked if I could come back and here I am again. (employee, 55 years)*

When the re-integration part of the VSV project is working out, creating a network is becoming less achievable. This is partly due to the perspective of the employee and the club manager on the function of the employees. Most employees see their work at the sport club as a substitute for paid work. So, when a paid job is acquired, this substitute is no longer needed. When an employee sees work as 'doing something for the community' or 'helping the club', they are more willing to continue volunteering at the sport club even after they find paid work.

#### 5.4 Becoming embedded

The process of becoming embedded in a network is often subtle. It takes time to gain trust for someone 'from the outside'. This does not only apply to the employees, but also to club managers. For example, one club manager said that he noticed that he became more part of the club when people gave him more keys.

*I get more keys of things, even the goals. People say that it might be nice to use them for the program with the kids. The goals are locked, but now I get a key, I did not have a key before. I*

*only had the key of the front door, to get in. That was the only one actually. I also recently got the key of the fence. So, that needs to grow and then I will get little by little a key of the canteen and other rooms. (club manager, 34 years)*

The employees who like the work are sometimes willing to do more. As stated before, this type of work is perceived as volunteering work, different than the work they normally do for VSV, although it is also not paid. This 'extra' volunteering work blurs the difference between 'employee' and 'volunteer', and therefore creates some kind of bridging between the two groups.

The employees who make this extra effort also experience volunteering work as more rewarding than their 'normal' work, especially because they have more influence on the work itself and they feel more like an essential link in the process.

*During the weekdays it is purely accommodation, but on Sunday I have something to tell. Then I get to decide whether they play football on field A or field B, and what I decide is going to happen. I've more to tell yeah, and I can keep an eye on the accommodation, because I have to clean it again on Monday. (employee, 52 years)*

For most of the employees, their first contact with volunteering work was with this project on the sport club. They never thought about it or they thought that it was something for other people. Sometimes they even had a negative attitude towards volunteering: "I thought, I'm not going to work for free?!" (employee, 54 years). But the more they became integrated in the club network, the more they saw the added value of volunteering. Sometimes the added value was linked to themselves; they create friendship connections, provide a daily routine, practice language, and more. Sometimes this added value was linked to the community or club.

*Now I see that volunteering is necessary for the existence of a football club, although there are places where it is even more important to have volunteers I guess. Like in elderly care! At the sport club you can sometimes skip certain tasks, but in elderly care people would really suffer then. (employee, 32 years)*

The VSV is a 'flywheel project', so it stops after 3 years. Interesting is that when the contracts of the VSV ended, most of them in April, the majority of the employees kept coming to do 'their work' at the sport club. They still followed their work schedule. The employees indicate that it is not the sport club they build a relationship with, but they like the daily routine and to have purpose of the day.

## 5.5 Discussion

On the basis of the above results, the sub-questions can be discussed. First, "*What are the perceived effects of VSV on the employees and the volunteers, how are these effects achieved and for who?*" The perceived effects are very different for different people. In regards to

‘social embeddedness’, in general the volunteers are far more embedded in the ‘club network’ than the employees. The volunteers’ network is connected with the sport club in multiple ways and often for a longer period of time. The employees are mostly connected to the sport club in one dimension. Here, a feature of ‘embeddedness’ becomes very clear; a lot of the friends of the volunteers are also friends with each other, which creates mutual friends. As Granovetter (1985) emphasised, mutual friends enhance trust because of threat of a sanction by violating this trust. Thereby, there is a multiplicity of ties between the volunteers. They also indicate that they meet the other volunteers at for birthdays or get-togethers. The employees do not have this multiplicity of relationships in the club network. They came via a project at the sport club, instead of via an existing relationship who was already active at the club. This means that they entered a new network without any existing ties. Also, in first instance, individuals had no shared attributes in the sense of motivation or experiences. They experience the work they execute at the sport club as a job, with an obligatory component, not as an intrinsic motivated choice. This also connects to the different roles the club manager has in relation to the employees and the volunteers: facilitator and employer. These roles indicate the different reasons for the two groups to do ‘the same’ work.

In the first instance, the VSV creates a ‘we’ and a ‘them’ for both groups. This is not surprising if you take into consideration that a volunteering environment consist most of the time of a tight knitted network of volunteers who have known each other for years. When there is a new group of people who try to set up new things, it takes time and effort to integrate these two groups. The connection between the employees and the volunteers is especially benefited by understanding the expectations which are held by all involved groups. This contains not only employees and volunteers, but also the club management, the club manager, and the municipality.

This ‘unembedded’ start of the project fosters a distrust between the groups. Like one volunteer said:

*I have no idea what VSV does during the day, but I think they can do more. I’ve the feeling that they don’t do much... (volunteer, 64 years)*

So, despite the volunteer is acknowledging that she has no idea what the employees do, she has the feeling that it is not a lot. Here, a feeling of distrust shapes the experience of the volunteer.

But, after VSV has been implemented for some years, a splitting takes place. Employees who adopt norms and rationales of the volunteers around volunteering, are getting more embedded in this club network. On one hand, this development fosters that they see the importance of their work and they become empowered by volunteering (social rationale). On the other hand, this embeddedness may also hamper the goal of finding paid work (individual rationale). When embedded in a network, there arises a consideration of something to lose when stepping out of this build network.

Some employees do not see any added value in volunteering. Either they do not find a place in the existing club network, do not see how this work can help them to a paid job, or do not want to get into a paid job (forced rationale).

*Individual rationale, social rationale and forced rationale*

As described above, volunteers and employees reason from a different perspective to do 'the same' work, which leads to the emergence of 'two worlds'. These two worlds can be understood in the continuum of social exclusion and social inclusion of Berkel et al. (2002, in Hospes & Clancy, 2011). Having the feeling of being included fosters the feeling of empowerment by VSV. Participating in VSV can be an empowering experience for employees if there is good coaching of the club manager. This coaching should take into account the rationale that the employee argues from in relation to the rationale from which the volunteer argues from.

But, participating in VSV can also be disempowering when, argued from the particular rationale of the employee, the goal does not seem to come closer or the goal is not valued. For example, because paid work is the main goal of the project (individual rationale), the social rationale, stay volunteer at the sport club, is actually valued less. However, this social rationale is highly valued by the volunteers. This social motivation to do voluntary work also causes embeddedness in the club network. So, an employee can be included reasoning from one rationale, and at the same time be excluded argued from the other rationale.

Argued from the different rationales, the so called 'two worlds' can come closer together in different ways, but this especially happens when an employee expands his or her activities into volunteering activities. This means helping at events that are organised by the club volunteers, or being present to help at the club outside VSV working hours. In other words, connecting with the volunteer network.

*People like him create public support of course. When they [employees] are going to help with THEIR [volunteers] activities, things that THEY organize. (club manager, 40 years)*

The employees argue from different ideas about voluntary work, while the volunteers have some variation in reasons to volunteer at the sport club. Although the main reason is argued from the social rationale, to mean something to the club and to 'give something back to the community', there are also volunteers who expand this rationale with the individual rationale. They emphasise that enjoy the feeling of having colleagues and want to remain connected after they quit work (or retire).

It is important to note that the forced rationale cannot be elaborated as much as the social and the individual rationale. This is due to the methodological fact that participants who refused to join the project or quit the project were not included in this study. Therefore, their experiences cannot be included and the forced rationale can not be researched from the same angle as the social and individual rationale.

### *Embeddedness in other networks*

Interestingly, a shortage of volunteers was frequently mentioned. According to the club volunteers, this was not only due to unwillingness but had also to do with the life structure of contemporary families. Nowadays, both parents in a family work fulltime, which means there is less time for other activities like volunteering. This is also said to be the reason of the high age average of club volunteers. When they started as volunteers, they did not work full time or they had a wife who was home with the children. Now, they have more time to do volunteering work because they are not active in paid work. The younger generation is embedded in more networks, which leaves less room for voluntary work at the sport club.

Second, *“In what way and to what extent does the national policy shape the discourse of the stakeholders of VSV?”*. Drawing on ‘embeddedness’, we can answer this question from the Participation Act and the WMO. Here the focus will be on the earlier discussed rationales which can be contradictory. The Participation Act has the goal of leading to labour participation. This can be linked to the individual rationale, as volunteering is seen as a pragmatic answer to unemployment and it is outcome of the desire to work. Volunteers indicate that this is the main goal of VSV: re-integration of the unemployed.

The compensation measure of the Participation Act brings different people together, but divides them at the same time. On one hand, employees indicate that they never thought of volunteering as ‘something for them’, although sometimes they ended up enjoying it. Without it, their worlds were small and they might never have come into contact with these volunteers, as they were not obliged to do volunteering. On the other hand, this obligation behind the voluntary work causes distrust among the volunteers towards the employees. This distrust is fostered by the ‘unembeddedness’ in the network.

Seen from the point of the WMO, for people for who cannot handle a paid job, staying in volunteering can be solution. This is a reasoned from a social rationale. According to the WMO this is only possible for people who have an indication from the UVW (Employee Insurance Agency; Uitvoeringsinstituut Werknemersverzekeringen). This indication is only provided on strict terms, so this is not regularly seen (SZW, 2016). This development fosters the idea that, although civil values are mention all the time by the government, the individual values dominate. The urge to find paid work dominates.

Sometimes, this puts the club manager in a difficult position. He or she needs to keep to the goal and prepare the participants for the labour market, but also has to keep the civil interests of the sport club high and needs to provide custom work for the participants, who may not be in paid work. The club managers maneuver between the different rationales of volunteers and employees and contradictory policy aims.

With this participation policy, the government tries to enhance community bonding and horizontal networks of people with different social positions. Coalter (2007) indicates that this is not always successful. He is critical on certain forms of community bonding fostered by the government which “tend to reinforce the ‘wrong kind of networks... where they only meet other unemployed people much like themselves’.” (p.59). VSV tries to avoid this by embedding

the employees in the club network, where they meet different kinds of volunteers. But, as stated earlier, we have to take the 'two worlds' in mind here, which may hinder this attempt.

## 6. Results – Participating citizen

The idea that being active in society is not really a choice, but more or less a duty was strongly present in this study. Views about how one 'should behave' as a citizen and what a good way is to shape one's citizenship were particularly implicitly present in agreeing or disagreeing with certain policies of the local government and the perspective on various groups.

### 6.1 Obligation

The VSV project has an obligatory component: welfare-recipients have to choose a re-integration project to avoid a cut on their benefits. There is a financial incentive of 50 euros per month which they receive in addition to their benefits when they work on the project. There are different opinions about this obligatory component. First, some people emphasize that if you have to do something in return for your welfare, you cannot call it 'volunteering work'.

*Look, if they are going to force you to do volunteering work, because you have a participation benefit, or some other benefits, I don't know the names, then you HAVE to do it for a X amount of hours in the week. I don't call that volunteering. You choose volunteering work yourself, and you support it, and then it doesn't matter how many hours you put into it, because you like to do it. (volunteer, 46 years)*

This statement is interesting, because this volunteer started at the sport club also at the instance of the municipality. So, he himself did not start as a traditional volunteer either. Still, he emphasizes that this might not be the right way to activate people.

Some employees see the obligation of the municipality solely as a push in the right direction. They experience the step from 'the couch' or 'the door', as they put it, to contacts, paid work or volunteering work as too big. A project which provides a sheltered workplace can work out for them, even if they did not always saw it like that in the beginning.

*I joined the project because I had to, it was an obligation. If it wasn't obliged, I surely would have walked out of the door and went home. Then I probably was still on that couch and I would do even worse then I already was. It actually has been life changing. (employee, 54 years)*

*It keeps me off the streets. I mean, at a certain moment you look for a job and realize that it doesn't work out. And then you sit at home. I have an old mother and I take care of her. But she is almost 80 and yeah, my life turned around her, and I became totally isolated. So, actually I was glad that I got the invitation from the municipality, I'm amongst other people again. (employee, 52 years)*

*I've never done volunteering before. Normally, I'm quite shy so I would never approach someone to ask if they need volunteers. They should really ask me. (employee, now volunteer, 32 years)*

The employees indicate that they appreciate the contacts and the daily routine, but that they would not have taken this step if they were not obliged to do it. Some even asked the club manager for more working days, because they did not want to sit home for 4 days. Despite the fact that they like to go to work, the threshold is sometimes too high to overcome on their own. Obligation does not always implicate unwillingness or being unmotivated. However, in this study, only the participants who are still working at the sport clubs are included. This means that the opinion of people who were discontent with the project and therefore quitted, are not included. Not every participant was pleased with the forced participation.

*There are also people who are just here "to be here". I have sometimes discussions with the club manager about that, because after a few months you know that they are not going to change. You can better tell goodbye then, those people are only working against you.* (employee, 51 years)

This illustrates that within the group of employees there exists a difference in motivation, which has its influence on the sentiment in the group. Thereby, the fact that some people are forced in this volunteering job, creates a hierarchy difference between the people who are doing the work on their own initiative (volunteers) and people who are not (employees). Formally seen, this hierarchy difference does not exist, but the interviews revealed that however volunteers tried to be open to the employees, they still had the feeling that the employees first had to prove themselves because they were not there on their own initiative. This was especially hard when the volunteers came at the sport club and saw employees doing things they do not classify as 'working for the club'.

*Look, I can't see what they do, because I'm not here during daytime. But when I am here, then I see some sitting here, some are on their phones, and some playing darts and then I think, I can't do that on my work either. These are people who have to be here, they are here because they HAVE to.* (volunteer, 59 years)

Volunteers find strength in their idea that the employees are only physically present because they have to be. This accentuates the gap between the two groups, although everyone who is involved in the project says they try to close this gap. Here, a moral argument into play, because if one is inactive in society, and inactive is especially defined as economically inactive, one should do something back for society who is giving money. Thereby, there was a lot of agreement under the interviewees that inactive people should be forced in one way or another to do something, to become more active.

*I do feel that people who are in the Unemployment Benefits Act, can be stimulated to nevertheless do something like volunteering work. In the WW you become the longer the lazier. People don't feel like doing anything anymore.* (volunteer, 64 years)

This volunteer states that the longer someone is unemployed, the lazier someone becomes and this is what justifies forcing some people to become active in other terrains of society.

Although this view is widely shared among the interviewees, there is a marginal note to make in this. Both the employees and the volunteers are critical about the amount of people who are employed for the amount of work. The idea that you have to be active is only reasonable and logical if there is enough work to do.

*Look, you can walk around the field with three men, and one holds the garbage bag and the other holds the paper stick and the last one points at the papers, then I think, yes... It is an extreme example, but that is how I see it. That could've also been done by one person.*  
(volunteer, 46 years)

So, one must not only be active for the sake of being active, but also active in useful work. The employees are more motivated if their work matters and it improves the perception of the employees by the volunteers.

## 6.2 Motivation

The component of obligation is directly related to motivation and the perceived motivation. The volunteers are not formally obligated, and do their job because of their passion for the club, wanting to help their friends or family out or because they just grew into it and it became part of their lives. They want to contribute to the sport club. Like one club manager pointed out that “the volunteers and the employees come here with a different idea”.

Employees are obliged by the municipality, so they do not begin this ‘voluntary job’ out of their own initiative. Although they have the right to refuse the offered job, they are placed at another job or their welfare can be cut back. This eventually creates a diverse group of people with a diverse palette of motivation. Some employees see it as a necessary evil, that they must overcome to keep their benefits.

*That are guys who don't want to be here, they are only here so that the municipality leaves them alone. Then they are just spoiling the place for three days. They don't dare to go into the sickness benefits, because they are afraid of control. But we have to deal with that negative behaviour all day.* (employee, 54 years)

This group is a difficult factor in the VSV project. The unmotivated people have a bad influence on motivated people in the sense of creating a negative atmosphere, not willing to do something for the other and the evading of tasks. And, they strengthen a negative image of the employees by the volunteers.

*I think those people don't see this as a job. We say sometimes, and others too by the way, that they just have CenterParcs here. Actually, it is not good that we think like that, but I have seen someone myself who was sleeping on the lounge!* (volunteer, 64 years)

The volunteer here actually blames the employees for not take their jobs seriously, although they are formally seen even more obliged to do that job than the volunteers are. Here, there is an implicit expectation that people who are not in employment should want to do

something else. So, they not only should do something else, like volunteering, but actually want it. Here is a friction: eventually you can force people to work, but cannot force people to want to work.

All employees (except for one) began their work out of obligation, but some are now experiencing positive results of the project. Their motivation grew when they came further into the project. They said most of the time that they needed a push in the back, but now experienced (again) how much they liked to be engaged in something, to have a goal and to be part of a group.

*I wanted to do something again, because sitting the whole day at home is nothing. I thought it was reasonable that I got a letter from the municipality. I was a little bit frightened because I didn't know what to expect. (employee, 32 years)*

*In the beginning it was very hard, I've called in sick time and again and I thought, I've to go to that stupid club again. I did not want to go. But after a while you get to know the people and you start to like your work. I'm outside all day and my life pattern is getting in order again, but it takes some time before you see that. I don't want to sit home again, if this ends I would start at another club. I've made some contacts already at the club next-door, just to be sure that I have another place to go if this stops. (employee, 54)*

These employees are seeing advantages for themselves to work at the club: contacts, daily structure, and a purpose of the day. This type of employee is becoming slowly embedded in the network of the club, because their motivation starts to become similar to the motivation of the volunteers. Although the passion for the club is most of the time not present, they would like to continue this voluntary work if they should get a job.

There are also employees who are motivated to participate in the project, but for reasons which are more intertwined with finding a paid job. These employees see the volunteering work as a stepping stone to paid work by develop their skills, create a network or fill the gap on their CV.

*This is a good preparation if you want to work at a gardening company, but it is more that you don't sit at home all the time, watching TV. You want to do something and this was offered to me, so I take it. It is just welcome at the moment and then you're not going to think 'oh, it is outside', you just take it. I'm happy that I can do something, that is important to me. (employee, 52 years)*

*If I can start for myself, I quit here. I learn the language here and I learn how it works in the Netherlands. But when I work 8 hours a day, I can't come to the sport club, nobody could do that. Maybe if you have family who takes care of you, you have time, but I have to do it myself. (employee, 28 years)*

These employees try to use this experience on behalf of their professional life, to 'upgrade' themselves. On the contrary of the aforementioned motivated employees, this group does

not really want to become embedded in the club network and does not relate to volunteering by itself.

### 6.3 Daily structure

Although the project has an obligatory component, and is therefore partly imposed on the participants, the employees who eventually join VSV highly appreciate the daily structure it provides. The daily schedule of the project is for the employees is strict in start time, end time and break time. These fixed points on the day are experienced as positive, because the employees know what is expected from them.

*On a certain moment I went to bed at 6 AM and woke up at 4 or 5 PM. Then I went on the computer again in the evening and did some grocery. Eventually I didn't like it that much anymore. [...] Then I came here from 8.30 o'clock, that daily structure was important to me.*  
(employee, 32 years)

In the beginning, many employees struggle with these strict points of time. It is a process of getting used to a new structure and also see the value of doing the job. According to the club managers and the employees who are still working at the sport club, most of the employees who drop out of the project do not see this value and particularly focus on the municipality who forces them to become active.

Besides the schedule of start, end, and break time, the filling of the day is generally open. The club manager tells the activities which have to be done that day and the employees are (most of the time) free to plan them in. The club managers have certain tasks that have to be done on certain days. For example, on Mondays they must repair the accommodation. On Tuesdays, they must fix the field. On Wednesdays, they must clean the dressing rooms. However, how these activities are spread over the work hours is up to the employees.

Also appreciated by the employees are the shifts of five or six hours. This has two advantages; first, employees can still do the activities they already did, because the shifts are not full days. One employee for example goes every day to the library to read the paper to learn new words, he is still able to do that on his day. Second, the transition from working 0 hours to 40 hours is big, this is a good step in between.

Interestingly, many employees also mention that they have been in or have been asked to be in other re-integration projects. They are very critical on these projects, especially when these are for 40 hours per week at a commercial organisation. The employees have the feeling that these employers are making money over their backs.

*I've already done multiple things, like working at a labour integration company. Then you're placed in a factory and the employer walks around rubbing his hands, thinking "Great! I've some free personnel!" I do want to work for my benefits, but I rather do that for an association or nursing home than for an employer who becomes rich by me, because if he can let me work for free, he can also hire me.* (employee, 54 years)

These projects provide also a daily routine, but miss, according to the employees, a social part. It does not empower them, but break down their self-esteem instead. The feeling that they are 'used' predominates, especially because they do work that is normally paid, but they do it for free. Also, club managers are critical of these other re-integration projects, and focus particularly on the unsustainability for the re-integration participants.

*There are multiple organisations who do that, especially aimed at production work. People are deployed for 6 months, for 5 days a week. After these 6 months these people are most of the time just thanked for their activities and there will be a new group again. [...] I think this is not suitable and it is taking advantage of the citizens of Enschede. (club manager, 29 years)*

Like the employees, club managers and volunteers are also positive about the daily schedule of the VSV participants. They emphasise the role of this structure in 'coming back in society' and getting 'a second chance'. This structure is seen as the first important step from being at home and inactive to being active in society.

*I mean, what important is for the re-integration part of the project is structure and that they can perform work in an accessible environment and through this coming back in society again. That they get a kind of new chance. (club manager, 34 years)*

*Yeah, then he still comes back. It turns out then, that they need some kind of automatism, life goal, daily activities. Especially structure. 8.30 here, 14.00 go home, eat at 12.00 and pause exactly at 10.00. They drink coffee exactly at 10.00, not 2 minutes before, not 2 minutes after. (volunteer, 54 years)*

## 6.4 Expectations

The idea of 'expectations' is multi-layered. First, it is about volunteers who might expect too much of the employees, especially on the basis of motivation and active engagement. Second, it is about the goals of the VSV for the employees. To re-integrate people on the labour market is not always an option, and although economic activities are highly valued, it may be that the highest possible participation in society lies in the voluntary sphere for some people. Third, it is worth mention that volunteers can also be overcharged when the management assumes that they adjust to the new situation without (the feeling that they are) being heard.

The demand to become active is accompanied by more than only meeting the standards that are set by the municipality. As previously mentioned, motivation plays a large role in the relationship between employees and volunteers. Some volunteers stated that the expectations they had about the employees were possibly too high. From their own perspective according to volunteering, they expected to welcome new volunteers who were as motivated as they are. Not only to fulfil activities on the sport club, but also to re-integrate in the labour market. Although the sport club manager tries to temper the expectations, the volunteers have the feeling that the employees slack off. These expectations can catalyze frustration.

*I think that my expectations and that of the other volunteers were too high. That caused some irritation. The club manager says that these are people with something 'extra' (een rugzakje), but I think, everybody has some kind of 'extra'. You can't throw it on that. (volunteer, 64 years)*

Besides their own view on the work at the sport club, they state that when the VSV project was introduced, they were promised that their work would be eased. This ignited the idea that the employees were in service of the volunteers, and if they do not do the work that was expected, or in the way that was expected, it creates frustration in both groups. After a few years of cooperation between the volunteers and the employees, one volunteer said that maybe you cannot expect people who are obliged to do the work to enjoy this work as much as you do.

Although the goal of the VSV project is to re-integrate unemployed people into the labour market, it might be necessary to admit that not everyone is suitable for this. Participation in society is often measured by someone's activities, and one's contribution to economic life. Some people, however, are not able to function in a demanding environment. The sport club is a workplace where there is not a lot of pressure and there is the possibility to make mistakes, the step to a paid workplace is often a big threshold. Again some people need some kind of assistance or coaching to take this step, but sometimes even then it might be too ambitious.

*I think the re-integration part of VSV is very good, I actually think that the flow rate to the labour market is too small. But it is easier said than done, because you have to do with people. An example was a boy who was placed with Grolsch. He had a good job interview with Grolsch and a coach, but when he went to the company on Monday morning to start, he stood before the gate and he didn't dare going inside. Yeah, then you have a problem. From that point of view, I think that if such a boy can stay for the rest of his 'career' at the sport club, and he does not hang around in the city center, he may have found his place at the sport club. (volunteer, 57 years)*

Most of the employees say that they would like to move further to a paid job, but some hint that they prefer staying at the sport club. Although they might rather stay at the sport club to do voluntary work, they do not explicitly say that the sport club is their end station.

Last, it is important to give attention to the fact that it is also demanding for volunteers to receive around 25 new 'volunteers' who do things differently than you are used to do, and who nobody from the club knew before.

*I give an example. Suppose that there is someone entering the room now and says to you: "Please, get of that chair, I'm going to interview this person from now". Then you would feel a bit piqued too, but it is already decided that it is going to happen. (volunteer, 57 years)*

This does not only apply to the employees, but also to the club manager. He or she is from 'outside' the club and is going to change things, bring new people in and has something to say. That almost always causes resistance.

*I always compare it to coming in someone's house and you are going to change everything as a guest. For example, that we do not drink coffee at 10 am, but at 10.30 am. People go with the heels in the sand then. [...] You have to do with different layers of volunteers, the club management welcomes you in a different way than other volunteers. The art lies in staying in contact with each other, that helps. (club manager, 42 years)*

The club managers all mentioned that working in a voluntary environment requires specific skills. One must show appreciation and be sensitive to feelings of the volunteers and the employees. Ask not too much, but also not forget to ask people, because of feelings of exclusion. Not only employees can be overstretched by the volunteers, volunteers can also be overstretched when the club management and the club manager assume that the volunteers easily adjust to the new situation. This is especially pointed to emotionally opening up of the volunteers to the employees and the inclusion in the club network. This takes time and requires trust.

## 6.5 Discussion

Now, the sub questions can be discussed according to participating citizenship. When looking at "*What are the perceived effects of VSV by the employees and the volunteers, how are these effects achieved and for who?*", the first thing that has to be made clear is that there is a great variation in the perceived effects of VSV within the group of volunteers as well as within the group of employees.

### *Volunteers*

The volunteers can be separated in a management level and an executive level. At the management level, the volunteers are predominantly positive about the re-integration part of VSV. They are focused on the overall picture of strengthening the club. As long as the club managers provide enough participants, they believe that they are helpful for the club volunteers. Thereby, it ensures that for new activities (which are part of the exploitation of the accommodation), no volunteers are encumbered. Lastly, they can distinguish themselves as a socially committed sport club in an environment where a lot of clubs are situated.

Volunteers on the executive level experience different effects of VSV. They appreciate the idea that the employees unburden them in their workload and do the jobs they are not really like to do. In general, they also have the feeling that it is a logical step because welfare receivers should search for work or be active in another way. But, when the employees are active at the sport club, the volunteers experience a different work attitude than they expected.

*I think the expectation that they would see what had to be done and were looking forward to it was maybe to high. (volunteer, 59 years)*

The difference between the management level volunteers and the executive level volunteers exists particularly in the fact that the first have had influence in the decision to adopt VSV, and for the latter, it 'just' happened. The volunteers at executive level are often the people who have to work together with the employees and who have the same work as the employees.

*Epecially the Monday morning team. Those volunteers are already a bit older and they saw us really as a threat. Like, "they take away our jobs". But we don't take any jobs away, we just want to support. (employee, 54 years)*

### *Employees*

The welfare recipients included in this study have different reasons to take part in this VSV project. First, this can be because a sense of duty or a sense of activity. They want to do something, but needed a little help with becoming active (again). This is the group that is most of the time also the most motivated. Second, some realize their dependence of the welfare benefits. If they do not participate in this, or another project, their welfare could be cut. Third, they take the different duties in consideration. Sometimes, 'compensate' by working for the welfare is liked better than continually have to apply or being pointed at having to apply. By judging the demand to do voluntary work the employees look at the meaning voluntary work in relation to the meaning of the welfare benefits.

For people with different reasons to work at the sport club, VSV works out differently. It can also be that the reason to work at the sport club changes over time. Someone may start because of the fear of being cut back, but develops a sense of duty over time, or just starts to like it. The different reasons to participate in VSV influence the experiences of the employees. But, what is at all times present is that the employees want to have the feeling that their work matters, this is critical in the empowering goal of the re-integration. When three persons work on picking up one paper from the ground, they feel useless and also the volunteers do not see the added value then of the presence of the employees. This creates distance between the two groups and highlights a hierarchy difference. After all, volunteers can stop their activity when they feel it is not necessary, but employees cannot. This feeling is rather disempowering.

Interestingly, some club managers mention that with the expiry of the contract with VSV, a change in the relation between the employees and the volunteers occurs. The employees are not 'from VSV' anymore, a formal difference is lost. Although VSV is needed to implement the employees in a professional manner in the sport club, unintentionally this results in an emphasis on the differences between the groups instead of the similarities.

In judging the demand or request to do voluntary work, the welfare receivers look at the meaning of volunteering in relation to the meaning of the welfare. This results in two reasons to agree to participate in volunteering. Firstly, they emphasise the social interest or community interest. This intrinsic motivation is often also the rationale of the volunteers, so

employees who have these motives for volunteering are likely to find connection with the volunteers. Needless to say, this rationale can also develop itself over time. Secondly, they emphasise their own interest, which exist out of two parts. First, this can be to develop work skills, get used to a daily structure or to get closer to a paid job by being already active. Second, this can be because of the fear of cut backs on their welfare. In this case the participant is most of time present, but not active.

The second sub question was *“In what way and to what extent does the national policy shape the discourse of the stakeholders of VSV?”*. To answer this, we must recall the work of Hickey and Du Toit (2007), who argue that the concept of social inclusion is based on an ‘underlying moral meta-narrative’ which assumes that social inclusion or integration, as the opposite of social exclusion, is inherently good and desirable (p.3). By using the idea of embeddedness, this thesis takes into account that this opposite may not exist because of the continuum of social inclusion and social exclusion. But, what is shown by the national policy is that it is not only about being socially included in some context. Certain kinds of inclusion are more valued by government than others. Muchlebach (in Kampen, 2014) argued that the government emphasises the need of inclusion especially in domains where it can repel its tasks. Coalter (2007) supports this economic argument by stating that “sports volunteers reduce the real costs of both provision and participation in sport and their work can be regarded as having a high social and economic value” (p.56).

The discourse behind the national policy can be approached from the two acts which are most important regarding unemployment: The Participation Act and the WMO. As previously stated, the national policy which obliges voluntary work is unique in Europe. Although there are policies in other countries which have a social activation character, The Netherlands is the only country where people who receive welfare are forced to do activities which would normally be done by people who just want to serve the public interest.

Almost every volunteer agreed with this purpose of the VSV project to re-integrate unemployed people and to let them “re-join society”. This idea is in line with Schinkel (2007, 2009) who states that there are groups who are said to ‘not join society’, which can only occur when the perspective of *moral citizenship* is adopted. In this small statement of the volunteers and club managers, the discursive abolition of citizenship becomes visible. The unemployed people already have formal citizenship, but are still regarded as being ‘outside society’. ‘Outside society’ is two-sided here; first, it refers to not being active in economical/work life or not being socially active. Second, it refers to having a reversed life structure than most people in society, such as sleeping during the days and being awake during the nights.

In this study, there seemed to be certain factors which influenced the way volunteers and employees thought about themselves and the other. This especially expressed itself around the obligatory part of the project. As is reflected in national policy, the perspective on welfare benefits is shifted from being a right to being a favour for people who deserve it. This idea of deservingness is the basis for the compensation policy. Deservingness can be partly understood in de Moral Underclass discourse of Levitas (1998), where the emphasis is on

moral backwardness of the unemployed. To be 'needy' is not the criterion to be qualified to receive welfare benefits. Rather, it is whether someone has influence on his or her situation. So, welfare benefits are discouraged for people who have 'blame' to their situation and can change their situation by getting a paid job. Only people who cannot have paid work because of constraints they cannot influence (like being mentally or physically ill) should be qualified to receive welfare.

Unemployed people start voluntary work for different reasons, and bring a different perspective (rationale). The project should fit the rationale of the participant, otherwise only disappointment will occur. This implies that it does not work to place as many welfare recipients as possible in voluntary work to find a paid job, this only leads to frustration. Because of these mismatches between rationale of the participant and goal of the project, the expectations of the project weren't met for everyone. Nevertheless, one aspect of the project was appreciated by almost all participants; voluntary work was a welcome filling of the day, which was most of the time quite empty. To 'leave' unemployed people 'alone' - even if the 'right' rationale is not present - is not always a good idea, as having no daily purpose can lead to feelings of inferiority, insecurity and withdrawal of social life and isolation. Voluntary work is often experienced as a welcome interruption of this spiral.

Voluntary work for people who receive welfare can be a meaningful experience, but this is only the case under certain conditions. When this volunteering is presented as bringing to a paid job, there has to be serious perspective on a paid job. Like one of the volunteers mentioned, if there really is no work, people are at the end even less motivated and more disappointed. The work activities have to be preparing the participant for the paid work that is aimed at, as feeling useful seems to be the main motivation to stay active in volunteering. On the other hand, there has to be recognition for people who will never be in a paid job. People in this study did not explicitly say that volunteering at sport club is their end station, although for some of them it may be. Even when they might want to stay at the sport club, economical contribution is still valued more than social contribution, so there is a kind of taboo on not aiming at a paid job (anymore). Here the Social Insertion discourse of Levitas (1998) can be detected, as exclusion is actually measured in being in paid work. These people, who will never be able to have a paid job, have to have the feeling that participating in volunteering can also be enough and does not make them second-rate citizens.

## 7. Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter seeks to answer the main question: *“What are the perceived intended and unintended effects of VSV on employees and volunteers and to what extent do these effects align with the VSV policy objectives?”* To answer this question, first the objectives of VSV will be repeated, then the intended and unintended effects of VSV will be named and last, these will be compared with each other.

VSV sees the sport club as the ideal work place and the place for daily activities (‘dagbesteding’). By offering work at the sport club, VSV aims at personal grow and social growth for a sustainable future for as well the employees as the sport club. In this study, the focus is on the re-integration goal of VSV, which is only one of many goals of this project (although the volunteers indicated this goal as the overall goal of VSV). On the one hand, the employees are getting prepared to (re-)enter the labour market; on the other hand, they support the volunteers in their work. Thereby, the employees become embedded in a differentiated network which can provide them information about vacancies and which enhance community development.

VSV reflects the broader development of programmes that focus on the supply side of work, by aiming at raising an individual’s employability through skills training and practical work experience. The sport club is seen as the ideal place to execute a project like VSV because of the accessibility and the fact that the sport club is a field which is filled with almost only volunteers. This causes that the social values around commitment to the community are transmitted and that, because of the voluntary environment, the workload is not too heavy. This environment is therefore a breeding ground for the goals that VSV, and the government, have.

The perceived effects of VSV are examined in the discussions of chapters five and six. The findings show similarities to the intentions of the VSV, but also differences. The findings can be summarized as follows:

### Employees

- Intended:
- 1) Find paid work (thus, not only attach to the sport club/volunteers)
  - 2) Connect with volunteers because of community network function and connecting differentiated actors; employed/unemployed
  - 3) Empower unemployed people through the provision of a daily structure and day purpose
- Unintended:
- 1) Divide the employees/volunteers because of different rationales to do voluntary work at the club (social en individual interest may be incompatible at the end)
  - 2) Subordinate unpaid work (voluntary work) to paid work
  - 3) Disempower unemployed people by provision of perceived ‘useless’ work and no prospect of a job

4) Dependence on club manager. Employees see the club manager as employer and need to be managed. The employee is attached to the club manager instead of the club

## **Volunteers**

Intended: 1) Unburden current volunteers in 'extra' tasks (like cleaning, setting up, repairing, etc.)  
2) Connect with employees because of community network function and connecting differentiated actors; employed/unemployed

Unintended: 1) Divide the employees/volunteers because of different rationales to do voluntary work at the club (social and individual interest may be incompatible at the end)  
2) Create feeling of extra work because the outcomes of promises of unburdening disappoint

Contemporary policy that focuses on the social inclusion of marginalized groups is based on the discourse of active citizenship. The results of this study confirm the ideas of Schinkel (2009; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2009) and Kampen (2014) when they state that full citizenship is harder to obtain, because of higher demands. Citizenship then entails that, if you are not in paid employment (which stays the dominant measure of activity, although other activities got already more recognition), you have to be active in another way. Either by preparing yourself to come (back) in paid employment, or by being active in the community.

VSV tries to achieve the goal to create an extended neighbourhood network by making use of an existing network, namely the sport club network. This network consists of management level volunteers and executing volunteers. The idea is that this network incorporates the employees and therefore provides in the community bonding. The participants come into the network without any existing ties, a start like that fosters distrust in the beginning (Granovetter, 1985). The employees did not grow up within the club environment and were not introduced by someone in the network, which is a different start than most of the volunteers had. Volunteers have often multiple relationships in the club and these relationships are most of the time multiple layered, which means that a relationship can have multiple dimensions; your colleague volunteer may also be your partner, your friend or your neighbour. Thereby, the earlier discussed distrust is fed by the different rationale to participate in voluntary work.

The volunteers at management level most of the time embrace the employees and their help at the sport club, they focus on the overall strengthening of the club. Although they are in volunteering most of time reasoned from the social values like the executing volunteers ('give something back to society', help the sport club, etc.), they do not do the same work activities as the employees. But, the executing volunteers do and although their working hours

do not overlap much, they are still the volunteers who work with, or are in contact with the employees in contrast to the management level volunteers.

The volunteers and the employees have the feeling that they are working in the same physical space, but in two different 'worlds'. During the day the sport club belongs to VSV's, while during the evenings and the weekends it belongs to the volunteers. Both groups are included and excluded from the club network. But, group divisions can be blurry, especially when employees execute voluntary work outside their 'VSV work'.

### **Strength of embeddedness**

The goal to create a community network and the goal to re-integrate into the labour market seem to strengthen each other in VSV. But, in this respect there are two points to make. Firstly, if the goal is to create a network for the employees to find a paid job, information about vacancies is often present for management level volunteers, instead of execute level volunteers. However, the employees come almost not into contact with the group of volunteers who can help them with this goal. So, the bridging ties which are developing, develop itself to the 'wrong' side for achieving the goal. Here one has to be careful not to strengthen networks which are not leading to the goal of re-integration. Secondly, the goal of the project is to find paid work, which is fostered by bridging ties (Granovetter, 1985). Then, Coalter (2007) emphasises that by betting on bridging ties, individuals may benefit rather than communities. According to this statement, community development is not really arising here. The results of this study support the idea that community building is served better by bonding ties, but the individual goals, like finding a job, are benefiting from bridging ties.

This means that employees cannot become too embedded in the club network when the goal is to find a job. In this situation, this embeddedness would create a barrier to finding a paid job, because the employee has now something to loose, namely a network where he or she is comfortable, knows the work, and is valued. Here, two goals which in the first instance seem to fit each other perfectly, but turn out to be paradoxical. Community-building and individual-building may be mutually exclusive.

The people who will not find a paid job are able to be absorbed in the club network, especially if they 'choose' to volunteer from the same rationale as the volunteers. They can build sustainable relations. But, because of the goal of the project, re-integrate unemployed people into the labour market, this option cannot formally be pursued.

### **Rationales**

On the basis of the results of this study, three rationales can be distinguished; the social rationale, the individual rationale and the forced rationale. Rationale can be described as the world from which someone argues to do what he or she does. From the social rationale, volunteering is seen as contributing to society, and civil values are pursued. The individual rationale sees volunteering as a way to develop your work skills or provide a daily structure. From the forced rationale, volunteering is something that is obliged by the local government, to prevent cutbacks on welfare. In terms of Social Network Analysis, the rationale can be

perceived as an attribute of an actor. This means that the rationale is a characteristic of an individual. The more these characteristics match, the more chance there is that the individuals match and develop a relation. So, embeddedness for employees is more likely to grow when the same rationale as the volunteers is adopted.

Volunteers do their voluntary work mostly from the social rationale. Adopting a social rationale fosters embeddedness in the club network, and is part of the community building goal of VSV. These social or civic values cause emotional commitment for the work at the club or for the club itself, which ensures that there establish ties in(to) the club network.

Adopting an individual rationale fosters the goal of re-integration and employability. From this perspective, volunteering is in someone's own interest. This pragmatic view is focussed on the skills that someone can obtain from working in a voluntary organisation and on the bridging ties someone may acquire.

When the forced rationale is present, this merges into a forced commitment which, according to Coalter (2007), cannot foster social inclusion because inclusion in the network or embeddedness in the network can only occur when a certain emotional commitment is formed. So, only when the forced rationale merges in a social or individual rationale, there is a chance of becoming embedded in the network. When the employee continues to experience the volunteering from this forced perspective, motivation stays low. This reinforces the idea of the volunteers of undeservingness (Kampen, 2014), because they feel it is due to laziness and unwillingness.

The forced rationale was not strongly present in this study, likely because the participants with this rationale already dropped out or were not selected by the club managers to be interviewed. Nevertheless, this rationale should be taken seriously not only because the interviewees indicated that there are existing cases of it, but also because it is strongly present in the literature (for example Coalter, 2007).

The adopted rationale of the employee cannot be seen in a social void. Often, the VSV participants have taken part in other re-integration projects and are disappointed by them. Or, they feel that the Social Service is treating them as if they are doing something wrong by being unemployed. This historical context influences the rationale of the employee. But, as a rationale is not a fixed state, it can change over time by new impressions, new insights and new experiences. So, although it becomes clear now that VSV is most effective when employees start with a social or individual rationale (depending on the goal), it does not entail that employees who start with a forced rationale, cannot be helped with VSV. This rationale can change over time, or can change partly over time. When this occurs, the stakeholders are most satisfied.

The goals which can be extracted from these rationales are also reflected in national policy. Central to the WMO are the social values, in comparison with the Participation Act in which market values or individual values dominate. Whereas the social values aim at being a responsible citizen in the sense of taking care of the community, or being active at institutions which are important for the community, market values are focused on pursuing the individual interest (Kampen, 2014). This shows two dominant motives of the government to require a

return of welfare receivers. Reasoned from the social rationale, the goal of volunteering is 'making responsible citizens' and serving the social interests. Reasoned from the individual rationale, the expectation is that volunteering is good for the unemployed people, as it empowers them and makes them employable.

Because of the possible tension between these different goals of the different rationales, it is important to ascertain where the policy is in terms of prioritization. Dutch policy is clear: almost all municipalities state that the most important responsibility of welfare recipients is to find paid work. "Municipalities consider voluntary work predominantly as re-integration instrument and keep emphatically a finger in the pie at determining the suitability of the voluntary work for re-integration." (Kampen, 2014, p.91, translation by author).

So, in the light of this policy, the goal of VSV to re-integrate unemployed people should dominate the goal to set up a strong community network. This implies that the individual rationale should dominate the social rationale. But, although combatting social exclusion is aimed at creating networks around the 'excluded'—in this case the unemployed people—the creation of networks is undermined by the emphasis to find a paid job. The question, not only for VSV, but for all projects which execute the national policy, is then: what rationale do you want to achieve and in which policy domain do you specialize?

## 7.2 Limitations

This study provides a small insight in the processes and experiences around activation policy, citizenship and embeddedness. However, we have to take into account that the results of this study are only a snapshot of these processes, for there was no longitudinal data collection. Longitudinal data could be particularly interesting to follow the possible change of rationales and to follow the employees when they find a job or when they (also) stay as volunteer at the sport club. Beuving and De Vries (2015) emphasise the importance of the longitudinal component for "the social network in which a person is embedded today presents only a snapshot in a continuously changing figuration" (p.152).

The interviewees are selected by the club manager, which causes that the interviewees the relationship with the club manager could influence the selection of the interviewee. So, this bias has to be taken into account. Also, the employees who quitted with the project or were 'fired' from the project were not present in this study. Here, a longitudinal component would also be interesting. How are the rationales changed, or not changed, of people who 'dropped out'?

This study focussed on revealing the processes that are present in an environment of compulsory work and voluntary work. The perceived effects are different for different groups. As this study was not focussed on the strategies that might work to achieve a certain rationale, this would be an interesting topic for further research.

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## Wijkgericht, burgerparticipatie en financieel houdbaar.

Uw gemeente heeft te maken met de ontwikkelingen binnen het Sociaal Domein en de bezuinigingsdoelstellingen die u daarop moet behalen. Daarnaast heeft u te maken met vraagstukken rondom maatschappelijk vastgoed.

Verouderde vastgoedportefeuilles, een mogelijke bezetting, in sommige regio's krimp en derhalve exploitatie tekorten.

De vraag is: hoe lossen we het op?

De kerkendiscussie is daarbij een term die veel gebruikt wordt. Burgerparticipatie, wijkgericht en bezuinigen zijn de begrippen waar het om draait. Ook wilt u een prettige leefomgeving voor uw inwoners, met voorzieningen binnen een redelijk bereik, waar goede doelgroep gerichte activiteiten plaatsvinden. Waar ontmoeting plaatsvindt en waar de sociale cohesie een boost krijgt!

## DE VERENIGING

### KENMERKEN

- Alle leden van de samenleving
- Logische strikte ontmoetingsplek
- Midden in de samenleving
- Breed netwerk
- Intern gericht

### DOELEN

- Verenigen
- Breedtesport
- Prestatiesport
- Ontmoeten

### Uitdagingen

#### SOCIAAL

- Minder hechte sociale netwerken
- Toegespande vrijwilligerskracht
- Structuur belemmert vereniging
- Meer éénpersoons huishoudens

#### ECONOMISCH

- Concurrentie particuliere markt
- Concurrentie onderwijs
- Stijgende gemeentelijke lasten
- Toegespande overheid
- Consumerende leden
- Overheidszorgen

## DE VITALE SPORTVERENIGING ALS CENTRALE MIJLVOORZIENING

### Daar maken wij u graag attent op.

#### HOE?

Stichting Vitale Sportvereniging (VSV) heeft een bewezen aanpak. De afgelopen 3 jaar heeft de VSV in samenspraak met de gemeente Enschede het concept Vitale Sportvereniging succesvol geïmplementeerd op 5 sportparken. Het succes is gebaseerd op een duidelijke missie, visie en strategie. Hiermee zijn we in staat gebleken verenigingen te overtuigen en mee te nemen.

#### DE VSV ZORGT VOOR:

- Een succesvolle transitie van de verenigingen binnen een jaar tijd.
- Afspraken met belanghebbenden en professionele partners.
- Aansturing van doelactiviteiten door een verenigingsmanager.
- Ontwikkeling van nieuwe producten en diensten.
- Afdekking financiële risico's voor verenigingen en gemeenten.

#### DE SPORTVERENIGING ALS NATUURLIJKE ONTMOETINGSPLAATS VAN DE WILK.

- De vereniging als instituut draait op burgerparticipatie.
- De buitensportvereniging beschikt over maatschappelijk vastgoed, welk overdag veelal niet gebruikt wordt.
- De verenigingen zijn wijkgericht en kennen de sociale infrastructuur.

## AANPAK

### INZET PROFESSIONAL | SOCIALE INNOVATIE | BENUTTEN SPORTDOMEIN

#### PARTICIPATIE

- Beschutte werkpolek
- Arbeidsre-integratie
- Ontmoetings- en dagbestedingsplek
- Open netwerk

#### JEUGDZORG

- Projectplaats
- Jongerenwerk
- Netwerkpolek voor eigen kracht
- Interventies mogelijk

#### WMO/AWBZ

- Buurthuisfunctie
- Dagbestedingsplek
- Gehandicapten opvang
- Opvang verstandelijk beperkten

#### MO

- Sportstimuleringsplek
- Ondersteunt sportinfra
- Naschoolse opvang
- Maatschappelijke Leer/Werkplek

#### MAATSCHAPPELIJK VASTGOED

VSV neemt functie wijkcentrum over | Goedkoper beheer door inzet mensen voor WMO/Participatiewet/Leerwerkplekken | Terugbrengen (deel) vastgoed portefeuille met éénmalige en structurele bezuinigingen

#### VITALE SPORTVERENIGING

Dagelijkse openstelling accommodatie | Doorlopend en vernieuwend activiteiten aanbod 0-100+ | Fulltime verenigingsmanager | Leerwerkplek VO/MBO/HBO van 13-25 jaar | Leefsijlinierinterventie en Gezonde kantine | Ontmoetingsplek alle buurtbewoners | Nieuwe vrije wilgers: werklozen en studenten | Huiskamer van de wijk | Talentontwikkeling kind en ouders | Arbeidsre-integratie

#### RESULTATEN

Samenwerkende sportclusters > 1000 leden  
Organisatorisch en financieel sterke verenigingen | Re-integratie werklozen per cluster | Reductie Zorgkosten | Goedkoper beheer sportpark | Sluiten buurthuizen | Dagbesteding | Effectiever jongerenwerk | Integratie met brede school/KC en naschoolse activiteiten | Activeren doelgroepen | Verbinden van openbare ruimte | Met minder budget groter bereik | Voorziening in de wijk voor alle burgers | Sociale groei

## VITALESPORT VERENIGING

© STICHTING VITALE SPORTVERENIGING - PANTHEON 2, 7521 PR ENSCHEDE - +31 (0)6 22 78 75 30 - KOERT@VITALESPORTVERENIGING.INFO

WWW.VITALESPORTVERENIGING.INFO

### MAATSCHAPPELIJKE ONTWIKKELING

- Wsizin > Activiteitsaanbod doelgroepen
- Cultuur > Nieuw activiteitsaanbod
- Onderwijs > Brede scholen/KC's
- Sport > Stimulerende bewegingen en deelnemen

### DECENTRALISATIES

- Tegengaan fragmentarische ondersteuning
- Inpakken zorgkosten
- Participerende samenwerking

### WMO/AWBZ

- Eigen kracht en netwerk centraal
- Noodzakelijke ondersteuning
- Voorwaardig meedoen

### JEUGDZORG

- Meer preventief
- Opleiding
- Ingepaste hulp
- Eigen kracht

### PARTICIPATIEWET

- 3000 beschutte werkpoleken
- 55 gehandicapten bedrijfsleven
- Wijkong werkend en niet-werkend

### MAATSCHAPPELIJK VASTGOED

- Lage bezetting accommodaties
- Gebrek aan ondernemerschap
- Dels verouderde vastgoedportefeuille
- Kenniskennis

## DE GEMEENTE

## 9.2 Example interview questions

<b>Club manager</b>
<i>General policy</i> Welke rol heeft een verenigingsmanager ten opzichte van de vrijwilligers? Wat is volgens u het doel van VSV omtrent de club vrijwilligers? En de medewerkers?
<i>Employees</i> Hoe werkt de selectie van de medewerkers? Wat voor effect heeft VSV op de participanten volgens u?
<i>Club volunteers</i> Hoe werd u door de bestaande vrijwilligers ontvangen? Is het vrijwilligersbestand veranderd door VSV? Op welke manier?
<i>Intercourse club volunteers and employees</i> Hoe gaat de samenwerking tussen de vrijwilligers en de medewerkers? Wat kunt u als verenigingsmanager bewerkstelligen bij de vrijwilligers? In hoeverre kunt u de omgang tussen deze twee groepen beïnvloeden?
<i>VSV policy</i> Op welke manier speelt de buurt waarin de club staat een rol? In hoeverre heeft u te maken met veranderingen in lokaal beleid? Zijn er veel veranderingen gaande? Wat vindt u daarvan?

<b>Club volunteers</b>
<i>General</i> Wat betekent [naam club] voor u? Hoe bent u bij [naam club] terecht gekomen?
<i>Citizenship</i> Waarom doet u vrijwilligerswerk? Waarom vindt u vrijwilligerswerk belangrijk? Heeft u hiernaast nog een betaalde baan (gehad)?
<i>Embeddedness</i> Ziet u uw collega-vrijwilligers ook buiten de club om? Welke rol speelt [naam club] in uw social leven?
<i>VSV</i> Kent u het concept van VSV? Wat vindt u daarvan? Merkt u verschil op de club tussen de tijd dat jullie nog geen VSV waren en nu?
<i>Employees</i> Wat vindt u van het onderdeel 're-integratie' van VSV? Hoe is de omgang met de medewerkers?

<b>Employees</b>
<i>General</i> Wat doet u hier voor (vrijwilligers)werk? (Doet u hier vrijwilligerswerk of werkt u hier?) Hoe bent u bij [naam club] gekomen?
<i>Citizenship</i> Waarom doet u hier (vrijwilligers)werk? Heeft u eerder vrijwilligerswerk gedaan?
<i>Embeddedness</i> Hoe zag uw dag eruit voordat u aan dit project meedeed? Ziet u uw collega's ook buiten [naam club] om? Komen er ook vrienden of familie van u op de club? Komt u buiten uw (vrijwilligers)werk ook op de club?
<i>VSV</i> [Naam club] is een Vitale Sportvereniging, weet u wat VSV doet? Wat vindt u daarvan? Waarom doet u mee aan dit project? Zou u hier willen blijven werken?
<i>Club volunteers</i> Kende u, voordat u begon, al mensen die hier vrijwilligers werk deden? Wat voor reacties krijgt u op uw werkzaamheden van de bestaande vrijwilligers?

### 9.3 Informed consent

#### Toestemmingsverklaringformulier (informed consent)

##### **Masterthesis**

**Uitvoerend en verantwoordelijk onderzoeker: Kim de Jong, 0614518773**

*In te vullen door de deelnemer*

Ik verklaar op een voor mij duidelijke wijze te zijn ingelicht over de aard, methode, doel en belasting van het onderzoek. Ik weet dat de gegevens en resultaten van het onderzoek alleen **anoniem** en **vertrouwelijk** aan derden bekend gemaakt zullen worden. Mijn vragen zijn naar tevredenheid beantwoord.

Ik begrijp dat opnames uitsluitend voor analyse en/of wetenschappelijke presentaties zal worden gebruikt.

Ik stem geheel vrijwillig in met deelname aan dit onderzoek. Ik behoud me daarbij het recht voor om op elk moment zonder opgaaft van redenen mijn deelname aan dit onderzoek te beëindigen.

Naam deelnemer: .....

Datum: ..... Handtekening deelnemer: .....

*In te vullen door de uitvoerende onderzoeker*

Ik heb een mondelinge en schriftelijke toelichting gegeven op het onderzoek. Ik zal resterende vragen over het onderzoek naar vermogen beantwoorden. De deelnemer zal van een eventuele voortijdige beëindiging van deelname aan dit onderzoek geen nadelige gevolgen ondervinden.

Naam onderzoeker:.....

Datum: ..... Handtekening onderzoeker: .....

## 10. Summary

Currently, we are experiencing many changes in the way that the state is trying to organize society in The Netherlands. Under the construction of a participation society, policies around welfare are getting a more activating character. In line with these policies, projects arise that attempt to develop more active citizens as well in an employment environment as in the environment of the community. Lately, sport and the sport club are seen as an ideal basis for this development.

One of these projects that is active in this field is the Vital Sport Club (Vitale Sportvereniging; VSV). VSV is a project aimed at deploying the sport club as a dynamic center of the neighbourhood. They attempt to achieve this by opening the facility during the day to offer activities to the local residents, study places, (sport-)internships, and through a re-integration project for long term unemployed people. This study is centered around this last part of VSV, the re-integration of long term unemployed people.

This study is not only focussed on evaluating the goals of the program, because unintended but important outcomes would then not be addressed. This research attempts to show the other side of the project: the subjective, experience-based side. This is done by the following question and sub questions:

*What are the perceived intended and unintended effects of VSV on 'new' and old volunteers and to what extent do these effects align with the VSV policy objectives?*

1. *What are the VSV policy objectives and how can these be placed in the wider policy context?*
2. *What are the perceived effects of VSV on the employees and the volunteers, how are these effects achieved and for who? (and for who not)*
3. *In what way and to what extent does the national policy shape the discourse of the stakeholders of VSV?*

### *Theoretical framework*

From the point in 1994 when the cabinet changed the name of Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture into the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport, the growing importance of sport as a policy instrument (sport-for-development) became clear. Sport-for-development implies that sport or the sport club is used as a means to alleviate a variety of social problems and generally to 'improve' both individuals and the communities in which they live (Coalter, 2007).

This idea of 'improvement' of citizens is based in the bigger idea of what it entails to be a 'good citizen'. From a sociological perspective, 'citizenship' is, according to Schinkel en Van Houdt (2009), a state regulated mechanism of inclusion and exclusion. From a social historical perspective, Schinkel (2007; 2009; Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2009b) analyses the shift from what he calls *formal* to *moral* citizenship. Formal citizenship is related to legal status, such as membership of a legal political order (a nation-state), but also to social rights. Moral citizenship is based on a non-legal normative interpretation of what it entails to be a good citizen or what a good citizen should be and do (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2009b, p.51). The

current emphasis on moral citizenship means that citizenship becomes a 'choice' to take part in society, but in contrary to formal citizenship, moral citizenship has no clear 'line of exclusion'.

Social exclusion in the current participation society can be understood on the basis of Levitas' (1998) discourses of *Moral Underclass* and *Social Insertion*. Within the discourse Moral Underclass, the underclass is seen as distinct from mainstream society. This is present when there is the idea that people need to 'come back' in society, which implies that they are now 'out of society'. The discourse of Social Insertion is interesting here because of the emphasis on paid work, which is also present in the policy around welfare receivers.

But, the discourses Social Insertion and Moral Underclass emphasise the responsibility of the 'excluded', and neglect mostly the structures and relationships around this person. To obviate this, the concept *embeddedness* is used. Embeddedness, a concept borrowed from Social Network Analysis, assumes that individuals, or groups of individuals, are not permanently included or excluded from all possible social systems or fields. Berkel et al. (2002) (in Hospes & Clancy, 2011) argue that social inclusion and social exclusion is a continuum. Therefore, one must assume that interventions directed at social inclusion contribute to social inclusion *and* exclusion at the same time (Hospes & Clancy, 2011, p.26).

### *The case*

The goal of the project de Vitale Sportvereniging (VSV) is to enhance the social structure in the neighbourhood by making use of the sport club. This is two-sided: on one hand, there is the goal of the extension of the possibilities of the sport club accommodation. On the other hand, this project is aimed at participation of local residents with a distance to the labour market. An important factor of the re-integration goal of the VSV is that the unemployed participants are residents from the neighbourhood(s) around the sport club. With the deployment of the participants, VSV pursues a two-sided goal. On one hand, the participants are supported in their search for a paid job or a day-structure. On the other hand, the participants facilitate the club volunteers by taking over work.

VSV is a so-called 'flywheel project', which means that VSV sets up the framework of the club manager, the community network and the finance. After three years, the club manager has to maintain a place in the sport club. VSV chose this construction because of the feeling of ownership at the sport club.

### *Results*

The results are divided by the themes *embeddedness* and *participating citizen*. The perceived effects are very different for different people. In regards to '*social embeddedness*', in general the volunteers are far more embedded in the 'club network' than the employees. The volunteers' network is connected with the sport club in multiple ways and often for a longer period of time. The employees are mostly one-dimensional connected to the sport. Here, a feature of 'embeddedness' becomes very clear; a lot of the friends of the volunteers are also friends with each other, which creates mutual friends.

But, employees who adopt norms and rationales of the volunteers around volunteering, are becoming more embedded in this club network. On one hand, this development fosters that they see the importance of their work and they become empowered by volunteering (social rationale). On the other hand, this embeddedness may also hamper the goal of finding paid work (individual rationale). The rationale from which the employee and the volunteer are arguing, is important to understand because it shapes the group dynamic and it shapes the feeling of 'successfulness' of the project.

In regards to '*the participating citizen*', the welfare recipients included in this study have different reasons to take part in this VSV project. First, this can be because a sense of duty or a sense of activity. Second, some realize their dependence of the welfare benefits. Third, they take the different duties in consideration. Sometimes, 'compensate' by working for the welfare is liked better than continually have to apply or being pointed at having to apply. For people with different reasons to work at the sport club, VSV works out differently. It can also be that the reason to work at the sport club changes over time.

Almost every volunteer agreed with the purpose of the VSV project to re-integrate unemployed people and to let them "re-join society". This idea is in line with Schinkel (2007, 2009) who states that there are groups who are said to 'not join society', which can only occur when the perspective of *moral citizenship* is adopted. And, this study showed that voluntary work can be a meaningful experience for people who receive welfare, but under certain conditions. When this volunteering is presented as bringing to a paid job, there has to be serious perspective on a paid job.

### *Discussion*

The volunteers and the employees have the feeling that they are working in the same physical space, but in two different 'worlds'. During the day the sport club belongs to VSV's, while during the evenings and the weekends it belongs to the volunteers. Both groups are included and excluded from the club network. But, group divisions can be blurry, especially when employees execute voluntary work outside their 'VSV work'.

On the basis of the results of this study, three rationales can be distinguished; the social rationale, the individual rationale and the forced rationale. Rationale can be described as the world from which someone argues to do what he or she does. From the social rationale, volunteering is seen as contributing to society, and civil values are pursued. The individual rationale sees volunteering as a way to develop your work skills or provide a daily structure. From the forced rationale, volunteering is something that is obliged by the local government, to prevent cutbacks on welfare.

Volunteers do their voluntary work mostly from the social rationale. Adopting a social rationale fosters embeddedness in the club network, and is part of the community building goal of VSV. Adopting an individual rationale fosters the goal of re-integration and employability. From this perspective, volunteering is in someone's own interest. The question, not only for VSV, but for all projects which execute the national policy, is then: what rationale do you want to achieve and in which policy domain do you specialize?