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*Edwin Veerman*

*375994ev*

*First reader: W. Doff*

*Second reader: R. Timans*

*Veldacademie supervisor: R. Höppner*

*Erasmus University Rotterdam – Veldacademie*

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# **Offering a helping hand to the unemployed: Why workfare voluntarism in the creative manufacturing industry may be beneficial**

## *Abstract*

This thesis explores whether workfare voluntarism in a creative class initiative, based in the manufacturing industry, is of any added value to volunteers' quest for financial self-reliance. While creative class initiatives have been subject to much research, this has rarely been done in relation to workfare voluntarism. By means of qualitative research, the experiences of workfare volunteers are investigated based on workfare voluntarism theories of empowerment and employability. The creative class seems to add no particular value to the workfare volunteers' search for paid work. However, the manufacturing industry appears to be a suitable fit with volunteers' interests. This lies at the core of most empowerment and employability mechanisms that enable volunteers to step (closer) towards financial self-reliance.

**Key words: creative class; employability; empowerment; manufacturing industry; workfare voluntarism**

## 1. Introduction

Being the city with the largest share of unemployment among the four largest cities in the Netherlands (CBS, 2016), Rotterdam has implemented many anti-deprivation projects. Around the turn of the new millennium, new strategies for urban regeneration unfolded. While physical infrastructure and large construction projects used to be a means to economic growth for cities, a financially less costly one increased in popularity. Attracting the so-called creative class in order to stimulate the economy became a desirable strategy among policy-makers. In an attempt to shrink levels of economic marginality, a vast number of creative class initiatives has been implemented by the municipality of Rotterdam (Nijkamp, 2016). Such projects are believed to spark urban regeneration by stimulating the urban climate which will in turn attract the ‘creative class’ (Florida, 2002). Florida’s conception of the creative class entails “people in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content” (Florida, 2002; 8). Florida argues that attracting this class is crucial for an area’s economic development, as their aggregate efforts are drivers of economic development.

This mechanism, however, has frequently been criticized (see Shaermur, 2007; Hoyman & Faricy, 2009; Nijkamp, 2016). A large share of critics takes a macro perspective and researches whether an area’s economic state actually benefits from the creative class’ presence. Many of these critics target the causal relation which Florida argues to be present. The causal relation explains that the presence of the creative class will lead to economic development in the particular, usually disadvantaged, area. What is often depicted is that attracting the creative class rarely causes a trickle-down effect, ultimately not benefiting marginalized people in the neighborhood. It is shown that local residents’ social networks do not necessarily translate to more economic resources as new ties with the creative class are rarely made (Nijkamp, 2016). Additionally, some researchers believe human capital still is a better predictor for economic growth than presence of the creative class (Glaeser, 2004).

Rotterdam has various projects initiated by the creative class that allow residents to partake and ultimately benefit from along the way. For instance, creative class projects can be observed in the area ‘Merwe-Vierhavens’ in Rotterdam’s area Delfshaven. The organization ‘Stadshavens Rotterdam’ allows innovators, scientists, artists and entrepreneurs to set up new projects and to experiment with new concepts in this district. Aside from this district, ‘Freehouse’ organizes various projects in the deprived area of Rotterdam South, such as a

community kitchen and the Afrikaanderwijk Cooperation. Here, local residents, artists, entrepreneurs and young people can participate and share ideas and knowledge, which then may stimulate employment opportunities and entrepreneurialism. Nijkamp (2016) has, however, shown in her thesis that creative class initiatives do not ameliorate its surrounding neighborhood's economic state, because their influence does not reach beyond local participants. Her case study showed that participating in a creative class initiative did not expand local residents' social network with beneficial contacts.

This thesis, however, will take a rather different approach as it aims to find out how *unemployed* individuals' participation at a creative class initiative benefits them in the context of recent developments in the state's welfare regime. Such developments can be observed starting a little over a decade ago when increasing unemployment combined with an ageing population created pressure on the welfare state, which led to a shift in the Dutch welfare regime (Moulaert et al., 2013). Where the state's main focus used to be on social security for its citizens, governmental cuts have led to a sharpening of its rules and ultimately created the 'participation society' (Rijksoverheid, 2013). In order to receive unemployment welfare, the unemployed are expected to do something in return, such as taking education, volunteering or care taking. According to Kampen (2014) 'forced' volunteering, often called workfare volunteering, is used by municipalities to increase unemployed citizens' employability as well as to empower them in order to stimulate their degree of self-reliance. Self-reliance can be defined as the extent to which a citizen can (financially) provide for oneself and is independent of material, financial and other support from others or the state. The volunteers at the creative manufacturing initiative researched in this thesis are unemployed and rely on social welfare. They can therefore be said to have low levels of self-reliance. Only the financial side of self-reliance, financially providing for oneself through paid work, is focused on in this thesis.

One of the initiatives in the aforementioned Merwe-Vierhavens area, 'Made in 4Havens', which will be referred to as "Mi4H" in this thesis, will be the case study. The enterprise is grounded in the manufacturing industry, an industry that, after years of shrinkage, has become of increasing importance in the Netherlands over the last few years (Panteia, 2013). The initiative provides local designers with space, production facilities, personnel and collective marketing. The enterprise owns various sewing machines, 3D-printers, woodwork machinery and more manufactural machinery. By linking welfare receiving unemployed residents – most of whom obliged by the municipality to do voluntary work in order to receive social welfare – with the developing creative manufacturing economy, Mi4H provides

opportunities for them to (re)gain proximity to the paid labor market. In that sense, such an initiative may contribute to unemployed citizens' levels of self-reliance through mechanisms of empowerment and employability. These mechanisms can be distilled from the literature on voluntary work, which will be discussed in the theoretical framework below.

Volunteering in a creative manufacturing initiative differs from other volunteering sectors as it offers the opportunity to expand one's network with creative class members, whom one can form valuable weak ties with as a means for further work opportunities (Granovetter, 1973; Florida, 2002). Additionally, as the creative class tends to cluster, productivity levels often increase (Florida, 2002; 2008), possibly allowing volunteers to tag along the initiative's success and/or develop more skill sets as the initiative may differentiate its production. Furthermore, the creative class tends to cluster in tolerant areas (Florida, 2002). High levels of tolerance may allow the participant to feel more included, allowing their self-respect to rise. Lastly, particular initiatives grounded in the manufacturing industry may fit well with the skills and experiences of unemployed residents of Rotterdam, as many of the unemployed in Rotterdam are practically skilled (see Van der Waal, 2015).

Instead of focusing on neighborhood-level effects – covered by a large share of Florida-based literature – or merely on the effects of the presence of the creative class on social networks or skill development among participating local residents (see Nijkamp, 2016), this thesis will attempt to find out whether the creative class' presence can perhaps elevate participating unemployed citizens' self-reliance through additional mechanisms of empowerment and employability. Accordingly, this focus not only allows for new insights in the creative class mechanism, it also connects the mechanism to the concept of workfare volunteering, a connection rarely empirically tested before. Accordingly, this thesis contributes to the literature on (workfare) volunteering. Additionally, by researching an initiative, which focuses on manufacturing in particular, it may help to better understand what participating in such types of initiatives means to the practically skilled unemployed. Furthermore, in light of the participation society, it is important to understand the meaning of workfare volunteering at such creative class initiatives, because when it results in added value to the unemployed, the conclusions in this thesis may encourage municipalities to start or continue developing such initiatives. Ultimately, this may be helpful for municipalities' goal of striving towards more self-reliance among its unemployed citizens.

## **2. Theoretical framework**

This section will outline the theoretical framework of this thesis. First, the creative class theory by Richard Florida will be described in more detail and some critiques will be explored. Furthermore, the earlier mentioned participation state and the main concept of self-reliance will be described, after which the latter concept will be approached through theories of (workfare) voluntarism that lean on the concepts of empowerment and employability. Lastly, a paragraph is devoted to describe the significance of these theories for this thesis.

### **2.1 Creative class theory**

Around the turn of the millennium, creative city theory had gained increasing attention of urban development policy makers. Even though Richard Florida was not the initiator of this theory (cf. Landry, 2000; Hall, 2000), his best-selling book “*The Rise of the Creative Class*” (2002) has contributed immensely to the theory’s popularity among urban policy makers. Florida’s creative class theory touches on the emergence of a new class, a growing sector of the economy, and a new perspective on economic growth and development for cities. The theory claims that the presence and traits of the creative class allows for economic growth. When the creative class clusters in one area, economic growth is stimulated as clusters allow for an increasing flow of ideas (Florida, 2002). This class consists of two streams: the supercreative class (engineers, researchers, architects, artists, musicians, and designers) and the creative professionals (lawyers, accountants, and managers).

According to Florida, in order for cities to initiate economic growth, they need to attract the creative class and assist in converting their presence to creative economic results such as regional development, high-tech districts, and innovation. Cities can achieve both these tasks by providing proper technological facilities, and a place with a large amount of talented creative people and high levels of tolerance (Florida calls these the 3 T’s). Florida’s ideas about how to stimulate urban development by luring the creative class quickly became the focus of many urban planners around the globe. Previously, physical infrastructure and large construction projects used to be a means of economic growth for cities. The increasingly popular creative class mechanism allowed this to shift towards investments in cultural infrastructures (e.g. galleries, zoos, museums, festivals, shops, restaurants, cafés, etc.) in order to improve the city’s quality of life and culture (Kloosterman, 2014). This contributes to an increasingly diverse and tolerant atmosphere, which in turn attracts the creative class (Florida, 2002). Aside from this

approach, cities' policies also aim at stimulating creative enterprises in order to increase innovation and economic growth (cf. Foord, 2008).

According to many scholars, however, it is questionable to what extent such Florida-inspired policies contribute to residents' economic positions. Many have criticized this mechanism in particular, one of whom very recently in her thesis which focused on Rotterdam, namely Jeannette Nijkamp (2016). She concludes that involved residents' economic positions did not improve by participating in such creative initiatives. This conclusion is based on her observation that participants' social networks did not expand with economically valuable weak ties (cf. Granovetter, 1973). Nijkamp claims that their social network did not expand in such a way that would enable their economic position to be improved. Nijkamp concluded that creative class initiatives do not assist participants with attaining more economic resources. These mechanisms will be researched here as well, however this time in the context of workfare volunteering. Next to Nijkamp's mechanism surrounding social networks, this thesis aims to uncover additional ways involvement in the creative manufacturing industry can influence participants' empowerment and employability, which may ultimately improve levels of self-reliance. The next section of this theoretical framework will shed a light on how, according to the state, economic self-reliance has become increasingly important.

## **2.2 Workfare voluntarism**

Participants at Mi4H are encouraged by the municipality to volunteer, as it is perceived as a re-integration method for the unemployed. Therefore, in this thesis, participation in the creative manufacturing industry will be approached with theories on workfare voluntarism. These theories are deduced from the concepts of *empowerment* and *employability*, two ways how, according to the state, workfare volunteering increases unemployed citizens' chances of acquiring paid work (Kampen, 2014), possibly assisting them with becoming (more) self-reliant. The added value of workfare volunteering at a creative manufacturing initiative for the other mechanisms of empowerment and employability will be described later in this theoretical framework.

### **2.2.1 Empowerment**

The following section will describe various ways in which confidence can be regained by doing voluntary work. This is defined as 'empowerment' (Kampen, 2014). According to the concept of empowerment, volunteering supposedly increases unemployed citizen's confidence and assists them on emancipating. It enables people to obtain more grip over their lives. It can

therefore be expected that empowerment may stimulate one's motivation to look for paid employment. In that sense, voluntary work may empower an unemployed individual, allowing him or her to re-enter the paid labor market, becoming (more) self-reliant. There are various mechanisms through which motivation for paid employment can be revived through voluntary work. These mechanisms will be described below.

#### 2.2.1.1 Social inclusion

Volunteering can function as a temporary catch net for the unemployed who feel the need to be socially active during the time when employment opportunities are meager (VWS, 2009). Were it not for voluntary work, these people may be harmed by social exclusion, possibly making it more difficult to find employment (Engbersen, 2002). In that sense, an unemployed individual may regain or maintain self-respect as he or she regains social structure of some sort (Kampen, 2014). In other words, volunteering may empower an individual through social inclusion. Ameliorating one's empowerment, as stated earlier, may stimulate one's motivation to look for paid employment. It is for this reason, that social inclusion can be expected to stimulate one's job-seeking motivation.

#### 2.2.1.2 Regained status

Kampen, Elshout and Tonkens (2013) offer various ways in which unemployed people regain self-respect through voluntary work, ultimately empowering the individual. According to these scholars, one way empowerment can be stimulated is when respect is gained through status. This argument is deduced from the logic of today's meritocracy. Simply put, status is grounded in personal merit. Where one could feel a loss of status when unemployed, acquiring a role, paid or unpaid, can provide status again and, with it, societal meaning to the person's life (Kampen et al., 2013). The role acquired through volunteering can have a positive influence on a person's self-respect, which is here gained through the appreciation of others. Regaining status in this sense empowers the individual, thus motivating the job-seeker.

#### 2.2.1.3 Usefulness through learning craft

Another way of stimulating self-respect, which does not depend on the appreciation of others, is when one makes progress with mastering a craft (Kampen et al., 2013). Sennett's (2003) argument strengthens this claim as he explains that doing or producing something with devotion and progressing at it improves one's self-respect. Here, Sennett's argument in support of voluntary work is clear as voluntary work may provide unemployed participants with



opportunities of learning or becoming more skilled. This can help the unemployed feel less unproductive, thus empowering the individual. This, again, can possibly lead one to become (more) self-reliant.

### **2.2.2 Employability**

Employability as a goal is often referred to in state policies as ‘the shrinkage of distance to the labor market’. It relies less on the somewhat psychological factors, and more on factors that connect volunteers to job opportunities, such as skill development and the attainment of social capital. By increasing employability, workfare voluntarism functions as a stepping stone for unemployed citizens’ labor market opportunities. As the attainment of paid work decreases one’s dependence on state welfare, this ultimately enables one to become more self-reliant. Kampen (2014) describes that volunteering in theory also aids the unemployed to regain work rhythm, also contributing to employability. However, no reasonable difference in work rhythm can be expected for workfare volunteering among the creative class, nor in the manufacturing industry, compared to any other type of initiative or industry. It is for this reason that this mechanism will not be included in this thesis’ analysis.

#### 2.2.2.1 Skill development

As discussed earlier, mastering a craft may stimulate one’s self-respect, ultimately empowering the individual. However, aside from skill development as an empowering mechanism, the state perceives it also as a way to increase the workfare volunteer’s value to the labor market (Kampen, 2014; Clary et al., 1998). Knowledge and skills, that may otherwise be left unused, may now, as a result of voluntary work, be put to practice. As a result, attaining skill(s) allows a job-seeker to be more likely to fill in a job application than before. Workfare volunteering can in that sense lead to career-related benefits.

#### 2.2.2.2 Social network

Furthermore, the state perceives voluntary work as a means to develop one’s social network, which in turn could provide more labor market opportunities. This is in line with social capital theory. This theory states that the size, resources and status of people in a network are decisive for one’s outcome on the labor market (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1999). According to Lin (1999) social capital can directly influence one’s labor market position by assisting with finding a (better) job. For instance, a social contact could, as a result of his or her influential position within the particular company, persuade decision-makers to approve one’s job application.

Granovetter (1973) claims that potential labor market opportunities are more often enabled through ‘weak ties’ rather than ‘strong ties’ with others. Weak ties often connect to different social circles, providing more or different information than one’s strong ties – which are often embedded within the same network. In order to attain economic resources, a marginalized person will have to reach out to other networks, as he or she is unlikely to obtain these resources in his or her own network.

### **2.3 Creative manufacturing industry’s added value to empowerment and employability**

So far, various concepts and theories have been described. Theories that explain how one’s empowerment and employability can be shaped are distilled from literature on (workfare) volunteering (Kampen et al., 2013; Kampen, 2014; Clary et al. 1998). While volunteering can be done in various sectors, the creative manufacturing industry’s added value to these mechanisms is of particular interest in this thesis.

An initiative such as Mi4H, grounded in the manufacturing industry, may be beneficial for unemployed participants, especially the practically skilled, as the initiative allows volunteers to develop practical skills such as sewing. Being involved in this industry may align with participants’ interests and skills. Additionally, involvement in a creative class initiative may increase participants’ levels of employability to a larger degree. For instance, volunteers may have the opportunity to expand their social network with members of the creative class – as managers of the initiative belong to Florida’s conception of the creative class, as well as the connected designers and neighboring entrepreneurs – ultimately improving their chances for employment as these most likely enjoy higher professional status (Granovetter, 1973; Lin, 1999). Such valuable weak ties may be more difficult to form through volunteering in different industries. Furthermore, Florida (2008) mentions in a more recent book that: “[w]hen people – especially talented and creative ones – come together, ideas flow more freely[.] (...) This clustering makes each of us more productive, which in turn makes (...) our collective creativity and economic wealth grow accordingly” (p. 66). He builds this statement on the findings by Lucas (1988; as described in Florida, 2008), who claimed that economic growth of an area is determined by the clustering of (talented) people. Based on the above, the clustering force may lead to increasing productivity at the initiative. A growing initiative could possibly increase product differentiation, enabling participants to expand their skill sets, making them more attractive for the labor market. Additionally, the initiative’s growth could possibly lead Mi4H to offer (some of) their volunteers paid work.

Furthermore, as this industry likely offers volunteers the opportunity to master multiple skills, it could potentially improve participants' empowerment to a higher degree. Moreover, attaining multiple skills possibly strengthens one's status position further, leading one to feel more valued than when fewer skills are attained. For these skills to be embedded in the manufacturing industry may also add to their empowerment, as it possibly suits their existing interests or schooling. Lastly, a high level of tolerance is one of the prerequisites (being one of the three T's (Florida, 2002)) for an area to attract the creative class. The initiative is based in a highly diverse area with many artists and bohemians who, according to Florida (2002), elevate tolerance levels. According to this conception, participating in such a creative class initiative in such a tolerant atmosphere, possibly allows the unemployed to feel more included than in other areas or initiatives in the city.

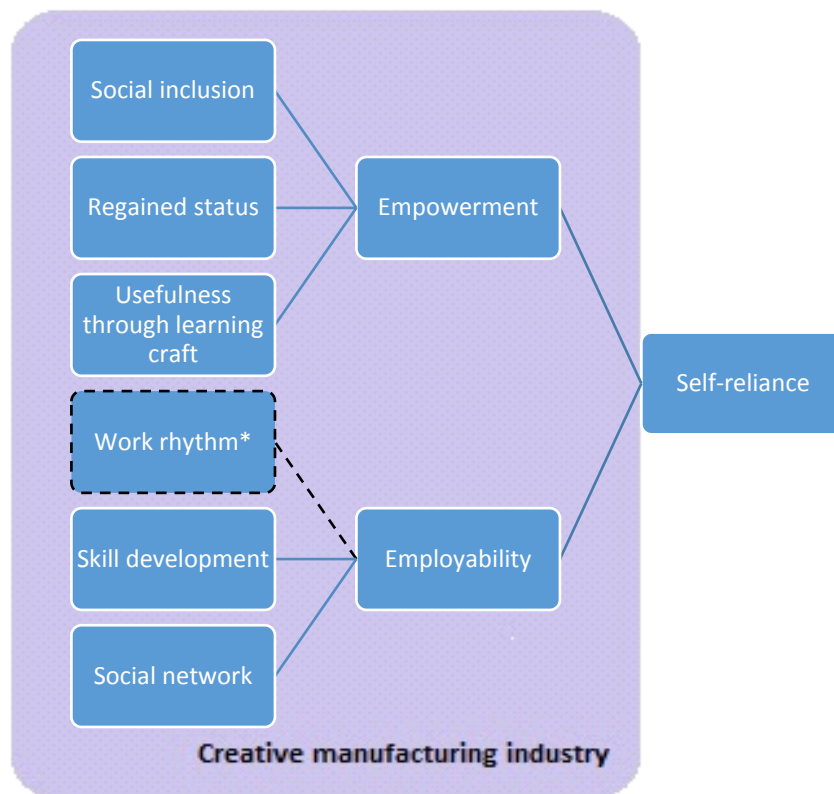
### **3. Problem statement, research model and research questions**

The goal of this research is to give insights into the meaning of the creative manufacturing industry for the unemployed by finding out if and how workfare volunteering in the creative manufacturing industry improves their levels of self-reliance. Aforementioned theories of empowerment and employability are drawn upon in order to determine the effects on self-reliance. A visualization of how these concepts relate to each other can be found in Model 1 below. Finally, based on the theory described above, the following research question will be answered: *In what way does participating in the creative manufacturing industry improve workfare volunteers' (step towards) self-reliance?*

In order to answer the research question, the following sub questions have been formulated:

1. How does participating in the creative manufacturing industry increase workfare volunteers' levels of empowerment through:
  - a. social inclusion;
  - b. status regaining; and
  - c. learning a craft?
2. How does participating in the creative manufacturing industry increase workfare volunteers' levels of employability through
  - a. developing a skill; and
  - b. developing one's social network?
3. What elements of empowerment and employability do workfare volunteers perceive to be contributing most to their (step towards) self-reliance?

## Model 1



*\*mechanism not included in thesis*

## 4. Choice of the case

As mentioned earlier, the city of Rotterdam has one of the highest unemployment rates of the Netherlands. Accordingly, Rotterdam has been the pioneer and is rather strict with their demands for welfare-recipients. Furthermore, as described above, Rotterdam has implemented policies that focus on attracting the creative class in order for urban regeneration to occur. These three factors allow Rotterdam to be a suiting city for this thesis to focus on. Moreover, the area of Delfshaven lends itself as an interesting one as it shows considerable socio-economic problems.

On the borders of Delfshaven's neighborhoods Oud-Mathenesse, Spangen, Bospolder-Tussendijken and Schiemond lies the harbor district Merwe-Vierhavens. This area, previously known for its notorious character, has evolved into a cornerstone of the project 'Rotterdam Innovation District'. This project, set up by the municipality of Rotterdam in collaboration with the organization Stadshavens Rotterdam, aims at turning Merwe-Vierhavens (also known as M4H; not to be confused with Mi4H), into an innovative district attracting companies and

initiatives from various sectors grounded in sustainability, digitalization and smart manufacturing. In other words, it attracts those “whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content” (Florida, 2002; 8); the creative class.

One of the initiatives in this area, Mi4H, actively attracts unemployed people who are willing to do voluntary work in return for welfare. This initiative is situated on what used to be an old wharf called Keilewerf. Several charismatic buildings are located on the wharf’s borders, housing various initiatives, predominantly aimed at the manufacturing industry. Various art, design and architecture studios can be found here, such as Studio Roosegaarde, Buurman and Atelier van Lieshout. The center of the wharf, previously the harbor’s waters, has been turned into local food gardens called the Voedseltuin. Mi4H is situated in an old warehouse, the Keilepand. It shares the building with initiatives such as Mark Janssen Design (art and design studio), Ingrid Brandenburg (smith), Woodwave (carpentering), Fuzzmaker (wooden signboard designer) and Brandsing Meubelmakers (furniture production studio). Thus, not only is Mi4H a manufacturing initiative aimed at reintegrating workfare volunteers, it is also embedded in a creative class project, located in an area with rather low socio-economic households which in turn is situated in a city with high rates of unemployment and a strict welfare policy. As a result, this turns out to be a particularly interesting case for this thesis’ research goal. As such, picking this initiative as a case to study is in line with Patton’s (1990) strategy of purposeful sampling.

## **5. Analytical approach**

This thesis aims to find out whether self-reliance can be improved through volunteering in the creative manufacturing industry. Specifically, it aims to discover this by analyzing participants’ experience with factors that contribute to empowerment and employability. Data was collected by conducting semi-structured interviews with (former) unemployed participants of Mi4H. According to Boeije (2012), the experiences of people are best found using semi-structured interviews, as unstructured interviews come with the risk of getting off-track when talking about experiences, while structured ones do not allow enough space for the interviewee’s experiences. An elaborate topic list was produced as a means to ensure all of the relevant concepts were discussed and to make sure the interviews stayed on track (see Appendix). Interviews were conducted with four current and four former volunteers. Respondents’ contact details were provided by the company manager as well as obtained through use of the snowball method. The latter used to retrieve possible participants that could not be retrieved through the manager. Furthermore, respondents’ identities are kept anonymous by replacing their names with

fictional initials of their first names. Taking this measure likely allowed respondents to feel assured that their statements will in no way be traced back to them. Finally, the interviews were recorded in order for the data to be transcribed and coded. It should be noted here, however, that retrieving respondents was difficult. A relatively low number of (former) volunteers at the initiative meant retrieving no more than eight respondents. Additionally, three volunteers who recently joined the initiative speak Dutch and English to a rather limited degree, inhibiting a fruitful interview to take place. Despite these restrictions, a point of saturation was met while gathering data.

Next, a description of this thesis' operationalization is given (see topic list for specifics). In order to understand what has led to volunteers' possible (step closer towards) self-reliance they were asked about their experience with each of the empowerment and employability concepts. First, as for employability mechanisms, they were asked what sort of skill(s) they have attained during their involvement at Mi4H, and whether these have brought them or may bring them any paid work opportunities. Second, social capital they attained through Mi4H was discussed, after which they were asked what this may have enabled in terms of paid work opportunities. As for empowerment mechanisms, volunteers were asked whether their state of unemployment had caused them any form of disempowerment. Thereafter, they were asked if their presence at Mi4H has empowered them in terms of confidence, self-respect or any other form that allows one to mentally have more grip over one's own life. As such, empowering mechanisms as depicted in the theoretical framework such as social inclusion, regained status and usefulness through learning a craft were asked about as well as any other, possibly new, empowering mechanisms. Furthermore, the added value of volunteering in the creative manufacturing industry was measured in terms of volunteers' interest or schooling in manufacturing as well as contact with creative class-members or a possible tolerant atmosphere in which one feels accepted and content with one another. Additionally, by reflecting on past and present productivity and developments at the initiative, it was attempted to find out whether the clustering of the creative class led to more productivity. It should be noted that claims about such developments in productivity need to be made with care, as no thorough research was done into the catalysts behind the initiative's productivity. Furthermore, interviewing former as well as current volunteers can be helpful in making a comparison in terms of any possible increased employability or empowerment allowed by increased productivity. Finally, collected data were analyzed in order to test the validity of used theories and possibly expand existing theories on the subject.

Additionally, once or twice a week in the months of February 2017 up until June 2017 a participatory observation was conducted in order to become familiar with certain processes and structures at Mi4H. By actively participating at the initiative, impressions of the initiative's social realm are constructed (Boeije, 2008). For instance, it is relevant to observe what kind of skills are taught and mastered, as well as how and with whom social contact occurs. Moreover, such observations were reflected on during the interviews. During the observations, the researcher maintained a public role, meaning while the researcher was actively involved with certain tasks at the initiative, the participants were well informed about the researcher's presence in regards to the thesis (Swanborn, 1981). As notes of various occurrences throughout the day sufficed to serve as practical impressions of the initiative, an observation list was not used to guide the observations.

In addition to conducting interviews and participatory observation, two semi-structured interviews with two experts on the subject are included. The experts are Mi4H's manager and a 'workfare coach', a professional who assists with reintegrating the unemployed through, among other mechanisms, workfare voluntarism. During these interviews, data collected during the interviews with (former) volunteers and participatory observation will be reflected on, as well as concepts such as the initiative's growth, the presence of the creative class and the importance of the manufacturing industry.

Such triangulation of methods allows for insights to be as optimally balanced as possible and it ultimately ameliorates the research' internal validity. In contrast, the external validity is rather low due to the specificity of the research target. Nevertheless, by providing as much contextual description of the case as possible, the external validity is optimized. Furthermore, the researcher always needs to be aware of his or her subjective stance. During the participatory observation and analytical procedure of interpreting participants' and the experts' experiences and understandings, one should attempt to distance oneself from subjective reasoning, predominantly one's predispositions.

## **6. Results**

This section will function as to clearly display the data collected in the semi-structured interviews with (former) volunteers, which will simultaneously be reflected with what was discovered during participatory observation and the interviews with the initiative's manager and the workfare coach. Respondents will be referred to as E., M., A., P., B., H., L. and K. The first paragraph serves as a context description and mainly relies on data acquired through

participatory observation. In this section, a description is given of the (former) volunteers and the initiative's work processes and developments. It is also meant to describe the creative class' contribution to certain processes within the initiative. Following are paragraphs describing the various employability and empowerment mechanisms, starting with the former.

## **6.1 Context description**

All respondents except for one are female and all except two are close to or over 50 years old. Two respondents completed university, one of which a master of arts in India and another a bachelor of chemistry in Afghanistan. Of the remaining six, five graduated from MBO-level education and one has not graduated from high school. Interestingly, and likely of importance, all respondents have a certain affinity for making and/or designing clothes. Lastly, most appeared not to be living in the surrounding neighborhood of Mi4H. This obstructs making any claims on whether the creative manufacturing initiative benefits its surrounding neighborhood, which was contested by Nijkamp (2016). A clear outline of respondents' characteristics is displayed in Table 1 in the Appendix.

As for the general context outline of the initiative, every Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, a handful of workfare volunteers are present at the initiative. Their occupation, up until recently, is mainly oriented towards sewing various sorts of merchandise such as purses, bags and pillowcases by use of industrial sewing machines. Aside from these volunteers, the initiative's manager is usually present in his office and often guides interested people through the initiative. During the researcher's presence, this occurred almost daily on average, often-times being creative class-members interested in renting manufacturing machinery or space in the building, or workfare coaches aiming at finding workfare volunteering opportunities for their unemployed. Sometimes creative entrepreneurs visit the initiative for personal use of the initiative's machinery, or in order to check up on a project they may have assigned to the workfare volunteers. Finally, the presence of various creative entrepreneurs located in the building is not left unnoticed as they too pass through the initiative and sometimes join the initiative's participants for lunch.

In the first few weeks of the participatory observation, one volunteer was sometimes left without a manufactural task. This rapidly changed as Mi4H attained more sewing projects. In order to support this development, new workfare volunteers were hired throughout the last couple of months of the participatory observation. A few of those were assigned different tasks than sewing merchandise. This will be elaborated on later. Finally, there seemed to have been



a generally positive ambiance, which was confirmed by all the respondents. Some described the ambiance as very tolerable compared with paid work, which likely is due to the voluntary structure versus the professional structure of paid work, not necessarily as a result of the presence of the creative class. Most described the ambiance simply as enjoyable, whereas others depicted it as tolerable. According to some respondents, the ambiance at other workfare volunteering workspaces seemed no different. The tolerant atmosphere, possibly construed by the presence of the creative class, therefore seems to be of no particular added value to workfare voluntarism.

Along with increasingly more projects and new volunteers, more machines were installed and put into use as well. At the start of the initiative, close to two years ago, the initiative only owned various industrial sewing machines; it now owns a computer-steered embroidering machine, various 3D-printers and (computer-steered) woodwork machinery, ceramic-processing machinery, a mold-production machine and a serigraphic machine. It, however, must be noted that the initiative is rather young, still preparing several of its manufacturing machinery and assigned workspaces. As a result, this thesis only has been able to research the effects surrounding sewing, not the other manufacturing occupations. According to the manager, recent purchases depended largely on the district's entrepreneurial structure. Moreover, the initiative attempts to facilitate machinery needed by surrounding companies in the area. He states that at the start of the initiative there were no specific plans regarding what machines to facilitate creative entrepreneurs with. These purchases have been the result of various meetings and networking events with various creative entrepreneurs from the area.

One of the creative entrepreneurs located downstairs owns Fuzzmaker, which can be described as a specialized carpentry company, aimed at creating wooden signboards. One of the reasons the company is located in the building is because of the opportunity of renting woodwork machinery from the initiative. During the last couple months of the researcher's presence at the initiative, the owner of Fuzzmaker has been assisted by two of the initiative's new workfare volunteers. These volunteers have, to a small extent, assisted with some of the company's projects, and are, according to the initiative's manager, expected to learn how to work with woodwork machinery.

### **6.2.1 Employability: skill development**

In line with theory on employability, it is expected that skill development through workfare volunteering could shrink the distance between the unemployed and the labor market. As all

respondents embodied a certain affinity for designing and/or creating clothes, most picked Mi4H so they could either attain or improve the skill of sewing and operating industrial sewing machinery. The workfare coach mentioned during the interview that she always attempts to connect the unemployed to workfare voluntary work that matches their interests. Workfare opportunities apparently do not appear too often in a manufacturing initiative. As a result of the skills she mastered and the growing number of sewing projects at Mi4H, E. has now attained a paid work position at the initiative. One of the recently hired volunteers, K., expects to find a paid sewing position through the sewing experience she is currently accumulating. M. and H. are the few to view recently installed machines as an opportunity to develop more skills and through it, enhance their chances of attaining paid work.

*“I could combine many of those machines to eventually create a product. I already know a few people whom I can create for.” (M.)*

Furthermore, former volunteers expressed similar statements regarding the lack of depth at Mi4H. This appeared to be due to the fact that at the start of the initiative, they had only been using industrial sewing machines and received a rather limited amount of projects.

*“I wanted to also learn how to make clothes, and they were making bags. And I wanted to learn how to make patterns, before you sew the clothes. And they were not really into that.” (B.)*

This sort of discontentment among the former volunteers can thus be understood in terms of the rather limited opportunities regarding skill development. Since more machines were installed recently, volunteers are now given the opportunity to develop more skills. As such, current E. and M. recently took a course on how to use the embroidering machine. As mentioned before, it is difficult to isolate the initiative’s growth in terms of the creative class’ clustering force. Therefore, it cannot be stated with certainty that recent development in purchased machinery and with it the grown opportunity of attaining more skills at the initiative is enabled by this clustering force.

### **6.2.2 Employability: (creative) social capital**

According to Granovetter (1973) and Lin (1999) status of people in one’s network are decisive in labor market opportunities. As the initiative is surrounded and often visited by many creative class-members, most of whom embodying more status than co-volunteers, it was expected that volunteers could construct weak ties with them, which then possibly could lead to paid work

opportunities. This is how social capital is supposed to shrink the distance between the unemployed and the labor market, which is in line with the employability theory. This mechanism, however, does not show in this case. None of the workfare volunteers appear to have enjoyed any paid work opportunity through any of the creative class-members they made contact with through the initiative. This matches some of Nijkamp's (2016) results in which she states that the presence of creative class-members seems to be of no direct added value to the participants or nearby-living residents. Nevertheless, H., a new volunteer, has joined the initiative as she expects to build connections that may allow her to find paid work.

*"I had the impression that I could make connections at Mi4H. (...) There, you walk among many people that are employed."* (H.)

However, as the initiative is still relatively young and developing. When all manufacturing machinery and labs are (more) in use, more creative class-members may be linked to the initiative, perhaps allowing for more weak ties to be formed among them and workfare volunteers. As such, recent interactions of two workfare volunteers with the owner of Fuzzmaker, described earlier, shows that creative social capital at the initiative is growing and with it, possibly volunteers' opportunities.

Another way social capital might be useful in volunteers' search for paid work is their connection to the initiative directly. As former volunteers A. and B. are starting their own clothing manufacturing business and M. may aim for his own business in the future too, they all mention the possibility of renting machinery at Mi4H for commercial usage. This means that in the future, Mi4H could perhaps play a role in their business.

Paid work opportunities do not necessarily develop through ties with creative class-members only. This was merely an expectation in this thesis' case, as creative class-members likely have more connections to the paid labor market than workfare volunteers. This was also considered the possible added value for workfare volunteering in an initiative, which is embedded in the creative class. However, volunteers among each other also appear to be useful for each other's paid work opportunities. As the respondents all stated having an affinity for (sewing of) clothes and merchandise, their personal social networks likely consist of other people with interests or professions grounded herein. This could turn out useful for each other, as is the case for B. Apparently L. recommended B. to one of L.'s acquaintances, who since had taught B. more extensively how to sew clothing, which enabled her to further pursue her own clothing business.

*“When I told them I wasn't going to continue cause it wasn't in depth enough and all, L. tried to help me by going to another lady that was going to teach me how to pattern. (...) She did help in that way.” (B.)*

Workfare volunteering in the creative manufacturing industry may not (yet) lead to paid work opportunities through creative social capital. However, volunteers among each other may contribute to this form of employability as they share the same interests. A creative manufacturing initiative thus seems to enable those who share similar manufacturing interests, to come together and possibly share their networks, allowing paid work opportunities to arise.

### **6.3.1 Empowerment: status**

Volunteering, as described in the theoretical framework, in many ways is meant to shrink the distance from the unemployed to the labor market. It is, however, also meant to mentally empower individuals. This may happen in several ways. First of which discussed here is whether attaining a volunteering position may allow the unemployed to regain status. Where, in theory, one may feel a loss of status when losing one's job, regaining a role in volunteering, possibly in the manufacturing industry in particular, can assist in regaining this lost status. This mechanism seems to be in effect with two respondents. None of the other respondents, except for H., seemed to have cared about how others judge their jobless situation. Most volunteers seemed primarily concerned about their own financial situation instead of other's judgement.

*“I thought more of my own situation, because nobody pays my rent. (...) Being a mom of kids who are still going to school, I want a better future, I want to do fun things. I cared about those things, not what others thought of me.” (L.)*

According to H., it was bothersome what others, such as acquaintances and family members, thought of her jobless situation. She added that a voluntary work position does not mend this loss as much as a paid job would, but it seems to ease the loss of status to some extent. H.'s case did, however, not portray the contributing factor of the creative manufacturing industry. This does seem to be present in B.'s case. Where previously her profession was cleaning, which she disliked, she joined Mi4H and became proud of her function. The mechanisms here is thus somewhat nuanced, as she did not experience a loss of status during her unemployment.

*“It helped me with my pride and everything, I was like ‘yay’! Because it was what I always wanted to do.” (B.)*

According to most respondents, this form of empowerment did not fit their experiences. It appears to contribute to some empowerment in B.'s and H.'s cases, however, the largest share of their empowerment can be traced back to other empowering mechanisms. Finally, the creative manufacturing industry does not appear to be a cornerstone in regaining of status for the unemployed, since predominantly, volunteers do not seem to care much about other people's judgement.

### **6.3.2 Empowerment: social inclusion and staying active**

Another empowering mechanism, which, according to the state, is enabled through workfare voluntarism, is making sure the unemployed stay or become socially active. Many volunteers confirm this mechanism. Some volunteers described how they had felt socially excluded when they became unemployed. Volunteering in turn created more social structure in their lives, leading them to become empowered. Others have always meant to stay active in order to avoid becoming socially excluded.

*“At home I’m alone and nobody talks to me. I want to become a bit more social, that’s why I like it here.” (K.)*

*“When you apply for jobs and you keep receiving rejections due to your age, while they do not even look at your resume, then your self-respect continues sinking. My self-respect rose here, because you are one of them (Mi4H) and you are needed here. I get a kick out of that.” (E.)*

Not only does workfare voluntarism prevent the unemployed from becoming trapped in social exclusion, it also appears to assist the unemployed in recognizing what practices they do or do not enjoy in life. The workfare coach also confirmed this. In this case, it may not be as much about the social aspect of staying active, but rather the act of being active in itself.

*It possibly helps one to realize ‘I really do not want to do this’ or ‘I want to do this and I can achieve something with this’. (workfare coach)*

P.'s rather negative experience at the initiative appears to have contributed to that sort of realization. She became convinced of disliking this line of manufacturing leading her to realize that her old professional field, nursing, was worth returning to. Similarly, A. realized that she wanted more than volunteering. She decided to start her own business instead of volunteering at Mi4H and therefore has gotten a step closer towards self-reliance.

*“It has stimulated me to look into what I would want to do. It made me realize that I wouldn’t want to be doing this for another couple years at my old age, but that I’d rather go back into nursing.” (P.)*

What does the creative manufacturing industry contribute in the sense of social inclusion and staying active? As mentioned before, a more tolerant atmosphere, which in line with creative class theory was expected, seemed not significantly more or less present than at other workfare voluntarism fields. Being embedded in manufacturing and sewing in particular seemed an important factor according to some respondents. Enjoying the act of sewing appeared important for some to be involved with, as otherwise they would probably not have joined the initiative.

*“What attracted me was staying active. I always need to be busy with something that I like. This was something that I liked.” (A.)*

Finally, some respondents mentioned being somewhat stressed due to (financial) problems in their daily life. According to them and the workfare coach, the act of sewing allows them to set these stressful events aside. This reflects findings of psychologists Riley, Corkhill and Morris (2013) in which they state that knitting, can stimulate feelings of calm and potentially relieve one of stress. Sewing, like knitting a textile-related craft, seems to show similar effects among some volunteers. This way, staying active in the creative manufacturing industry may empower an individual as stress relief can assist one with obtaining more power over one’s life.

*“Sometimes when I’m very stressed out, I go to my plants or I start sewing, that way I forget about those stressful things.” (H.)*

### **6.3.3 Empowerment: usefulness through learning a craft**

In theory, when one makes progress with mastering a craft, one becomes empowered (Kampen et al., 2013), which could lead them to look for paid work. This mechanism can be found among some of the volunteers. As such, B. and L. are the ones who, as a result of becoming better at using the industrial sewing machine, made and continue to make an effort to get back into paid work. L. searched for paid work as she was confident in being able to fill a paid sewing position with what she had learned at the initiative. B. always wanted to start her own clothing business, but was not confident in her skills. As a result of her time at the initiative, she too believed in herself and decided to start her own business.

*“Why would I work here as a volunteer, I fulfill their projects, why would I not do this for my own business, or for a company that’ll pay me a salary?” (L.)*

*“I knew I always wanted to do this, but knowing I wasn't able to do it, being stuck, (...) it kind of brought me to a low. But when I went to Mi4H, where I could learn how to sew, it did bring me up, and I thought 'I am finally going to be able to do this!' (...) It just showed me 'You can do it! pick up your sewing machine, and draw, you can do it!'” (B.)*

Sennett (2003) explains that doing or producing something with devotion and progressing at it improves one’s self-respect. This functioned as the base of the argument above, but it also serves as another argument as of why creating empowers. E., M. and A. confirm this as they too mention that creating something empowers them.

*“I find it beautiful when you can create something that others can wear. I’ve always thought that, also in the past with drawing. I used to put my heart and soul in it. Yes, you become proud once finished with the drawing, because no one else could do it. I made something that others cannot. It stems from my mind and vision. It’s beautiful that people are able to do that.” (M.)*

Workfare volunteering in the creative manufacturing industry can be of importance for those with an affinity for manufacturing. The craft they master and the product they create may empower them to such an extent that it triggers them to seek paid work, as was the case with B. and L.

## **7. Conclusion & Discussion**

The goal of this thesis has been to give insights into the meaning of the creative manufacturing industry for the unemployed by finding out if and how workfare volunteering in the creative manufacturing industry improves their levels of self-reliance. In the end, five respondents can be pinpointed up to this point in time that have come closer to self-reliance as a result of their involvement at Mi4H. Two of those that have not are rather new volunteers. For those, it may simply be too soon to tell. The other has not yet made an attempt to become more self-reliant.

As for those that have gotten closer to self-reliance, one who recently was offered a paid sewing job at the initiative is a clear example of the state’s perception of employability through skill development (Kampen, 2014). By becoming skillful at sewing and leading a team, she has

now become self-reliant through attaining a paid job at the initiative. Her initial interest and basic skills in sewing formed her stepping-stone into the initiative, which then evolved into paid work.

Then, in tandem with Nijkamp's (2016) findings, this thesis shows that volunteers' ties with creative class-members do not necessarily translate to economic resources. Moreover, ties between creative class-members and volunteers do not appear to be formed often. It does appear that co-volunteers' social capital can be fruitful for volunteers' paid work opportunities. Because of the opportunity of workfare voluntarism in the manufacturing industry, those who share similar manufacturing interests are able to come together. This appears to be of added value as they may economically benefit from each other's social capital, as some of this capital likely is embedded in these manufacturing interests.

Furthermore, this thesis shows, opposed to findings by Kampen et al. (2013), that volunteers' function at the initiative hardly leads them to regain any loss of status. Loss of status seems one of their least concerns, as (financial) problems often weigh heavy. No one, except for one volunteer, was empowered through his or her function. It appears not of much importance in the quest for self-reliance.

What did appear to be of importance to the respondents was being socially included and especially the act of staying active. The tolerant atmosphere that was expected in line with creative class theory did not show any added significance compared to other voluntary work. However, the initiative's embedding in the manufacturing industry, particularly sewing merchandise, turned out to be of great importance for the empowering mechanism of staying active. As such, two volunteers picked the initiative as a means to stay active while doing what they enjoy doing: sewing. Along the way, through the act of sewing, both realized what they wanted to do in terms of paid work, motivating them to become more self-reliant. The act of sewing also shows to be empowering, as it appeared to relieve stress.

Lastly, usefulness through learning a craft seems not only empowering, but also appeared to trigger respondents into re-entering the paid labor market. As Sennett (2003) explained, doing or producing something and progressing at it improves one's self-respect. Two volunteers who refined their basic sewing skill, as a result, became empowered and strived for self-reliance. One was unsuccessful on her search for paid work while the other is still in the midst of setting up her business. Nevertheless, the opportunity of further developing their skill and interest in sewing was key to their step towards self-reliance. This shows, once more, the



importance of offering workfare voluntarism in the manufacturing industry, particularly in sewing.

All in all, there is not strong enough evidence showing the creative class is of any added value to workfare volunteers' quest to self-reliance. Possibly in the future, once more machinery is put into use and more creative class-members enter the initiative, might their presence lead to economic resources for volunteers. However, what does seem to contribute to volunteers' self-reliance is how well the type of work, in this case sewing, fits with their interests. As outlined in the paragraphs above, the ability of volunteering in the sewing industry appears to be the catalyst of any mechanism that has triggered volunteers towards financial self-reliance.

Furthermore, due to the initiative's relatively young state, various effects may not show quite yet. As workfare volunteers are not manning most of the machinery yet, it is too soon to make any claims about the new opportunities of skill development in occupations other than sewing. Moreover, it is not possible to claim with certainty that the current possibility of developing more skills compared to earlier this year is made possible as a result of the clustering effect of the creative class (see Florida, 2008). Additionally, pinpointing which mechanisms have led one to become (more) self-reliant is not always quite clear, as often-times the empowering mechanisms intertwine and it may be difficult for some respondents to know precisely which mechanism was (most) helpful. However, such complexities often arise when working with people's experiences, especially when these are past experiences.

Despite these limitations, this thesis does incorporate theoretical and societal relevance. There are various scientific contributions. This thesis adds to Nijkamp's (2016) findings as it can be stated that for unemployed participants in a creative manufacturing industry, having weak ties with creative class-members does not appear to provide paid work opportunities. Furthermore, employability and empowerment mechanisms seem to lead towards self-reliance quite effectively when, for workfare voluntarism, one can perform that which he or she has affinity for, in this case in the manufacturing industry, sewing in particular. This way, it adds to workfare voluntarism theory. The societal relevance ties in with what was just described. As it does appear beneficial for the unemployed that carry an interest in sewing to do voluntary work in such an industry, municipalities should show more support for such initiatives. Moreover, as many citizens of Rotterdam have lost their practically skilled work due to digitalization and further technological developments (see Van der Waal, 2015), it would be useful to find out if the conclusions of this thesis apply for various other manufacturing

occupations. Other types of manufacturing workfare voluntarism would, in that case, be suitable for these unemployed citizens.

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## Appendix

### Topic list semi-structured interviews

\* In case respondent is former volunteer

#### **Respondent's characteristics**

- Age
- Previous work/education
- How long has the respondent been unemployed?
- Has the respondent done any other forced voluntary work? If so, reflect back at this throughout interview.
- What were the respondent's reasons for volunteering at this initiative?
- (\*)What were/are his/her tasks?
- \*Why did he/she stop volunteering at the initiative?
- \*In case respondent has found work or started as an independent contractor (ZZP), what does he/she do? (How) does it tie in with previous voluntary work at the initiative? Does it financially sustain the respondent?

#### **Employability**

- *Skill development (Skill development as a way to increase one's value to the labor market.)*

- Coming back to the learned task(s), do these attained skills fit with his/her previous work experience/education/likings? (Also touched on for previous topic.)
- In case it does, does the respondent think a skill in manufacturing will be more suitable for his/her paid work career?
- Compared to skills attained in previous/other voluntary work, are the attained skills at this initiative better suitable for his/her paid work career?
- Does the respondent expect to develop more skills? Does the respondent want this? If so, for what reason?
- Does the respondent add these skills to his/her CV?
- Does the respondent think this will help with finding paid work? \*Has it already been helpful with finding paid work?

- *Social capital (Voluntary work as a means to develop one's social network, which in turn could provide more labor market opportunities.)*

- How does contact with other people than co-volunteer occur?
- Who does/did the respondent get in contact with through volunteering at the initiative? Let the respondent elaborate on who these people are and what functions they hold.
- Has the respondent attempted to find paid work through these new contacts?
- Have there been more contacts/weak ties than with previous voluntary work? Does the respondent see this as beneficial in any way?
- (\*)If in contact with any designers or artists, has this allowed for any paid work opportunities?

- In case these contacts are embedded in the manufacturing industry, do they fit well with the respondents' work experience/education/interests?
- In case he/she wants to stay in this sector, does the respondent think these contacts may be helpful for finding paid work in this sector? \*Have they already been helpful?
- (\*)Has the respondent stayed in touch with these contacts and what has this enabled for him/her?

### **Empowerment**

- *Social inclusion (regain of employment/voluntary work may cause one's feeling of inclusiveness in society to increase.)*

- Has the respondent felt more included in society when starting voluntary work at the initiative? If so, why?
- Can the respondent describe the atmosphere in and around the initiative? *Aim at diversity and tolerance, perhaps feeling comfortable in the manufacturing industry ...*
- If possible, can the respondent reflect this atmosphere with other voluntary work?
- If so, can the atmosphere here be accounted as valuable?
- In case the respondent feels/has felt more socially included through volunteering, has this allowed for more self-respect?
- Has it empowered the respondent to find paid work?

- *Regained status (Acquiring a role can give back status, and with it stimulating ones self-respect)*

- Before volunteering at the initiative, when the respondent was unemployed, how did he/she feel about not having a job?
- When the respondent lost his/her job, did it feel like a loss of status? Did the respondent mind how other people judged his/her situation?
- How does it make the respondent feel to show others that he/she has a function (again)?
- Does the respondent attain more or less tasks/functions compared to previous voluntary work?
- Does it make a difference that these tasks/functions are embedded in the manufacturing industry, and not another industry?
- Has regained status motivated him/her to find paid work?

- *Usefulness through learning a craft (Making progress with mastering a craft can allow one to appreciate oneself, hence stimulating ones self-respect.)*

- Coming back to the learned task(s), how has the respondent experienced attaining a skill?
- Has the skill the respondent has been taught changed his/her mental state of being? If so, how?
- Is it of any added value to the respondent that the skills attained are embedded in manufacturing? Does it fit well with his/her previous work experience/education/likings?
- Does the respondent know if he/she will attain more skills? Does he/she look forward to this? If so, why?
- Has the respondent learned/will the respondent learn more skills compared to previous voluntary work? If so, has this allowed the respondent to respect oneself more?
- Has mastering a craft motivated him/her to find paid work?

**Table 1**

<b>Respondent</b>	<b>Current/ Former</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Fulfilled education</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Time length interview</b>	<b>Number of quotations</b>
E.	Current	60	Housekeeping school (MBO)	Female	53 minutes	1
M.	Current	33	Retail management (MBO)	Male	61 minutes	2
A.	Former	56	Administration (MBO)	Female	46 minutes	1
P.	Former	57	Nursing (MBO)	Female	51 minutes	1
B.	Former	23	Did not graduate from secondary school	Female	40 minutes	4
H.	Current	53	Chemistry (WO; in Afghanistan)	Female	48 minutes	2
L.	Former	42	Pedagogy (MBO) & Care Taking (MBO)	Female	41 minutes	2
K.	Current	49	Arts (WO; in India)	Female	27 minutes	1