

Journal of Social Intervention: Theory and Practice –
2018 – Volume 27, Issue 1, pp. 48–66
<http://doi.org/10.18352/jsi.534>

ISSN: 1876-8830

URL: <http://www.journalsi.org>

Publisher: Utrecht University of Applied Sciences,
Faculty of Society and Law, in cooperation with
Utrecht University Library Open Access Journals

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Received: 15 July 2017

Accepted: 15 January 2018

Category: Practice

EXAMINING THE VOLUNTARY DEPLOYMENT OF PEOPLE WITHOUT A DISABILITY ON BEHALF OF PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES: “VERWENZORG” (“LC”) AS AN EXAMPLE

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ABSTRACT

Examining the voluntary deployment of people without a disability on behalf of people with disabilities: “Verwenzorg” (“LC”) as an example

In the Netherlands, a transformation is taking place from the traditional welfare state to a civil society with active citizens. The aim of this study is to give an example of citizens' commitment to their fellow citizens. The phenomenon of Love and tender Care, or LC, (which is known as “Verwenzorg” in Dutch) as a case example was studied. This article examines what motivates volunteers to become actively involved in the lives of others and what results volunteering has for the involved clients. Volunteers (n=10) and clients, their relatives and/or caregivers (n=7) were asked about their motivations and experiences and the perceived benefits and possible negative outcomes of LC. The motivations of and benefits for volunteers appear to be intertwined and involve both altruistic and self-interested aspects. There appears to be a certain reciprocity between giving and receiving, but it is a fragile relationship. Clients experience benefits, but also sometimes have less positive experiences, possibly because of a lack of adaptation to the (individual) client. To enhance and sustain the voluntary deployment of people without a disability on behalf of people with disabilities, organizations should embrace initiatives like LC as a visionary manifestation of the participation society.

Key words

Love and tender Care, “Verwenzorg”, participation society, volunteering, motivations, intellectual disability

SAMENVATTING

Onderzoek naar vrijwilligerswerk van mensen zonder een verstandelijke beperking aan mensen met een verstandelijke beperking: Verwenzorg als casus

In Nederland is een transformatie gaande van een traditionele verzorgingsstaat naar een participatiesamenleving. Het doel van deze studie is om een praktijkvoorbeeld te geven van betrokkenheid van burgers bij hun medeburgers, door het bestuderen van het fenomeen verwenzorg. Er werd onderzocht wat vrijwilligers motiveert en stimuleert om zich in te zetten voor hun medemens en wat dit oplevert voor de betrokken cliënten. Vrijwilligers (n=10) en cliënten, hun naasten en zorgverleners (n=7) werd gevraagd naar hun motivatie en ervaring, ervaren baat en eventuele negatieve uitkomsten van verwenzorg. Uit het onderzoek komt naar

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voren dat de drijfveren van en opbrengsten voor vrijwilligers met elkaar verweven lijken en zowel altruïstische als op eigenbelang gerichte aspecten bevatten. Verder komt er een wederkerigheid tussen geven en ontvangen naar voren, hoewel deze kwetsbaar blijkt. Cliënten ervaren baat bij het ontvangen van verwezen. Zij rapporteren echter ook minder positieve ervaringen, mogelijk vanuit een gebrek aan afstemming op de (individuele) cliënt. Om vrijwilligerswerk van mensen zonder een verstandelijke beperking aan mensen met een verstandelijke beperking te waarborgen en te stimuleren, zouden organisaties initiatieven als verwezen kunnen omarmen als een vooruitstrevende vorm van deelname aan de participatiesamenleving.

Trefwoorden

Verwezen, participatiesamenleving, vrijwilligerswerk, motivaties, verstandelijke beperking

INTRODUCTION

In the Netherlands, a transformation is taking place from the traditional welfare state – in which care and welfare were the domain of the government and the market – to a model based on civil society (Bredewold, 2014). The aim is to bring about a "participation society", meaning a society with active, involved and responsible citizens (Tonkens, 2014). Citizens, as well as people with disabilities, are expected to be actively involved in taking care of themselves and their fellow citizens. The idea is that citizens are not only entitled to care but should also address the duties of citizenship (Bredewold, 2014). In line with this vision, people are being encouraged to contribute to society through voluntary work (Beltman, Sok, Lucassen & Royers, 2012). Policymakers seem to assume solidarity and a commitment to volunteering (RMO, 2013).

However, this assumption seems to involve an internal contradiction: how can we address the duty of citizenship through volunteering? What does the voluntary nature of volunteer work really mean if the expectation to become an active citizen is imposed by others? Some would argue that there is a general decline in "civic engagement" due to increasing individualization (Putnam, 2000). Others state that there is no decline in engagement or in willingness to participate. Instead, a qualitative change towards informal activities based on everyday concerns is taking place (Hustinx, 2009). Nowadays, the willingness to volunteer seems to be more dependent on personal interests and needs than on a service ethic or a sense of obligation to the wider community (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003).

What makes people committed to volunteering or active citizenship? Research by Fienieg, Nierkens, Tonkens, Plochg and Stronks (2011) highlights personal interests and needs as motives for engaging in volunteer work. These authors examined lay citizens' motivations for participating voluntarily in health promotion. The volunteers displayed distinctly personal desires in the participation process, namely to produce tangible results (purposeful action), to experience personal development, to gain personal recognition as a role model (exemplary status) and to have or maintain valued relationships (service and reciprocity). In line with the findings from volunteerism research obtained by Clary *et al.* (1998), most participants were involved for more than one motive. Grönlund *et al.* (2011) show that with regard to five motivational dimensions, students expressed the strongest support for "altruistic" and "learning" through volunteering in the 13 countries examined. Hustinx *et al.* (2010) find that students in six countries rated altruistic and value-driven motivations as the most relevant to their volunteering (Hustinx *et al.*, 2010).

Box 1. Background information about Love and tender care

In the last fifteen years, the Dutch "Love and tender Care" (LC) initiative has become a social phenomenon in the Netherlands (Bruntink & Zwanikken-Leenders, 2004). LC originally came about to benefit chronic psychiatric patients, based on the idea of doing something extra for people who have very little. LC focuses on those groups that are forgotten because they are chronically ill and thus have life-long dependencies and limitations. In the context of LC, clients who are admitted to long-term mental health care facilities or nursing homes and clients with intellectual disabilities are invited to take part in a range of activities (such as a high tea, a beauty day, a concert or an outing to the zoo). Sometimes this is a one-off event, and sometimes institutions incorporate LC into their overall vision. LC is described as "patient care, especially care provided to the chronically ill, which focuses not only on proper medical care but also on improving their quality of life, by, among other things, giving them personal attention" (Den Boon & Geeraerts, 2005). However, LC is not considered a replacement for regular care but is rather seen as an extension of, or addition to, regular care. LC takes place outside the daily routine and structures of the institutional context and is not part of the treatment plan. It therefore requires extra effort from volunteers and extra money. Volunteers are not usually trained or supervised, and the activities are chiefly made possible by the (financial) support of the business sector (Van Heijst, Embregts, Hermesen, Kuis & Timmermann, 2016). In addition to active citizenship, LC also fits into the development of corporate social responsibility.

Aim

The aim of this study is to give an example of citizens' commitment to their fellow citizens, and examine what drives them to become actively involved in the lives of others. A further aim is to give an overview of the benefits and possible negative results of volunteering for clients in the context of "LC" (in Dutch: "Verwenzorg").¹ As far as we know, most research regarding active citizenship has focused on the benefits of reciprocal commitment, while the possible negative outcomes of volunteering for the citizens involved have remained unexplored. In this article, therefore, an example of the voluntary deployment of people without a disability on behalf of people living with a disability is examined. The phenomenon of LC was studied (see Box 1). The research questions were:

- a. What are the motivations of and benefits for volunteers in the context of LC?
- b. What are the benefits and possible negative outcomes of volunteering for clients in the context of LC?

METHOD

An overview of the methodology is shown in Figure 1.

Recruitment of participants

Eight volunteers were selected after consulting with the pioneer of LC in The Netherlands, Joke Zwanikken-Leenders, aiming at a diverse sample of sectors and functions. While attending three selected LC activities, the author E.K. had the opportunity to interview two extra volunteers. For the sake of convenience, these interviews were also included in the data. This resulted in a sample of ten LC volunteers (n=10). Five of the volunteers were male and five were female.

Seven LC clients were interviewed (n=7), all of whom had a (mild) intellectual disability. Two of the clients were male and five were female. Selection took place according to mixed purposeful sampling (Patton, 2001). Care organizations that were known to be familiar with LC were contacted and asked if an LC activity was taking place. The inclusion criteria were: 1) the activity was labelled as LC by the care organization or the activity was comparable to an LC activity; 2) the activity took place in the spring of 2015; 3) the duration of the activity was at least 1 hour; 4) there was interaction between volunteers and clients. Three activities were selected and visited by

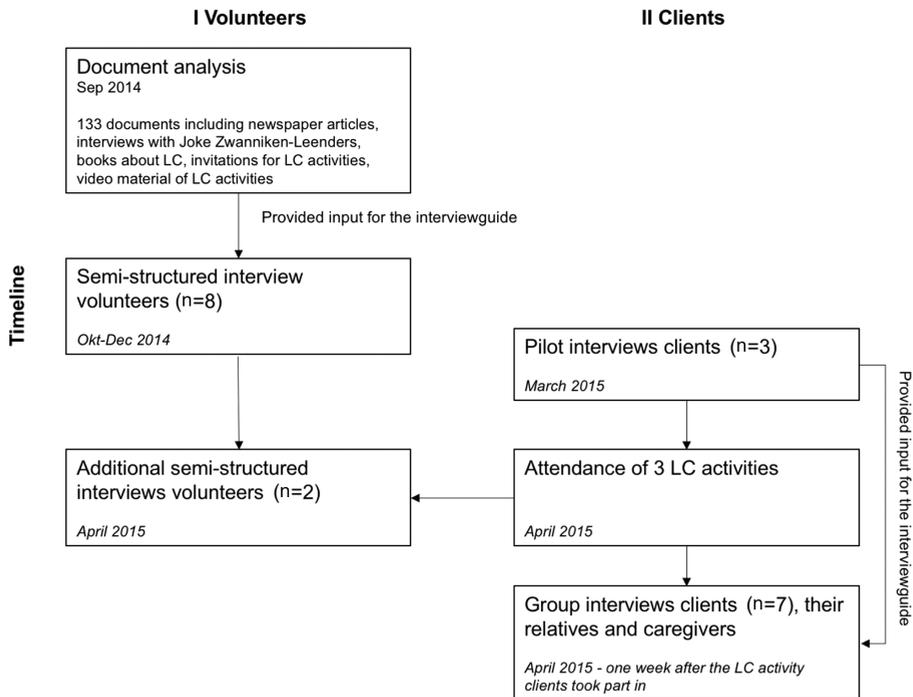


Figure 1: Methodology overview

the author E.K.: a cooking workshop, a beauty day and a “make a wish” evening. For each activity selected, two to three clients were chosen to take part in an interview. The inclusion criteria for clients were: (1) participation in an LC activity and (2) the ability to express themselves adequately in the interview. Recruitment took place via the care organizations for people with intellectual disabilities.

Instruments and procedure

The study proposal was approved by the psychological ethics committee of Tilburg University in the Netherlands. Prior to each interview, participants received an information letter and consent form. The interviews were recorded using an audio recorder.

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Semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with volunteers for the LC activity. The interviews focused on the following key themes: the motivations of the volunteers; the benefits for the volunteers; the expected benefits for the clients; and the assumed negative experiences for the clients. The volunteers were asked about the latter two themes in order to reflect on the value of the activities to the clients. The participation society requires a commitment in taking care of fellow citizens, but what does the volunteer think about the value of his or her commitment? Especially in the case of people with an intellectual disability, this reflection is worthwhile since clients are not always able to express this verbally, even though they may express it non-verbally.

Semi-structured qualitative group interviews were also conducted with clients, their (professional) caregivers and relatives. The group interviews focused on the following key themes: general information about the LC activity that the clients took part in; clients' positive and negative experiences during the LC activity; the clients' expectations of the activity and whether these were met; and the benefit that the client derived from the LC activity. Every interview started with a short introduction to the purpose of the interview. Subsequently, clients were asked about their experiences of the LC activity that they took part in according to the questions in the interview guide. A relative and caregiver of the client were also present and were asked for additional information and support, in case the interview situation was intimidating for the clients and in case they had difficulty to express themselves. The location of the interviews depended on the preferences of the participants: in their room or an office in the communal building. The interviews took an average of 45 minutes to one hour.

Analysis

The interviews were analysed according to the general inductive approach (Thomas, 2006). First, the interviews were transcribed in verbatim. ATLAS.ti (Friese, 2012), a computer program used for the systematic analysis of qualitative data, was used to organize the raw data. Phrases of clear importance to the study were assigned a code. Subsequently, these codes were clustered to identify sub-themes. These subthemes were then clustered again to form broader themes. For example, the statements of clients about how they forgot their worries while taking part in the LC activity were clustered into the subtheme "forgetting worries". This subtheme was clustered together with similar subthemes such as "pleasurable anticipation" and "enjoyment" to form the theme "benefits".

To increase the reliability of the research, the identified codes, subthemes and themes were discussed by the first author and two other researchers within the research group and adjusted

where necessary. Furthermore, inter-rater reliability checks were performed by a second coder and a consensus was reached. The privacy of participants was ensured. All research data were processed anonymously and stored in a secure environment.

RESULTS

I Volunteers

Several themes and sub-themes were identified in the coded interviews with volunteers. An overview is given in Table 1. In the text below, these themes and sub-themes are described in more detail.

Motivations and benefits for volunteers

One motivation for volunteers was wanting to do something good for others and for society as a whole. Volunteers indicated that they learned the value of playing a useful role in society when they were growing up. Alternatively, they were moved by the plight of (chronic psychiatric) patients. One volunteer described how LC was consistent with his philosophy of life:

Table 1: Overview of themes and sub-themes: volunteers

Themes	Sub themes
Motivations and benefits for volunteers	
<i>Motivations</i>	Doing something good for others and society as a whole
<i>Motivations and benefits</i>	Receiving by giving: Response of the recipient
	Win-win situation
<i>Benefits</i>	Becoming a better person
	An enriching but challenging experience
	An altered and more positive view of a specific group
Expected benefits to clients	Enjoyment
	Forgetting worries
	Out of the daily routine
	Becoming more independent
	Recognition as a human being
	Feeling special
	Experiencing afterglow
Undesirable side effects for recipients	Few unpleasant side effects

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In my opinion, our society has become too selfish, we pay too little attention to our fellow humans [...] I think that you should ask yourself every day, have I done something good today? Not only, have I furthered my career? Have I done my work well? But also, have I done something good for the world, for society? [Respondent 2, male]

Companies who take part in (or organize) LC activities appear to be driven by the idea of wanting to give something back to society or the market in which they operate. They want to do business in a socially responsible manner (CSR). One volunteer, who works for a (commercial) company which regularly organizes an LC activity for elderly people or people with disabilities, stated:

We were originally a family business, so we have always had a corporate social responsibility policy, although never explicitly stated [...]. We thought that people were important, that employees were important and [...] that our clients were important and [...] that we had a responsibility to the community [Respondent 4, male].

Both a motivation and benefit pointed out by volunteers is receiving by giving. Volunteers state that, by participating in LC, they were also getting something back. "By giving, can you also receive? I always found that a nice subject personally, because I am able to give something away and I also get a lot back" [Respondent 3, female]. They see the clients enjoying themselves. They see lots of happy faces, and sometimes emotions, and it makes volunteers happy when they see clients enjoying the activity. Furthermore, volunteers value the fact that clients respond in such a sincere and uninhibited way. Clients may also express their appreciation and gratitude to the volunteer, directly or less directly. Clients write a friendly message on a card or they make something themselves and give it to the volunteer as a present. As a consequence, one benefit of LC is that there is generally a win-win situation. Volunteers who devote their time to LC often get something in return. For example, they may offer their services free of charge (a photographer or artist, for example), but they benefit from contacts and brand awareness in return. The same is true for the companies that contribute to LC and, in turn, benefit from an improved corporate image. In the previous section, examples are given of what volunteers get back in return. According to one volunteer: "There must be a balance between giving and receiving, otherwise people will stop giving" [Respondent 1, male]. The fact that "giving" is not entirely altruistic is not a problem, according to volunteers. They do not feel that the clients suffer because of it. Regardless of what the volunteer gains, an enjoyable activity has still been organized for the client. One volunteer says: "I think that it is rarely completely without self-interest. But that doesn't matter. It has an effect, it works" [Respondent 7, female].

One benefit pointed out by volunteers was becoming a better person. They state that doing something for others gives people a better feeling about themselves. "Many people like to feel like a good person, to do something good. That strengthens your sense of self [...] That gives you gratification. I have done something good" [Respondent 1, male]. Another benefit pointed out by volunteers is that the contact with clients is seen as an enriching but challenging experience. Volunteers can learn more about themselves by getting to know an unknown world or group of people. Alternatively, they can become more aware of their own good fortune and happiness in life.

You very often hear that this is an experience that enriches you, that gives you something. By going out of my environment into another environment and coming into close contact with people who are different, I also learn more about myself [Respondent 3, female].

At the same time, it may well be challenging to come into contact with an unknown group of people. Volunteers may be a little scared the first time they meet clients. One volunteer described it like this:

I have been in the situation where I sat around a table with severely disabled people with whom I found it very difficult to communicate [...] In my daily life I don't come into contact with severely disabled people who have multiple disabilities. Then you really have to overcome that so, for me as a person, that was also very instructive [Respondent 4, male].

Coming into contact with an unknown group of people can lead to a new and more positive view of a specific group. Often, people in society have a particular image of a group of people such as chronic psychiatric patients or people with intellectual disabilities. By getting acquainted with these people, preconceptions may be proved incorrect.

I have also become aware that people with chronic psychiatric problems are not scary. If you meet them on the street and they behave strangely, people find that rather scary. But because you have that interaction. That also breaks down this barrier [Respondent 2, male].

Expected benefits for clients

The volunteers described seeing the clients experiencing enjoyment, seeing happy faces and hearing laughter during the LC activities. They would see the clients singing along and/or clapping. Consequently, volunteers stated that LC activities would contribute to the wellbeing of clients because they could forget their worries. As one volunteer said: "You see people get away from

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their problems, from the thoughts in their heads. You see that people are much more [...] in the here and now" [Respondent 6, male]. Furthermore, because these activities are a highlight in people's lives, they help them to keep going:

In the same way that we, as healthy people, sometimes feel the need for a little treat, going out or doing something or going to the cinema. It is exactly the same for them. It is a highlight that can keep you going for a while [Respondent 4, male].

Furthermore, participation in an (LC) activity can provide some welcome variation in everyday life. The volunteers thought the activities could help clients escape from their daily routine. One volunteer stated that a (new) activity can broaden the client's world: "That you can be in another situation or become acquainted with new music" [Respondent 6, male]. People with intellectual disabilities mostly have a certain structure in their lives with regular activities. This structure is often necessary however. Another assumed benefit of LC is that some clients become more independent. Because clients are asked to think about what they want, for instance, or see what possibilities they (still) have. One volunteer explained:

Another woman, who had been in long-stay care, [...] now lives by herself. "I have become independent again thanks to LC." [...] I think that that has come about because she attended our dinner parties, as well as our days out and so on. And this developed a pattern of the kind "hey! I could also do these other things." I could also do things outside of the institution and I could cope with them [Respondent 2, male].

Moreover, clients may experience recognition as a human being during an LC activity according to volunteers. During the activity, clients are not seen as patients with problems, but as human beings.

For these women [refugees who the staff of a company cooked for], it was great that they were noticed by other people who they could talk to. That they were seen as women, as human beings and not only as patients with problems [Respondent 5, female].

Another benefit of LC may therefore be that clients feel special or noteworthy. "If people are invited, they feel special. Because somebody had thought of them" [Respondent 6, male]. The benefits of LC may also have a longer-lasting effect: clients can experience prolonged improvements in well-being or afterglow. Some clients reminisce about the events for a long time afterwards and they often talk about the activities for quite some time. Being able to talk about taking part in an activity can be an important part of someone's (social contacts and) identity:

But there are many people being treated here who never take part in anything, who never go anywhere. That can be felt as a loss in social contacts and in being someone. When you can say "I went to a museum", then you are somebody, then you have experienced something. Then you have something to tell other people [Respondent 5, female].

Treasured memories are particularly important for certain clients, such as people who have experienced many unpleasant things in their life.

Undesirable side effects for clients

The results show that volunteers see few unpleasant side effects of LC for clients. However, some volunteers stated that occasionally clients do not like an activity. These clients may have different interests, they may feel unwell that day, or the activity may be too hectic or simply not be what they were expecting:

It is always about expectations. They had expected something else. Something went wrong, they didn't feel well, there can be all sorts of reasons why you don't enjoy it [...] Or someone sitting next to someone that they don't want to sit next to [Respondent 4, male].

However, the fact that clients do not like an activity is not necessarily considered undesirable by the volunteers, who tend to look at the common denominator in the group rather than at the individual. In addition, they indicated that clients do not have to participate if they do not like the activity. It is voluntary, so people can cancel or withdraw before or during the activity. One volunteer explained:

If you organize something for one hundred people, there will undoubtedly be someone there who it doesn't suit [...]. Of course, it is best if you can take account of what they would like to do, [...] what the majority want, that is what we are going to do. But they are still free to decide whether or not to take part [Respondent 7, female].

II Clients

Several themes and sub-themes were identified in the coded interviews with clients (and their relatives and care givers). An overview is shown in Table 2. In the next section, these themes and sub-themes are described in more detail.

Benefits to clients

Some clients experience pleasurable anticipation prior to an LC activity. It gives them something to look forward to. A client and her relative explained:

Client: We got a letter. I thought ooh [swallows], what is it? So, I open it. Ah, my wish.
 Relative: Then you called me, didn't you? To ask if I had plans already. "Do you want to come cooking with me? A famous chef is coming." [both laughing] [...] It was fun dreaming about a famous chef, right?
 Client: Yes. [Group interview 1]

Furthermore, by taking part in the activity, clients experience enjoyment. It makes them feel happy and they have fun. Relatives and caregivers indicate that they see the clients sparkle with positive energy. An informal caregiver who was present at the beauty day said:

You see them enjoying themselves a lot. When you are there, when they simply get this attention, then you often see this big smile in the mirror. And I've also taken photos of this and you can then see that they find it amazing [Group interview 3].

Table 2: Overview of themes and sub-themes: clients

Themes	Sub themes
Benefits to clients	Pleasurable anticipation
	Enjoyment
	Forgetting worries
	Learning something new
	Getting to know people
	Being proud, feeling special and appreciated
	Nice memory
Less positive experiences for clients	Stressful anticipation
	Too intense
	Insufficiently stimulation
	Too hectic
	Too little preparation

The positive experience of taking part in an activity can help clients to forget their worries or the negative things in their life for a while. The activity provides an enjoyable distraction. This can sometimes have a longer-lasting effect. After a relaxing day, clients may feel more ready to deal with the routine of everyday life. Moreover, clients indicated that they had learned something new during the activity. They learned which make-up or hairstyle looked good on them on the beauty day or how to make fresh spaghetti during the cooking workshop: "I had never used that machine so I wanted to try it. And it went well. Such long pieces" [Group interview 2]. Clients learned that wishes can sometimes come true. The caregiver of a client who was a "hero-for-a-day" (and dressed up like Batman) said that he had learned that he could make people happy. Clients also described how they would get to know (new) people or get to know more about people they already knew. The activity is an opportunity for social contact, which is valuable to clients. One relative said: "He is a really sociable person. He likes to do fun things together in a group" [Group interview 2]. Another benefit clients described was feeling proud, special and appreciated. They feel special because they have been chosen to participate in the activity or because a special effort has been made for them. The use of nice plates for dinner, like at the cooking workshop, can also demonstrate special attention. Clients feel privileged, important, proud and valued because they receive many nice comments from others, and other people are proud of them. One client said: "Even the [football] players were proud of me 'Hey! Batman'" [Group interview 5]. His caregiver explained the importance and the effect of it:

It really brought it home to him that he could be appreciated. That he felt important that evening, and that is very important to him [...] Because that would have a positive effect on him. Then he had something to be proud of, something that he could tell other people about later [Group interview 5].

Furthermore, participating in an activity can enhance the self-esteem of the clients. For example, because clients see that they can look nice, as on the beauty day. As a consequence of this enriching experience, clients mentioned that good memories were one benefit of LC activities. They can tell others about their experience or look back at the pictures that have been taken.

Less positive experiences of clients

The interviews showed that some clients can feel stressed or nervous about what is going to happen, how to get there and whether everything will work out. One caregiver described it as follows: "I noticed that before his wish was going to be fulfilled, he [the client] became restless. He couldn't sleep well and he found it overwhelmingly exciting. It worried him" [Group interview

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5]. Furthermore, the activities did not always seem to be suitable for the target group. Some clients felt that the activities were too long or too intense. For example, according to one of the clients, the location of the cooking workshop was too far away and the journey there was too long. Other clients found one of the activities (the beauty day) too long. Especially at the end of the day, when they still had to wait for the singer to start, it took too long “because many of them wanted to go home by then, they were so tired after such a day” [Group interview 4]. The execution of activities is not always appropriate for the group of people either. Parts of the beauty day and the cooking workshop were felt to be insufficiently stimulating. At the cooking workshop, the head cook had made a lot of the preparations beforehand. One client said: “It would have been nice if everything had not been set up beforehand, that we could have done that for ourselves” [Group interview 1]. During the beauty day, some of the participants also finished some of the activities quickly (making a photo frame for example) and then had to wait for the next activity. Furthermore, two clients indicated that having many people around them was overwhelming. For example, one of the clients therefore found having her make-up done less enjoyable: “There were too many people there. So it was a bit too hectic” [Group interview 3]. A final less positive experience mentioned in the interviews with the clients was that sometimes too little preparation seemed to have taken place, for instance coordination among the people who organized the activity and the caregiver of the client, or in preparing the client for the activity. For example, one client had no jacket with her when her wish to ride on the back of a motorcycle came true. Another client did not attend the activity (which was planned on April 1st) because he thought it was a joke. In one sheltered-living facility a beauty evening took place on the evening of the beauty day.

DISCUSSION

This section will first address the research questions, and then examine which lessons can be learned from an initiative like LC regarding volunteering in a participation society.

The first research question was: “What are the motivations of and benefits for volunteers in the context of LC?” Surprisingly, the distinction between motivations and benefits proved somewhat artificial. For volunteers, motivations and benefits seem to be intertwined. Feeling good on a personal basis as a volunteer by getting involved in an LC activity is closely connected to the internal motivation to help one another. The connection between motivations and benefits can be explained by research carried out by Hustinx. In her research, the motivations of volunteers are framed as altruistic and self-interested reasons (Hustinx *et al.*, 2010). The participants in our

research describe both altruistic reasons – volunteering to do something good for others or for society – and they also mention self-interested motivations and benefits – such as feeling good about themselves (by giving something to other people); receiving something through giving (by experiencing the (positive) response of the client); and experiencing a win-win situation (because offering LC leads to increased brand awareness, for example). Previous studies have also shown that individual volunteers are motivated simultaneously by a blend of both altruistic and self-interested reasons (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003; Hustinx *et al.*, 2010) and become involved for more than one motive (Clary *et al.*, 1998).

The second research question was: “what are the benefits and possible negative outcomes of volunteering for the clients in the context of LC?” Firstly, as expected, several benefits were evident for the clients. Clients experience enjoyment, they feel recognized as a person instead of as a patient, they feel valued and appreciated. Furthermore, it may help them to forget their worries, they may learn something new by taking part in an activity, sometimes they learn to become more independent, and they get to know people. Some clients experience pleasurable anticipation and an afterglow effect. In addition to the many positive experiences, the results also revealed some less positive experiences, such as stressful anticipation, too little preparation or the activity being too intense or overwhelming, or on the other hand insufficiently stimulating. These less positive experiences show particular pitfalls in the area of choosing the right activity for the right client or group of clients, and shaping the activity so that it fits the (individual) client.

This study aimed to give an example of citizens’ commitment to their fellow citizens, and examine what motivates them and what volunteer work brings them, in the light of volunteering as a part of the participation society. Which lessons can be learned from this study regarding volunteering in the context of LC? What is striking is that although LC may at first sight seem to be a form of “one-way traffic”, with the volunteer giving something to the client, this case study seems to show that LC appears much more of a “two-way street”. It appears that the interaction between volunteers and clients benefits both parties. In the relationship between the volunteer and the client, giving changes into receiving. In this sense, both clients and volunteers are part of the “good” that emerges.

The dynamic of giving and receiving seems to fit with current times. These days, people do not generally care for others out of a moral obligation (such as Christian charity), but rather because they want to do so, in order to provide something valuable to another person and also out of a form of self-interest, whereby the volunteer also benefits from giving (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003; Van Heijst, 2011).

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In the participation society, citizens are expected to become actively involved in taking care of others in order to address the duties of citizenship. This research shows that people experience this expectation not as a duty or a moral obligation, but feel connected and motivated on a personal level to give and receive something positive. However, one vulnerability was identified. It is often argued that while other-regarding reasons may cause people to get involved in volunteering, volunteering must produce significant benefits if it is to continue on a sustainable basis (Hustinx, Cnaan & Handy, 2010). If volunteers do not experience a "return" on their efforts, they will probably stop giving. Considering the two-sidedness of LC activities, this may relate to the benefits that clients experience. One risk could be that if clients do not enjoy the activity, possibly because it is not sufficiently well-chosen for the individual client, volunteers too may experience fewer benefits.

To enhance and sustain the voluntary deployment of people without a disability on behalf of people with disabilities, organizations should embrace initiatives like LC as a visionary new manifestation of the civil society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project was supported by the Jan Jongmans Fund. The authors would like to thank the participants for their involvement in this study.

NOTEN

- 1 "Verwenzorg" has been translated into Love and tender Care (LC). To avoid confusing, the known term "Tender Loving Care" (TLC) is not used. Instead, a new term for this initiative is introduced.

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