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Shaping recognition in sheltered workshops: The interplay of activating institutions, professionals, co-workers and a sociologist

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Melissa Sebrechts

When doing your
best is not good enough
*Shaping recognition in
sheltered workshops*

An abstract painting featuring silhouettes of people in various poses, rendered in dark colors like black and dark blue. The background is composed of large, overlapping blocks of color, including bright orange, yellow, and muted green. The overall style is expressive and somewhat somber.

The interplay of activating
institutions, professionals,
co-workers and a sociologist

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sheltered workshops*

The interplay of activating institutions,
professionals, co-workers and a sociologist

When doing your best is not good enough
Shaping recognition in sheltered workshops

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The research on which this dissertation is based was conducted as part of the Long-Term Care Partnership. The partnership was set up to bridge social scientific research and (long-term) care practices by bringing together universities, care organisations, client(s) (organisations) and other stakeholders. One of the research programmes, and the basis of this dissertation, revolved around the citizenship of people with intellectual disabilities. This particular project lasted from 2013 to 2017, and was financed by the one of the members of the partnership, Cordaan.

Contents.

Chapter 1.	Participation and recognition in activating welfare states: a general introduction	16
1.	The bumpy road to employment	18
2.	Posing questions	19
3.	A theoretical prelude	21
	On participation	21
	On recognition	27
	Shaping the (recognisable) subject	35
4.	Outline of the book	41
Chapter 2.	Researching recognition: an ethnography of sheltered workshops	43
	Introduction	43
1.	Starting the research	44
	Focus and first encounters	44
	Explaining myself and my 'book'	46

2.	Places and people	49
	Two care organisations	50
	Six sheltered workshops	54
3.	Studying recognition	59
	Broad observations, sensitising literature	59
	Talking, observing, reading about 'value'	60
	Interviewing about respect	63
	Observing and 'sensing' experiences of recognition	66
	Saying goodbye: the temporary nature of fieldwork	67
4.	Analysing and writing	69

Chapter 3.	'We don't feel that way at all': self-stories in the face of misrecognition	72
-------------------	--	-----------

	Introduction	72
1.	Silencing and distancing	73
2.	Feeling disrespected and devalued	75
3.	'Real' clients and people with MID	76
4.	The stories we tell	79
	I am a little bit spastic	79
	I had a rough life	80
	I am a 'bad boy'	81
	We are all (inter)dependent	82
	Conclusion: liable to misrecognition	84

Chapter 4.	'Good participation': policy's atomising discourse	87
-------------------	---	-----------

	Introduction	87
1.	An appealing discourse	88
2.	Self-steering participation	89
3.	Productive participation	90
4.	Tools and tensions	93
	Conclusion: conflicting goals	96

Chapter 5.	Preparing the ground for recognition: professionals putting policy into practice	98
<hr/>		
	Introduction	98
1.	Attending the workshop	99
	The Director: following personal choice	99
	The Teacher: convincing and advising	102
	The Fellow: giving practical help	104
2.	Initiating the work	105
	The Director: waiting for initiative	105
	The Teacher: actively assigning tasks	107
	The Fellow: seducing to work	108
3.	Executing tasks	108
	The Director: working individually	109
	The Teacher: explaining and controlling	111
	The Fellow: teasing and working together	113
	Conclusion: ‘recognisable’ participation	114
<hr/>		
Chapter 6.	The desire to outshine: in search of recognition	117
<hr/>		
	Introduction	117
1.	Esteem	118
	“Respect is something you need to earn”	118
	The estimable subject: a hard worker, a potent man	120
2.	Respect	124
	“I let you play the music you like, but not too loud”	124
	The respectable subject: ‘any’ human being	127
	Look at how smart and independent I am	127
3.	Love	129
	“Some people entrust their bank card to me”	130
	The lovable subject: a caring brother, lover, pet owner	132
	Look at how many friends I have on Facebook	135
	Conclusion: invasion of merit	136

Chapter 7.	Working alone, acting tough, caring together: everyday interactions of recognition in Dutch sheltered workshops	139
<hr/>		
	Introduction	139
1.	Recognising individual achievements	140
	Driving around deliveries	140
	Boredom and feeling drained	143
	Bullying another co-worker	146
	Fostering “Top Dog recognition”	148
2.	Recognising the parts in the whole	149
	Dismantling the greenhouse	149
	Caring for the injection	151
	Foreclosing “Team Player recognition”	152
	Conclusion: the productive force of recognition	154
<hr/>		
Chapter 8.	Sharing success and sanctions: everyday interactions of recognition in Portuguese sheltered workshops	157
<hr/>		
	Introduction	157
1.	A similar atomising policy discourse	158
2.	The Teacher and the Parent	161
	Hierarchy and affection	161
	Educating for work, educating for life	164
	Teaching to share responsibilities	168
3.	Interactions of Team Player recognition	171
	Sharing food and friendship	172
	Cooperation and humility	174
	And the ‘bad boys’?	175
	The risk of humiliation	177
	Conclusion: different discourse, different forms of recognition	180

Chapter 9.	The ambivalent enterprise of recognition: concluding the research	183
<hr/>		
	Introduction	183
1.	What was expected	184
	A promising intention	184
	Setting the scene	185
	A specific form of recognition	186
2.	What happened instead	187
	Failing the promise	187
	Hijacking recognition	188
	A comparative gesture	189
3.	What can be learned	190
	Sociologising recognition	191
	Revaluating the Team Player	199

Summary	210
<hr/>	
Participation and recognition in activating welfare states	211
An ethnography of sheltered workshops	212
‘We don’t feel that way at all’	213
What ‘good’ participation is about	214
Putting participation into practice	215
The desire to outshine	215
Working alone, acting tough, caring together	216
Sharing success and sanctions	217
The ambivalence of recognition	218
<hr/>	
Samenvatting	222
<hr/>	
Participatie en erkenning in activerende verzorgingsstaten	223
Een etnografie van beschutte werkplaatsen	224
‘Zo voelen wij ons helemaal niet’	225
Waar ‘goede’ participatie om draait	226
Hoe participatie in de praktijk wordt gebracht	227
De drang om uit te blinken	228
Zelfstandig werken, stoer doen, samen zorgen	229
Het delen van succes en sancties	231
De dubbelzinnigheid van erkenning	232
<hr/>	
Acknowledgements	236
<hr/>	
References	240
<hr/>	
Appendix 1.	Interview topic list
<hr/>	
	Dutch topic list
	English topic list
<hr/>	
Appendix 2.	Original quotations
	268

Chapter 1.

Participation and recognition in activating welfare states: a general introduction

I am surfing on Facebook and checking out the profile pages of the young men I recently connected to. It says Timothy is the business director of a Dutch platform for young entrepreneurs. Kevin describes himself on Facebook as a welder at a steel company since 2011. When I click on the name of the company, it leads me nowhere. And Google has no information about the company. Dylan's profile page, in turn, states that he works at a car repair company, an existing one this time.

Beyond what the young men's virtual profile pages suggest, there is a world of work that is less bright. Kevin works at a sheltered workshop since 2005. Before that time, he had done several internships and temporary jobs, at a supermarket, at a bakery. A few years ago he left the sheltered workshop to work at a fish storage. He came back after some time because, according to one professional, he *'fucked up his work'*. Since then, he remained at the sheltered workshop, with periods of stable attendance, and periods of absence.

Dylan tried but failed to finish a degree in car mechanics. Instead, he found a paid job at a bakery. After a conflict with his employer, he decided to try something else. With the help of a job coach, he found work as a shelfstocker at a supermarket for 15 hours a week. The contract ended after five months, because the supermarket stopped receiving subsidies for Dylan. The employer complained about his concentration problems too. Dylan was unemployed for several months before ending up at the sheltered workshop where I met him.

Another colleague, Samir, worked in at least three different sheltered work-

shops but was sent away from all of them. *'Apparently they didn't think I was good enough'*, is what he tells me. Samir also worked temporarily at a bicycle repair shop, illegally. While he was happy about earning 15 euros a day in cash there, he found himself in an unstable position and was fired overnight.

When I first got to know these young men, I was slightly intimidated by their looks and outer appearances. Many have tattoos on their bodies (even on their faces), wear shirts with texts like 'Eat, sleep, fuck, repeat', caps from their favourite soccer team, necklaces with a little gun or another symbol of violence, and expensive (sport) shoes. But upon spending more and more time with them, listening to their stories and watching their actions, it occurred to me that many of them were more vulnerable than they appeared at first. Like Kevin, Dylan, and Timothy, who put up a fictive work status on Facebook, most of the 53 young men I met at sheltered workshops over the past few years, want and dream about a normal job. In practice, they are confronted with a bumpy road to employment, and one that is often without the destination of their dreams.

The young men find themselves in precarious work situations due to their lack of diplomas, exigent labour market demands, and their diagnosis of 'mild intellectual disability'. This diagnosis is medically defined according to three criteria (see e.g. Schalock, Luckasson & Shogren, 2007, p. 118). First, it points to intellectual capacities considered below average, more specifically when the measured IQ lies between 50 and 70. Second, it points to problems with what is called very broadly the 'social and practical domain', referring among others to empathy, social judgement, interpersonal communication skills, and self-management with regard to money or daily care. Third, the two above points must occur and be identified before the age of 18 in order to classify as a mild intellectual disability.

In recent years, people with mild intellectual disabilities have come to the attention of Dutch media for a number of reasons. Amongst others, the Dutch newspaper *Volkscrant* (see Herderschee, 2014) and the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP, 2010) report that there is a rising number of people with mild intellectual disabilities who cannot handle life. A continuous striving for automatisisation and efficiency (transport, financial services) would make society ever more complex and too demanding for citizens with limited intellectual capacities. Over the past years, media have also drawn attention to adolescents with mild intellectual disabilities who, upon turning 18, refuse support and end up in thorny situations (Zembla, 2015, 2016). An extreme case was that of the Belgian Jordy who died from deprivation (heat and hunger) after having spent his entire life in institutions and wanting to enjoy 'freedom' after his eighteenth birthday (see Bergmans, 2016; Van Garderen, 2016). Another reason for the increased media attention lies in the high percentage of – especially male – adolescents with mild intellectual disabilities committing crimes and being over-represented in the judicial system (Teugwen, 2012).

Outside media, Kevin, Dylan and Timothy, like many of their colleagues, do not feel like they 'are' or 'have' a mild intellectual disability. They do not want to be labelled as such but want to be seen and treated normally. They want to be 'normal'

people, working at a ‘normal’ company. Professionals widely identify the refusal of these young men to acknowledge their diagnosis as one of the biggest problems, and, often related to that, the refusal of help or support. The fact that the diagnosis usually has no physical markers and is thus ‘invisible’ is said to contribute to this refusal.

1. THE BUMPY ROAD TO EMPLOYMENT

Full citizenship, inclusion, and participation of people with disabilities are important issues on the global agenda. Over the past ten years, 172 countries ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, thereby devoting attention to the efforts needed for securing and actively working towards the equal participation and rights of people with disabilities. The existence of such a treaty clearly reveals that their equal participation is not self-evident in many nations around the world. And indeed, disability research points towards the continuous marginalised position of many people with disabilities, particularly those with intellectual disabilities (see, for example, Hall, 2005; Wiesel, Bigby & Carling-Jenkins, 2013).

Work is approached as *the* solution to social exclusion and the participation of people with disabilities (Hall & Kramer, 2009; Hall & Wilton, 2011; Holmqvist, 2010; Kwekkeboom & van Weert, 2008; Van Hal, 2013). Work continues to be regarded as one of the most important places and activities for human beings to be or become ‘full citizens’ (Butcher & Wilton 2008; Chertkovskaya et al., 2013; Isin & Turner 2002).

In this stream of thought, EU policy in the past decade has increasingly put an emphasis on combating the social exclusion of people with disabilities and promoting their participation through employment (EU, 2015). Such policies were drawn against a background of unemployment rates of people with disabilities being almost twice as high as those of the general population across Europe (ibid.). While the traditional welfare state made distinctions between people who were supposed to be active on the labour market and people who were not – like women and people with disabilities (Holmqvist, 2010; Van Hal, 2013) – the latter are now expected to work too. On the one hand, because this enhances their participation and gives them opportunities to feel recognised; on the other hand, because they too are expected to take responsibility in becoming more self-steering and contributing to society. The emphasis on personal responsibility has been identified as one of the most important features of what is referred to as ‘activating’ welfare states (Holmqvist, 2010; Larsen, 2005; Newman & Tonkens, 2011; Van Berkel & Borgbi, 2008).

One of the measures designed by European member states to facilitate the labour participation of people with disabilities are sheltered workshops (SWs). While no official definition or overarching classification of different types of SWs exists, a general distinction is made between traditional and transitional ones. Traditional SWs provide permanent alternative employment to people with disabilities, while

transitional SWs focus on their transition to the regular labour market (EU, 2015). At transitional SWs, people make beautiful products, perform services that can be sold, or learn to do so in the future. This is the type of SWs this study will focus on.

Early during my fieldwork in the Netherlands, I observed, heard, and read about the fact that many people in transitional SWs remain ‘stuck’ there for long – sometimes infinite periods of time. Literature from other European countries revealed similar results (Butcher & Wilton; 2008; Holmqvist, 2010). Research conducted by the European Union also shows that the success of transitional SWs proves small on a European scale, with only 3% of people who do sheltered or supported work moving to the open labour market (EU, 2015, p. 11). In short, the ‘transitional’ character of SWs appears to be little realistic in practice.

2. POSING QUESTIONS

As shown by a glimpse into the young men’s work histories, as well as literature and European statistics, many people in sheltered workshops (SWs) go back and forth between periods of staying at home, internships, and sometimes temporarily a paid (illegal) job. What happens is most of them end up at the SW again. At the same time, the young men’s Facebook profiles show that not only policy, but they too, envision ‘regular work’ as the ideal end-phase. It is something they dream of and long for. With this information in the back of my mind, I became interested in questions of recognition.

How do young men in SWs ‘participate’ and feel recognised in this space that is meant to be ‘in-between’ unemployment and regular employment, but in practice turns out to be more permanent than that? If moving on to regular employment, as both young men themselves and SWs work towards, does not happen, what happens instead? In particular, if regular work leads to recognition, but such work is never attained, what else happens in terms of recognition at the SW? The main question of this research reads as follows:

How is participation put into practice in sheltered workshops, and how does this shape co-workers’¹ experiences of recognition?

¹ As a researcher, young men’s hesitation or even refusal to identify as people with mild intellectual disabilities made me ponder over how to call them in my writings. So I asked them about how they wanted me to name them in my ‘book’ (see Chapter 2). Kevin and David suggested I call them ‘medewerkers’ because, as David explained, ‘we work on a project together [‘we werken mee’] (...) and we do the tasks together [‘klussen’], and take them on...’ A literal translation of the Dutch word ‘medewerker’ would be ‘employee’, but that is not the understanding the young men give to it. They sure know they are not employed for a salary. Nevertheless, they see themselves as people who, in the context of the SW, work on different projects together with professionals and other young men. They literally ‘co-work’. It is in this sense of the word that I will refer to these young men as ‘co-workers’ throughout the book.

In posing this question, I am assuming that ideals of participation, as they are articulated by the (activating) welfare state and the labour market, shape young men's possibilities of being and feeling recognised. If self-reliance is what is framed as desirable, the one who is not self-reliant will not feel recognised or esteemed (at least not for that particular quality). Instead, he might feel ashamed or guilty of being dependent on welfare benefits or the help of family and friends. It points out that not all skills are equally rewarded. This 'problem' of unequally esteemed skills becomes even more critical in relation to work. On the work floor, being able to sing well or to shout loud is not considered valuable (unless one works as a singer or as a market salesperson). When policy proclaims that everyone should be able to fully participate and be an esteemed citizen, what is often underestimated is the power of institutions in shaping very specific ways of being an esteemed, participating citizen.

Therefore, I will first investigate what kind of participation policies 'float around' in the support of co-workers. Second, how are these policies given concrete shape in SWs? Third, how do practical expressions of participation shape co-workers' relationships at the workplace, particularly in terms of recognition?

Assuming that discourses of participation structure our possibilities of feeling recognised implies that something could be learned from a context where such a discourse takes on a different form. If discourse shapes interactions of recognition, we would see that co-workers experience recognition differently in different policy contexts. Therefore, when I began my research, I looked for places that on an overarching level showed a similar discourse on labour participation and had a similar set-up of SWs, but were embedded in different welfare state contexts. The southern European country of Portugal – a country with a completely different welfare history but still under the same umbrella of (influential) European participation policies – was chosen to draw a comparison with the Netherlands. This 'corporatist' welfare state (*Esping-Andersen, 1990*), with its history of more family-oriented and solidaristic (disability) care arrangements (*Andreotti et al. 2001; Fontes, 2008; Pinto, 2011b, 2011c; Wall et al. 2001*), was expected to implement participation differently than the Dutch social-democratic plus conservatist (*Esping-Andersen, 1990*), more individualistic and professionalised care context. Experiences of recognition would potentially also be different in such a context.

The dissertation *primarily* looks at the ways in which participation is set up in the Dutch context, how this turns out, and the consequences it has 'on the ground' for co-workers' experiences of recognition. More *secondarily*, it does the same for the Portuguese context (see *Chapter 2* for more details on the comparison). By including the Portuguese case, the most important goal is to encourage reflection on how the ideal of participation is given shape in the Netherlands, and with what consequences. By looking at how a place other than our own is working towards the ideal of participation, giving shape and meaning to it, a point of reference is created and makes reflection easier to carry out. Such a two-case study, I hold, forces 'scrupulous consideration of the social consequences of what we are doing' (*Lock, 2002, p. 13*).

3. A THEORETICAL PRELUDE

In what follows, I familiarise the reader with the theoretical inspirations of the study. The chapter is roughly divided into two parts, each one dealing with a central pillar of the research: participation on the one hand, and recognition on the other hand. To start, I focus on the idea of participation and people with (intellectual) disabilities. In no way do I attempt to give an exhaustive overview of the history of intellectual disability in a particular context (*for this purpose, see Carlson, 2009; Digby, 1996; Trent, 1994; for the Netherlands, see Mans, 1998; Tonkens, 1999; Weijers & Tonkens, 1999*). Instead, I put the spotlight on a limited number of historical periods, always with the aim of making sense of the current emphasis on participation present in many European disability policies. In doing so, I pay specific attention to the two countries in which fieldwork was carried out, namely the Netherlands and Portugal. The (historical) differences and (current) similarities between the two countries in dealing with people with intellectual disabilities are pointed out. The journey then continues with the concept of recognition. I explain the relevance of studying participation through the lens of recognition, particularly in the case of people like the co-workers included in this study. A review of the work of two of the most influential theorists of recognition, Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser, will highlight the usefulness of both. Contrary to authors who privilege Honneth's interactional account over Fraser's institutional account or vice versa, I propose to combine them by turning to the broader sociological matter of 'subjectification'.

ON PARTICIPATION

A history of exclusion

In pre-industrial or feudal societies, people with disabilities lived and worked as integrated members of their communities (*Abberley, 2002; Barnes & Mercer, 2005; Oliver, 1990*). Mental retardation, more specifically, was considered a local or family problem, and idiots were treated with compassion and humour (*Digby, 1996; Trent, 1994*). 'Often the unintentional buffoon and sometimes the brunt of mean-spirited jokes by townspeople, simpletons nevertheless usually found themselves protected by the generosity and familiarity of the locals' (*Trent, 1994, p. 8*).

Mental retardation² shifted from a family problem to a social and state problem with the rise of industrialisation (*Abberley, 2002; Digby, 1996; Trent, 1994*). Institutions

² Following Digby (1996), in this part of the chapter I use historical terms like 'mental retardation', 'idiots' and 'imbeciles', as opposed to the current terminology of (people with) 'intellectual disability', because '... language used historically helps us to understand past values and social attitudes' (p. 3).

like asylums, workhouses and prisons started multiplying and growing at a steady pace in many European countries (Digby, 1996). The state started intervening in what was previously the sphere of families and religious charities – namely the care, control, and shelter of people who were considered ‘deviant’ (Digby, 1996; Fontes, 2008; Weijers & Tonkens, 1999). In several European countries, like the UK, but also Portugal and the Netherlands, people with different kinds of impairments used to be put together in asylums and workhouses, with no distinctions being made between them (Digby, 1996; Fontes, 2008; Tonkens, 1999).

According to several authors (e.g. Digby, 1996; Oliver, 1990), the rise of institutions brought along the idea of mental retardation being shameful: ‘Social negativity grew stronger as more widespread institutional care resulted in a distancing of idiots and imbeciles from the community’ (Digby, 1996, p. 2). Industrialisation and a capitalist mode of production fundamentally changed the relationship between society and impaired individuals by individualising disability (Abberley, 2002; Oliver, 1990). From being a local, family problem, disability in many European countries shifted to being an individual, medical problem (Barnes, Oliver & Barton, 2002; Oliver, 1990). Disability was considered a misfortune, a personal tragedy. Portuguese authors convincingly show that such a medical model of disability was, and partly still is, tenacious in their country (Fontes, 2008, 2009; Loja, Costa & Menezes, 2011). In the Dutch case, asylums historically adhered to a medical view of idiocy. However, parallel-running charity institutions for idiots discarded such a view, placing emphasis on a social view instead, thereby appealing to people’s sense of mercy and solidarity (Tonkens, 1999; Weijers & Tonkens, 1999).

In some countries, like the UK and the USA, the medical model of disability gave rise to the idea that mental retardation was curable, and that it required treatment and adjustment to society (Carlson, 2009; Goodley, 2011). Especially in the case of younger inmates, it was believed that, through the right treatments and education, they would be able to lead ‘normal lives’. But soon enough, rising numbers of long-stay, chronic inmates, most of them mentally retarded, made place for an era of pessimism (Carlson, 2009; Digby, 1996; Trent, 1994). At the end of the 19th century, in countries like France, the USA and the UK, the rise of institutions centralised scientific knowledge, expertise and professional practices, transforming people with mental retardation into objects of knowledge and dividing the world into normal and abnormal subjects (Carlson, 2009; Foucault, 1997; Simpson, 2007). Mental retards first appeared as a group marked by their particular, pathological way of being Other (Simpson, 2007). ‘For the first time causes, definitions, descriptions, and treatments of idiocy were being discussed and practiced within an organised structure’ (Carlson, 2009, p. 25).

The eras of optimism, and then pessimism, with regard to mental retardation in the mid-19th century, went largely unnoticed in the Netherlands. Specialised care and institutions for idiots developed fairly late in the Netherlands and Portugal in comparison to other countries like England, Germany, or the USA (Fontes, 2008; Versteegen & Moonen, 2010; Weijers & Tonkens, 1999), and the idea of curability or educability

was marginal. Up until the 1960s, Dutch psychiatric institutions, with a few exceptions (see Weijers & Tonkens, 1999), were mainly focused on guarding and taking care of patients, seeing little reason for investing in pedagogical purposes (Tonkens & Weijers, 1999). In Portugal the idea of curing or educating idiots was also absent, and most privately funded and charitable institutions had no goals other than to incarcerate and separate ‘idiots’ from the rest of society (Fontes, 2008). A belief in, and efforts towards, the educability of idiots emerged around 1916 in Portugal but were prematurely truncated by the dawn of the dictatorship in 1926. The 48 years that followed, under the dictatorial regime, exerted much influence on what charity institutions could and could not do, and the care or support of people with disabilities became a marginal objective. Instead, in a spirit of eugenics and social control, new segregative institutions were erected with no pedagogical purposes (Fontes, 2008).

In the Netherlands, up until the 1930s, mental retardation had received little scientific consideration. It began being perceived as an interesting – and curable – medical problem in the decades that followed (Tonkens, 1999). This interest put in place a regime of expertise [*deskundigheidsregime*] with medics being the key players in their quest for the causes and treatments of mental retardation. Patients were increasingly approached as interesting objects of study (*ibid.*).

In European (and North American) institutions of the 20th century, people with mental retardation were structurally ‘othered’, made into objects of knowledge and intervention (Abberley, 2002; Simpson, 2007). With the rise of standardised IQ tests, the segregation and separation of people with (different types of) mental retardation became increasingly specialised (Carlson, 2009; Digby, 1996, p. 12). In the Netherlands, people with mental retardation had the right to specialised treatment, i.e. collectively paid care and institutionalisation, which was secured by national legislation (AWBZ) in 1968. However, apart from that, they had few other rights. Like in many other countries, the care people received was disempowering (Abberley, 2002) and experts held authority over what was best for them. People with mental retardation were considered non-citizens, and their appropriate place was in the institution, typically located far away from the everyday life of people without mental retardation (Teeuwen, 2012; Tonkens, 1999).

The rise of disability movements

The position of people with disabilities has historically been marked by exclusion, discrimination, and poverty. Well into the 20th century, people with intellectual (or other) disabilities, like those with intellectual disabilities, were segregated from society, objectified, and deprived of power and control. Out of this historical background arose disability movements fighting for equal rights and participation.

Across the globe, the second half of the 20th century witnessed the rise of various social movements: feminist, queer, black, working-class movements (Newman & Tonkens, 2011). Many excluded groups demanded participation and equal citizenship – amongst them, people with (intellectual) disabilities. Much like other

social movements, disability movements employed a language of human rights and social integration (Barnes et al., 2002; Digby, 1996; Trent, 1994; Weijers & Tonkens, 1999). People with disabilities, policymakers, and advocacy groups protested against the discrimination and poverty faced by this segment of society, and fought for equity and fuller, richer lives (Barnes, Oliver & Barton, 2002; Barnes & Mercer, 2005; Van Oorschot & Heinden, 2000). The aim was to gather and diffuse knowledge, share experiences and raise awareness about the less-than-citizen position ascribed by society to people with disabilities. They demanded the right conditions in order for people with disabilities to become more active, have more choice and independence (*ibid.*), but they also asked that these people's sameness and differences be valued and respected (Abberley, 2002, p. 128; Newman & Tonkens, 2011, p. 9-10).

The rise of social movements and claims for more participation – among others, in the labour market – was accompanied by a change in the way disability was perceived. The beacon of this shift was the UK, where activist authors developed what is called the 'social model' of disability (Barnes et al., 2002; Goodley, 2011; Oliver, 1990). The social model refutes the idea that disability is an individual problem and politicises it (Goodley, 2011). The invoked difference between having a mental or physical impairment and being disabled by society is one of the most concrete examples of this model. In other words, the social model of disability distances itself from the idea that impaired individuals need to adjust themselves to society. Instead, it proposes to view the problem from the opposite angle. It is society that disables individuals by erecting a range of physical and social barriers. Along with the other -isms like racism or sexism, occurred the idea that 'disablism' too was conceptualised as a form of oppression (Van Oorschot & Heinden, 2000).

As with the specific case of intellectual disabilities, the turn towards the social model has proved difficult (Dowse, 2001; Goodley, 2001). Even within the disability movement, intellectual disability faces discrimination in the sense that it is often still conceptualised as an individual, innate, medical problem (*ibid.*). In contrast to women, homosexual, or black people's movements, disability movements in general have struggled to construct their differences as 'positive differences' that could provide them with a sense of pride and value (Duyvendak & Nederland, 2006, p. 182). This is even more so for people with intellectual disabilities who have only minimally been able to make use of identity politics to claim a set of rights (Anderson & Bigby, 2016; Goodley, 2011), when compared with other disability movements (e.g. autistic people's association, see Chamak, 2008). For people with intellectual disabilities, constructing a positive identity based on their 'difference' is far less viable (Scheier, 2015) and intellectual impairments are often constructed as 'objectively' undesirable, bad, and tragic (Carlson, 2009, p.10). As we will see in Chapter 3, the young men in this study internalise such a negative view of intellectual impairments to a great extent, and this bears severe consequences for their self-stories and search for recognition.

Turning our gaze to the specific case of Dutch disability movements, in the 1960s and 1970s there is a strong movement criticising the institutionalised, hierarchical, non-democratic structures of large-scale institutions, as happened in most parts of

Western Europe and the USA (Tonkens & Weijers, 1999; Trappenburg, 2013). Institutions were not considered a solution, as they had been some decades earlier, but were seen as obstructing normal life in the community, leading to social exclusion and depersonalisation (Digby, 1996; Coffman, 1961; Tonkens, 1999; Trent, 1994). Instead of preparing patients for a life in the community, these institutions made them more dependent on institutional care, and needlessly emphasised and devalued their differences (Digby, 1996; Tonkens, 1999, 2011). Deinstitutionalisation became a policy goal in the Netherlands during the 1960s and 1970s, as it would enable people with intellectual disabilities to participate and become 'citizens' like all others (Tonkens and Weijers, 1999). Along with deinstitutionalisation, Dutch social movements claimed a more democratic environment in which patients would be empowered and have a say in decisions (Ootes, 2012; Tonkens, 1999, 2011). Still in the spirit of anti-authoritarianism and anti-expertise, they demanded the right to autonomy, voice, and choice (Tonkens, 2011).

In Portugal the story is a different one. Since there had been no strong history of (welfare state) institutionalisation, but only of private assistance by the family or (Catholic) charity institutions, deinstitutionalisation was not a main goal of social movements. These movements began emerging in the 1950s, with a first impulse being given by family members (mainly mothers) of disabled people who started forming single-impairment organisations (Fontes, 2008; Loja et al., 2011). With the revolution and the establishment of democracy in 1974, disability movements started flourishing. Many of them were organised by former soldiers who had become impaired during the Portuguese colonial war and were dissatisfied with the state services provided (*ibid.*).

Patient movements – for example, of former soldiers who had served the nation and were then confronted with a nation that failed to take responsibility for the consequences of its war – demanded to be treated as citizens, rather than as charity recipients (Fontes, 2008, 2009; Loja, Costa, Hughes & Menezes, 2013; Loja et al., 2011). Along with other patient movements, they fought for solidarity, autonomy, and citizenship (Fontes, 2008; Loja, et al., 2011). Much like the disability movements in the Netherlands and other countries around the world, patient movements employed a language of human rights, equal opportunities, anti-discrimination, and participation (*ibid.*). These claims, combined with Portugal's entrance to the EU in 1986, resulted in the introduction of policies and laws securing and promoting the citizenship and participation of people with intellectual (and other) disabilities: '[b]y the end of the 1990s a new vision of disability emerged, based on the concepts of inclusion and citizenship and on the idea of the rights of disabled people' (Fontes, 2008, p. 73).

Activating welfare policies

Following decades of oppression, exclusion and discrimination of people with disabilities, in the second half of the 20th century, disability movements around Europe started fighting for more participation. Part of their struggle was access (or return) to employment (Van Oorschot & Heinden, 2000). Full citizenship was understood as partic-

ipation in all social spheres on an equal footing, including work and income (*ibid.*).

Meanwhile, the 1990s posed a challenge to the existing welfare systems. Incapacity benefits would hinder the reintegration and the participation of those relying on them (*OECD, 2007*). With social security costs on the rise, the prevalent idea was that the welfare measures then in place were too generous, turning citizens into dependent, lazy subjects (*Holmqvist, 2010; Newman & Tonkens, 2011; Van Hal, 2013; Van Oorschot & Hvinden, 2000*).

Activating policies had to bring a change to this scenario and started appearing from the 1980s onwards. In the Netherlands, social security was fundamentally reformed and, not the compensation, but the activation of citizens to participate and be (come) and remain self-sufficient, stood central (*OECD, 2007*). Even though the degree of (generous universalist) passive welfare measures was much higher in the Netherlands than it was in Portugal, the current activating language of major Portuguese social security laws and their emphasis on personal responsibility has also become striking (*Hespanha, 2007*), and reveals many similarities with the Dutch context.

In disability policies too, the common trend of activation became visible from the 1990s onwards (*Bredewold, Tonkens, & Trappenburg, 2016; Van Oorschot & Hvinden, 2000*). Local governments embraced the emphasis disability movements put on employment, and participation became narrowly defined as (competitive) *labour* participation (*Abberley, 2002; Butcher & Wilton, 2008; Borgbi & van Berkel, 2007; Holmqvist, 2010; Kewekkeboom & van Weert, 2008; Van Oorschot & Hvinden, 2000*). Whereas until the 1980s people with (intellectual) disabilities could rely on collective welfare state arrangements (at least in the Netherlands), they are now increasingly asked and seduced to participate, preferably in the (competitive) labour market (*EU, 2015; EU, 2010; Holmqvist, 2010; Newman & Tonkens, 2011; Van Berkel & Borgbi, 2008a*). Sheltered workplaces, which had been common at the time of institutionalisation, were considered less desirable (and more expensive) than integrated work (*Trappenburg, 2013*). Through work, people with disabilities would be able to fully participate, gain financial independence and earn a meaningful, relevant role in society (*Hall & Wilton, 2011; Holmqvist, 2010; Kewekkeboom & van Weert, 2008; Van Oorschot & Hvinden, 2000*). Furthermore, this would reduce costs.

In labour market policies for people with disabilities, some important characteristics of activating welfare states come to the fore. First, there is a focus on competences and on what people can (still) do instead of what they cannot do (*OECD, 2007; Van Hal, 2013*). Despite their impairments, people with intellectual disabilities can and should make themselves useful and contribute to society. Second, with the transformation of welfare states into *active* welfare states, people with intellectual disabilities do not only have the right, but also have the duty to become active rather than passive recipients of welfare benefits, and to contribute towards societal goals through their labour participation (*Holmqvist, 2010; Van Hal, 2013; Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2013*). This emphasis on personal responsibility has been identified as one of the major characteristics of activating welfare states and activating policies (*Borgbi & Van Berkel, 2007; Holmqvist, 2010; OECD, 2007; Newman & Tonkens, 2011; Tonkens, Grootgeod & Duyvendak, 2013; Van Hal, 2013*).

In the Netherlands, the introduction of the Social Support Act in 2007 was one of the moments when the activating discourse of participation became most striking. In addition to making people feel more responsible and involved, it aimed at increasing the participation and self-reliance of, amongst others, people with disabilities (*Bredewold, Tonkens & Trappenburg, 2016*). In order to increase their labour participation more specifically, the Participation Act of 2015 was drawn and implemented (*TK, 2013/2014a*). The aim of this act was to have as many people as possible, including people with disabilities, working in a regular work environment (*ibid.*).

In Portugal, there are similar national laws centred upon activation and labour market participation. The introduction of the Employment Action Plan [*Plano Nacional de Emprego*] (*CM, 2003*) for example, signalled a growing concern with increasing the nation's overall employment. Its aim was to activate unemployed and 'inactive' people [*inactivos*], such as people with disabilities, to participate in programs targeted at the enhancement of their employability (*CM, 2003; 2005*). Similarly, the *Plano Nacional de Acção para a Inclusão* [Portuguese Action Plan for Inclusion] focuses on activating disadvantaged social groups. Its objective is to promote the inclusion of all people (in the labour market), solidarity and social cohesion. Related to that, it is an instrument for the 'responsibilisation' of every individual and their citizenship duties (*CM, 2001*).

The current strong ideal of labour participation is thus related both to top-down government ideologies concerned with making citizens productive, and to bottom-up demands for equal rights and access to employment. Activating policies successfully made use of disability movements' rhetoric of participation, independence and choice, to restructure the welfare state. Bottom-up demands of social movements and top-down economic restructuring found themselves united in a language of activation and participation (*Tonkens, 2016; Trappenburg, 2013*). This makes the field of participation, translated into more concrete projects like SWs for people with disabilities, into a field full of tensions.

ON RECOGNITION

A vital human need

This study focuses on the labour participation of co-workers, approached through the lens of recognition. While the struggles of the 1970s gave people with mild intellectual disabilities a set of formal rights, many still have a hard time feeling socially included, recognised and valued (*Roets et al., 2016*). Nuanced accounts on the effects of deinstitutionalisation point out that, even though physical inclusion has been attained in many places, social inclusion is still very much lacking: many people with intellectual disabilities suffer from loneliness, isolation and exclusion, despite the fact that they live 'integrated' in the neighbourhood (*Bigby & Wiesel, 2011; Bredewold, Tonkens & Trappenburg, 2015; Hall, 2005, 2010; Meininger, 2010; Trappenburg, 2013;*

Verplanke & Duyvendak, 2010). Other authors stress that the community presence of people with (M)ID does not ensure their community participation (Butcher & Wilton, 2008; Hall & Kearns, 2001; Wiesel et al., 2013). Supported living or assisted working in the community does not necessarily result in having friends in that community, or in feeling recognised and being a valued member (Bredewold, Tonkens & Trappenburg, 2016).

The context of social exclusion, loneliness and lack of recognition makes it topical and important to approach participation as something more than a mere (economic) activity, and ask in what ways it gives people with intellectual disabilities opportunities to develop valuable social relations, feel recognised and valued. Several authors have addressed participation and citizenship through a relational lens (Bredewold, Tonkens & Trappenburg, 2015; Kabeer, 2005; Lister, 2007; Meininger, 2010; Ootes, Pols, Tonkens & Willems, 2013; Pols, 2006; Reinders, 2002; Roets et al., 2010). Some have proposed distinct concepts to study it. For example, Reinders speaks about the ‘good life’ and stresses the importance of civic friendship (2002). Meininger (2010) suggests the concept of social integration, referring to the availability of ‘a network of relationships with people other than family members or professionals’ (p. 192). In addition, there is a wide range of concepts that touch upon similar issues to the ones this study is interested in. These include belonging and membership (Hall, 2010), inclusion (Bigby & Wiesel, 2011; Meininger, 2013; Simplican & Leader, 2015), dignity (Gallagher, 2004; Lamont, 2000; Misztal, 2013; Pols, 2013a, 2013b) and respect (Lamont et al., 2016; Middleton, 2006). While these concepts could be valuable too, this study focuses on the concept of recognition. Both in (disability) policy and in social theory, the concept of recognition has proved its ‘worth’ in addressing a range of themes and social ills.

For example, within medical sociology and anthropology, studies have invoked the idea of recognition with regard to the act of diagnosis (Bury, 1982; Hacking, 2006; Jutel, 2010; Littlewood, 1990; Lock, 1993; Rosenberg, 2002; Wilkinson, 2004). Recognition, in relation to (medical) labelling theory, is about people’s particular needs. When a person is diagnosed with an illness or disability, they are labelled as having certain differences that need to be attended to and cared for. Recognition here is about acknowledging and legitimising specific pains and problems, rather than (only) about acknowledging people’s shared humanity. In the literature, both positive and negative implications of this kind of recognition are distinguished.

On the positive side, social and medical acknowledgement gives legitimisation to one’s pains and problems. This can lead to understanding, empathy and acceptance from others and oneself, setting the healing process in motion (Wilkinson, 2004). Michael Bury – and we are reminded here of Parson’s concept of the sick role (1951) – has argued that, through medical legitimisation, a disease or disability can be held ‘at a distance’ and people get the opportunity to conceptualise themselves as victims of external forces rather than carrying full responsibility (1982, p. 173). Moreover, by acknowledging differences and giving them a name, the diagnosed person can meet others and get help from social services and special schools (Hacking, 2006). In other words, only when one’s experiences are socially and medically legitimised is there the possibility of help or welfare support. The process of labelling and recog-

nising people’s differences is therefore fundamentally a social and political process rather than just a medical one.

On the negative side, the legitimisation of any experience of illness or disability raises a new set of problems that Bury defines as ‘...a re-evaluation of the relationship between the now-visible disease and selfhood’ (1982, p. 172). People craft narratives to reconcile the relationship between their diagnosis and selfhood by adhering to medical narratives, presenting alternative ones or even trying to change the definition of their diagnosis through narratives (e.g. Chamak, 2008). In the literature we find people who oppose or resist their diagnosis, people who embrace it and people who long for such recognition so that they and their surroundings can finally put their finger on what is happening to them (e.g. Dumit’s ‘illnesses you have to fight to get’ 2006). Recognition figures prominently in these medical sociological studies, as it is a concept that points out the profound alterations that come with being seen and ‘recognised’ as a person with a certain illness or disability.

Outside medical labelling theory, recognition serves as a driver in questions around participation, identity, multiculturalism, and has received increased attention from both political and academic stages (Fraser, 2000; Taylor, 1994; Thomson, 2006; Tonkens et al., 2013). A ‘recognition turn’ (Editorial comments *Acta Sociologica* 2004, p. 323) took place in the 1990s in the political and philosophical debate: ‘recognition’ became a new cornerstone in social theory in general and an increasingly debated concept in welfare studies in particular. Perhaps most importantly known in relation to issues of multiculturalism and minority groups (Kymlicka & Banting, 2006; Taylor, 1994; Tully, 2000), recognition has found its way into a wide range of disciplines and themes, such as citizenship (Kabeer, 2005; Lister, 2007).

In Charles Taylor’s words, recognition is ‘a vital human need’ (Taylor, 1994, p. 26), an understanding widely shared within academia (e.g. Sennett, 2003; Todorov, 2001; Walzer, 1983). While I could use more theoretical arguments to show the importance of recognition, I want to shortly turn to some of the main characters of this book and show how they made clear the importance of recognition:

I: [...] could you give an example about respect or disrespect between colleagues?

Jordy: well yeah right now with colleagues I just have, I really have all respect, they are just there for you [me] and I am there for them. (Quotation 1)³

I: hey and what does respect mean for you? If you hear that word what
Roy: yes [...] a lot of people respect me. (Quotation 2)

³ All quotations from interviews and policy texts are translated from Dutch to English, or from Portuguese to English by me. When I deem it necessary, I add the original wording in italics and between brackets, and/or I add a literal translation of a specific expression. The numbering of interview quotations (only those with more than one sentence) refers to Appendix 2, in which the original language and the verbatim transcript of the quotation can be found.

Roy finds it important to convey an image of himself as a respected person. Although I did not ask about this explicitly, he feels the need to first state that they he is very much respected by others, before responding to the actual question of what respect means for him. His colleague Jordy, in turn, points at the importance of giving respect to other people – his colleagues in this case – and getting respect from them in return. Both co-workers indicate they find it important to be, or be regarded as, *respected* and *respectful* people.

Other co-workers showed this tendency too: when not feeling respected in an interaction, they actively sought to avoid similar interactions in the future, stopped doing their best, and sometimes even stopped showing up at work. Disrespect or perceived disrespect was reacted to with anger and other emotionally laden attitudes:

In response to my (interview) question about whether he could give an example of a moment when he felt disrespected, Marco told a long story about his team manager who did not keep his promises. He swore the team manager was taking it too far and that when he (Marco) would have had enough of being treated like that [*er genoeg van heeft*] he would stop making serious efforts at the workplace [*er met de pet naar gooien*], literally *'throw his cap at it'*.

During our interview, while talking about 'respect' and what it meant for him, Kevin remarked that, if there had not been respect between him and I, he would have cut the interview off and would have walked away.

These are small indications of how recognition, like theory suggests, is a 'vital human need' for co-workers at SWs. Respect matters in their lives.

Recognition has most systematically been developed within political philosophy (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Markell, 2003; Taylor, 1994; Todorov, 2001). These are comprehensive theories that conceptualise recognition as a way of writing and thinking about other big concepts, such as social justice. Two important authors on the theme of recognition are Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser. Both have put great effort in building comprehensive theories that emphasise the importance of the concept for arriving at a 'just' (Fraser, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2003) or 'good' society (Honneth, 1992, 1995, 2004, 2007a).

Interactions and emotions

Axel Honneth's theory of recognition is a comprehensive one that spans almost 25 years developing and refining it. While not able to do justice to all these years of his writings, I present some of the most salient aspects of his work, and indicate in what ways it inspired this study.

According to Honneth, recognition can be defined as '... a genus comprising various forms of practical attitudes whose primary intention consists in a particular

act of affirmation of another person or group' (2007b, p. 330). Together with a collection of other authors (e.g. Sennett, 2003; Taylor, 1994; Todorov, 2001; Walzer, 1983), Honneth is primarily concerned with the psychological harms a lack of recognition does to individuals' sense of identity, their relationships with others, and a socially just and 'good' life (1995, p. 171). That is why his theory is often referred to as an identity-model of recognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Thompson, 2006; Zurn, 2015). The argument that relations of recognition are indispensable for people to develop their identities and practical self-relations persisted throughout his many years of writing on the subject (Anderson & Honneth, 2004; Fraser & Honneth, 2003; Honneth, 1992, 1995, 2001, 2002, 2004, 2007a, 2007b).

Honneth conceptualises recognition as comprising three different dimensions: recognition as love, respect, and esteem. One of his main inspirations is the philosopher Hegel, who put recognition at the core of his ethics, and distinguished between different spheres of reciprocal recognition, namely the family (Honneth's love), the state (Honneth's respect), and civil society (Honneth's esteem).

The first form of recognition is what Honneth calls love or emotional support. This form of recognition is acquired through intimate relationships of love and friendship. Love is necessarily tied to the sphere of family and close friends. It forms the precondition for all other forms of recognition and enables individuals to develop self-confidence (Honneth, 1992). Taylor too mentions this type of recognition of the intimate sphere, but devotes little attention to it, arguing it has no place in public politics (1994, p. 37).

The second form that Honneth distinguishes is the modern-legal form of recognition or respect. It corresponds to Kant's idea of moral respect (Honneth, 2001, p. 47). This form of recognition is located in the sphere of the state and the domain of law; it is tied to legal rights and rules (Honneth, 1995, 2001; Taylor, 1994). People deserve this form of recognition just for being human. It is based on universalist, egalitarian principles of equal worth and dignity. We find this universal form of recognition in many writings, albeit in different names. What is named 'respect' for Honneth is the 'politics of universalism' in Taylor's words (1994), 'recognition in a narrow sense' for Todorov (2001, p. 81), and 'appraisal' or 'minimum level recognition' for Walzer (1983). Relationships of respect enable individuals to develop an attitude of self-respect (Honneth, 1992; Taylor, 1994).

The third form of recognition is what Honneth calls esteem. While love takes place in the intimate sphere and respect in the legal sphere, esteem is tied to civil society (Honneth, 2001). In contrast to the universal nature of respect, esteem is based on a 'politics of difference' (Taylor, 1994). Esteem is about recognising and confirming other people's value, and thus always already requires (a less demanding form of) respect first (Honneth, 1995, 2001; Middleton, 2006; Todorov, 2001). The distinction between a less demanding and a more demanding form of recognition is very common in the literature and has been given a variety of names, for example: unconditional versus conditional recognition (Sayer, 2005); appraisal versus admiration (Holtgrewe, 2001); respect-as-consideration versus respect-as-esteem (Hulley,

Liebling & Crewe, 2011); recognition respect versus appraisal respect (Henrich & Eckloff, 2007; Middleton, 2006; Van Quaquebeke); or ‘simple recognition’ versus ‘recognition as this or that’ (Walzer, 1983, p. 258).

For Taylor, esteem has to do with the ‘authenticity’ of individuals and (cultural) groups, a move for which he has been criticised since it draws him close to an essentialist, static view of identity (see for example Appiah, 1994; Emcke, 2000; Tully, 2000). Honneth discusses esteem not in terms of authenticity and identity, but in terms of people’s achievements and their contributions to society (1996, 2001, 2007a). What counts as a worthwhile achievement or contribution is dependent on a so-called ‘value-horizon’ (Honneth, 1995, p. 121; 2003, p. 123) or ‘shared values’ (Anderson & Honneth, 2004, p. 131).

Especially in his earlier work, Honneth offers little reflection about where such a normative horizon comes from, and how it is itself shaped by power. Like Young argued some years earlier, the social bases of (self) esteem can never be value-neutral but will always be normative and cultural (1990, p. 203-205), which makes them very susceptible to cultural imperialism. Honneth’s poor consideration of these themes has not remained uncriticised (e.g. Owen, 2007; Van den Brink & Owen, 2007; Young, 2007) and, in his later work, he reflects more on the normative nature of shared value systems, for example by linking them to the rise of industrial capitalism (Honneth, 2003, p. 141-143). Honneth concludes that the shared values that are central to (self) esteem are historically and culturally variable (Honneth, 1992; 2003), but tries to escape the danger of value relativism by arguing that our socialisation in a particular historical and cultural life-world implies that we all have some collective notion of what counts as a worthwhile achievement (2007b, p. 332-333).

The importance of values, or systems of evaluation, is acknowledged and given a central role in literature on respect (Sandberg, 2009; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012) and dignity (Lamont, 2000): ‘... to show respect is to publicly evaluate and authorise another person’s value, simultaneously locating oneself within a circuit of value by which self and others are assessed’ (Skeggs & Loveday, 2012, p. 480). Contrary to Honneth, these authors strive to concretise how exactly values are constructed and shape (experiences of) respect and dignity for different groups in society. Inspired by this literature (Lamont, 2000; Sandberg, 2009; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012), I assume recognition always depends on an evaluation of people’s ways of being and acting in the world.

Identity models of recognition like Honneth’s are heavily influenced by the Hegelian idea that individuals are formed intersubjectively. Shortly said, this means that, as human beings, we depend on the approval of our fellow human beings to develop positive social relations and practical self-relations (Honneth, 1992, 1995, 2003, 2004). We learn self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem from the perspectives and reactions of others which explains why recognition is an intersubjective process (Honneth, 1992). The intersubjective premise of recognition makes it more difficult to organise than, for example, the redistribution of material goods by the state (Sennett, 2003; Walzer, 1983). Honneth explains intersubjectivity in detail by drawing on Hegel and on the social psychological theory of George Herbert Mead (Anderson & Honneth, 2004; Honneth, 1992, 1995).

By highlighting the intersubjective character of recognition, Honneth draws a link between recognition and emotions. Recognition is not an emotion or an emotional state in itself, but has a strong emotional component in his as well as other people’s writings (Heidegren, 2002; Honneth 1992, 1995; Petersen & Willig, 2004). Recognition is an intersubjective, socially validated judgment that is turned into an internal emotional state (of, e.g. self-confidence, self-respect, or self-esteem) (Honneth, 1995). In other words, recognition, or the withholding of recognition, has an impact on how we feel. Consequently, paying attention to moments of joy, anger, frustration, and other emotional expressions, can be helpful to study recognition empirically. In Chapter 2 (methodology), I come back to this point.

Following Honneth, I approach recognition as something that is shaped in interactions between two or more people – but always in relation to institution-alised value patterns (see next part) – and that can be partly observed by paying attention to what people do, say, or express emotionally. Honneth’s detailed tripartite account offers interesting identifications of the variety of interactions that can be considered forms of recognition. Most specifically, his identification of love and care – not typically taken to be part of questions of recognition because love does not presuppose a public function or symmetrical/equal relations between citizens – are of concern to this research.

Institutions

In contrast to theorists of recognition that approach recognition from the point of view of identity and individuals’ healthy self-relations, emerged a theory of recognition that puts status and participation at its core (Fraser, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2003).

Nancy Fraser defines her politics of recognition as one that ‘... seeks to overcome status subordination by changing the values that regulate interaction, entrenching new value patterns that will promote parity of participation in social life’ (Fraser, 2000, p. 116). Recognition does not mean one is able to develop healthy practical self-relations (Honneth), but is about being able to participate on equal footing in society. While interactions between people stand central in Honneth’s writings on the subject, institutions stand central in Fraser’s. An adequate theory of recognition, according to her, focuses on institutionalised patterns of cultural value as they constitute certain people or groups of people as inferior, and thereby inhibit them from participating on a par (Fraser, 2000, p. 113; Garrett, 2010), a focus that is absent from Honneth’s earlier works on the subject. Institutions come to play a more central role in his later works (e.g. 2004, 2007) as he acknowledges that they can provide individuals with, or hinder them from, relations of recognition (Marcelo, 2013; Zurn, 2015). Like Honneth and other authors on recognition (e.g. Todorov, 2001; Walzer, 1983), Fraser claims that value patterns are historically and culturally specific.

Fraser has several reasons for introducing a status model of recognition. First, she holds that with an identity model of recognition there is the danger of reducing recognition and misrecognition to a matter of individual’s psychological wellbeing

(Fraser, 2001, p. 27). Similarly to Appiah's criticism of Taylor's idea of authentic group cultures (Appiah, 1994), Fraser believes Honneth's emphasis on identity risks reifying and essentialising culture and identities (Fraser, 1995, 2000, 2003)⁴. Third, Fraser claims that identity issues cannot and must not be placed at the heart of the debate on social justice, since that would legitimise every claim for recognition, even those that rely on the subordination of others (2001, p. 31-32). Finally, Fraser claims that a one-sided focus on recognition, like in Honneth's work and many other Hegelian theories, results in displacing the actual source of the problem when it is one of material, rather than sociocultural, needs (2000, p. 108). Hence, while Honneth considers recognition to be the solution to all injustices and inequalities, Fraser puts redistribution and recognition on an equal footing in her status model of recognition (Fraser & Honneth, 2003)⁵. Her distinction between redistribution as a matter of the economic sphere and recognition as a matter of the sociocultural sphere has been considered too rigid because no form of oppression exists that is solely economic or cultural; these two dimensions not only influence each other but are fundamentally constituted by one another (see Juul, 2012; Swanson, 2005).

Nevertheless, Fraser's 'dualist' model of recognition/redistribution has inspired subsequent authors to use it in their empirical endeavours (see for example Lister's work on *people living in poverty* – 2001, 2002, 2007). This research too integrates elements from her status model of recognition. More specifically, with Fraser's framework in mind, I try to understand how policies of participation, and the set-up of care institutions and sheltered workshops, make distinctions between desirable and less desirable ways of participating or, in other words, how they install patterns of value that have a profound effect on recognition. Studying the different ways in which participation is institutionalised can be considered a useful starting point to concretise and identify what Fraser calls institutionalised patterns of value and what Honneth refers to as the 'horizon of values' that fundamentally influence recognition.

Fraser's idea of recognition as parity of participation remains rather abstract, and mainly connected with institutionalised patterns of value. Recognition (participation on a par) is at stake when, for example, homosexuals have equal opportunities to get married. It is a very obvious way in which institutionalised value patterns enter the sphere of (legal) respect. However, what such recognition looks like outside the institutional realm, in actual interactions between people, remains more difficult to conceptualise.

⁴ A critique that Christopher Zurn refutes in his recent book about Axel Honneth (2015), claiming that Honneth's theory of recognition is concerned with much more than identity and authenticity, and that blaming it for reification can only be based on a narrow reading of his work (p. 89). In turn, according to Patchen Markell, Fraser's focus on institutionalised patterns of evaluation make her move closer than she admits to Honneth's identity model. The patterns of representation that she puts at the core of her theory of recognition are namely still concerned with *representations of the identity of groups* (2003, p. 19).

⁵ For a detailed theoretical discussion of recognition and redistribution and which one should take precedence over the other, I refer to Honneth and Fraser's book *Redistribution or recognition?: a political-philosophical exchange* (2003).

Several authors have presented and evaluated Honneth and Fraser's theories of recognition as being fundamentally different, leading them to choose between either one or the other (Fowler, 2009; Garrett, 2010; Juul, 2012; Swanson, 2005; Zurn, 2003). For the field of disability studies, however, it has been argued that both theories can and should be combined (Danermark & Cellerstedt, 2004). It is argued that a social model of disability requires a view of (mis)recognition as located in institutionalised patterns of representation, but that it also requires the dimension of face-to-face encounters, which has been painfully absent from Fraser's theory but is something Honneth has to offer (*ibid.*, p. 346). It is in this line of thought that I turn to Honneth and his focus on interactions as the basis for experiences of love, respect, esteem, and combine this with Fraser's institutional approach. More specifically, I propose to combine Fraser's emphasis on institutions with Honneth's emphasis on interactions, by turning to the broader sociological matter of subjectification.

SHAPING THE (RECOGNISABLE) SUBJECT

Based on the literature that deals with the relation between modes of governing and people's subjectivities (Brüer, 2008; De Graaff, 2016; Morgen & Maskovsky, 2003; Rose, O'Malley & Valverde, 2006; Thévenot, 2014), I assume that co-workers need to relate, in one way or another, to discourses of participation (or, in Fraser's words, 'institutionalised patterns of value'). More specifically, I assume that some discourses become dominant in a given context, and that this has a profound effect on co-workers' ways of relating to themselves, to each other, and to the kind of interactions of recognition that become possible. This is a twofold argument: first, I look at how professionals put policy into practice by drawing on the 'resonance model' (Brüer, 2008); second, I draw on general insights of subjectification to establish a link between dominant discourses of participation and co-workers' experiences of recognition.

Dominant discourses

Participation can be treated as a 'travelling idea' (Newman & Tonkens, 2011) or as an example of 'circulation' (Robinson, 2011): it is a concept that swirls around in different countries, cities, welfare institutions, policy texts and that is used and becomes concrete in different projects such as sheltered workshops (SWs). Following the literature (*ibid.*), I assume that the ways in which concrete welfare projects, like SWs, use and implement the idea (1) of participation can differ from place to place. That is why, in addition to the in-depth study of co-workers in Dutch SWs, the research includes fieldwork in Portuguese SWs as 'shadow cases' (Lamont *et al.*, 2016).

While different meanings of participation can also coexist within the same place, they seldom exist side by side in a non-hierarchical, horizontal manner. On the contrary, literature makes us attentive to power disparities and relations

of domination/subordination when it comes to the interaction between local discourses (Lamont & Thévenot, 2000; Newman & Tonkens, 2011). In a similar vein, I am interested in looking at how labour participation takes on local meanings and how some meanings become more dominant than others, both in the Portuguese SWs and in the Dutch ones.

In order to investigate this, I focus on professionals and make use of the so-called resonance model: '[t]he word 'resonance' means echo or repercussion, in this case the echo of a dominant policy discourse in citizens' lives' (Brüer, 2008, p. 98). At its core, the resonance model helps us understand the relation between policy discourse and people. It has been used, amongst others, to research noise annoyance (Brüer, 2006, 2008), cell-site deployment (De Graaff, 2016), lay understandings of ADHD (Brüer & Heerings, 2013), and social movements (Brüer & Duyvendak, 2009). With the help of the resonance model, these studies point out how policy discourse structures what can and cannot be said, what legitimate points of reference are, and so on. They also emphasise that people always need to relate to dominant policy discourses in one way or another. Such a relation can be one of adhering to and internalising it, opposing and protesting it, or partly detaching oneself from it (Brüer, 2008).

In the case of this research, the resonance model is used to investigate how policy structures what professionals can and cannot do with regard to encouraging the 'participation' of their co-workers at the SWs. To what extent do professionals take over policy discourse, reject it, or do something completely different? In the language of the resonance model: do professionals mostly act in 'consonance' with policy discourse on participation? Do they take a 'dissonant' stance to policy discourse, i.e. embracing some parts but rejecting others? Or do they neither reproduce it, nor struggle with the policy discourse of participation, but draw on other sources (Brüer, 2008)?

What the resonance model implies is that people implementing policy – professionals in this study – are no passive subjects. People actively relate to policy discourses: they are restricted by them, but also find room for manoeuvre. Policy has particular goals and aims, but also hosts contradictions. Professionals engage with these goals, aims and contradictions (Brüer, 2008; Newman & Tonkens, 2011; Skelcher & Smith, 2015). While they and their day-to-day actions are shaped by dominant institutional discourses, they also adapt and change them (De Graaff, 2016; Lipsky, 1980).

Other than in the original study (Brüer 2006, 2008), where an in-depth discursive analysis is carried out on the basis of policy documents and written complaints from citizens concerning noise annoyance, this study mainly builds on observations (see Chapter 2). Nevertheless, the resonance model is considered useful to understand the different ways in which professionals relate (in practice) to policy discourse. On the basis of such an analysis, I attempt to show that some discourses of participation – and I use 'discourse' in the broad sense of the word here, i.e. encompassing both (policy) ideas and (professionals') consonant, dissonant or autonomous practices – become more dominant than others in specific contexts.

Subjectification

The second step in the argument is that a specific (dominant) discourse of participation has an impact on how people can feel valued and worthy. In this case, discourses shape the possibilities of co-workers feeling recognised for some ways of working, behaving and relating at the workplace, whereas not for others.

The relation between policy and people's subjectivities has a long history in sociological and anthropological thought (Rose et al., 2006). In the 19th century, Karl Marx, and later thinkers like Althusser, focused on how encompassing state ideologies, like capitalism, turned individuals into specific kinds of subjects 'who imagined themselves to be autonomous, self-possessed, bounded agentive individuals' (ibid., p. 90).

In the 1980s, Michel Foucault proposed a new way of approaching the question of the subject (ibid., p. 88). An important part of Foucault's proposal relied on changing the then dominant view of power as being centralised and vertical, exerted by the state upon its citizens (Rose et al., 2006, p. 86). Foucault presented an image of power not as something repressive exerted by a person or state, but as something relational and productive operating through individual aspirations and desires, and giving rise to self-discipline and other self-regulating measures (Foucault, 1997, 2000). Power operates in everyday life in multiple ways, not through coercive or repressive mechanisms, but through subtle ones that align our 'inner-self' with a wide variety of political goals. In other words, different modes of governing affect our constitution of the self (Thévenot, 2014, p. 9).

Foucault's perspective has found its way to studies on welfare arrangements (Morgen & Maskovsky, 2003, p. 321). In these works, welfare is approached as 'a set of policies, practices and relations that are central to the management of subject-populations and their conduct' (Clarke in Morgen & Maskovsky, 2003, p. 321). Consistent with a Foucauldian conception of power, what stands central is the question of how activating welfare states, other welfare arrangements or policy changes, influence and shape the subjectivity of their clients, not through coercive or repressive means, but through a set of policies and practices (Morgen & Maskovsky, 2003; Van Berkel & Borghi, 2008).

While not explicitly relating it to a Foucauldian conception of power, a collection of studies on the sociology of emotions can also be understood as being concerned with the making of the subject (Elsbout, 2016; Grootegoed, 2013; Kampen, Elsbout & Tonkens, 2013; Tonkens et al., 2013; Tonkens & De Wilde, 2013). These studies focus on the ways in which welfare arrangements affect people's inner experiences and shape emotions like dignity and respect (Grootegoed, 2013), shame and uselessness (Elsbout, 2016), or how increasing demands to welfare clients for 'returning the favour' through mandatory volunteer work, impacts their (self) experiences and emotions (Kampen et al., 2013). 'Reforms tell citizens what they are worth, how they are valued and judged, and how they are supposed to feel about the new arrangements' (Tonkens et al., 2013, p. 407).

I hold that works on subjectification offer interesting tools to study the ways in which abstract discourses, such as those on (labour) participation, structure the kind of subjects co-workers (can) become; more specifically, the kind of

‘recognisable’ subjects they can become. Discourses of participation are made up of particular ideas about what is valuable, good or the right kind of participation, and thus fundamentally influence what kind of subjects and actions are worthy of recognition. We can speak here of ‘recognise-abilities’: or, the abilities we need to have in order to experience recognition from ourselves, from others or from the community at large. Such an approach makes questions like the following relevant: ‘what kind of subjects can co-workers become within the context of sheltered workshops? How are they transformed and how do they aim to transform themselves into recognisable subjects, i.e. the type of selves that are most likely to experience recognition from themselves, from others or from the community at large in a specific work context’?

This focus on how dominant discourses of participation structure everyday interactions of recognition at SWs is one way of combining an interactional and micro-perspective of recognition (Honneth) with a more institutional view (Fraser), like Danermark and Gellerstedt (2004) have argued is necessary, especially for studying disability. This enables to study both sides, not as separate or as two different approaches to the same subject, but to study the interplay between them, namely by looking at how institutionalised discourses of participation operate through, and are present in, young men’s aspirations and their daily interactions of recognition.

The point of including shadow cases from a different country (Portugal) is not to compare two national contexts or to make a comparative project about recognition; it is instead to reinforce and refine this relation between institutions and different forms of recognition. To observe and analyse such a relationship, a contrasting case is needed: a case that prioritises different meanings of labour participation, and thus potentially brings into view other forms and experiences of recognition. By disentangling the relationship between institutions and recognition, I aim not only to enrich theories of recognition, but also to scrutinise current ways of institutionalising participation that foreclose certain forms of feeling valued.

Alternative politics of recognition

Assuming there is something like restricting schemes of recognition or, in other words, a limited range of possibilities for co-workers to feel recognised and valued in the context of SWs, touches upon the issue of (in)equality. Classical authors also recognise that not everybody can be recognised and esteemed for just anything, but that recognition is always formed in relation to institutionalised value-patterns (Fraser) or a culturally and historically specific value-horizon (Honneth). Still, both authors present recognition as equalising, and as fundamentally empowering and liberating.

For Honneth (1995) and Taylor (1994), the equalising character of recognition can be traced back to the moment in time when respect and esteem were separated. In ‘ancient societies’ respect and esteem were unified by the asymmetrical

concept of ‘honour’: the way you were treated legally (respect) and the extent to which you were valued (esteem) were inscribed in your social standing (*ibid.*). In what they call modern democratic societies, honour was separated into respect and esteem (Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1994). The way people are treated legally and valued for their contributions is now no longer tied to their social position (Taylor, 1994, p. 49). Instead, respect is universal and tied to human rights, and esteem is democratised by being based on the achievements and contributions individuals make to the ‘common good’ (Honneth, 1995). In democratic and value-plural ‘modern’ societies people might not all be esteemed equally, but they can enjoy equal opportunities to be esteemed⁶ (Honneth, 1995, pp. 126 - 128; Taylor, 1994, p. 49). Because, with more struggles for recognising particular lifestyles and contributions, people get more equal chances of feeling esteemed (Honneth, 2007b, p. 334, 341).

Todorov (2001) and Walzer (1983) also identify a shift from classical to modern meritocratic societies in which recognition and one’s social position become less self-evident. But instead of understanding this shift as one from a traditional, unequal society to a modern, more equal society, they stress the unequal dimensions such a system produces (see also Heinich, 2009). Walzer, for example, emphasises the instability and constant competition our ‘modern’ society implies: ‘A society of misters is a world of hope, effort, and endless anxiety’ (Walzer, 1983, p. 254). For Todorov, recognition in meritocratic societies results in competition and a race for success. People increasingly seek to be exceptional and recognised for their particularity, but this makes it impossible to satisfy all people’s demands. Quite on the contrary, it can easily lead to exclusion and discrimination (2001, p. 88).

More generally, many authors agree that a meritocratic system gives the illusion of equality, while leading to and legitimising growing social inequality through a language based on personal effort, achievements, merit and blame (de Beer & van Pinxteren, 2016; Elsbout, Tonkens & Swierstra, 2016; Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008; Young, 1958). In particular, when merit becomes the dictating principle of success, it has harmful consequences for those who, despite the chances they received, are not able to excel. Those who are last in the competition often struggle with finding and maintaining a sense of self-worth and self-respect (Elsbout et al., 2016; Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008). This book might be about co-workers but, more important than their particular diagnosis, is that they stand symbol for people who cannot, or cannot completely, keep up with societal demands of performance, independence and excellence, and run a high risk of falling out of the race for success.

At the same time, literature indicates that people are no mere victims in the face of inequalities produced by meritocratic societies (e.g. Elsbout, 2016). Restricted access to becoming a recognisable subject can give rise to an ‘alternative politics of recognition’ (Ferrarese, 2009). Authors who have paid attention to the asymmetries

⁶ Fraser has a different take on this issue. There cannot be equal opportunities for esteem because this would render the notion of esteem – based on particular contributions and achievements – meaningless (2001, p. 28). In her view, there is no right to social esteem in a positive sense but only in a negative sense: no one should be dis-esteemed on the basis of institutionalised group-classifications that undermine participation on a par (*ibid.*, p. 39).

and inequalities in relations of recognition (Butler, 2004; Ferrarese, 2009; Todorov, 2001; Walzer, 1983; Young, 1958) have raised an interesting theme that has remained largely neglected by Honneth's and Fraser's comprehensive theories. They write about how the unequalising, limiting or restricting character of recognition can be productive of something else, namely alternative ways of getting the recognition one desires and so desperately needs (Ferrarese, 2009; Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008; Todorov, 2001; Walzer, 1983).

It is in this light that Walzer speaks of 'compensation' (1983, p. 273) and Todorov of strategies of social defence or 'palliatives' (2001, p. 88). For both authors, these are strategies of mechanisms that people develop as a result of the asymmetrical workings of recognition. Ferrarese speaks of the 'politics of exit' to denote how the denial or asymmetry of recognition can produce a different politics of recognition (2009). 'The politics of exit is [...] adopted by groups that decide to exist within their own closed distribution circuit of respect and pride, where the latter are attributed autarkically, sometimes only provisionally (*ibid.*, p. 611). People who expect but are denied recognition consequently 'modify, impair and overthrow' the conditions of recognition (*ibid.*, p. 609). For Ferrarese, this is not an instance of group separatism and, by definition, a political act because the politics of exit arise from a power relationship that denies and inhibits recognition (p. 612). Ferrarese, Walzer and Todorov discuss compensation mechanisms of recognition on a rather general or philosophical level.

Other authors have discussed compensation mechanisms in relation to specific groups in society. This is the case of Lamont, with her work on working-class men who develop alternative measuring sticks of worth and dignity (2000); Bourgois, with his work on crack dealers and how they find an alternative forum for respect in the context of street culture in East Harlem (2003); De Jong, with his work on 'troublesome' youth groups from Moroccan descent who develop their own set of values on the streets of Amsterdam (2007); and Connell, with his work on masculinities and the emergence of protest masculinities that provide economically marginalised men with a sense of dignity (2000).

These studies all point to the fact that people are not merely shaped by the discourses surrounding them – whether a discourse of the American Dream (Bourgois, 2003), of masculinity or of success and worth (Lamont, 2000) – but that they shape these discourses at the same time. While people and their day-to-day actions are moulded by dominant institutional discourses, people also adapt and change them (De Graaff, 2016). Concerning recognition, Holtgrewe shows that the organisational context in which call centre workers find themselves does not only limit subjects' possibilities for recognition but also enables them to creatively reconfigure relations of recognition. This is why she states that 'recognition creates its own dynamism' (Holtgrewe, 2001, p. 47).

What needs to be remembered from these studies is that asymmetries or denials of recognition encourage people to devise alternative spheres, interactions or identities from which they can derive an (alternative) sense of recognition and self-esteem.

Translated into this research, this would mean that the central characters of the book – the co-workers – are no passive subjects on whom a particular definition of participation is imposed, determining whether or not they feel recognised, but that they too might find spaces to resist and reshuffle what counts as recognisable. The question then becomes both how young men experience recognition in daily interactions at the workplace *and* how those daily interactions constitute the forms that recognisable subjectivities, or recognition *tout court*, may take (McQueen, 2015, p. 54).

4. OUTLINE OF THE BOOK

In spite of the existing literature from different fields (political theory, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, pedagogy), recognition is not an easy concept to research. We cannot see recognition, we cannot smell it, touch it, taste it. So how did I go about the research? The following two chapters provide a further introduction to the book. Chapter 2 is dedicated to the set-up of the study and the methods used. Amongst others, attention is given to my role in the field as a researcher who, by predominantly doing participant observation, was inextricably involved in interactions of recognition. Chapter 3 is introductory, but at the same time empirical. It zooms in more closely on the Dutch co-workers who are the main characters of the book. Instead of presenting them by elaborating on their diagnosis, I present them through the stories they tell about themselves. This chapter provides a fundamental basis for the chapters that follow as it contextualises co-workers' lives in the light of misrecognition.

In chapters 4 and 5, I present the institutional background against which co-workers' experiences of recognition take shape. To start, Chapter 4 focuses on policy and its discourse of participation. It asks what kind of participation European and Dutch policies envision in general, and for sheltered workshops in particular. Professionals who work at the sheltered workshops on a daily basis are the main characters in Chapter 5. The question guiding this chapter is how professionals put the policy discourse of participation into practice.

After zooming in on institutional ideas and practices about participation, chapters 6 and 7 return to the life world of the co-workers. In Chapter 6, I look at what recognition actually means to the young men, and the various ways in which they search for it. In Chapter 7, concrete interactions of recognition at the Dutch sheltered workshops stand central. Where and how did I as a researcher 'see' young men experience recognition? This chapter aims at bringing together all the elements from the previous chapters (understandings of and searches for recognition, policies of participation, and professional practices) in a telling account of recognition.

In Chapter 8, we turn to the case of Portugal. Similar to the structure of the Dutch chapters, I first zoom in on Portuguese policies of participation, and

on the different professional roles that emerged at the sheltered workshops. What kind of discourse of participation reigns there? And to what extent is it similar to, or different from, the Dutch discourse? Subsequently, what happens to co-workers and their daily interactions of recognition under a different discourse of participation?

The last chapter of the book, Chapter 9, is the conclusion. All previous chapters are brought together and an inventory is made about what was expected, what happened in practice, and what can be learned from this. Implications for both theory and policy are outlined.

Chapter 2.

Researching recognition: an ethnography of sheltered workshops

INTRODUCTION

In this book, I am looking for co-workers' experiences of recognition, and assume that these do not emerge out of nowhere but are embedded in, and shaped by, the interplay between interactions, participation policies and professional practices. The central question is *'How is participation put in practice at sheltered workshops and how does this shape co-workers' experiences of recognition?'* It means I am interested in young men's social worlds; their interactions at work with each other; with professionals; with me; and the experiences of recognition (and potentially misrecognition too) that stem from there. But it also means I want to look at how relations at work and experiences of recognition are shaped by an environment that is very specific about what kind of participation is desirable. In other words, I approach the issue of recognition relationally, with a focus on the relation between interactions and institutions.

It is this relationality, and the wish to research what recognition looked like 'from the inside out', that guided the set-up of the research and made me choose a qualitative approach. Both in the Dutch and Portuguese projects, participant observation was used as the main method. I learned to remove rust from iron parts, I picked up trash, was taught how to use a brush cutter, folded towels at a retail store, washed dishes at the restaurant of a 4-star hotel, pulled out weeds from gardens, and much more. By being present at the sheltered workshops (SWs) for

long periods of time, I could take a broad, open view of the main issue of recognition. Because, while I knew I wanted to approach the concept of recognition relationally, I was not completely sure what recognition actually ‘was’, meant or looked like. Participant observation, I hold, lends itself well for a research concerned with people’s experiences and in which the central concept (recognition) is being formed and defined in the very process of researching it.

In this chapter I invite the reader to the ‘backstage’ of my research. How did I get access to the Dutch and Portuguese workshops where I spent so much time participating and observing? What methods did I use in addition to participant observation and why? How did I approach and ‘measure’ the central concept of recognition? How did I keep track of the many hours of observations and how did I interpret and analyse them? In order to give a telling picture of how I set up the research, the chapter mixes descriptive parts with empirical elements, reflexive parts and ethical concerns.

1. STARTING THE RESEARCH

In 2012 a partnership between different Dutch care organisations and universities was founded. The Partnership conducts social scientific research on different care-related themes, with the aim of enriching and strengthening the link between theoretical and empirical/practical knowledge. One of the research projects of the partnership – which became the basis for this PhD research – revolved around young people with a diagnosis of mild intellectual disabilities, a group considered problematic from the point of view of the care organisation because of a range of issues such as education, sexuality and work (*Tonkens, 2012*).

FOCUS AND FIRST ENCOUNTERS

Upon starting the research, I decided to immediately immerse myself ‘in the field’. During this orientation phase, I did short periods of participant observation (ranging from two days to two weeks) in various living facilities and sheltered workshops (SWs) belonging to different Dutch care organisations.

In the course of the orientation phase, it soon became clear that workshops allowed for an easier contact with the young men than living facilities. In living facilities, contact between young men and professionals proved to be minimal, and was often tied to a particular problem. From a practical point of view, such a set-up was not convenient for the kind of relationship I wished to build with the young men, i.e. one of trust and of getting used to each other’s presence. SWs, on the contrary, allowed for an easier, more accessible contact. I could work with

the young men on a daily basis, and build a relationship with them step by step. Hence, in addition to being the most ‘important domain of participation according to national and European disability policies’ (*Chapter 1*), the focus on work was a *practical* one.

One of the workshops from the care organisation ‘CareWell’ (pseudonym) that I visited during the orientation fieldwork period in the Netherlands intrigued me in particular. I will refer to this SW as ‘Repair’:

I first cycle to Repair on a grey autumn day. Repair is located on the outskirts of town. The professional I contacted the day before welcomes me. There are few other people. The professional explains to me that it is difficult for most co-workers to arrive on time (9:00). He shows me a list of people who work there. I see about 20 to 30 names on the list. He points out that about seven or eight of them actually never come and explains that they have found some other kind of daytime activity/work, or are not motivated enough. Almost all co-workers, in addition to their official diagnosis, get a ‘+’ on the attendance list, meaning they have behavioural problems. About an hour later, more co-workers start arriving. Today, there are seven of them in total (a big difference compared to the list of 20 people the professional showed me).

[Observations, 31 October 2013]

Already on the first day of fieldwork at Repair, I wondered what was going on there: why did so many co-workers arrive so late, why did some never show up, and what could such a place teach me about experiences of (mis)recognition? In addition, I felt very welcomed by its staff (more than in other places where I did orientation fieldwork). This being the case, I decided to conduct my first period of in-depth fieldwork there.

While different definitions of young adults exist in the literature, based on the majority of people present at Repair, I defined young adults as those between 18 and 30 years of age. By doing fieldwork at the chosen SW, where only men were present, I bumped into a range of interesting issues linked to masculinity and recognition. This made me decide to narrow down the research topic and only include men as research participants. In addition, my own preliminary research with women (during the orientation phase) proved to reveal many *other*, interesting issues (e.g. motherhood) that I considered too much to address in this four-year, partly comparative study. Along the way then the focus turned to *male* co-workers between the age of 18 and 30, working at SWs.

The fact that I am a young woman of 28 myself (24 when the research began), belonging to the same age category as the young men I was ‘studying’, had implications for our relationship. It implied I could build a relationship that resembled a friendship with them (perhaps more easily than a person of 50 would). However,

it also implied that, in order to gain their trust, it was self-evident (and almost an obligation?) to do so. If we spoke about relationships, about wanting children and getting married, about dreams of future jobs and the like, our similar ages made it logical for me to give something back to them, i.e. for me to install a degree of equality and reciprocity in our relationship. Building such a relationship did not always go without frictions, as I show in the next section.

EXPLAINING MYSELF AND MY 'BOOK'

After the initial encounters at Repair, I returned there every day for the next two weeks. It implied that I had to explain my presence to the young men more thoroughly. Most importantly, I had to create a sense that my purpose was different from other people they had relationships with like friends, service providers or professionals.

The first weeks – not exclusively at Repair but at all Dutch SWs – were typically characterised by trying to encourage, but not force, informal conversations with the young men in which I could explain my presence and purpose in more detail. I was constantly on the lookout for suitable moments in which I was alone with a co-worker, or with just a few co-workers, to explain this. Moments when the whole group was together scared me because it seemed to make co-workers want to act cool and react in brutal ways to things being said.

In moments that felt 'right' and 'safer' to me (coffee breaks, one-to-one work), I told them I was *'interested in their lives and in the relationships they have with the people they are surrounded by like colleagues and professionals'*. I explained I wanted to know more about this by hanging out and having conversations with them in the coming year(s), and awaited their reactions. Finally, I explained I was writing 'a book' for 'school' in which I would be writing about my experiences with them at the SW.

I took notes from these moments in order to keep track of how they went, and of who I had already spoken to and who not. Some days, I brought my laptop to the workplace to make it visually clear for the co-workers that I was working on a book that included observations of which they were part. Co-workers were sometimes curious and proud, and wanted to know whether I had already written about them. This process of explaining the research to co-workers and being sensitive to potential approving and disapproving reactions as a form of obtaining consent, was devised in accordance with managers and professionals from the SWs, as well as with the Ethical Committee of the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research (University of Amsterdam). Formal ethical approval from the latter was obtained in the first year of the research.

At the Portuguese SWs, management/staff deemed it necessary and appropriate to obtain *written* consent. We jointly drafted a consent form, handed it out to all co-workers, and asked them to return it to one of the professionals. All original consent forms were kept by the Portuguese care organisation, and copies are in my

possession. Two out of a total of 55 co-workers did not want to participate in the research and were, as such, not included in the observations and writings.

Over time, most co-workers remembered I was working for school and writing a book, but forgot what it was about. Every once in a while, moments of confusion arose. Two co-workers, one in the Netherlands, another in a Portuguese workshop, had a completely misconceived understanding of my research, with one of them thinking it was about HIV/AIDS. Those moments resulted in a deep feeling of awkwardness, especially because they occurred later on in the research. In such moments, I tried my best to set the purpose of my research right and I took notes of what happened. These incidents point to the importance of repeating the purpose of the research throughout the fieldwork, especially when doing research that comprises longer periods of time and that is with people who have difficulties remembering things.

Newcomers (new co-workers, visitors, co-workers' friends) were helpful for this purpose: time after time, they forced me to make my role at the SW clear. Co-workers who had been around for longer were often also present in those situations, which gave me the opportunity to repeat my role and purpose to them. But newcomers also gave rise to moments of awkwardness and discomfort. The age I shared with many of them, as mentioned before, made it more self-evident to build a relationship that resembled friendship. But my proximity to the old crew could easily be misinterpreted by newcomers, like this example with Kevin's visiting friend, Jamie, shows:

Kevin is playing loud music in the car shed. He and his friend Jamie are smoking cigarettes. I am hanging out with them. It becomes immediately clear to me that Jamie finds me 'interesting'. At a certain point, he asks me when we, referring to him and I, are going to the movies together. Before I can answer, Kevin 'protects' me by warning his friend I am not like that, I am no 'girlfriend material'.
[Repair, 18 November 2014]

Newcomers easily misinterpreted my proximity to the other young men as a sign that I was 'one of them' and therefore also potentially available for flirting. It was in these instances that my close bond with the *other* young men became tangible as they would stand up for me, 'protect' me and help me make my role to outsiders clear. In terms of recognition, it gave the 'insiders' a special position and status ('esteem') vis-à-vis the outsiders, as I will explain in more detail in Chapter 6.

Misinterpretations about my availability for flirting inevitably arose during fieldwork, and not only with newcomers. This was tied to our similar age and to the fact that I consciously wanted to bring a degree of reciprocity into my relationship with them. One way I chose to do this was by accepting their friendship requests on Facebook and, in a few cases (those to whom I was really close), exchange phone

numbers for Whatsapp.⁷ In doing so, I attempted to give them a new degree of agency in their relationship with me. During fieldwork, it was always me who could approach them (I would pop up at the workplace at random moments for example) and leave them at the end, or sometimes in the middle of the workday if I had commitments at university for example. Through social media they got similar opportunities to come close(r) or distance themselves from me when they chose to. They could send me messages, block me, and so on. While contact on social media went well in most cases, in some cases it went arduously:

I have just added Ron on Facebook. He accepted my request immediately and seems very happy, emphasising how sweet/kind [*lief*] I am and how good friends we are. His messages continue the whole evening, with stickers and hearts and a lot of xxxxx-jes (kisses), alternated with insecure questions about whether I am okay with what he sends me. I tell him I prefer him not to call me 'hon' [*mop*] because that word is reserved for my boyfriend to use, and that I prefer that he does not send me so many kisses and hearts. *'What have I done'*, I think to myself... I get seriously stressed out about having added him on Facebook. Luckily, he replies that he understands me and that he 'loves me as friends'. After that, the conversation ends and I am relieved that things are clarified. In the course of time, I notice it has benefitted our relationship: at the SW we are 'closer' but I feel there are no wrong expectations (anymore) from his side.
[13 October 2015]

Something similar happened with Adriaan. Unfortunately, unlike Ron, he did not reflect about his own messages and did not ask me whether I was okay with what he sent me:

Adriaan sometimes sends me flirty messages on Facebook. I have told him that he only gets a 'wink smiley' and not one with a kiss and with a heart, because I keep those for my boyfriend. He says it is 'okay' and after that I don't hear much more from him. After some insistence from his side, I give him my phone number for Whatsapp. He knows some other young men from the workplace have it too, so it is difficult for me to say no. In the following days, he sends me too many messages, also with hearts and kisses. I tell him we can app 'as friends' and that I do not want all these romantic signs and emoticons. He ignores what I say. Over a period of several weeks, I warn

⁷ I chose to not include our social media conversations as 'data' as I deemed this too problematic in terms of consent. Only the title of the thesis ('When doing your best isn't good enough') is inspired by a Facebook quote of one of the co-workers. This co-worker consented to my use of his quote for the title of the book.

him multiple times. When nothing changes, I warn him that I am going to block him because I really don't like the way he is talking to me on Whatsapp. I feel a bit bad when I do it but also relieved that I set my limits. It seems to have helped. After some months, Adriaan uses Facebook to ask me how I am doing and only sends 'appropriate' messages.
[May 2015]

These examples show how opening up, building reciprocity and vulnerability into the research relationship, is not always easy and peaceful, but also uncomfortable and distressing. Critical and difficult moments like those with Ron and Adriaan forced us to negotiate our expectations and desires for the relationship, and to find a way of working towards one that felt good for all. In Adriaan's case that did not prove possible and I blocked him. Possibly this harmed him and I was not able to prevent or completely resolve this.

These few examples, and my involvement in the fieldwork scenes more generally, reflect the constructivist paradigm I used as a starting point. Throughout this research, I tried to take my social situatedness seriously and assumed I could not filter myself away in the process of producing knowledge (Davies & Spencer, 2010; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Spencer & Davies, 2010). As the above-mentioned examples attest, throughout my research my gender clearly influenced what happened in the field, as well as the data I gathered and the analysis I carried out. Young men sometimes wanted me to hear certain things, they wanted to provoke, or show off. The data I have results from these particular interactions and my way of dealing with those interactions, e.g. interfering or not, mixing in with the conversation, and so on. In other words, my whole being had an impact on what happened, on what 'data' I picked up or not (Spencer & Davies, 2010). It is assumed that being an inextricable part of the knowledge production, combined with careful descriptions of, and reflections about, my implication in the field – as I try to do throughout the book – can add rigour to the 'validity' (in its constructivist rather than positivistic sense) of the study (Green & Thorogood, 2009).

2. PLACES AND PEOPLE

Since I wanted to immerse myself in sheltered workshops (SWs) for longer periods of time, I decided to make the selection of co-workers secondary to the selection of fieldwork locations. SWs, rather than individuals, were my units of analysis. As mentioned before, the focus of the study lies on so-called 'transitional' SWs that aim at preparing workers for the regular labour market. Transitional SWs exist in many forms and shapes, ranging from some that are sheltered and closed to

outsiders, to others where groups of co-workers, under the supervision of a care professional, do ‘additional work’ in regular companies. In what follows, I describe the selected Dutch and Portuguese SWs, but first present the care organisations of which they are part, as well as their general set-up.

TWO CARE ORGANISATIONS

CareWell

CareWell is a care organisation presenting itself as inclusive and welcoming to all people in need of support and care (frail elderly, people with disabilities, people with psychiatric problems). Six thousand professionals and 2500 volunteers ‘take responsibility for the development of long-term care in the city’ (Carewell, n.d., p. 6), working for approximately 20.000 people. Within the domain of support for people with mild intellectual disabilities, CareWell organises various employment opportunities, among them sheltered work. CareWell’s SWs are aimed at those clients who are not (yet) ‘good enough’ for regular employment but ‘too good’ for occupational activities.

Since the diagnosis of mild intellectual disabilities occurs before the age of 18, co-workers have been in touch with care institutions like CareWell for years already, often referred by special schooling and triggered by family backgrounds (addiction, poverty, abuse, foster care) and psychiatric or criminal issues. It is in this sequence of events that they end up at SWs.

While the aim of all three Dutch workshops included in this study is to facilitate transition to the regular labour market, it is recognised that for some, sheltered employment is the best permanent available option. Accordingly, at the time of fieldwork, workers could stay at one of CareWell’s SWs for long periods of time and later return when needed e.g. after a failed job attempt.

In principle, attending a SW (or other work or daytime activity) is obligatory for all clients living at one of CareWell’s supported living facilities, as was the case of the majority of co-workers included in this study. Not engaging in any type of work or daytime activity could make them lose their right to CareWell’s services. In practice, however, this rule is seldom enacted. Like one manager explained to me, upholding this principle could lead to harming another principle, namely CareWell’s duty to provide care [*zorgplicht*] – including sheltered work – to its clients.

Young men working at CareWell’s SWs can rely on the Disability Assistance Act for Young People with Disabilities [*Wajong*] for financial support. *Wajong* was introduced in the Netherlands in 1998 as a separate arrangement for young people, who initially received support from the General Disability Act [*Algemene Arbeidsongeschiktheidswet*]. The amount of *Wajong* benefits a person receives is determined by the degree of their occupational disability [*arbeidsongeschiktheidsklasse*], evaluated by the Dutch Employee Insurance Agency (UWV). In practice,

at the time of fieldwork (2013-2015), 98% of young people with disabilities received the maximum *Wajong* benefits of 75% of the national minimum wage of 1500 euros [*Wettelijk minimumloon – WML*], i.e. 1125 euros per month.

Being labelled fully occupationally disabled does not mean young people with disabilities cannot perform any type of work-related activity. Through the ‘Exceptional Medical Expenses Act’ [*Algemene Wet Bijzondere Ziektekosten – AWBZ*], people with intellectual disabilities, again *at the time of fieldwork*, received the financial means to attend day-care and work facilities, such as the SWs in which fieldwork was carried out. At SWs, co-workers were allowed to earn some ‘extra’ money on top of their *Wajong* benefits, as long as it did not exceed 20% of the legal minimum wage (which would make them lose their benefits). At the SWs included in this study, co-workers earned an additional three euros a day.

With regard to welfare arrangements for co-workers, much changed by the end of the fieldwork period. The Exceptional Medical Expenses Act [*AWBZ*] ceased to exist in 2015 and was transferred to the Social Support Act [*Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning – WMO*] and the Chronic Care Act [*Wet Langdurige Zorg – WLZ*]. In addition, there are now three types of *Wajong*: ‘old’ *Wajong*, ‘new’ *Wajong* and *Wajong* 2015.

Wajong 2015 emerged as a result of the Participation Act [*Participatiewet*] and is based on the idea that people’s work capacities remained unused under the old *Wajong* system, and that more people with disabilities should be able to participate on the regular labour market (Inspectie Werk & Inkomen, 2007, p. 14). Instead of determining a person’s degree of occupational disability [*arbeidsongeschiktheidsklasse*], what is now measured is a person’s work capacity [*arbeidsvermogen*] or wage value [*loonwaarde*]⁸. Since 2015, only people who have no wage value whatsoever, and who will not have any in the future [*duurzaam en volledig arbeidsongeschikt*], retain *Wajong* benefits. Exceptions are people belonging to the ‘old *Wajong*’, who although not fully incapacitated, are still entitled to their *Wajong* benefits. However, in order to encourage them to participate in the regular labour market and earn (a part of) the minimum wage, their benefits are cut by 5% (from 75% of the minimum wage to 70%), starting in 2018.

All people with a wage value of 20%⁹ or more, and not belonging to the old *Wajong*, get support through more general welfare benefits [*Wet Werk en Bijstand – WWB*]. Under such a system they are legally required, like all other welfare clients, to find (or search for) regular work and earn (a percentage of) the Dutch minimum wage. When working for a regular employer, the difference

⁸ Evaluating a person’s wage value means comparing the (monetary) value of his/her work performance, with a normatively set standard of work performance [*arbeidsprestatie in de normfunctie*]. It can range from 0% to 100%. The latter is achieved when a person has a recognised position in a company and shows the same degree of productivity as another (fictive, standardised) person in that position (see UWV, n.d.).

⁹ People who are categorised as having a wage value between 0 and 20% receive support from the Social Support Act [*WMO*] or the Chronic Care Act [*WLZ*] and can remain doing occupational activities.

between their wage value and the legal minimum wage is paid to the employer by the municipality.

In order to get such a system of labour market participation running, both private companies and the governmental sector are required to create jobs for people distanced from the labour market [*Wet Banenafspraken*]. Both sectors can be economically sanctioned if they fail to do so [*Quotumregeling*]. Similar government support measures to hire people, for example with mild intellectual disabilities (job coach, wage subsidies, wage dispensation) are available as they were before, with the difference that they are now administered by municipalities.

It is in this policy context that the purpose of CareWell's SWs is to let co-workers (who most often enter the SW with a work capacity of 20%) increase their work capacities, so they can participate in the regular labour market. This emphasis on increasing co-workers' work capacities was already noticeable at the time of fieldwork. Already in 2013, Dutch SWs were trying to adapt to and prepare for the upcoming policy changes. Stricter than before, professionals at SWs were, for example, required to keep track of co-workers' work progress and personal progress [*persoonlijk werkplan & persoonlijk ontwikkelingsplan*].

Support4All

In order to find and get access to a care organisation in Portugal, I contacted a professor from Universidade do Minho whose work revolved around sheltered employment in Portugal. He turned out to be extremely helpful and put me in contact with a Portuguese care organisation that I refer to as 'Support4All', which was open to host me for a period of four months. Support4All is one of Portugal's largest care organisations for people with intellectual disabilities (ranging from severe to mild intellectual disabilities). Similar to CareWell, it operates in an urban context and one of its departments is concerned with the labour participation of people with (mild) intellectual disabilities.

People with intellectual disabilities are referred to Support4All through schools, social support teams or the government's Employment and Training Centre [*Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional – IEFPP*]. At Support4All, co-workers can either work in traditional SWs (with a minimum salary but no aims of moving onto the regular labour market), or at one of the transitional SWs, where they learn and work towards their integration in the regular labour market. Similar to what I did in the Netherlands, only the latter were included in the research.

Different from the Dutch workshops, the Portuguese SWs have formal trainings that last two years (previously four years). The Portuguese professional training system [*Sistema de formação profissional*] was established in the 1990s, with the aim of tackling unemployment, including that of people with disabilities. Professional training for people with (intellectual) disabilities takes as its starting point the rights of people with disabilities to be integrated in society, have a job and earn a salary.

The first year of training at Support4All is completely focused on learning and is sheltered. Similar to the Dutch SWs, an individual plan [*plano individual de cliente – PIC*] keeps track of co-workers' progress. In addition to learning practical skills, the first year comprises weekly theoretical classes called Training for Inclusion [*Formação para a Inclusão*].¹⁰ The second year at the Portuguese SWs is focused on working and is made up of internships at regular businesses and organisations. Ideally, companies retain co-workers as regular employees after their internships end. National policies encourage businesses to do so through the measure of one-year wage subsidies. In the first year of employment the government pays 80% of the worker's wage and the company only 20%. Recently, a law has been adopted obliging businesses to hire at least one out of every three interns for which they get government support, as a response to the fact that this was not happening.

Co-workers at Portuguese SWs receive financial support for their disability from the Portuguese Social Security system. Families with children and young people with disabilities under the age of 24 receive an 'allowance bonus' [*Bonificação de abono de família para crianças e jovens com deficiência*], which varies between 120 and 160 euros per month. Co-workers above the age of 24 receive a 'social disability pension' [*pensão social de invalidez*]. This pension is very low – 180 euros a month at the time of fieldwork – and clearly not enough to survive. Different from Dutch co-workers, this meant that the majority of Portuguese co-workers still lived with their parents.

By attending one of the SWs that provide formal training, co-workers receive additional benefits from the government's Employment and Training Centre [*Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional – IEFPP*]. Those who have never worked before (the majority of young men I focused on) are entitled to the so-called 'professionalisation benefits' [*bolsa de profissionalização*] of 41 euros a month, in addition to their disability pensions. Those who worked before receive 'training benefits' [*bolsa de formação*] of 150 euros a month. In addition, when attending a transitional SW, co-workers receive food, free transport and insurance.

The system's set-up makes attending a SW favourable. For the co-worker, it adds to his meagre disability pension and, for the Portuguese government, it prepares citizens to become (more) employable. However, as will be seen in more detail in Chapter 8, the way in which Portuguese welfare arrangements are set up makes the need to find work after leaving the SW more pressing. Different from their Dutch counterparts, Portuguese co-workers have limited opportunities to stay longer or return to the SW after a failed job attempt. Once they find a job, co-workers can earn the monthly minimum wage of 505 euros, which is almost the double of what they receive when undergoing training at the SW.

¹⁰ In theoretical classes, as well as during breaks, young men are in contact with young women. This gives a slightly different character to daily life (see Chapter 8), compared to the three Dutch SWs in which one female co-worker and one female professional were the exceptions in a men's world.

SIX SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

For the selection of Dutch SWs, I was dependent on the care organisation CareWell. It is important to reflect on the power it had over this process of access. I was the one who asked for SWs with a specific work activity and a high concentration of young men, but it was Carewell who gave me contacts and introduced me to the places and the people. Unsurprisingly, CareWell also had ideas about which workshops would be interesting for me. For example, streetwise interactions between young men had been abundant at Repair and I was curious about whether this was particular to this workshop or not. When contacting CareWell on the issue, they referred me to another of their projects, which I call ‘Company’, and which was embedded in a regular company (see below). Clearly, this SW was seen as more ‘successful’ and as less marked by streetwise interactions.

For the selection of Portuguese SWs, I was mainly guided by the focus on (young) men. A concentration of men was found at a technical SW (all men) and the SW for green maintenance (26 men out of 28 co-workers). In order to make the cases more comparable, I also included a SW that, similar to the Dutch Company, was still embedded in a regular company.

It is important to mention that the Portuguese cases are ‘shadow cases’ (Lamont *et al.*, 2016), not studied with the same depth and detail as the Dutch work projects. No interviews were conducted, for example, and fieldwork was carried out over a shorter period of time. Accordingly, I have fewer observations, less research participants (see table 2), and more concise knowledge of the political landscape. Nevertheless, as described in Chapter 1, the Portuguese case proved valuable to further investigate the exact nature of the interplay between institutions and interactions in shaping experiences of recognition.

The Portuguese language was learnt before and refined during fieldwork. Intensive private lessons were taken in advance and followed up by self-study during the first month of living (but not yet doing fieldwork) in Portugal. My partner, who grew up in Portugal, was essential in this process, as well as during the first month of fieldwork. With a background in sociology and his more profound knowledge of the Portuguese language, he joined me during the first month of participant observation. His research assistance consisted of translating when necessary, facilitating conversations with Support4All’s management (who barely spoke English) and corroborating my observations.

In what follows, I present the six SWs (three Dutch, three Portuguese) at which in-depth fieldwork was carried out, by describing their work activities and the people present. The SWs are presented cross-nationally, on the basis of their comparable work activities and their degree of shelteredness. All names of the SWs are anonymised and reflect the type of activities they carried out. For the Dutch SWs, I hold on to the English word; for the Portuguese ones, I translate into Portuguese. In some cases, specific work activities and descriptions of the locations are kept vague in order to ensure privacy.

Table 1:
Overview of fieldwork locations

Type of work project	CareWell (NL)	Support4All (PT)
Technical (sheltered)	Repair (<i>fieldwork period 1</i>)	‘Reparação’ (<i>fieldwork period 3</i>)
Green maintenance (sheltered)	Gardens (<i>fieldwork period 6</i>)	‘Jardins’ (<i>fieldwork period 4</i>)
Work embedded in regular company	Company (<i>fieldwork period 2</i>)	‘Empresa’ (<i>fieldwork period 5</i>)

*Technical workshops**Repair*

At the Dutch Repair, co-workers learn a range of technical skills. Most work tasks have a mere pedagogical – hence not productive – purpose. Sporadically, they repair objects for customers who know the workshop informally or they sell what they repaired at second-hand markets. The money that comes in is used to pay for the workshop’s expenses. As previously mentioned, this workplace has between 20 and 30 clients on its attendance list. Daily support is provided by five professionals (one team manager, four daily supervisors) and four volunteers, all of them men. Every day two or three professionals and one or two volunteers are present. Within CareWell, Repair is perceived as one of the SWs where things do not run smoothly. What happens most of the time is that the young men who attend this workshop have tried out several other SWs before, each time without success.

Reparação

At the Portuguese technical workshop *Reparação*, co-workers learn to repair furniture, as well as other general technical repair and maintenance skills. Similar to the Dutch Repair, their work tasks are mainly pedagogical, not focused on selling their goods and services. Support4All sporadically makes use of their services, e.g. when something needs to be repaired at the head office. The workshop hosts nine co-workers, of which I actively included five in the analysis, since they fit into the age group (18-30) and diagnostic criteria. They were supervised by two professionals, both of them men.

*Green-maintenance workshops**Gardens*

At this workshop, co-workers care for gardens, parks and green patches along the streets. Furthermore, they remove trash from the neighbouring streets and

distribute local newspapers. Regularly, a group of co-workers is selected to join a professional in the execution of externally commissioned tasks like arranging private gardens, tiling terraces, etc. Similar to the Dutch Repair, most of these tasks are informally commissioned (by friends of professionals or people who otherwise know the SW) and sporadically commissioned by CareWell. The money that comes in is not distributed amongst the workers, but covers the expenses of the workshop. Throughout the fieldwork, I got to know 26 of Gardens' co-workers. They were all men, with 14 of them corresponding to my selection criteria. Moreover, I included one team manager (man), five professionals working on and off (two men and three women), one intern (woman) and two volunteers (men). Each day there were between one and three professionals to support the group of co-workers. Similar to Repair, within CareWell, Gardens was perceived as a SW with the 'difficult' co-workers: those who had attended many other workshops before but had not been able to live up to their demands.

Jardins

At *Jardins*, the Portuguese green-maintenance workshop, co-workers are taught to maintain gardens, grow vegetables and clean patches of green surrounding the neighbourhood. The workshop sporadically gets externally commissioned tasks: for example, it has an agreement with the municipality to maintain the green patches in the area surrounding the SW. Or, sometimes they give a helping hand to the group of co-workers working at the traditional workshop. Twenty-eight co-workers (two of them women) work at *Jardins*, of which I include ten actively because they matched the criteria of diagnosis and age.

The SW is divided into three separate groups, each of them supported by a professional (two men, one woman). Work itself takes place outside, on the green patches of land scattered around the neighbourhood. Every group has a separate part of the neighbourhood's greens to care for. One group and a professional cultivate a small garden with vegetables.

Detached workshops

Company

Company is a SW embedded in a retail company. In the words of one of CareWell's managers, '*co-workers work as real employees*' here. The term 'real employees' used by the manager must be put into context. It is true that, unlike Repair and Gardens, co-workers work at a 'real company' (but under the supervision and responsibility of CareWell), have regular contact with customers, with regular employees, and less permanent professional support. However, in addition to not receiving a salary (same *Wajong* benefits + 3 euros a day like co-workers at Repair and Gardens), their uniforms are different from those of other employees (making their attachment to CareWell visible), and they do not

enjoy the same rights when it comes to Christmas presents or company parties. The SW, then, is like a little island within the regular company, belonging to and under the supervision of CareWell. It is a group of individuals 'detached' to Company. Co-workers do not have a recognised job at Company, but carry out work that is created by 'cutting up' one job into multiple pieces. Mornings are typically dedicated to collectively sorting out shop items that were moved around by customers the day before, while afternoons are dedicated to working individually in different departments of Company (mainly tidying). One team manager, two professionals (one man, one woman) and one female intern are responsible for a group of 12 clients. The presence of professionals here is less permanent than at Repair or Gardens. Co-workers can always reach professionals or pass by the office, but are not under constant supervision. From these 12 clients, seven are actively included in the analysis since they matched the diagnosis and age requirements. Different from Repair and Gardens, this Dutch SW is perceived as a more 'successful' SW.

Empresa(s)

During the second year, Portuguese co-workers build up experience by working at regular companies. Unlike the Dutch Company where they are detached as a group, here they are detached individually. This also means the Portuguese *Empresa* is not bound to one specific location, but consists of multiple ones, depending on which co-worker goes where. During fieldwork I followed three young men (some whom I had already followed during their more sheltered period at *Reparação* and *Jardins*) at their respective locations. Two female professionals from Support4All provide them with professional support. Similar to the Dutch Company, these professionals are not instantly available. Co-workers check in with them weekly and can reach them when necessary.

The first *Empresa* is the kitchen department of a four-star hotel in the city centre. The co-worker I worked with washed dishes and did small kitchen chores like cleaning fish, peeling garlic and getting new ingredients from the basement. Other people working at the hotel that I include in my observations are the boss, three cooks and one colleague working in the storage room, all of them men. The second *Empresa* is a business park, lying far away from the city centre but belonging to the greater city area. This is a huge area where many big companies like McDonalds and BMW have their offices. It is surrounded by green lawns that need a lot of maintenance. The co-worker I worked with pulled weeds, mowed the lawns and cleared paths. I include one colleague and one team manager from this location in the analysis, both of them women. The third *Empresa* is a museum with a botanical garden attached to it, in the periphery of the city. The co-worker working here assisted the main gardener with clearing visitors' paths of weeds and leaves, raking them and pulling weeds from flowerbeds. Other people working at the botanical garden that I include in the analysis are two regular colleagues (one woman, one man), one volunteer (man) and the boss (man).

Managers and supporting staff

In addition to the above described places and people, I include professionals and managers who work for the Dutch and Portuguese care organisations at a management or coordination level. For the Dutch CareWell, I include seven people. These are two directors of CareWell (men), two policy advisors (one man, one woman), one manager (man) and two coordinators (women).

For the Portuguese Support4All, I include six professionals who, on an overarching level, support and manage the three Portuguese SWs included in the study. These are the director of the Professional Training Centre (linking all SWs together), a teacher who gives weekly classes to co-workers of the different SWs, and two psychologists. All of them are women.

Table 2:
Overview of research participants per location

Care Organisation	Sheltered workshop	Co-workers	Professionals *	Management **
CareWell (NL)	REPAIR	16	9 (1tm, 4s, 4v)	7 (2d, 2a, 1m, 2c)
	GARDENS	14	9 (1tm, 5s, 2v, 1i)	“
	COMPANY	74	(1tm, 2s, 1i)	“
<i>Total (NL)</i>		<i>(37)</i>	<i>(22)</i>	<i>(7)</i>
Support4All (PT)	REPARAÇÃO	5	2 (s)	4 (1d, 2p, 1t)
	JARDINS	8	3 (s)	“
	EMPRESA	3	13 (11rc, 2 sw)	“
<i>Total (PT)</i>		<i>(16)</i>	<i>(18)</i>	<i>(4)</i>
TOTAL		53	40	11

* Team manager (tm), Supervisor (s), Intern (i), Volunteer (v), regular colleagues (rc), social workers (sw)

** Director (d), advisor (a), manager (m), coordinator (c), psychologist (p), teacher (t)

3. STUDYING RECOGNITION

Several people have asked me how I ‘measured’ or ‘saw’ recognition. This has probably been the biggest methodological challenge of this research, and a question that has haunted me many times. The fact that, from the beginning, it was not clear what recognition was, made the search for it extremely complex. At the same time I was looking for it, I had to find out what forms it could take. In what follows, I map out the different steps I took along the way to approach recognition, and I discuss them in relation to the specific methods I used. Over time, my approach to recognition became a combination of the following elements: a) going back and forth between broad observations and sensitising literature; b) investigating sources of recognition as they are constructed by policy, professionals and co-workers; c) interviewing young men about their understandings and experiences of (dis) respect; and d) observing and ‘sensing’ emotions.

BROAD OBSERVATIONS, SENSITISING LITERATURE

Informed by the literature, I tried being ‘sensitive’ to moments of recognition while doing participant observation. Classical political philosophical writings on the subject (e.g. Honneth and Fraser) were not of much help in this first phase. Hence, I actively looked for indicators of recognition (and related concepts like respect, dignity, esteem) in more empirical literature: examples included (social workers) acting on the basis of a profound confidentiality with clients (Juul, 2009); being sensitive to people’s needs and vulnerabilities (Lind et al., 2014); giving practical help and support (Gosh & Juul, 2008; Lind et al. 2014); ‘consciously smiling, having small talk, helping out, or being patient when a person with intellectual disability does something slower (Wiesel & Bigby, 2014); approaching people as experts of their own lives and making their voices heard (Lister 2001, 2002); initiating or continuing a dialogue (Ferrarese, 2009); getting compliments (Mogendorff, Tonkens & Verplanke, 2012); receiving prizes (Heinich, 2009); having a high socioeconomic status or holding oneself to high moral standards (Lamont, 2000). I took these ‘sensitising’ indicators with me to the field and constantly asked myself whether they were valuable in my case.

My first observations at the Dutch SWs, it seemed, had little in common with what I had read about recognition in the literature. I soon realised that many of the indicators were not sensitising, but rather made me insensitive to what was happening in the field! For example, I would hear a professional give a compliment to a co-worker (‘indicator’ of recognition), but saw a reaction of irritation and even anger that did not seem to indicate an experience of recognition at all. The other way around, I observed impoliteness and roughness between co-workers, and would see them gleam with joy and pride afterwards.

As I hardly saw the recognition I was ‘looking for’, I started to search for other sources of literature. For example, literature that incorporated more conflictual forms of recognition and could do justice to the forms of ‘masculine recognition/respect’ I seemed to witness so often. I found this in street culture literature (Bourgeois, 2003; Connell, 2005; De Jong, 2007; Newman, 1999). This new sensitising literature, as well as spending more and more time with the young men ‘in the field’, helped me interpret interactions *from their points of view*: for example, it made me understand that the professional’s well-meant compliment could be a serious sign of disrespect for the young man when it was a compliment given *for something he absolutely did not want to be or be seen as*.

With this new inspiration, I continued to carefully observe and participate. During the intensive periods of fieldwork at the Dutch and Portuguese SWs, I took as many notes as possible during the day. While I regularly communicated to young men that I was writing a book about them, I did not want them to pay attention to everything I wrote down. Inspired by De Jong (2007), whose research setting also did not lend itself very well to the collection of visible data, I taught myself to remember five topics and relate an anecdote to each topic. When taking out my mobile phone, I could write down these five topics at once, with some keywords of the anecdotes that were related to the topics. I sent these notes to myself via sms, email, or put them directly in Evernote (a cross-platform for taking notes, organising and archiving them). Seeing that the mobile phone is a much-used gadget at both the Dutch and Portuguese SWs (by professionals and co-workers alike), this went fairly unnoticed. Situations in which I was taking notes while young men and professionals were around allowed me to type down literal sentences and expressions.

At the end of the day, I would immediately turn short notes into extensive field notes in order to make a ‘thick description’ of everyday life at the SWs. With these thick descriptions, I attempt to provide enough context to readers, and more validity for the interpretations I make (Green & Thorogood, 2009). I disciplined myself to write down these extensive field notes daily, as I experienced it made a big difference whether I did it the day itself or one day later. Days that I did not have the energy to write down everything, I turned on the recorder and told my boyfriend in detail what I had observed and experienced that day. In this way, I could transcribe my observations later on. From the very beginning of fieldwork, I used pseudonyms in daily notes and stored the list of real names in a password-protected document.

TALKING, OBSERVING, READING ABOUT ‘VALUE’

The initial observation that indicators of recognition were not valuable unless by understanding the context in which they occurred, made it salient to investigate young men’s perspectives on who deserves recognition, when and what for. What made a certain action, a certain look or joke worthy of recognition and why? Following

the literature, I assumed that constructions of value and worth are crucial to understand when something is experienced and counts as recognition and when it is not (Lamont, 2000; Honneth, 1995; Sandberg, 2009; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012). The sources of value people draw on and how they are constructed is of course a complex issue. We can think of all kinds of media, religious and historical backgrounds, economic systems and so on. In order to keep this manageable, I investigated constructions of worth by focusing on (national and local) policies of participation, and on what professionals and co-workers did and said. In what follows, I explain this in more detail.

Policy

At the level of policy, we find many ideas about what is desirable and less desirable, what kind of participation is envisioned, and what ideals and goals lie at its base. If recognition is always formed and experienced in relation to particular ideas about what is successful, what is meaningful and good (participation), I had to look into policy documents.

So I searched for documents – ranging from the European to the national and local levels of SWs – concerned with the labour participation of people with (mild intellectual) disabilities. By subscribing to important magazines (also online) around welfare, care and disability,¹¹ I was able to follow relevant policy changes in the Netherlands and Portugal (roughly between 2013 and 2017) and search for corresponding documents, articles and legislation. Professionals from the two care organisations included in this study sporadically sent me (internal and external) policy documents that they deemed important for the organisation of and professional practices at the SWs.

Included in the analysis were publications from (national) research institutes, legislation from the Dutch and Portuguese national ministries, government agencies and the European Union. Also included in the analysis were (publicly available and internal) documents from the Dutch and Portuguese sheltered workshops, as well as vision documents and annual reports from the respective care organisations (CareWell and Support4All). In addition, I used personal notes from meetings and conferences with managers and coordinators from both care organisations as a way to investigate how ‘valuable participation’ gets constructed at this policy level. For details about these different policy sources and tools, I refer to Chapter 4 (Dutch context) and Chapter 8 (Portuguese context).

For the Dutch context, I included three additional tools/methods that CareWell widely uses and encourages for enhancing the participation of co-workers: the Participation Ladder, the Personal Initiative Model (*‘Eigen Initiatief Model’* – EIM), and the Inventory of Self-reliance Aspects (*‘Inventarisatie van Redzaamheid Aspecten’* – INVRA) (Chapter 4).

¹¹ *Zorg & Welzijn* [Care and Well-being]; *Zorgvisie* [Care vision]; *Nederlands tijdschrift voor de zorg aan mensen met verstandelijke beperkingen – NTZ* [Dutch magazine for the care of people with intellectual disabilities].

Policy documents were not analysed inductively and with the same depth and rigour as the other data (see part 4 of this chapter). They were subjected to a rough thematic content analysis (Green & Thorogood, 2009; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The themes I was looking for were (meanings of) participation, and ideals and values that were articulated in tandem with the goal of participation.

Professionals

I assumed that what policy defines as successful participation would influence professionals in the field, but not determine them. Therefore, in order to investigate how professionals constructed some ways of participating as more valuable than others, I went back and forth between what I found in policy documents and what I saw in the field, i.e. on the one hand, I zoomed in on where and how I saw ‘traces’ of policy in daily observations and informal conversations with professionals; on the other hand, I would use my observations and search for whether policy had something to say about them. Hence, if in my observations I was struck by how much emphasis professionals put on taking initiative, I actively looked for the meaning and weight given to ‘taking initiative’ in policy documents. Thanks to going back and forth between observations and policy documents, I was also able to note professional practices that I could not meaningfully relate to policy ideals.

I observed and took notes of professional practices and, when possible, discussed them with professionals later on in informal conversations. For example, when a young man is bullying another young man and the supervisor does not do/say anything, why is that so? By looking at seemingly neutral activities and discussing them with professionals, I got an understanding of what kind of meanings these activities acquired in relation to labour participation, and ultimately in relation to what counts as a successful story on the work floor. For example, when repairing an old car, is this about working together with other co-workers, about developing individual skills, or about something else?

In addition, I sporadically attended meetings and had conversations with professionals at different levels of the Dutch and Portuguese care organisations under study. These included daily supervisors and team managers. Again, the aim was to assemble bits and pieces about what constitutes successful participation. Conversations with professionals occurred spontaneously, making tape recording difficult. Pausing the conversation, asking professionals for consent, and searching for my recorder would break the flow of the conversation. As for meetings with groups of professionals, I felt uncomfortable about using the recorder, seeing that I was a sporadic ‘guest’ there. Notes from meetings and conversations with professionals were written down by hand or digitally on my laptop. Direct note-taking allowed me to record explicit sentences and expressions. With professionals’ verbal consent, two longer and more planned conversations were recorded.

Finally, client and assessment files gave me information about what counted as ‘good’ and what counted as ‘bad’ participation at work. Composed by professionals

and in part by co-workers, these files give insights into individual plans and goals, as well as into the envisioned progress that is (or is not) made. For example, at Company, reading assessment files from co-workers who had left the SW gave me insights into what was required and desired behaviour for working in a less sheltered environment like Company.

Co-workers

In addition to studying how policy and professionals constructed some ways of participating at work as more valuable than others, I focused on co-workers’ constructions of value. I mainly directed my attention to moments in which co-workers attached value to something either verbally or performatively.

On the verbal level, I was attentive to talk about ‘important human qualities, about important things in life, about young men’s dreams and aspirations, about people who ‘suck’, who are ‘losers’ or people they look up to’ (Lamont, 2000). Attention was paid to what young men already said. This talk did not have to be reflexive to be valuable, but could also be expressive. In that sense, talk was approached as a practice (see Nicolini 2013).

‘Car journey interactions’ (Ross, Renold, Holland & Hillman, 2009) were particularly interesting for observing this kind of expressive talk. Especially at the technical and green-maintenance workshops – where young men with driver’s licenses ran errands, joined professionals on externally commissioned tasks, picked up colleagues or new tools – it proved a valuable way of enriching participant observation. Car interactions were typically characterised by a dynamic, free-flowing dialogue (*ibid.*, p. 619) amongst co-workers, with professionals and with me.

For the performative level of value constructions, I paid attention to how the young men presented themselves in daily life, what they bragged about, how they dressed and walked around, moments when they gleamed with pride, made fun of others, or seemed to feel intimidated. By giving at least equal (or even more) weight to what people were *doing* in my research methods as to what they were saying, I tried to minimise the risk of excluding those young men who were less eloquent from the data gathering and analysis.

INTERVIEWING ABOUT RESPECT

Over the course of two years, I approached the theme of recognition from different angles: an open gaze, sensitising literature, and definitions of successful participation. While the combination of all these elements proved very interesting, after almost two years of fieldwork I longed for interviews. Even though I initially felt objections to this verbal method that in big part relies on the eloquence, abstract thinking, etc. of its participants, the desire to conduct interviews ‘grew’ during the process of fieldwork.

On the one hand, this desire was linked to the fact that I got to know sides of the young men (histories, aspirations, actions) that they did not show much in public. I hoped interviews would help me learn more about what *else* they found important in life, what aspirations they had *other* than the ones they regularly mentioned in a group context. On the other hand, the desire to conduct interviews was based on a curiosity about young men's literal and specific understandings of recognition – or respect, which is the more popular word in Dutch. I hoped this last element would provide me with additional insights; that it would help me 'verify' what I had concluded until then in terms of recognition; and that it would give me an idea of their emic 'indicators' for recognition. As the urge for interviews only arose following fieldwork in Portugal, interviews were only conducted at the Dutch SWs.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen for two main reasons. First, I was looking for something in particular (recognition) and wanted most of the conversation to revolve around that. Second, literature on research methods for people with mild intellectual disabilities warned of a number of difficulties like inarticulateness, unresponsiveness in open questioning, etc. (Booth & Booth, 1996), which I believed could be partly overcome by having set questions and still allowing some, but not too much openness (Russel Bernard, 2013, p. 183). Besides the *type* of interview, the long period of participant observation helped me overcome potential difficulties such as unresponsiveness. For example, when I asked a question to which a young man would reply 'I don't know', while in past informal conversations I had heard him say something on the topic, I would refer to that. On the basis of this 'previous knowledge', I could point out their previous stories as a way of getting the interview going, e.g. 'I heard you say something like *x* last week when *y* happened. Do you remember? What are your thoughts about that now?'

Participation in the interviews was voluntary and flexible. In the course of two weeks, I conducted interviews with 19 out of 37 participating young men across the three Dutch SWs. With the majority of the remaining young men (16 out of 18), an interview was not possible either because they had by then left the SW for another one or because they were absent for a variety of reasons (irregular attendance, unknown reason, sick, in rehabilitation or crisis). In two cases, the young men did not want to be interviewed.

In order to 'recruit' interviewees, I hung out at the SWs for several days and checked who was available and willing to join me for an interview. I could not know beforehand who I would be interviewing. For example, one day I was planning to interview a young man who had agreed to do this the day before but, because of an incident, he was suddenly absent during the next two weeks. When I heard the news, two other co-workers were with me, which allowed me to ask them whether *they* wanted to do an interview with me on that day instead. This flexibility in recruiting young men for interviews was asked of me on most days.

A log book was kept for a description of how I approached co-workers and asked for permission to participate in the interview, how they reacted to my request, and what other 'witnesses' were present when doing so (professionals, other

co-workers). Typically, I asked whether they wanted to do an interview multiple times: first, when I mentioned the idea of conducting an interview; second, when I proposed a specific day/moment; and finally, when starting the interview, after having explained the themes we would discuss (see below). When possible, I recorded the last phase of the agreement, but I consider the whole informed consent procedure much richer than this short and final recorded 'yes'. The issue of consent, together with a range of other possible obstacles were reflected upon and reviewed by the ethical committee who approved this research.

Interviews lasted between 20 and 45 minutes each. They took place in a variety of locations at the SWs: in an office, a parked bus, an empty room, an unused tool shed, all of which had advantages and disadvantages. I left the choice of location up to co-workers and to what was possible in practical terms at that place and time of the day.

Upon starting the interview, I briefly explained my research ('the book') and expressed my intention and desire to listen to their stories more in-depth than daily interactions at the workplace allowed for. I asked young men whether they were 'okay' with me recording the conversation, explaining that this would help me listen better *during* and remember better *after*. Important here was to explain the confidentiality of the conversation and recording, something at least in a few cases much needed, as co-workers had had negative experiences with privacy issues in the past. I also emphasised to co-workers that they could withdraw or stop the interview at any moment without any consequences. Only one young man used this freedom (he stopped after 25 minutes), explaining to me in a WhatsApp later that day that he did not feel very good emotionally [*'zit niet zo goed in mijn vel'*].

I told the young men they could ask me to interrupt the recording at any time during the interview, for example if they did not want me to record the answer to a certain question. I also said they could listen to the recording at any moment if they wanted, or ask me to delete it. Three young men did indeed ask for a copy of the recording. One of them listened to it with earphones one day while working at the SW. I was happy to see him smile from time to time while listening. After listening, he said he agreed with everything that had been said during the interview.

After having told them all about the confidential and practical aspects, I went on to explain what the interview was about. I explained that I wrote down some questions but that they could speak about other things that popped up too. The questions, I explained, were about 'work, about being a client of CareWell, about what they find important human qualities (friends, colleagues, people in general), about respect, and about the future' (see Appendix 1 for the Interview topic list). I emphasised that there were no wrong answers and that I was especially interested in their points of view. I finished by saying that they were free to ask me a question during the interview too, and that I would answer it as honestly as I could.

The logbook, besides describing the process of asking young men for consent, contains observations from *during the interview* like bodily signs, my feelings and impressions about their mood, hesitations and other striking features. I also kept

track of their behaviour in general, and towards me, *after the interview*: were they in a good mood afterwards? Did they distance themselves from me or did they come nearer? I mostly noticed positive and at worst neutral reactions afterwards. Many young men explicitly thanked me for having listened to their stories. Taking the time to listen to the young men and taking them seriously by asking questions about their points of view proved valuable for our rapport. In one case, the interview motivated the young man to go to the ‘complaints committee’ of CareWell to report an incident in which he had felt disrespected because his privacy had been harmed.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. I used an old iPhone3 with a broken screen to do the recording, as I felt uncomfortable bringing a fancy and often monstrous-looking recorder. The simple recording mechanism of the iPhone served my purpose well enough. Both the audio fragments and the transcripts were stored in a password-protected environment.

OBSERVING AND ‘SENSING’ EXPERIENCES OF RECOGNITION

The previous part shows the effort I put into assembling bits and pieces of the interpretative framework surrounding recognition (co-workers’ understandings of recognition, constructions of value on different levels). But what about the actual interactions of recognition: how did I ‘see’ or research these?

On a psychological level, literature suggests that experiences of recognition are tied to emotions like joy, pride, happiness, and stand in opposition to anger, indignation, sorrow, shame, envy (Heidegren, 2002; Honneth 1992, 1995; Petersen & Willig, 2004). During fieldwork I directed my attention to situations in which different emotions were expressed verbally, behaviourally, bodily. I put a lot of effort into describing in detail what happened in such emotion-laden situations: what exactly did I see, hear, what did the interaction or activity entail, who was part of it and who wasn’t? What happened right before and right after? How was the situation in which I observed a specific emotion invoked at a later point in time: was it talked about sentimentally, braggingly, proudly, condescendingly, or with frustration?

In the process of describing all of this, I relied on what my eyes could see, my ears could hear, but also on what I could feel. I observed young men’s body posture, facial and verbal expressions, their proximity or distance towards others, and used my own sense of empathy. In the course of fieldwork, this empathy and sensitivity towards young men’s moods developed and came to play a big role. Getting to know the young men personally, almost as friends, and bringing in my own emotions and sensitivity, allowed me to distinguish between moments in which co-workers felt enthusiastic, happy or elated, and moments in which they felt unhappy, bored or miserable.

In writing a book about recognition, I find it of great importance to include myself as a researcher, a woman, a human being. People are constantly engaging in interactions of acknowledgement, recognition, valuation and, as a researcher, I

could not detach or set myself apart from that. *How did I encourage or foreclose young men’s experiences of recognition and misrecognition in the work projects, and how did I experience such emotions myself? And how can I use these experiences to learn something about the main concept of recognition?* Taking these questions seriously implies that I partially used myself as the measuring instrument of recognition.

It means I appoint heuristic value to, in this case, my personal emotions in the field and, by bringing them through a moment of reflection, seek to contribute to a better understanding of how exactly they can be productive for the process of generating knowledge (Davies & Spencer, 2010). This contributes to what is sometimes called an ‘evocative ethnography’ (Skoggard & Waterston, 2015; Stoller 2005) in which different senses are actively incorporated into the gathering, analysis and writing up of the research. Such a form of ethnography meets the challenge of making room for, and holding on to, feelings and affect in the description and analysis of the research.

Table 3:
Overview of data and methods used

Type of data	CareWell (NL)	Support4All (PT)	TOTAL	
Participant observation	<i>Days</i>	93	44	137 days
	<i>Hours</i>	588	353	941 hours
	<i>Pages with notes</i>	306	235	541 pages
Conversations and meetings with professionals	28	18	46 meetings with professionals	
Interviews	19	–	19 interviews	
Policy documents	55	24	79 documents	

SAYING GOODBYE: THE TEMPORARY NATURE OF FIELDWORK

When I say goodbye to the people at Repair, the team manager says I will always be welcome; that this is a little bit my home and that I really am ‘one of them’. When saying goodbye to Marco and Kevin, they tell me not to forget them. I tell them that will not happen – for sure – and that I already missed them last month when doing fieldwork at Company. They remain silent when I say that. Marco breaks

the silence and repeats that I should not forget them.
[Repair, 19 December 2014]

After two years of fieldwork in different places, it was time to leave the field. My predicted departure weighed on me. Parts of me looked forward to taking some distance after two intense years of fieldwork, and parts of me did not. Strangely enough, issues of departure do not receive much attention in anthropological fieldwork discussions (*Crapanzano, 2007, p. 463*). Whether it was tied to the central theme of this research or not, I could not avoid feelings of responsibility, guilt and fear of leaving ‘traces of misrecognition’ by departing from the field.

I had spent significant time with many of the young men and worked towards something that resembled friendship (with all its highs and lows). Towards the end of fieldwork, I became strongly aware that it was a friendship tied to my research and to my regular presence at the SWs. With the end of my fieldwork, our friendships would most likely end too. Other than our shared presence at the SWs, not much would keep our friendships alive, or even allow for spontaneous encounters: we did not live in the same neighbourhoods, did not visit the same cafes or cultural events, did not share the same style of music or hobbies and so on.

While I explained to the young men that I would not have much time to visit while writing full-time, it also felt like I rejected them. We would still be living in the same city, making physical distance an invalid excuse. Young men’s only partial understandings of my absence became clear in the sporadic moments when I had the energy and time to visit. In those moments several young men asked me where I had been; why it took so long before I visited; and when I would come back. One of the young men even suggested (quite seriously actually) starting a petition to make me come back to Repair. In those moments I felt I had to justify myself. Young men’s reactions mixed with my own fears and resulted in feelings of guilt and responsibility. Responsibility for the relationship we developed, which included mutual efforts to be open and vulnerable. Guilt for no longer being able to sustain this relationship and that they might feel I ‘used’ our relationship for the purpose of my thesis.

What made my exit a little easier, and more legitimate, was when I moved (back) to Belgium shortly after having ended my fieldwork. This physical distance helped (me, at least) feel less guilty about not visiting the SWs on a regular basis. From sporadic contact with young men, I understood this physical distance made my absence more understandable and legitimate for them as well.

With some young men I had regular contact through Facebook and Whatsapp, making the exit process smoother. Once in a while we would inform each other about how we were doing. I would ask them how work was going, girlfriends, etc. I felt honoured when Kevin let me know six months after I had last seen him that he had passed his driving exam (being assigned a special status!). These were small instances in which the friendship, and relations of recognition, revived.

However, the contact on social media did not prove to be very sustainable.

It weakened after some time, until it almost completely ceased. In the winter of 2016 I lost all contact with Kevin, as it seemed he did not receive my messages (changed number?). In the case of some clients, I still saw posts appear on Facebook, but we had no active contact with each other. I returned to Repair in the winter of 2016, only to find that young men like Dylan, Marco and Kevin (my ‘friends’) were not there. The first had left the SW for good and the two latter ones were both going through a period of absences and stopped showing up regularly.

4. ANALYSING AND WRITING

When fieldwork ended after 24 months, I had gathered tons of pages of observations, transcribed interviews, notes from client files, notes from meetings with professionals, and policy documents. All the original data was kept because it could be relevant to reuse at a later stage, and for the sake of accountability. All research data was protected during and after the gathering process through the use of pseudonyms. A list of the real names of research participants, as well as other sensitive information, is kept in a protected file. When the PhD is finished, data will be stored in a password-protected environment.

In typing out notes from participant observation on a daily basis, and writing regular fieldwork reports, the analytical process was already set in motion during the process of fieldwork. After gathering, the big amount of data required an in-depth analysis. In this process, I did not adhere to one particular type of analysis. Rather, it is a combination of different elements that I set out for the reader in what follows.

To start, I put all the assembled data into the qualitative software program Atlas.ti. I engaged in a long process of ‘open coding’, meaning I made an ‘intense line-by-line analysis’ (*Green & Thorogood 2009: 203*). This generated a large amount of codes. I consistently tried coding with verbs instead of with (abstract) nouns like ‘recognition’ in order to keep the analysis active and emergent (*Charmaz, 2008*).

Of big importance were so-called ‘in-vivo codes’ that described the social worlds of participants in their own terms. For example, in the case of the young men, I was looking for frequently used expressions like ‘acting normal’ and what they meant to them. I switched between coding directly in Atlas.ti and coding manually. For the latter, I printed whole notebooks of observations (single-sided), made space in the living room, took scissors, literally cut up data and applied codes to them.

An issue I struggled with when analysing the interviews were utterances from young men that were less straightforward, less elaborate, or that were more difficult to understand, interpret and make sense of. When selecting ‘interesting data’, I realised soon enough that these less coherent utterances were the ones I left out of the analysis. What bothered me the most was that, within the worlds of these

young men, there are already mechanisms at work that filter the more 'skilled', more 'knowledgeable' or 'stronger' co-workers from the 'weaker' ones (*see also Chapter 7*). Throughout the analysis, I realised I often did something similar by focusing on the more eloquent young men and leaving out others. Once I became aware of this, I actively tried to include less coherent utterances too and give examples of moments where no straightforward answers were given.

The initial phase of open coding resulted in a long, disordered list of codes. It made me ask how different codes were related to each other. I moved from a descriptive to a more analytical level but remained very close to the data in the process. I wrote down a more conceptual word that each code related to and assembled them in groups manually. For example, I assembled codes like 'hurting colleague', 'showing one doesn't care', 'bragging about alcohol', 'bragging about driving skills' into a more general category of 'streetwise interactions'. On big pieces of paper, I turned newly formed 'islands of categories' (spread out over the floor) into mind maps. These manually made islands were digitalised into so-called 'families' in Atlas.ti.

The mind maps enabled me to question how families related to one another: for example, how to understand the relationships between the family of streetwise interactions and different families of supervision styles. In some instances, families were linked, in others they contradicted each other, and still in others they merged into one another. The process of constructing and linking families appears neater and more structured in the current description than it was during the actual process in which double codes, overlapping categories, too many links to orderly display them and so on, were recurrent. Of crucial importance, I found, was to regularly read the excerpts in the different families again. In this process of reading, re-reading excerpts and building connections, codes and categories changed as the analysis and level of abstraction progressed.

In the process of coding, sorting and making families, I typically wrote down comments on the back of cut-out excerpts about what struck me, questions I had, theoretical links or intuitions. In addition, I constantly had a notebook lying around in which I wrote down reflections about the whole process, my interpretations, my role as a researcher, things I should pay attention to in the future, etc. This writing of 'memos' is considered a crucial step, for example in grounded theory analysis (*Charmaz, 2008; Clarke, 2005; Green & Thorogood 2009*). I did the same when working digitally in Atlas.ti, this time by adding memos to selected quotations. Evernote proved very useful to digitally take notes of fleeting thoughts that were not necessarily related to one quotation, code or family, and to get back and order them at later stages.

In the course of the analysis, I shared my interpretations with a few co-workers at the SWs. For example, I talked with Kevin and Dylan (Repair) about my first ideas around their streetwise behaviour. Based on my observations and on street culture literature, I explained to them how I understood this as a way of gaining respect in the workplace and asked them what they thought about this interpretation. Their contributions were of great value, both for verifying the analysis up until then and pushing it further. Sharing some of my interpretations was some-

thing I only did with a handful of co-workers with whom I had very good contact and with whom I knew I could engage in deeper conversations. Following the literature, I believe this so-called 'respondent validation' added to the legitimacy of the findings (*Green & Thorogood, 2009, p. 221*).

Besides sharing my early interpretations with some of the co-workers, I shared them with daily supervisors and/or team managers of the respective fieldwork locations in informal conversations. After the fieldwork ended, I did this in a more formal way, by sending quarterly emails to 13 professionals working for CareWell on a variety of levels (from the CEO to the daily supervisors and everyone in between). In these emails, I made summaries of the chapters I was writing. I regularly received replies from professionals, some of who shared further thoughts and examples from their workplace, others who shared more conceptual agreements and disagreements with my interpretations. In general, these replies were positive and constructive.

In addition, as part of the continual relationship with CareWell and the aim of bridging theory and practice or science and care, I gave three workshops to professionals based on my research. On the one hand this gave me more 'data', on the other hand it helped me further sharpen my interpretations and be attentive to aspects I was overlooking. While I was cautious about possible tensions that could arise regarding interpretations, this did not happen, or at least it never led to unsolvable problems. Rather, different viewpoints were discussed and explained during the workshop but there were no fundamental disagreements. Professionals recognised the stories of the young men and the tensions arising in daily support practices.

From open coding, constructing families, linking them to one another, writing memos, and sharing interpretations with young men and professionals, the core concepts of the research emerged: masculinity, normality and abnormality, individual and community, professional practices, different forms of recognition. Literature too was important for moving from families and themes to more analytical and theoretical concepts. In this final process, central arguments of the thesis were constructed and further refined, for example on the relationship between different forms of recognition and particular professional roles. Digital coding in Atlas.ti proved particularly useful for finding excerpts to empirically illustrate the main arguments in my writings, as it enabled me to print so-called 'query reports' displaying all quotations (from observations or interviews) related to the particular code I was looking for.

Chapter 3.

‘We don’t feel that way at all’: self-stories in the face of misrecognition

INTRODUCTION

How do the young men in this study look at their diagnosis and their position as clients of a care institution? What are the problems they identify in their own lives? What are the words they use to describe them? How do they give meaning to, and experience their position and place in the world, in a context of professional support and care? With this first empirical chapter I aim to introduce the co-workers, who are the central players in this book. Instead of introducing them on the basis of their diagnosis, I introduce them by presenting the stories they tell about themselves. A mere medical explanation of their diagnosis would not do justice to these rich stories and does little to advance a study into young men’s lived experiences of recognition. Their diagnosis and position as clients of CareWell are part of their self-stories but, as we will see, they are infused with a variety of meanings, explanations and justifications.

I start the chapter by showing the variety of, sometimes obsessive, ways in which the young men distance themselves from labels like client and mild intellectual disability (MID). Those with whom I managed to have a conversation about this distancing and silencing told me about the negative experiences they had, and expect to have in the future, when identifying with such labels. More than anything else, identifying as a client or person with mild intellectual disability

inflicts shame and experiences of misrecognition on them.

Through stories about *other* people, whom they consider to be ‘real clients’ or people who deserve the label of mild intellectual disability, we start to get glimpses of what makes those labels so shameful and negative. What stands out are its associations with dependence; to a lesser extent with (visible) abnormality; and a lack of progress in life.

In this context of negative experiences with labels, the young men launch different kinds of stories to present themselves, give meaning to, and account for their position in the world and at the SW more specifically. In the last part of the chapter, I ethnographically mould these stories into four types, which show that everything is better than presenting oneself as a client or person with mild intellectual disability.

1. SILENCING AND DISTANCING

As a researcher, I was bewildered by co-workers’ silence surrounding their diagnosis. They seemed to put a lot of effort, daily, into distancing themselves from any kind of association with the label of mild intellectual disability, with CareWell, or with their position as clients of a SW.

Every year, there is a public fair, organised by a network of care institutions and social enterprises, where different projects for people with a ‘distance to the labour market’ are presented. It is a day when different types of supported and sheltered employment are made visible to the public, with the aim of attracting new clients and showing what kind of beautiful things they make or inspiring activities they do. It is a big event, advertised on billboards in different parts of the city and inaugurated by the mayor. The day before the event I am at the Repair SW:

Kevin mentions he is relieved that there is no logo of CareWell on their work outfits. *‘Tomorrow I am definitely not going to wear CareWell clothing! I will just have Repair on my ass’* (Repair logo is on the back of his trousers). The next day at the Participation Market, Kevin is visibly irritated at one of the professionals who is spraying ‘Repair’ followed by ‘CareWell’ on the boat standing there as an object of admiration and advertisement. Kevin asks him why he’s doing that and tries to convince him to just spray ‘Repair’ and leave out ‘CareWell’. The professional, unconvinced, says it is because they do not have flyers or posters with information like the other projects at the market. I can see Kevin’s frustration as he walks away.

[Repair, 10-11 November 2014]

Kevin's uneasy attitude in this situation was more the norm than the exception. At all costs, young men did not want to be associated with CareWell. More extreme cases took place too. I heard stories from professionals about a client at Company who cut the logo from his shirt and another client who, on purpose, pinned a button onto the logo, day after day, to hide it. In the course of the years, I also noticed a few of the young men wearing clothing from the municipality. Other co-workers regularly wore clothing from the municipality. Some had worked there before; others just found or borrowed the clothing. What matters is that they preferred wearing municipality clothing to the work clothing offered and marked by CareWell.

Cutting out or hiding the institutional logo is one very practical way in which young men distanced themselves from their membership of CareWell. In conjunction with this, some co-workers framed their presence at the SW in terms of mistakes. More generally, many emphasised that they had had normal jobs before and did not belong there. Out of the blue, Gerard tells me one day *'I actually do not belong here in sheltered employment'* and that he actually ought to have a paid job. Similarly, Gino argues that he does not really belong there and that he gets the wrong type of welfare benefits: I get *'a wrong type of welfare benefits, Jongawwa or something like that [Wajong = Dutch disability benefits]'*, is what he says. *'That's not right. I don't need/want [hoef] those welfare benefits'*. I ask him whether he would rather not get any benefits at all, to which he responds he would prefer to get 'normal benefits' [*gewone uitkering*].

During the two years of fieldwork, I do not remember *any* client spontaneously mentioning the label of mild intellectual disability. When I sporadically mentioned it in interviews, a few young men expressed they had never heard the term, leading to uncomfortable interactions. Most others were aware of the label but explicitly said they did not 'feel that way':

I am sitting with Billy and Sebastiaan; we are folding towels. I try to start a conversation about how I could name them in my writings, not individually but as a group of people. The conversation takes a slow start. Billy is joking about the fact that I can call them *'butties'* and, while laughing out loud, he explains *'we sometimes call each other like that and it happened because we are such good friends but it does not mean we are gay'*. Because *'I had a girlfriend before'*, is what he adds to be sure. They do not seem to make any allusion to the term mild intellectual disability. After hesitating for a while and listening to their jokes, I mention it and ask them what they think about it. Billy is very fast with saying *'we don't feel that way at all'* [*zo voelen wij ons helemaal niet*], thereby closing the conversation abruptly. I do not dare to ask further because it seems to be a delicate issue.

[Company, 3 December 2014]

There is a silence around the label of mild intellectual disability: neither Billy nor Sebastiaan mention it spontaneously when talking about themselves and about their position at the SW. When I introduce it, they display some hostility towards talking about it. There appears to be a gap between how they are being named from outside and how they self-identify.

Jordy and Ibrahim are among the few co-workers who admit they are diagnosed with a mild intellectual disability after I pose a question about it in a double interview. Ibrahim says he feels *'a little bit'* like a person with a mild intellectual disability and is the only one, out of *all the young men* I spoke to about this issue, who does. Jordy too admits he has the diagnosis but tells me he definitely does not feel like a person with a mild intellectual disability. While they partly identify with the label, similar to the rest of the young men, I never heard them talk about it outside of the interview, neither to me nor to supervisors and colleagues. When I ask them whether they ever speak about it at the SW, they respond negatively and admit they only speak about it with their parents (both Ibrahim and Jordy) and with a few friends (only Jordy). Hence, even in the case of these two young men who talk to me quite openly about their diagnosis, there seems to be a secretive aspect to it, at least in the context of the SW.

2. FEELING DISRESPECTED AND DEVALUED

With some co-workers, I managed to have a conversation about the silence around the label of MID and their obsessive distancing from CareWell, sheltered work and the word 'client'. Being labelled as a client or person with MID turned out to be a source of shame and experiences of misrecognition. When people saw or treated them like clients or people with MID, the young men record, they felt looked down upon, ashamed, imprisoned, they were bullied or not taken seriously.

One day I tell Kevin about how some of his colleagues said, during interviews, that they had never heard about the term MID. In Kevin's opinion, co-workers who say they have never heard the term, *'know they have that label but keep it to themselves'*. On a tone communicating it is common sense, he continues *'they are not going to tell extensively [uitgebreid] "hey, I have MID"*. After emphasising that he cannot say much more than that about colleagues' reasons for not talking about MID, I make it more personal and share my reflection that he is not flaunting his label either [*jij loopt er ook niet mee te koop*, literally *'you are not "selling" your label either'*]. He admits so and adds that he himself would never say he has MID at a job interview. When I ask him why not, he voices that maybe it is because he feels *'a little ashamed'* about it.

Robbie explains that he feels terribly limited by his diagnostic label. He recalls the time when he was about to start at the ROC (vocational training centre) and had successfully passed the entrance test. But then one day a professional from the

care institution went with him and explained *'everything that was wrong with me'* to the ROC. Subsequently they did not want to continue with him and he could not start his education. Robbie wants to do another job, get another training or education but, like he says, he feels 'imprisoned' by his life history and label. If he wants to apply for a job or an education, he always needs to mention the label. He does not want to lie. In addition, professionals do not let him go to job interviews on his own, so the only way he can do this is secretly, through the Internet.

When I ask Dylan what he thinks about the term 'mild intellectual disability', he confides to me that *'... you either have it or you do not have it and [...] I have often been bullied because of it'*. Therefore, not talking about it is an act of respect for him.

One day while folding towels at Company, Billy, visibly upset, starts telling a story about a conversation he had at the UWV [Employee Insurance Agency]. The employee there had told him that *'sheltered employment is not worth much'* [*'stelt niks voor'*, literally *'does not represent anything'*]. He recalls it as a very hurtful experience and felt that the person looked down upon him and his work at the SW. Billy tells me he wanted to give her a punch [*'zijn vuist al klaar hebben'*, literally *'having his fist ready'*] because he was wondering *'whether she had to be woken up or something like that'*. His experience is that he works really hard and that Company is very happy with him.

Jordy's experience is that, if he identifies as a client of CareWell, people will simply think negatively about him straight away. Jordy points at how being considered 'abnormal' came with a range of prejudices from other people in the past who looked down upon him instead of treating him as an equal. One specific example he recalls is from the day he was doing a test exam for his driving license. Sitting in the car with an examiner from the driving school, they started talking about Jordy's time and work at a care farm for people with intellectual disabilities. When the examiner heard about this, he started doubting whether Jordy was allowed to take his driving license. He almost wanted to make him undergo a yearly test. *'Luckily that did not happen'*, is what Jordy says, but it did reinforce his experience that identifying as a person with an intellectual disability results in painful experiences.

By being recognised as clients or as people who are 'different', the young men experience shameful, upsetting interactions, as well as institutional disadvantages. It is therefore unsurprising that they either keep silent or distance themselves from demeaning labels.

3. 'REAL' CLIENTS AND PEOPLE WITH MID

It has not yet become clear why the label of 'mild intellectual disability' or 'client' brings about so many negative reactions. What do the diagnosis of mild intellectual disability and the status of client actually signify to them? What, according to

the young men themselves, underlies these labels that makes them so susceptible to negative evaluations and prejudices?

With some co-workers, my questions about what a 'client' or a person with a mild intellectual disability signified to them did not run smoothly at all. Like in these examples with Melvin and with Ron:

I: So, what does it mean then, to be a client?

Melvin: I don't know that

I: no, perhaps you don't. You don't have to. There are no wrong answers you know, but I mean what... Yes, you don't see yourself as a client but what is a client then?

Melvin: I don't know. (Quotation 3)

I: what do you think about the word client?

Ron: client yes ... nice name nice name

I: nice name (smiles) yes? What do you like about it?

Ron: phooee (finds it a difficult question) that I don't know [...] that I really don't know. (Quotation 4)

Other co-workers, a majority, did have clear thoughts about what it meant to be a 'real client' or to 'deserve' the label of mild intellectual disability. Mainly in stories about *other* people, whom they consider to be 'real clients', we start to get glimpses of what makes an identity as client or person with MID negative, namely its association with dependence and, to a lesser extent, with visible abnormality and a lack of progress.

Mentioning to Samir my curiosity about why it is that people at the SW never talk about the label of MID, he replies:

'Naah, I don't know, there is just a kind of group/company-atmosphere [gezelschapssfeer] to it and not [...] look, you hear music [...] you hear people, work [...] we are just busy [working] here [...] we are not around a table with cookies and coffee [...] and tea you know, that is what all those people who are old or something like that [do]'. (Quotation 5)

For Samir, the label of MID evokes the image of a retirement home, where old people sit around a table doing nothing but drinking tea, coffee and eating cookies. The image is one of stagnancy, which does not correspond to his reality of a busy, productive workplace.

In a similar vein, Jordy speaks about what a client evokes to him. While he himself identifies as a client, he believes many people think that: *'they [clients in general] will never get their life right/get their shit together [allemaal op een rijtje krijgen] and never be able to have a good job'*. Being a client, then, means a lack of good future

opportunities. It means you will never get things right but are stuck in a miserable situation of either not having a job at all or not having a good job.

Another characteristic of people with disabilities that co-workers mention is linked to being visibly 'abnormal' and disabled. Again, this becomes clear through young men's stories about other people, and the contrast with themselves. Kevin explains to me that:

'On *our* side (one of the two sheds at the SW) there actually work normal people; you don't notice the disability, really. But when you look at the other shed, there are people like Ruud and [...] Herman [...] and Desley working there [...] Those are people who *do* deserve the label'. (Quotation 6)

The names Kevin mentions are of three people whose disability is visible, audible or at least immediately noticeable: Ruud sits in a wheelchair because he lost a leg due to diabetes, Herman is more moderately intellectually disabled with a very limited vocabulary, and Desley cannot speak. Kevin carefully continues:

'In their case you really see they have a mild intellectual disability (on the outside) [...] but [you] also [see it] in how they behave and stuff [...]
I: How do they behave then?
Kevin: I don't know ... differently than we do I think! [...] I think they need more supervision and direction in what they do, for their projects. They hardly *talk* to each other, they [...] do not consult with each other and that sort of things'. (Quotation 7)

For Kevin then, what it means to be a real client is linked to people's outer appearance but also to their behaviour: they do not look and act what he considers to be 'normal', among others because they need more support in their daily activities.

This emphasis on dependence or needing support is a second recurrent theme in young men's stories about what it means to be a client. According to Dylan, a client means '*that you are involved with CareWell on a daily basis*' [*dat je dagelijks bezig bent met de zorgorganisatie*]. Mitchell too, after laughing at my apparently ridiculous question about whether or not he sees himself as a person with a disability, expresses the belief that a person with disabilities is '*somebody who really cannot do anything*'. Adriaan, who also does not see himself as a client of CareWell, has an even more extreme conception of dependence and of what it means to be a client. He refers to clients as '*little helpers*' [*hulpjes*] and '*little slaves*' [*slaafjes*]. It is to be expected that, when seconds later I ask him if he sees himself as a client, he strongly and indignantly answers '*nooo*'. Finally, to Samir a client evokes the idea '*that you are sitting somewhere in a closed ward*' [*gesloten afdeling*] or *something like that*'.

In sum, a client or a person with MID is perceived as somebody who cannot take care of himself; who is dependent upon care from others; and who does not

make any progress in life. That is *not* how they see themselves and give meaning to their position at the SW and in life. Against the backdrop of these negative and shameful associations with what it means to identify as a client or a person with a mild intellectual disability, I now go on to show the different stories they tell about themselves instead.

4. THE STORIES WE TELL

I AM A LITTLE BIT SPASTIC

Struck about the secrecy surrounding the label of MID, my bewilderment grows even more when some co-workers mention *other* diagnoses to explain their need for care and their presence at the SW.

Sebastiaan goes back and forth between talking about himself as a person *without* disability and as a person *with* disability. When the latter is the case, he refers to the time when he had a groin rupture. This physical problem 'disabled' him enormously when playing soccer. Without that physical disability, he says he would be able to 'handle anything' [*ik kan alles aan*].

Ron, in turn, tells me he has trouble keeping his balance: '*If you would push me softly nothing would happen, but if you would push me hard then I would fall*'. Like Sebastiaan, he explains his presence at the SW as a matter of physical discomfort: he has trouble with his balance and with holding objects. He explains to me how he often drops things because he is 'a little bit spastic'. From his personal file, I learn that Ron is indeed a little bit 'spastic in his movements' and that he has trouble keeping his balance. However, what stands more central in his file is his intellectual disability. In a reported conversation with a professional, Ron shows that he is aware of this diagnosis: he reflects on it and links it to an illness he had as a small child. However, in the interview he chooses to present himself as having difficulties other than the intellectual ones.

While Sebastiaan and Ron mention organic or physical problems as a way of narrating their story, other young men referred to psychiatric diagnoses. Enzo, for example, speaks quite openly about being 'limited/restricted' [*beperkt*] when he suffered from psychoses. He calls these episodes of psychosis his '*disability*' [*beperking*]. Enzo only felt angry, not angrier than usual, just normal anger is what he tells me. He emphasises how, according to 'them' (caregivers and judges), these periods were psychotic [*en HUN vinden dat het psychoses is*] but that '*I am not like that*' and '*I was not born psychotically*' and '*I am just normal*'. In his file I read that, in addition to psychosis, Enzo is also diagnosed with a mild intellectual disability, having an IQ of 59. Enzo is open about his psychiatric diagnosis and even challenges it, but also remains silent about his other diagnosis.

And then there is Gino who, when asked why he is at CareWell, first replies

'*what do I know*' ['*weet ik veel*'], but then continues to say it might be '*because of those pills I take for ADHD*'. Gino invokes ADHD as something he can talk about openly and of which he need not be ashamed. Indeed, Gino is diagnosed with ADHD and takes Ritalin, in addition to being diagnosed with (and on the basis of which he gets his disability benefits) a 'mild to moderate' intellectual disability.

In this first type of self-stories, it is not that the young men make up diagnoses; rather they selectively choose between different diagnoses as a way of giving meaning to their presence at the SW. These other diagnoses appear to be less shameful to speak about than a mild intellectual disability. One reason could be society's emphasis on cognitive abilities or degrees representing cognitive competences (De Beer & van Pinxteren, 2016; Simpson, 2007; Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008) and that makes being labelled 'dumb' so shameful. Being dependent is considered shameful but being dependent because of *cognitive* disabilities seems to be even worse! Another reason could be, similar to what has been argued for personality disorders (Warner & Gabe, 2004), that an intellectual disability is more 'enduring and pervasive', and often represented as if '[i]t is 'the whole' person, not the part, which is disordered' (p. 392), in contrast to physical disabilities like having spasms and psychiatric problems like psychoses. Hence, associations with 'abnormality' and with a position of dependence are explained through other, less shameful diagnoses.

I HAD A ROUGH LIFE

When I ask Billy and Sebastiaan why they are at CareWell, they answer they are there because they cannot find a paid job and would otherwise sit at home. The two young men are not ignorant about their position as co-workers or about the difficulties they encounter, but they frame this in a narrative of unemployment. Their presence at the SW and inability to move on to a regular job within Company ('lack of progress') is linked to the fact that, since recent budget cuts, Company only hires people with a '*very high education*' ['*bele hoge opleiding*'] or people who were '*high up in school*' ['*mensen die hoog waren op school*'], which is not their case.

For Kevin, the fact that he ended up at the SW, and with a label of mild intellectual disability, is linked to his difficult upbringing. He tells me he has '*no clue about people like Herman, Desley or David but about myself I know I had a difficult youth*'. Kevin's visiting friend Jamie – who works at a social enterprise but who has the diagnosis of a mild intellectual disability too – also links his current situation to his past. He explains how he has lived on the street, did not have any income, '*and so on*'. Whereas Jamie is very happy about his current work position, Gerard, who works at Gardens, is not very happy about his work position there. Stories of suffering and difficult circumstances, similar to those of Kevin and Jamie, arise as explanations for Gerard's position at the SW. His parents died the same year, and he was taken away from home and put in an institution. '*From then on things went wrong*' ['*de verkeerde kant uitgegaan*'], is what he recalls: he ended up on the

street, remained jobless, used a lot of alcohol and smoked marijuana. For Gerard, his perception about how he ended up there is linked to a difficult family situation.

Instead of seeking legitimation and an exemption from responsibility through the label of mild intellectual disability, like some of the medical labelling theory suggests (Chapter 1), co-workers speak of themselves and of their position at the SW by presenting stories about rough lives and economic restructurings. Underlying these stories, we detect an idea of victimhood related to the family they were born into and to misfortunate life paths that have left an impact on their current position in life. The young men realise they have done some '*stupid things*' (Gerard) in the past and made wrong decisions, but in their stories they do not attribute the problems they encounter, or have encountered (think of debts, unemployment, etc.), to themselves. Rather, they see them as linked up in chains of misfortunes and (structural) disadvantages. These stories seem to help them withdraw from too much responsibility for their position of unemployment, prolonged presence (lack of progress) at the SW and the need for professional support (dependence).

I AM A 'BAD BOY'

While the previous part showed how young men withdrew from too much responsibility and turned themselves into some sort of victims, in the stories presented here young men put forward their abilities to act. Having ended up at the SW is then, for example, a matter of one's rough behaviour and is often spoken about with a sense of pride. It does not contradict the previous story of misfortunes and young men typically switched between emphasising their victimhood in one situation to bragging about their agency in another.

When I ask Gino why he works in sheltered employment, he answers 'just because I have a criminal record' ['*gewoon, omdat ik een strafblad heb*']. He says it beaming with pride and adds that he has even thrown a party for it. Another example occurs on a day when there is little work at Repair:

Kevin is 'playing' with the van (driving around in circles, driving backwards, etc.) on the premises. I feel bored and also a little uncomfortable about being bored, so I go and sit next to him in the van. Luckily, he stops driving. Not much later David joins us too. I ask them what the Participation Fair actually is for tomorrow. '*Is it to let more people work at Repair*', I ask. Kevin responds positively. I add '*for so-called people with mild intellectual disabilities*', hoping they will give me more clues about their understandings, feelings and perceptions about the label. Kevin picks up on what I say by sceptically repeating '*so-called people with mild intellectual disabilities*', followed by a little sound of irritation. I ask him how he would call the people going to the Participation Market instead. He replies '*street criminals are*

going to the Fair tomorrow'. I ask him 'are you a street criminal then', to which he replies that he has done a number of bad things (*'ik heb wel wat op mijn kerfstok staan hoor*', literally 'to have a lot of debts on one's tally'). Kevin repeats it twice. It is not the first time I hear him mention this, which makes me suspect he feels proud of it.
[Repair, 10 November 2014]

Without making it as explicit as Gino, Kevin indicates that people who work at SWs (like himself) or intend to do so (referring to visitors of the Participation Market) generally do not have clean hands. Not having clean hands is a reason for having ended up at the SW and for being 'stuck' for a number of years already. An aura of pride surrounds this self-story. The pride of not having clean hands becomes even more visible in a story Kevin tells me about his lack of diplomas. He puts himself and his agency at centre stage while he radiantly communicates that he was kicked out of school at a young age for having thrown a chair at one of his teachers. At the same time, he voices that having left school and not having a diploma puts him in a disadvantaged position in the labour market. He would like a regular job, but is confronted with the difficulty of being 'stuck', for ten years already, at the SW. In any case, he transforms messing up his life, and his (future) opportunities in life, into something he, perhaps not intended, but at least actively helped to bring about.

A little less radical is Roy's story, in which he points at his aggressive conduct as the cause of why he is where he is now. He tells me his mother had a difficult time [*me moeder had het te zwaar*'] because 'I was aggressive before' and because 'I started fighting and so my mother asked for help', as a result of which he was sent to boarding school. He remembers that, from then on, he lived in different places and finally ended up at CareWell. It is unclear whether Roy feels completely responsible for the aggressive behaviour he speaks about, but what does become clear is he narrates his personal story and his current position at the SW in terms of personal conduct, rather than in terms of medical diagnoses or structural forces.

These stories indicate that young men preferred being deviant to being 'disabled'. It seems they would rather narrate their selves around being criminal, witty and streetwise, instead of around labels like MID or clients of CareWell. This type of story leads young men to take up responsibilities for their position in life, or at least to recognise their abilities to act. Very different from being dependent clients or passive subjects, in these self-stories young men who ended up (and are 'stuck') in sheltered employment, consider themselves active agents in this process.

WE ARE ALL (INTER)DEPENDENT

This last type of story is slightly different from the three previous ones. Here, co-workers present themselves as dependent on support but they redefine what it means to be dependent or what it means to have problems/disabilities/difficulties

in life. This is given concrete form by proclaiming in different ways that 'everybody has something' and that 'everybody needs a little help once in a while'. Interestingly enough, in this last type of story, young men emphasise (all) people's interdependence. Again, the same young men who told stories about physical shortcomings, about their victimhood or agency in one situation, made sense of their lives through the story of interdependency in other situations.

One day Samir explains to me that CareWell is just an institution for 'everybody' but then specifies it is 'for people who are handicapped or people who have difficulties with learning' [*die moeilijk kunnen leren*']. He explains that, in his case, it is because he cannot read and write so well but that 'all people have their own problems' [*zo heeft iedereen zijn eigen problemen*'] and 'everybody has his own pitfalls/shortcomings' [*valkuilen*']. When I ask Dylan how he notices that he 'has' MID and what that means to him, he replies that he merely has a hard time with learning [*moeilijk lerend*']: 'theoretically for example I have troubles [*moete*'], but practically I can do quite a lot of things'. Both Samir and Dylan link their learning difficulties to the idea that everybody has something they are bad at and to the idea that there are other things in life they can do very well. In a way they 'normalise' the difficulties they encounter in life.

Rik also expresses he had difficulties in school. He emphasises he was good at reading but that maths and writing were more difficult. He needed quite some support for it. The problems he encounters on the work floor are a matter of not understanding everything straight away: sometimes people explain things to him, which he does not understand immediately. A specific example he thinks of in relation to his current work is remembering how many articles there are (at Company): that was something he did not understand at first but 'when a (regular) colleague explained it once again, I suddenly understood it a little bit better'. For Rik, his difficulties hinge on needing a bit more help or explanations, just like everybody needs some help from time to time.

In Kevin's case, it is a bit more difficult to hear his thoughts on what he bumps into in his life. First he says he really does not know what kind of difficulties he encounters, and mumbles something I cannot understand. I ask him to imagine how it would be to not have any professional support at home or at work. He replies that he would 'not care about any rules' [*ik zou alle regels aan mijn laars lappen*'] and specifies that he would stay in bed and not go to work. I then ask him whether he thinks it is a good thing that he gets supervision for going to work, which he affirms: 'YEHEES, that for sure [*dát sowieso*']'. The act of the supervisor saying 'get up, go to your work' is something he sees as desirable in his own case. Interestingly enough, the difficulty he has getting out of bed is no way related to not enjoying his work. On the contrary, he argues 'I actually always like it/find it chill [*ik vind het juist altijd wél chill*'] when I can go to work, because staying at home the whole day is also not something that makes me happy'. Kevin, like many other young men, self-identifies as someone who is 'just in need of a little extra help', i.e. a helping hand to wake up and start the day.

One day, while sitting around the coffee table with many co-workers, one of the professionals at Repair points out that:

'Everybody is a little intellectually disabled: if you cannot read or do maths well you are already MID'. A volunteer mingles in the conversation and asks around whether we have ever seen people who are normal and whether that was fun. Marco answers 'normal people are boring'. I quickly add (not wanting to be labelled 'normal and boring') that I am bad at maths and that I am 'disabled when it comes to technical matters'.
[Repair, 16 June 2014]

Young men's 'differences' are, however shortly, turned into a positive quality in moments such as these, in which normal people are considered boring and disabilities are normalised ('everybody has something'). Young men recognise that they bump into certain things in their lives and that they are in need of (professional) support. They are not ignorant of their difficulties, but they position these difficulties within the boundaries of 'normality'. Needing (or being dependent upon) support from time to time is cast as a very human and universal characteristic. When and why co-workers invoked one story to make sense of their lives and not another was not researched in detail. However, it seemed that, for this last self-story to emerge, the involvement of professionals who normalised co-workers' differences and openly referred to the label of MID played an important role.

CONCLUSION: LIABLE TO MISRECOGNITION

The stories that co-workers tell about themselves are an important starting point for the rest of the book. They give an image of who the central characters are and, above all, they point towards several themes – such as the construction of some qualities like (in)dependence and (ab)normality as (mis)recognisable – that will be of particular concern throughout the book.

It became apparent that the young men distanced themselves from the labels of 'mild intellectual disability' and 'client' in a variety of, sometimes very creative, ways (e.g. cutting out the logo). While they distance themselves fanatically from the labels, this does not mean they distance themselves completely from the difficulties they encounter in life. Contrary to what many professionals and managers complain about (no recognition of their problems and hence not open to help and support), the young men showed they are aware of (some of) the difficulties they encounter in life. They know they need (professional) support, either for managing their finances, family planning or work tasks.

However, the label of 'mild intellectual disability' does not bring straightforward advantages for these co-workers in terms of legitimisation, social acknowledgement and acceptance, as some of the literature on labelling theory suggests can be the case (*Parsons, 1951; Wilkinson, 2004*). While it does provide them with monthly disability benefits and a place at the sheltered workshop (*Hacking, 2006*), co-workers mainly hinted at negative experiences – we could say experiences of disrespect – when identifying themselves as people with a mild intellectual disability or as clients. In such moments they feel ashamed, looked down upon, and not taken seriously.

When diving deeper into the negative and shameful features that young men associate with those labels, we saw a concern with dependence, lack of progress in life, and (visible) abnormality. The construction of these features as undesirable (and shameful) is not a local or individual matter. As we will see in Chapter 4, these self-stories are entangled in a wider problematisation of dependence in welfare discourses that frame independence and self-management as the optimal human state and as what should be fostered and developed in order to fully 'participate'.

Analysing young men's self-stories in more depth, what is striking is that the first three narratives all (re)produce an idea of dependence, 'abnormality' and stagnation in life as negative. It is either something you need to get away from, something you need to be able to justify, prove you are not responsible for, or give a different meaning to (which they often successfully do!). Through their self-stories, they make dependence, 'abnormality' and lack of progress somewhat less shameful – e.g. it is less shameful to be 'stuck' at the SW if you chose it or when it is a matter of bad luck; you seem to be less susceptible to disrespect when you are behaving 'abnormally' because of a diagnosis other than one based on dumbness – but the difference remains a negative difference (*Winance, 2007, p. 635*).

By contrast, when we turn our attention to the fourth narrative of interdependence, we can detect a 'seed of hope', in the sense that it slightly changes the discourse of (in)dependence. Dependence on support (especially in the domain of cognitive performances like reading and managing finances) is redefined as a 'normal' human need, as something everybody requires from time to time. They do not show an alignment with the norm (like in the other three types of stories), but work on the norm (*Winance, 2007*).

It is quite an interesting starting point to write a book on recognition and co-workers, when the diagnosis of MID, which makes them a 'social group', is in no way used (or useful) to make claims for recognition. As we saw in Chapter 1, some groups (mainly those marked as groups by others) have less opportunities to mobilise themselves collectively on the basis of a positive difference (*Anderson & Bigby, 2016; Duyvendak & Nederland; Emcke, 2000; Goodley, 2011; Lister, 2002*). The young men's self-stories show that there is no collective mobilisation and, hence, that they are unable to give a positive twist to their 'differences' as clients or people with MID. At most, they manage to neutralise the shame associated with dependence and dumbness, but in no way is it transformed into an interesting, beautiful

or enriching difference – perhaps with the exception of the ‘bad boy’ self-story – which is a precondition for claims of recognition.

In the light of a hesitance to self-identify as a person with MID and with repeated experiences of misrecognition, I will turn to how the young men understand and construct other identities and actions as recognisable in Chapter 6. But first, attention is paid to how policy (*Chapter 4*) and professionals (*Chapter 5*) frame a very specific kind of participation as desirable. Co-workers’ distancing from the label – which they associate with being ‘abnormal’, ‘dumb’ and ‘dependent’ – becomes more understandable when bringing into view a policy discourse that emphasises self-management, progress and productivity as the right or good way to participate.

Chapter 4.

‘Good participation’: policy’s atomising discourse

INTRODUCTION

The participation of people with disabilities is an important point on the global agenda. Over the past ten years, 172 countries ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006), thereby devoting attention to the efforts needed for securing and actively working towards the equal participation of people with disabilities. The existence of such a treaty clearly reveals that in many nations around the world their participation is *not* self-evident.

The most common domain of social life in which participation for people with disabilities is envisioned is the domain of work (*see Chapter 1*). Throughout Europe, sheltered workshops (SWs), like the ones included in this study, are devised to facilitate and foster the labour participation of people with disabilities. But what is such participation actually about? Does every kind of participation count? And if not, what is the kind of participation that policy envisions? In this chapter I try to answer these questions by looking at the main goals and ideals that lie at the base of the (labour) participation of people with disabilities. I deem this important for the aim of understanding how experiences of recognition are shaped in their interplay with other people, but also with institutions that articulate ideas about valuable and less valuable ways of participating.

On the basis of policy documents (see Chapter 2) ranging from the European¹² and national level¹³, to the level of research institutes, advocacy groups¹⁴ and CareWell,¹⁵ I attempt to draw an image of the kind of participation that is envisaged in the case of co-workers. At first sight, the discourse of participation seems coherent and logical, with different goals reinforcing each other. However, when zooming in more closely on the different goals – and I do so by drawing on three tools/methods that CareWell widely uses and promotes (see Chapter 2) – participation appears to be a field full of tensions.

1. AN APPEALING DISCOURSE

Participation functions as a panacea. In policy documents, daily conversations and news articles, (labour) participation is the remedy for a range of social ills like loneliness, financial problems, welfare expenses, and low self-esteem. Participation might not yet be fully attained by all groups in society, but it is that which needs to be strived for. For, when all people participate, society will become better, more just and equal. By participating in social and economic life, people with (intellectual) disabilities are assumed to become more equal citizens (EU, 2010) and 'to leave a life of social exclusion that was common under the old welfare-state regime, reducing their stigmatised status as secondary citizens and increasing their health and well-being' (Holmqvist, 2010, p. 211).

Policy documents suggest that participation is something clear and coherent. However, upon closer reading, it soon becomes obvious that the meaning of labour participation is heterogeneous and that it encompasses multiple goals: '[w]ork enables *economic and financial independence*, it contributes to the feeling of *self-esteem*,

¹² On the European level, I make use of four documents from the European Union (EU): The 2010 Disability Strategy, a study report about European-wide supported employment, a study report about sheltered workshops for people with disabilities, and a discussion by the European Committee (EC) about the Participation Ladder.

¹³ On the Dutch national level, I make use of documents issued by the Employee Insurance Agency (UWV) and by the House of Representatives [Tweede Kamer – TK] – about the Work Capacity Act [*Wet werken naar vermogen*], the Participation Act [*Participatiewet*], and the Social Support Act [*Wet maatschappelijke ondersteuning*].

¹⁴ On the level of national (non-governmental) research institutes, I use documents issued by: the Dutch Association for Disability Care [*Vereniging Gehandicaptenzorg Nederland – VGN*]; the Verwey-Jonker Institute; the Netherlands Centre for Social Development [*Movisie*]; the Centre of Expertise for Long-term Care [*Vilans*]; and the Platform for the Disability Sector [*Kennisplein Gehandicaptensector*].

¹⁵ Concerning CareWell, I use annual reports, vision documents, a booklet about the different sheltered workshops (SWs), a brochure for clients about SWs and the business plan from one of the SWs. I also draw on information gathered at a conference where CareWell's renewed concept for SWs was internally presented. For privacy reasons, I will refer to these sources by indicating 'CareWell' plus the year in which the document was written.

and offers chances/possibilities to fully participate in society' (TK, 2012b, p. 71, *my emphasis*). Participation at work is about letting co-workers explore what they really want and can do (Carewell, 2010, p. 8). Participation is about going public and showing, with pride, that you have *contributed to a product* (manager, CareWell, 12 December 2014). Instead of 'sitting on the side' living off welfare benefits, people participate and can feel valued for the contributions they make (TK, 2012b, p. 76).

A small selection taken from policy texts and managerial language reveals that participation encompasses many different goals, like economic independence, contributing to a product, self-esteem. At times mixed together in one and the same sentence, various goals are presented as lying in line with each other and strengthening one another. In short, the discourse of participation is seemingly coherent, logical and appealing. In what follows, I zoom in on the different goals envisioned by a seemingly coherent discourse of participation and suggest they do not always combine easily. Similar to what has been argued for the concept of citizenship (Oates, Pols, Tonkens & Willems, 2010), I argue that what makes participation so appealing to welfare projects like SWs is exactly its ability to successfully encompass various, sometimes conflicting, goals.

2. SELF-STEERING PARTICIPATION

In policies at different levels, participation typically floats in a brew of terms directed at the individual and his/her self-management. For example, '[w]hat it [Social Support Act] is finally about is whether the citizen is sufficiently capable of self-reliance and participation...?' (TK, 2013/2014b, p. 43). Repeated mentions of self-reliance [*zelfredzaamheid*] are made and used along with words like personal choice [*eigen keuze*], self-control [*eigen regie*], and independence [*zelfstandigheid*]. What matters in all these words is that individuals, like co-workers, should be able to exert influence over their lives, and enjoy their lives as autonomous and self-steering human beings.

In encouraging clients to make their own choices and become more self-steering, national legislation gives a central role to professionals (TK, 2013/2014b, p. 50). Of primary concern is that professionals give shape to their relationship with young adults in such a way that it supports them and challenges them to learn to undertake things independently (Van Diggelen & Truyens in Rot, 2013, p. 31). One of the leading ideas is that professionals should serve their clients' needs and wishes (*ibid.*, p. 14).

In CareWell's policy documents, independence is translated into the idea that professionals should help clients with their work, but that it is *the client who does the work* (2016b, p. 4, *my emphasis*). Professionals should give tips and instructions, make sure the client can work well and safely, but never let this obstruct the personal choices of the client (*ibid.*). Participation at work is about letting co-workers explore

what they really want and can do (Carewell, 2010, p. 8). 'Letting clients live the life they choose to live' (CareWell, 2010, p. 4) is achieved, among others, by respecting and valuing independence and personal choices: support and care need to adapt to the personal choices of clients. The desired relationship between co-worker and professional in this regard is one 'in which the professional can enlarge the youngster's feeling of autonomy' (Rot, 2013, p. 14). It prepares them for a 'real job', where working independently, taking initiative and steering one's behaviour are of utmost importance.

The emphasis on becoming self-reliant and independent is not unique to this study on participation. Several other studies show how dependence, whether it is dependence on the welfare state or dependence on professionals, is cast as undesirable in welfare policies (Elsbout, 2016; Fraser & Gordon, 1994; Grootegoed, 2013; Pols, 2006; Verplanke & Duyvendak, 2010). Instead, the ideal life – or participation, in this case – is one in which people are independent, in control of their lives and choices.

3. PRODUCTIVE PARTICIPATION

Labour participation is not, however, only concerned with increasing people's capacity to self-manage. As I attempt to show next, in addition to the emphasis on becoming more self-steering, an emphasis on productivity is found in policy documents on participation.

While no overarching definition of SWs exists, a general distinction is made between traditional and transitional SWs (EU, 2015) (see also Chapter 1). Transitional SWs make beautiful products, perform good services that can be sold, or train people to do so in the future. Transitional SWs are preferred, mainly because of the cost benefits they offer in comparison to traditional SWs (EU, 2015). This European-wide preference reflects an increasing concern with the productivity side of participation, as well as efforts to marketise welfare arrangements like SWs. Co-workers' participation is measured and evaluated on the basis of the (monetary) value they can generate. Meaningful, valuable daytime activities are those in which certain products are made and services delivered, and whose value can be measured according to standards of a competitive labour market.

In the Netherlands, the revised Social Support Act [*WMO*], the Participation Act [*Participatiewet*], and the associated budget costs for the domain of sheltered employment, forced SWs to transform and put more effort into developing this transitional, production-oriented character. In this context, CareWell introduced a new concept for its SWs at the end of 2014, according to which the main goals became making goods and delivering services that companies/people want to pay for, as well as supporting co-workers' transition to the regular labour market. With these revised SWs, CareWell aims to attract companies who

want to pay for the services they offer and the products they make. According to managers from CareWell who presented the new concept of SWs to professionals at a conference, this means SWs need to be optimised and to develop unique production lines:

'Where formerly it was the client and his individual interests that stood central – questions like 'what do you want to make', 'what are you able to do' – another question is now made central, namely: which products do we make and how can we make everybody be part of this production process'.

[CareWell conference, 12 December 2014]

'The production process needs to be optimised so that everybody can participate in that process. This goes hand in hand with asking what kind of products are desired and wanted. Those are the products we are going to make. We will have to focus more on PR and Marketing than on the individual needs of the client'.

[CareWell conference, 12 December 2014]

Linked to this, a central aim of policymakers and managers at the SWs is to encourage co-workers to take steps on the continuum of productivity (e.g. CareWell 2016a, p. 6). One of CareWell's managers argued: 'They [co-workers] need to move on. For some it might mean they do not achieve 100% productivity, but they might get to 30% and as such earn part of a salary' (CareWell conference, 12 December 2014).

The emphasis on contributing productively to society, as an important aspect of 'full participation', comes along with an emphasis on personal responsibility. SWs are built on the assumption that people with disabilities can, and therefore should, make themselves meaningful through work. It is presumed that, in spite of different types of disabilities and difficulties, all people can have a valuable role, and have the responsibility to contribute to society. The Dutch House of Representatives, for example, states that '[p]eople with disabilities can do more than is often assumed. That deserves recognition. Not by confirming their weakness, but by calling on [*aanspreken op*] their responsibilities' (TK, 2012, p. 2).

In line with national policies, CareWell makes similar assumptions about the value co-workers can and should generate through work. CareWell states that co-workers 'have a lot of possibilities and talents that they can actively use to participate in society' (CareWell, 2014a, p. 22). Their booklet about the different SWs states that co-workers are 'people with enthusiasm and a desire to work, who *can* and *want* to make themselves useful' (2016a, p. 5-6, *my emphasis*). The work co-workers carry out consists of simple tasks and, although they are not financially remunerated, these tasks are *certainly valuable* and can be so for regular employers too (CareWell, 2016a, p. 5).

It follows that policy managers and professionals see it as their duty to encourage

clients to become more self-steering and productive but, with that, they emphasise clients' personal responsibility:

'If you *can* make the switch to a paid job, you *have* to do that'
[CareWell conference, 12 December 2014]

'It all starts with you. The most important is that you want to get going [*aan de slag wilt*]. And that you want to do what you can do....' Motivation, enthusiasm and the desire to work are crucial in this process because 'how far you get depends on your possibilities, your dedication [*inzet*], and how much you do your best' (CareWell, 2016b, p. 3-4).

We recognise in such statements, issued by managers from CareWell, an increased emphasis on personal responsibility, specific to activating labour market policies. As we saw in the general introduction (Chapter 1), this is not particular to the Dutch context, but is a wider tendency of activating European welfare states (Holmqvist, 2010; Larsen, 2005; Newman & Tonkens, 2011; Van Berkel & Borghi, 2008). Participation is a must because it enables individuals' (financial) self-steering capacities, but also because it leads to economic advantages. The more people productively participate in society, the less expenses need to be made in terms of care, welfare benefits, professional support and other social services. For example, there are clear financial advantages in encouraging co-workers' ability to work at a regular company (like the detached SW of Company in this study). On the one hand, the company is able to make cutbacks on a number of jobs by breaking them down into different activities and assigning them to different co-workers. On the other hand, there are obvious (financial) gains involved when CareWell does not have to spend money on a physical location.

Lifelong welfare benefits, professional support and being unproductive are expensive for governments, but they are also cast as harmful for the self-esteem of co-workers. In the process of working towards productivity, co-workers would find emotional support and recognition. As stated in the Participation Act, when the productivity of the employee increases, it is good for his/her self-esteem and encourages him/her to further develop (TK, 2013/2014a, p. 62).

At CareWell's conference about SWs, efforts are put into showing that the shift from person to product does not merely serve economic interests, but serves the well-being of clients too:

'When clients know they are of added value, they get a boost/their self-esteem increases [*groeien daar een meter van*, literally: 'it makes them grow a metre'], but it also very simply supplies money... Making profit is not the core business. But it is handy in the context of recent policy developments (i.e. budget cuts).'
[CareWell conference, 12 December 2014]

What we see happening is that participating in a production process is presented as a win-win situation. Economic gains will also mean feeling gains: by making goods and delivering services that can be bought and sold, clients will feel more valued.

The analysis shows a discourse of participation in place, which could be called 'atomising'. What counts as 'good' or recognisable participation is predominantly based on co-workers' *individual* efforts to become more self-steering, on the one hand, and to productively contribute to society, on the other hand. Throughout policy texts, we sporadically find indications about other sources and other forms of recognition. For example, when it is not the individual's unique contribution that counts but making something beautiful together: '[*participation*] is about going public [*naar buiten treden*] and showing, with pride, that you (co-worker) have contributed to that product' (CareWell conference, 12 December 2014). Or, when the SW is presented as 'a place where you can be yourself and be appreciated for who you are' (Carewell, 2010, p. 8). In these (more exceptional) passages, CareWell states its aim is to provide a place where individuals with histories of failure can experience moments of success by working in a safe environment, where there are limited demands in terms of productivity and efficiency (CareWell, 2014b), where differences are acknowledged and support is normal (Carewell, 2014a, 2016b).

4. TOOLS AND TENSIONS

Until now I have attempted to show that an atomising discourse of participation encompasses two important, yet different goals. On the one hand, we see that participation is about being or becoming self-steering and, on the other hand, about becoming more productive. Both goals would have emotional and financial advantages for individuals and for society. In what follows, I show how these two goals come back in three widely used methods for professionals, but also how tensions between self-management and productivity become obvious. Let us have a look at the Participation Ladder, the Inventory of Self-reliance Aspects [INVRA] that I refer to as the 'Dartboard', and the Personal Initiative Model [EIM] or what I call the 'Traffic Light'.

First, the Participation ladder¹⁶ (see Figure 1) is a visually catchy model to measure the extent to which a person participates in society. The tool was introduced in this field in 2008, after the Social Support Act [WMO] decided that Dutch municipalities would become responsible for the reintegration of people with a distance to the labour market (EC, 2015). The Participation Ladder is used by (care)

¹⁶ A 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' was originally introduced by Sherry Arnstein to categorise and analyse participation in political and economic processes (1969). The Participation Ladder used in Dutch healthcare is based on this original model but has been adapted to the purpose of participation of people with disabilities in the labour market (Bosch et al., 2013; CareWell, 2016a; Stavenuiter et al., 2014; Van der Klein et al., 2015; VNG, 2010).

Figure 1: The Participation ladder

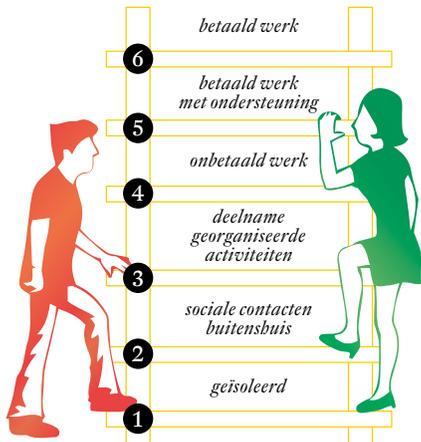
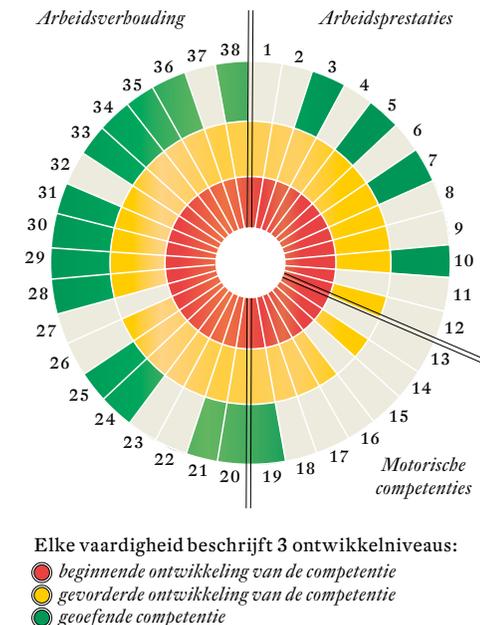


Figure 3: 'Personal Initiative Model' [EIM]



Figure 2: 'Inventory of Self-reliance Aspects' [INVRA]



organisations like CareWell, as well as by the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment (SWZ). The Participation Ladder literally looks like a vertical ladder, in which the highest step is paid work and the lowest step is social isolation (EC, 2015; CareWell, 2016a). What distinguishes the highest steps from the lower ones is the absence of professional support and the creation of (more) wage value (Blom, Driessen, Heijnen-Kaales & Toonen, 2013; Bosch, Ritzen & van Xanten, 2013; Stavenuiter, Bulsink & van der Klein, 2014; Van der Klein et al., 2015). In other words, the difference between the different steps of the Participation Ladder is one of delivering work that is self-steering, good and fast enough for companies to want and be able to pay for it.

Second, the 'Inventory of Self-reliance Aspects' [INVRA] (see Figure 2) is used for assessing and increasing the self-reliance of people with intellectual disabilities in the areas of work (and living)¹⁷. The tool, resembling a dartboard, encompasses a list of work competences that help professionals rate and keep track of the progress co-workers make. Competences are divided into three sections: work performances (e.g. workload), motor skills (e.g. fine and gross), and work attitudes (e.g. initiative). For every competence, clients are assigned a colour, ranging from red to yellow to green. The aim is to have as much green as possible. Let us look at the example of removing litter from the streets, which was a common work activity at one of the SWs included in the study. Assigning the colour red to the co-worker would mean he can make a piece of land litter-free *with* professional support. Yellow would mean the person can make a piece of land litter-free without professional support and can control his own work activities. Green indicates that not only can the co-worker make a piece of land litter-free *without* professional support, he can also use the right method to do so and pick up trash from a set number of square meters per hour. In other words, progress towards full participation is made when the co-worker can execute and control a work task individually (red to yellow), and when he can add a degree of productivity to it.

Third and last, the 'Personal Initiative Model' [EIM] (Timmer et al., 2003) (see Figure 3) is a training and support model that makes use of the image of a Traffic Light and is widely used and promoted by CareWell (e.g. 2016a). EIM presents dependence on professional support ('the vicious circle') as the biggest hindrance to participation (Timmer et al., 2003, p. 13). Therefore, it aims to increase co-workers' sense of initiative and self-steering behaviour. The first step in the Traffic Light model is the red light. It means 'Stop: think before you start'. In this first phase, co-workers are prompted to ask questions like 'what am I going to do', 'how am I going to do it and what do I need'? The second phase is that of the orange light: it signals

¹⁷ INVRA is different from the Self-reliance matrix [Zelfredzaamheidsmatrix – ZRM], which is widely used by social support teams in the Netherlands who, on behalf of municipalities, assess people's self-reliance. It has been argued that ZRM is not well suited to assess the needs of people with (mild) intellectual disabilities (MEE, 2015). Another instrument to measure and work on clients' self-reliance that I often came across was the Self-reliance scale for people with mild intellectual disabilities [Sociale redzaamheidschaal voor verstandelijk gehandicapten van hoger niveau – SRZ-P]. However, this tool assessed people's self-reliance in a range of domains (like hygiene, reading, finances) that did not include work.

the 'doing' phase. It encourages clients to ask themselves how things are going, and to adjust if things go wrong. The green light needs to remind co-workers to evaluate and reflect on their actions by asking questions like *'how was my work pace, the quality of my work, and what would I do different next time'*? Altogether the Traffic Light signals a focus on choice and initiative (what am I going to do), on learning how to self-manage (how are things going, do I need to adjust), and then prompts people to reflect on their work in terms of productivity. Regarding the latter, it is about achieving a good work pace and working towards delivering good, qualitative work: two things considered important in the regular labour market and, by extension, in transitional SWs too.

In these three tools – Traffic Light, Dartboard and Participation Ladder – we recognise (more concretely than in the policy texts discussed above) the combination of goals of self-management and goals of productivity. Participation is strived for by letting co-workers develop their self-steering and productive capacities. I suggest that tensions arise when combining self-management and productivity. Co-workers need to make progress by becoming more independent and learning to make individual choices but, at the same time, there is only one kind of choice considered right, i.e. participation that is as close as possible to *productive* participation, as illustrated by the highest step of the Ladder, the green patches of the Dartboard, and the green Traffic Light. What if the co-worker does not want to productively contribute to society? What if he does not want to be self-reliant and independent? While the emphasis on self-management makes participation seem open-ended, becoming more self-steering, more productive and taking responsibility for contributing to society are not an option – they are an obligation.

CONCLUSION: CONFLICTING GOALS

Over the past years, sheltered workshops (SWs) in the Netherlands have been forced to become social enterprises or to further develop their transitional potential. In this context, the policy discourse of participation takes on a specific, what I called 'atomising', form. On the basis of different policy sources and methodological tools, I pointed out that 'good' participation is about individuals' unique contributions to society, about making personal choices, taking responsibility, and becoming as self-reliant and self-steering as possible. Included in this idea of participation is that, by becoming more self-steering and productive, co-workers will feel recognised and respected. In addition, this participation helps reduce public expenditure on welfare.

It seems that what makes participation so appealing to welfare projects like SWs is precisely its ability to successfully encompass various goals and advantages that are partly conflicting. As I previously disclosed, participation in the

sense of personal responsibility and productivity is coercive and that which SWs need to foster. When people can contribute to society, they *have* to contribute. At the same time, there is great concern with self-management: co-workers need to be treated as adults and need to be able to exert control over their lives. Sentences like, clients should be enabled to *'live the life they choose to live'*, sound very emancipatory, but combine difficultly with the compulsory language of contributing to society (productively).

In short, there is a contradictory message in what policy prescribes as 'good participation': clients need to become more productive and, at the same time, they need to be set free and enabled to make their own choices. Similar to what has been argued for the concept of citizenship, we could say that participation binds and bridges different, partly conflicting goals, but can do so only because it remains abstract (Ootes, et al., 2010). However, outside policy texts, in daily situations and concrete activities at SWs, professionals are confronted with the different participation goals that need to be pursued. In the following chapter (5), I zoom in on whether and how professionals put policy's atomising discourse into practice and deal with the tensions that arise along the way.

Chapter. 5

Preparing the ground for recognition: professionals putting policy into practice

INTRODUCTION

Influenced by wider EU and national policies, CareWell presents participation as the solution to a wide range of problems. Participation would bring benefits at individual (freedom of choice, independence) and societal level (productively contributing to society). I ended the previous chapter by suggesting it is not always easy to combine the individual goal of self-management with the societal goal of productivity. The very first people who need to deal with conflicting policy demands are professionals and team managers working at the sheltered workshops (SWs) on a daily basis and having to foster co-workers' participation. This chapter focuses on them.

In Chapter 1, I suggested the resonance model (*Brøer, 2008*) was useful to understand the different ways in which policy's atomising discourse resonates in professional practices. Questions that stand central in this chapter are: 'How and to what extent do professionals put policy's atomising discourse of participation into practice? Do their supervising practices predominantly show a consonant, dissonant or autonomous relation to policy discourse? What happens to the tension between the goal of self-management and the goal of productivity encompassed in the discourse of participation?' In order to answer these questions, I focus on three concrete aspects of daily life at the sheltered workshops (SWs), in which conflicting policy ideals and professionals' way of dealing with them become salient: attending the

workshop, initiating work tasks, and executing them.

The chapter shows that implementing policy demands is not so simple. Confronted with real-life situations, professionals shift between what policy asks of them and what each situation asks of them (*cf. Lipsky, 1980*). In this chapter, I present the rich ways in which professionals deal with and accommodate the tensions arising from conflicting policy demands. I crystallise this richness into three distinct, ideal-typical professional roles that I name the Director, the Teacher, and the Fellow¹⁸. In no way are these roles observable as such or do they neatly correspond to distinct professionals. In practice, different roles merged into one another and partly overlapped, and the same professional could take on the role of Director in one situation, and Fellow in the next. What did stand out is that one role in particular, the 'consonant' Director, was most recurrent and dominant at the investigated SWs.

1. ATTENDING THE WORKSHOP

Activating labour market policies expect citizens to take responsibility for their participation. People, also people with a disability who *can* work, *should* work. Attending SWs is a way of participating that will – so it is assumed – enable co-workers to enjoy both economic and emotional benefits, now and in the future. A first practical step though is that the young men show up at the SW. Showing up at work consistently and on time are considered basic requirements for participation, now at the SW, and later at a regular job. Professionals need to move between the goal of productivity and the goal of self-management. On the one hand, they need to encourage co-workers to take their own decisions and let them feel they have control over their lives; on the other hand, attending the SW as a first step to becoming more productive and employable is sort of an obligation.

THE DIRECTOR: FOLLOWING PERSONAL CHOICE

In line with activating labour policies, the Director acts from the idea that 'if a co-worker *can* work, he *has* to work' and hence needs to attend the SW as a first step towards 'real work'. The Director puts efforts in making that happen. At the same time, he believes that what is of utmost importance is to find out what co-workers 'really' want (personal choice).

Not putting too much pressure on co-workers and leaving room for attendance

¹⁸ For reasons of readability I will speak about the analytical professional roles in their masculine form (he/his). In empirical examples, the gender of professionals will remain visible. For an overview of the gender of professionals in both the Dutch and Portuguese SWs, I refer to Chapter 2.

to be a personal choice is believed to benefit attendance, whereas putting more pressure is assumed to be detrimental to attendance, as these two assessment files for ex-co-workers from Company show:

‘We have been very lenient with X. We had to, because otherwise he would have stopped showing up much sooner [*anders was hij al veel eerder niet meer komen opdagen*]. If he only called us, we were already happy. The aim of being reliable and trustworthy is very difficult for him. That is why he worked in numerous departments at Company and left them again, because his attendance was extremely irregular [*totaal geen regelmaat in de aanwezigheid*].’
[Company, assessment files]

‘X is absent very often, repeatedly without communicating this to us and without a valid reason. Y is a good worker, who will eventually be able to handle paid work, but above everything else he first needs to build up a work rhythm. X has received all the necessary space and freedom for this at Company but does not manage to prioritise work and deal with his private troubles in his free time.’
[Company, assessment files]

When co-workers face personal problems (lack of money to arrive at work, quarrels with colleagues, etc.) that stand in the way of regular work attendance and other work-related issues, the Director typically makes a distinction between the private and the professional realms. The Director encourages co-workers to talk about work and work goals with him, but to discuss personal problems with their personal supervisor at home. The leading thought is that work is not the right place to discuss and solve private issues. With the regular labour market in mind as the ultimate goal, co-workers will have to learn to separate the private realm from the professional one as they will not be able to ask their future bosses for personal help.

In both examples, notice the link between professionals’ leniency and the assumed positive effect this would have on the attendance of co-workers. Autonomy and productivity are seen as a successful tandem – in the eyes of policy too – in the sense that giving more freedom to the co-worker is believed to encourage him to join the workshop. The leading idea is that more freedom means a lower threshold for co-workers’ attendance, which was also observable at the other two SWs – Repair and Gardens. These two SWs in particular try to give young men who are harder to reach (because scared away by strict rules and demands) the feeling that they are always welcome, even if, for example, they were gaming all night and only managed to arrive at 11 in the morning.

While this low threshold does indeed seem to be important, especially to address those young men who are otherwise almost unreachable for professional support, the attempt to combine giving them freedom to come as they please,

while at the same time making them more productive, often does not work out. Many co-workers show up intermittently and, as professionals would say, stay at home because of ‘nonsense problems’ like a sick cat. In other words, what the young men want is not always in line with what policy and professionals expect of them and is often ambivalent: wanting a paid job, but not wanting to develop the qualities required for that job such as punctual daily attendance, for example.

The role of the Director in dealing with ambiguous and competing wants is mainly defined by what he does *not* do. Directors believe that participation and attendance cannot, and should not, be forced. In the case of poor daily attendance, the Director does not interfere much. At most, co-workers get a phone call from a professional and do not receive the daily compensation of three euros. Giving co-workers freedom and allowing them to make their own choices is considered extremely important, as Joost, one of the professionals, emphasises during a car ride:

The day-night rhythm of co-workers is messed up. It (professional support) all starts with what the co-worker wants: that is a must. They [co-workers] want a paid job. But then they should quit gaming at night and start building a proper day-night rhythm. But that is something they do not want! ‘*But what is it then that you want*’, I often ask them. I hear a tone of despair in his voice when exclaiming this last sentence.

[Gardens, 22 July 2015]

At the same time, there is a strong conviction of the importance of showing up at the workplace and working towards a paid job:

At some point Gerard mentions he has no more to learn and he seems to search for confirmation from Bob, one of the professionals. Instead, Bob says that everybody has something to learn, Gerard included. Gerard needs to build up a working rhythm and not be absent so often, is what Bob says. If he works for a boss later on, he won’t be able to just stay at home. Gerard says it is not necessary for him, that he likes it here (at the SW) because he can stay at home when he has a hard time. ‘That is the wrong mentality [*dat is dan de verkeerde mentaliteit*]’, is what Bob firmly replies. Gerard is not angry but seems to be a bit upset and feel insulted. He tries to convince Bob (and me sitting next to him) that he has enough work experiences and keeps on defending himself by saying he finds it totally okay like this: that he has a roof over his head, food in the fridge, that all his bills are paid and that he has no debts. Besides, he emphasises once again that a lot has happened in his life, which is why he is fine with staying at the SW.

[Gardens, 6 August 2016]

Consistent with CareWell's idea that 'if you *can* make the switch to a paid job, you *have* to do that' (see *Chapter 4*), the underlying idea of the Director is that, even if you have some difficulties, you should not stay at home but rather develop yourself and contribute to society. At the same time, there is a strong concern with following the co-worker's personal choice. Consonant with policy discourse, the Director tries to uphold the two goals of self-management (following the choice of the co-worker) and productivity (through regular attendance).

THE TEACHER: CONVINCING AND ADVISING

A different way of dealing with the tension between self-management and productivity, which became salient with the theme of daily attendance, is shown by the more sporadic role of the Teacher. The Teacher is convinced that the emphasis of policy on self-management has been pushed too far. In contrast to the Director, the Teacher believes there are boundaries to the degree to which co-workers can be approached as independent and self-steering individuals. In terms of the resonance model, we can say the Teacher has a dissonant relationship with policy discourse: he does not adopt the discourse fully but embraces parts of it and rejects others (*Brøer, 2008*).

Teachers often refer to the child-like emotional state of their co-workers, which stands in direct contrast to the Director's emphasis on treating co-workers as adults and giving them freedom of choice:

Team manager Jeroen tells me that these young men '*actually function on the level of 6 year-olds*'. When we talk about the irregular attendance of many co-workers at the workshop, he continues to say that '*you also don't let children decide whether or not they go to school. Children cannot decide that (yet) and it is actually exactly the same with these people [co-workers]*'.
[Gardens, 31 July 2015]

This professional believes the ideals of personal choice and control have been pushed to their limits and that they are inadequate to deal with the problem of poor daily attendance. When Teachers intervene, they do so from a concern that personal control and personal choice are too difficult and demanding for co-workers, who need someone to help them set boundaries. Setting boundaries is mainly done through talking and convincing co-workers of the importance of showing up at work:

Amber, one of the professionals, tells her colleague Bob that co-worker Dylan went home in the middle of the day, with no obvious reason. Dylan's motivation for going home was not clear; he was not sick and just felt like going home. Whereas Amber murmurs that '*it is up to him*' [*hij moet het zelf weten*], Bob has a different approach.

That same afternoon he needs to be at Dylan's living facility. After finishing his business there, he passed by Dylan's house to check on him and see why he went home in the middle of the day. Bob went up to him and convinced him of the importance to attend: '*you have such a nice job, don't mess it up just now*'.
[Gardens, 31 July 2015]

This professional, in his interaction with Dylan, reminds him that he has a 'good job', with a degree of responsibility and status. The fact that Dylan ruins the opportunity that was given to him in good faith is something the professional cannot understand and he does not want to leave it at that. He tries to convince him to show up at the workshop more regularly and communicates this to Dylan in an almost protective manner.

Teachers typically take the time to listen to the problems co-workers face. When co-workers do not show up regularly or on time, they try to find out what is hindering them, and these can be private problems too. Contrary to the Director, the Teacher lends an ear to personal problems, comments on them, and advises co-workers about what to do:

Gerard comes to sit with Bob and me. Slouched in his chair, he mentions something about his difficult girlfriend. Bob says he needs to be careful not to have a breakdown. He has seen Gerard on the edge before and voices his concern. Gerard explains how hard it is to constantly go into town (on the other side of the Netherlands) to see his little daughter and then be in a constant fight with his girlfriend. Apparently, his girlfriend threatens him that he won't be allowed to see their daughter anymore if he ends the relationship. The professional says his decision to stay with his girlfriend should not just be based on her threat and says the way she treats him is really not okay. He makes it personal by saying that, if his girlfriend would say such things, he would really do something about it. Bob knows what he is talking about because Gerard has made him listen to several voice recordings of his angry girlfriend. Bob explains that there are also ways to continue seeing his daughter even if the relationship between him and his girlfriend ends. He says there are laws for that, which he knows because he is a divorced man.
[Gardens, 6 August 2015]

In the sporadic cases in which the Teacher role prevailed, professionals intervened by communicating and convincing co-workers, for example to get up and arrive to work on time. The Teacher makes a judgment about what kind of behaviour is desirable and acceptable, and what kind of behaviour is not, and shares his judgments with co-workers, openly. Teachers are guided by the idea that many

co-workers want a regular job but are unable to do what is necessary to arrive at it and therefore need a helping hand. We could say that, instead of employing the policy discourse of self-management and productivity in their support practices (Director), the Teacher does not adopt this discourse fully. Instead, he embraces some parts – the importance of becoming more employable and productive – and rejects others, like personal choices and self-reliance.

THE FELLOW: GIVING PRACTICAL HELP

Concrete issues around daily attendance, and tensions arising out of them, gave rise to yet another professional role: the Fellow. While the Director gives much freedom and personal choice to co-workers, and the Teacher intervenes by using his convincing capacities, the Fellow intervenes in more practical and physical ways. In a similar way to the Teacher, the Fellow does not show himself consonant with policy discourse, but embraces some parts, while rejecting others.

Many of the young men I met over the last years regularly stayed at home or attended the SW on an intermittent basis because they like to play games until late at night, surf the web, chat on social media, drink a glass or two, or have a smoke with friends. Some have a hard time getting to the SW because of financial obstacles (e.g. having no money left to take public transport) or because of a lack of willpower to get up in the morning. The Fellow looks at the practical things co-workers need in moments like these, such as a helping hand to get out of bed and arrive at the SW:

One professional developed the habit of passing by co-workers' housing facilities every morning, picking them up and driving them to work. Sometimes, young men are still sleeping when he arrives at their houses. The professional goes in, wakes them up, tells them to get dressed and then waits for them in the car. Together, they make their way to the SW.

[Gardens, 28 July 2015]

The Fellow does not present co-workers with a choice in these situations. If the young man has agreed to attend the SW on certain days and is not there, a typical Fellow role consists of intervening physically and practically, like in the example above. Daily attendance, for the Fellow, is not a matter of giving co-workers too much personal choice or personal responsibility. It is a matter of helping them with managing the practical and material aspects of getting to the workplace.

The Fellow is typically involved in co-workers' lives in a practical way. Co-workers regularly looked for professionals' attention by telling about their problems with family, relationship troubles, or the physical pains they experience. The Fellow does not pay attention to most of these stories and is not drawn into

conversations about these topics (like the Teacher perhaps would). Instead, he tries giving small, practical acts of help:

Johan, one of the professionals, drives to the outskirts of town to deliver Marco's scooter at a repair shop. I am going along, together with Mitchell, Henk and Marco himself. The shop is quite far and there is a lot of traffic on the way, so it takes us a few hours to get there and back. I think to myself that it is quite nice of Johan to help Marco out with this. Last week he already drove to the shop with Marco's scooter on a trailer (it was repaired but new problems with the motor came up afterwards). Marco does not have a driving licence, so he would not be able to do this on his own. And he needs the scooter to get to work.

[Repair, 9 July 2014]

Professionals like Johan often give practical help to the young men. Their actions do not involve many words. Unlike the Director, the Fellow does not try and make clear to co-workers that these kinds of problems need to be kept outside the realm of work and pertain to their personal lives. And, unlike the Teacher, the Fellow does not try to exert influence over co-workers' personal problems by offering advice and lending an ear. The Fellow offers practical help.

2. INITIATING THE WORK

A second aspect of daily life at the SW in which conflicting policy ideals and professionals' different ways of dealing with them became particularly clear was in getting co-workers to start working. SWs are devised for letting co-workers train and develop new (technical) skills. Co-workers are prepared to become productive and thereby contribute to society. In practice, it means that co-workers – once they have shown up at the workplace – need to somehow get started. Professionals need to find their way between putting co-workers to work in order for them to become more skilled and productive, and treating them as adults who take initiative and can learn to self-manage. Putting them to work or commanding them what to do might obstruct this latter goal.

THE DIRECTOR: WAITING FOR INITIATIVE

With regard to undertaking work tasks, the Director gives co-workers a large degree of freedom. The Director prefers co-workers to take initiative rather

than giving them orders, often under the banners of autonomy, empowerment [*eigen regie*] and egalitarianism:

I am sending some emails from the little office and Anass comes in and joins me. He asks me plenty of questions about when I will get married, how many children I would like to have, and whether I will go on holiday this year. At some point, Patrick (a professional) comes in and tells Anass he would like him to do something: *'It is already 1 o'clock and otherwise you will go home unsatisfied* [*onverzadigd*], *because you didn't do anything*'. Anass exclaims: *'but there is nothing to do*' [*maar er is niks te doen*]! Patrick, seemingly irritated, reproaches him, *'you also don't ask me what you could do*'! [Repair, 24 June 2014]

For Directors, the rationale behind this is that, by not interfering, more space is left for the individual to take initiative. As such, clients can make a choice, take control over their work and become 'self-managerial workers':

Professional Mark explains that they work with the 'Personal Initiative Model' (see also Chapter 4) at this SW. It means, among others, that co-workers need to indicate what they want to do, otherwise the professional asks them what they think they could do. The most important thing is for the initiative to come from them and for them to be able to work on their independence. [Company, 17 November 2014]

We can locate this emphasis on taking initiative and the hesitancy over assigning tasks within broader concerns with paternalism and egalitarianism. Van den Berg argues that welfare interventions are particularly interesting to study in the Netherlands, where people have to come to terms with the strong sense of egalitarianism in the country (2015, p. 7). As she argues, '[t]he agents of the welfare state are expected to adhere to egalitarianism and somehow circumvent the suggestion of hierarchy even if the relation is quite obviously not equal' (*ibid.*). It is this tension between assigning tasks and interacting in an egalitarian form that we could also observe in professionals' practices at the SWs.

Sporadically, when co-workers have a hard time taking initiative on the work floor, the Director comes up with a set of options and lets them choose from among those options. At the end of my fieldwork period, a Director at Repair had devised a new way of working that encouraged co-workers' initiative and independence. A list of tasks was drawn and hung up in a central place at the office, where young men could go and check it and choose a task from the list. By doing this, the Director gave a little more structure and guidance on how to contribute to the SW, but still placed emphasis on the young men's initiative and their personal choice.

The emphasis on self-management is linked to a strong belief in personal initiative that was also visible in policy discourse (see Chapter 4). In line with such a discourse, Directors reason that, by not interfering, more space is left for the individual to take initiative, which after all is important in a 'normal' job too. But the Director's emphasis on letting co-workers choose what they want to do, and waiting for their initiative, often did not go as wished. Many co-workers, like Anass in the last example, would spend time doing nothing and waiting for the day to pass by. The emphasis on self-management did not lead, as hoped for, to more productivity, leading instead to many frustrations on the side of Directors. Unlike policy proclaims, in concrete acts like taking up work tasks, self-steering skills and productivity did not strengthen or reinforce each other, but often hindered one another.

THE TEACHER: ACTIVELY ASSIGNING TASKS

The tension arising from waiting for clients' initiative, while simultaneously making them more employable and productive, drives the Teacher towards another strategy. The Teacher does not wait for co-workers' initiative, like the Director does, but is more directive, less concerned with keeping their self-management intact and encouraging their sense of initiative. The Teacher actively assigns tasks:

Rivano is sitting on a bench and playing with his phone during work time. At some point professional Patrick notices this too, takes Rivano under his wing and gives him a work task. He asks him to cut big pieces of sandpaper into smaller pieces so they are ready to use on the sandpaper machine and shows him how to do it. [Repair, 26 November 2014]

When co-workers are doing nothing, the Teacher feels obliged to do something about it. Even if assigning tasks does not always work out – with co-workers rebelling against the sporadic role of the Teacher and complaining about their severity – the Teacher tries his best to make them active. Co-workers also recognise the different roles, among which the Teacher, that professionals take on at different moments:

Mitchell: [Professional Johan] is busier working on repairs in the other shed (the young men are split between two sheds) [...] but sometimes he has tasks for me you know [...] (imitating the professional) 'hey Mitchell can you do *this*, can you make coffee' [...] can you do this, can you eh, clean up the property and stuff like that
I: is that what Johan says to you?
Mitchell: yes, that is what he sometimes asks me [...] when I am not doing anything [*als ik niks te doen heb*], literally 'when I have nothing to do'. (Quotation 8)

Teachers actively assign tasks to co-workers, like the professional does in Mitchell's story. Waiting and doing nothing are considered not okay in the context of the SW where new skills need to be learned, developed and fine-tuned.

THE FELLOW: SEDUCING TO WORK

The Fellow does not actively assign tasks, nor waits for co-workers' initiative in order to teach them new skills and how to become more employable. Contrary to the Teacher and the Director, the Fellow encourages co-workers by *doing*. By actively taking on the work that needs to be done, he hopes co-workers will follow his example. Trying to be a role model, he attempts to arouse young men's interest and seduce them to undertake different tasks. Using few words, the Fellow starts working and waits for the co-workers to join him:

The coffee break is coming to an end. One of the professionals, Patrick, gets up and, while walking out of the canteen, exclaims '*here we go again!*' This is enough for a handful of co-workers to jump up and run after him to resume work. Without asking them to go work and, with just one indication that he himself will start working again, he activates the young men to follow his example.
[Repair, 26 November 2014]

The professional here does not issue commands (Teacher) and is not focused on letting co-workers take initiative (Director). Instead, he indicates that he is going to resume work and precedes co-workers by leaving the canteen and getting back to work. We could conclude that the Fellow partly upholds policy's ideal of self-management by not commanding co-workers, as well as the ideal of productivity by letting co-workers join him in his work. However, in the process, the Fellow infuses them with a slightly different meaning than policy does. When the Fellow seduces co-workers to join him in work, self-management is neither about carrying out tasks individually (*see also part 3 – Executing tasks*), nor about facilitating co-workers' choices and making space for their sense of initiative. In a similar vein as the Teacher then, the Fellow stands in a dissonant relation to policy discourse: the tensions that arise make him adhere to parts of it, but also encourage him to reinterpret what it means to steer oneself.

3. EXECUTING TASKS

A last aspect of daily life at the SW in which conflicting policy ideals and professionals' different ways of dealing with them became particularly clear was in the

execution (in addition to the initiation) of work tasks. Co-workers are expected to attend the SW on a regular basis, undertake work tasks and get better at the work they are doing. They need to become involved in a process of learning, repeating and getting better at work, with the ideal end-goal of moving on to regular work. Professionals need to move between training co-workers to get better at work (and help them develop their 'productivity') and training them to become self-steering, which as we will see is mainly defined as working individually.

THE DIRECTOR: WORKING INDIVIDUALLY

In line with policy, the Director tries to encourage co-workers to become more self-steering at work and, at the same time, more productive. Working individually would be beneficial to both goals. Co-workers who work alone presumably work harder and better (are less distracted) and develop into more independent workers who learn to solve their own problems. The closer to a paid job, the more important working on their own seemed to be, as the case of Company, embedded in a regular company, attests:

After lunch I make Christmas packages with Maarten and Kanye. Professional Mark asks them to throw away the big pile of cardboard. I put some last pieces in the container and see the pile becoming bigger and bigger, as well as increasingly unstable. 'If they have to ride that container on a cart to the garbage everything will fall off', is what I think to myself. I ask one of the young men, Maarten, if they indeed have to ride it there. He answers affirmatively and, while looking up at the pile, expresses his uncertainty about how to do that. I offer to help Maarten and Kanye and together we start taking off some pieces of cardboard in order to make the pile a little smaller. Professional Mark passes by and sees me helping them. He takes me aside and tells me: '*that is exactly what you should not do, they need to do that themselves. That is what the 'Personal Initiative Model' [EIM] (see Chapter 4) is all about and that is the method we use here. You can go stand there with them and say 'jeez, that is difficult', but the initiative needs to be handed over to the co-worker.*'
[Company, 17 December 2014]

According to this 'Director', it is of the utmost importance for co-workers to come up with solutions themselves. The goal is not to think together about how to best go about moving the big pile of cardboard, since that would hinder co-workers' self-development. By working individually, co-workers become more independent and presumably work harder, are less distracted and more productive.

Co-workers' relationships with each other at work are considered a pain rather

than a blessing for the goals of self-management and productivity. Directors put a lot of effort into making co-workers understand that they are there ‘for themselves’; that they should keep to their individual business; and not focus too much on other co-workers:

Roy gives a command to Rúben. Professional Amber reproaches the commanding co-worker, saying he should not meddle in other people’s affairs because that is *ber* job, *she* has been hired to do that. She urges him to concentrate on his own work.
[Gardens, 22 July 2015]

The Director actively discourages co-workers from working together or getting involved with each other in any other way. ‘You are here for *your* work’, was an often-heard comment made by Directors (e.g. Observations Gardens, 22 July 2015). Working together, whether with other co-workers or with me, was considered obstructive to the development of co-workers’ independence and self-steering skills:

When arranging my fieldwork at Company, we agree that I work with them in the mornings when ‘sorting-out work’ is done in groups. But professional Mark would rather not have me walk around or work with the co-workers between 10 and 12 am because that might obstruct their independence [*zelfstandigheid*]. Many co-workers express they prefer to work two by two or in groups but that this is not allowed because it would be detrimental to their independence.
[Company, 17 November 2014]

According to Directors, working with professionals is also considered detrimental to co-workers’ progress in terms of self-management. Independence is not only shaped in opposition to working with other colleagues, it is also shaped in opposition to working with professionals:

I am making a round with professional Irene. We pass by Shayron and Billy who are hanging around and are not at the department where they should be. Irene asks them to go to their department. They say there is not much to do and the professional points out to them that they can tidy up the area. We walk on despite the fact that Billy asks us to help him. He doesn’t ask this because there is a lot to do, he asks it for the cosiness [*gezelligheid*]. Irene answers we are busy and need to do plenty of other things. ‘*Yes, talking you probably mean*’ [*klatsen zeker*] is what Billy answers. It must be frustrating for him that we do so much ‘together’ and talk together and that he needs to work on his ‘independence’, like Irene emphasises again. She recalls the story of a former professional that was always on the work floor with

the co-workers. ‘*Clients got used to it and find it difficult to change that routine now*’. It becomes clear that she disapproves of the approach of the former professional. Like she emphasises: ‘*this is the aim, to teach them how to work independently*’ [*‘zelfstandig*’].
[Company, 15 December 2014]

Directors define self-management in opposition to cosiness [*gezelligheid*] or sociability between co-workers, and between co-workers and professionals. It is an active discouraging of ‘togetherness’ for the sake of making co-workers (more) employable and more ready for the regular labour market.

Important to add here is that, in the case of Company, working together on a task was discouraged when done with other co-workers, but encouraged when done with regular, paid employees. This shows something essential: that relationships *between* co-workers are not a primary concern for the Director. The highest steps on the Participation Ladder are not made up of (work) relationships with other co-workers or other people with disabilities (that is *not* considered ‘full participation’), but with people *without* disabilities. In line with such policies, the Director is not very focused on internal relationships at the SWs. The purpose is not to create a well-functioning community of co-workers, but to work on self-steering skills and productivity that will be valued on the regular labour market.

THE TEACHER: EXPLAINING AND CONTROLLING

As we know by now, the Teacher has a very different approach from the Director’s. In the case of executing work tasks, the Teacher does not place an emphasis on working individually, but on assigning, advising on, and controlling work tasks. When co-workers work individually, the Teacher is afraid they will not learn new things and doubts whether things will get properly done, with the right quality. Therefore, he teaches by explaining things, but makes sure it is the co-worker – either individually or with a colleague – who carries out the work:

Enzio is helping Adriaan and me throw the raked heaps of leafs and branches into the wheelbarrow. Every now and then the wheelbarrow needs to be emptied, by lifting it and dropping the content into a container on the back of the bus. Joost, a professional, passes by and comments on Enzio. He says he should not be waiting for Adriaan and me to have a new raked heap because that slows down his work.
[Gardens, 28 July 2015]

The Teacher actively intervenes in the activity of the worker, by emphasising that he should be more productive and do more work. It is the Teacher who sets

the standards. The Teacher is not afraid of pointing out the faults and errors his 'pupils' make. While the co-worker executes tasks, Teachers control the work and intervene when necessary. They keep a close eye on what co-workers are doing and assess and control the quality of their work:

Kevin is repairing an electrical device. Professional Patrick sees him take out a tool and tells Kevin it is not the right one: *'11 is for X and not for Y. What Y needs is a 15'*. At first Kevin does not want to admit his mistake and tries to justify his choice of tool 11. When that does not work out he takes out a number 15 and continues with his work. [Repair, 24 November 2014]

In contrast to the Director, focused on encouraging co-workers' independence and their individual development while executing work tasks, the Teacher sees potential in letting co-workers work together. For example, he insists that one person explains and helps the other execute a task and learn something new:

We are on our way back from a job outside the SW. Professional Joost tells Adriaan he could learn from Enzo how to put a new spool of nylon cutting cord on the powered grass trimmer [*bosmaaier*]. *'Enzio can teach you something, Adriaan! I think you can arrange that with Enzo. I believe you can do that'*. [Gardens, 22 July 2015]

Situations such as this one, where a professional actively encourages internal relations, e.g. by letting co-workers work together, were only rarely observed. Many Teachers admit that interpersonal and social skills are the greatest hindrances that keep many of the young men from moving on to a regular job. However, there are still few 'tools' for dealing with the development of interpersonal and social skills in the field of work, and methods and professional practices principally revolve around personal control, choice, and individual development, as both the 'Personal Initiative Model' and the 'Inventory of Self-reliance' showed in Chapter 4. Attention to, and facilitation of, relations between co-workers most often emerged in 'negative' situations: when incidents on the work floor (like bullying) occurred or when relations between co-workers ran out of hand. In such moments, the Teacher 'educates' co-workers and is not afraid to intervene or make judgments about their behaviour:

Coffee break. Johan, one of the professionals, squeezes in on the bench and sits between Sammy and me. We are all sitting quite close to each other and Sammy turns to Johan and says *'pedo'* (short for paedophile). Patrick, another professional who is sitting opposite us, comments that it is weird to say that and that Sammy should not do

it. Co-worker Herman expresses his scepticism and says Sammy is always fooling around. Again, Patrick intervenes by saying Herman should not be so negative and that everybody has something to learn. [Repair, 21 May 2014]

Teachers intervene when co-workers' behaviour towards other workers or professionals exceeds what is considered appropriate, and demands a certain amount of obedience and politeness. At such times, the Teacher tries to regulate relationships by intervening verbally.

THE FELLOW: TEASING AND WORKING TOGETHER

Like the Teacher, the Fellow is not very concerned about letting co-workers execute tasks individually. What he is mainly focused on is getting things done. The Fellow is not so much interested in *how* work tasks are done but that they are done. In the previous part we saw that Fellows typically begin the work themselves and thereby hope that co-workers will join them. Once they have joined him, the Fellow continues his work with them.

Co-workers also distinguished between professionals who watched while they were working (Teacher) and professionals who worked with them (Fellow). A handful of co-workers had a very clear opinion on this. Like Gino, who once explained to me that he did not like one of the professionals because he was often just watching to see whether Gino did the work well, and compared this to another professional who *'at least works WITH us when something needs to be done'* (Gardens, 4 August 2015).

While working together with the young men, the Fellow typically shows a degree of playfulness. He finds moments in which he can playfully engage with co-workers, and thereby activates them to further develop their employee and working skills. Instead of disapproving of the horseplay and teasing interactions that are often part of daily life at the SWs, Fellows embrace such interactions and use them for particular ends:

The Fellow, Marco, Dylan and I are working together at Repair. While working, Marco is teasing and provoking professional Patrick. Patrick reacts in a ludic manner, by taking hold of Marco's arm and leg and lifting him up in the air (Marco is quite small and very skinny). There he hangs! In the air! Marco is laughing like a small child and begs Patrick to put him down. [Repair, 11 July 2014]

Adriaan is throwing plastic garden tools on the ground on purpose. Afterwards he is sitting with his feet on the table. Professional Joost

says, jokingly, that it is nice that he throws things on the ground because that also means he needs to clean/pick them up, which means he will need to take his feet off the table. Adriaan is not listening. Joost tells his colleague Amber (in a way that Adriaan can hear it too) that, if Adriaan cannot do it himself, he will have to help him with that. Putting his words into action, Joost stands up and pulls Adriaan's feet from the table. Adriaan puts up a fuck you finger to his supervisor. Joost, in response, walks towards Adriaan and pulls his feet in the air. Adriaan, bowed in two, is now stuck between the wall and Joost, who is blocking him, and has his feet sticking up in the air. [Gardens, 22 July 2015]

Fellows try to find spaces and moments to tease and be teased, but at the same time get some work done. Adriaan's example shows that, by teasing him, the professional tries to teach him something about politeness and basic employee skills (not putting his feet on the table, picking up trash from the canteen floor). He does not do so by talking, but by playfully engaging in an interaction that he expects Adriaan will understand and connect to.

Concerning relations among co-workers, the Fellow does not encourage co-workers to work alone (like the Director), but also does not discourage them from working together (like the Teacher). That quarrels might arise along the way is not a central concern. When quarrels do arise, Fellows typically do not pay too much attention to them. But, unlike the Director, this does not happen out of a concern with co-workers' self-management (that they need to solve it themselves), but because this is not seen as a priority. Fellows deflect attention from what is happening by resuming work, ignoring what is happening or making a joke about it.

CONCLUSION: 'RECOGNISABLE' PARTICIPATION

At its core, this chapter focused on the ways in which professionals put policy's atomising discourse of participation – with its emphasis on self-management and productivity – into practice. Different roles emerged in the face of demanding, and partly conflicting, policy goals. Such tensions had already been suggested at the end of the previous chapter (*Chapter 4*), but become more pressing and urgent in recurrent daily activities at the SW, like attending the workshop, taking up work tasks, and executing them. Like other studies have shown too, professionals engage with policy goals, aims and contradictions in a variety of ways (*Brüer, 2008; Hustinx and De Waele 2015; Newman & Tonkens, 2011; Skelcher & Smith, 2015*). The resonance model was considered useful to understand how different professional roles relate to, embrace fully, or partly reject policy discourse (*Brüer, 2008*).

The analysis showed that the role of the Director, acting in 'consonance' with policy's atomising discourse (*Brüer, 2008*), was most dominant. From a total of 212 observations of professional practices, 103 observations (49%) were coded with labels that were later brought together under the denominator of Director. The Director got his name from the combination of giving much space to the personal choices and independence of his clients (self-management) and holding a strong idea about what kind of development and progress co-workers should make: they need to become more productive and employable. The Director focuses on (work) life outside the SW and on the requirements that such a life holds: being able to work individually, take initiative, and separate personal problems from professional life. The Director 'steers' co-workers' choices, but in a non-directive, non-intrusive way. He tries to uphold both the goal of self-management and the goal of contributing to society (productivity). As such, after passing through the hands of professionals, policy's discourse of participation – focused on self-steering and productivity – is predominantly reproduced. It is still 'atomising'.

However, the Director is confronted with a range of limitations in his daily supervising life, as he himself is also aware – for example, when co-workers take initiative or choose to do something that does not advance the goal of productivity and preparation for the regular labour market (like gaming at night). In principle, the Director does not decide for co-workers what they need to do, but at the same time needs to encourage them to become more productive.

The emergence of roles other than the Director, I hold, is a consequence of policy demands that are very hard to actualise and realise in practice. While the Director appears most dominant, the atomising policy discourse of participation also brings about two other roles. Both the Fellow and the Teacher stand in a 'dissonant' position to policy discourse (*Brüer, 2008*). They refer to policy's instructions of self-management and productivity, but do not fully embrace both of them. While they too are aware of the importance of self-steering skills, they give a different meaning to it, or temporarily sacrifice it in favour of the goal of productivity. They do so in different ways: the Teacher sets limits where the Director does not. The Teacher experiences that the emphasis on self-management has reached its limits. In strong contrast to the Director, he assigns tasks without being too concerned about whether or not this is what the co-worker 'really wants' and without being concerned about being too directive. The Teacher intervenes through talking, convincing and explaining. He gives a helping hand, not literally like the Fellow does, but through offering advice and pointing out when co-workers are wrong (and this can be either in relation to work, or in relation to general behaviour towards other colleagues).

The Fellow neither steers choices nor intervenes directly, but tries to be a role model. He bridges the tensions between self-management and productivity by carrying out the work himself. As such, he leaves co-workers free (he does not have to issue commands) and at the same time (hopes that) he inspires them to work and get better at the work they are doing. As the name betrays, in terms of hier-

archy, the Fellow takes on a very non-hierarchical role. The Fellow comes close to co-workers in a playful, practical manner, as the above teasing examples showed.

Indirectly, I hold, professional roles prepare the ground for particular interactions of recognition and not for others. The dominance of the Director then becomes of particular concern. Valuable or ‘recognisable’ participation, for the Director, is participation that furthers people’s independence, self-reliance and productivity. We could say that the Director, just like policy, fosters respect à la Honneth (letting people live the life they choose to live), but more importantly fosters a specific kind of esteem: based on what co-workers contribute individually and on what distinguishes them from others in terms of self-steering and productive work. As we will see in the following chapter (6), co-workers’ searches for recognition are fundamentally tinged with this idea of excelling individually.

When following the idea that particular professional roles prepare the ground for particular forms of recognition, the roles of Teacher and Fellow become relevant too. While they were less dominant than the Director, they hint at other ways of being, acting and relating at work – in short, participation – that could potentially be worth of recognition, e.g. recognition for what one contributes to the group, or what one achieves with a group of other workers and professionals. In addition to valuing individual work achievements, the Teacher for example encourages the young men to work together and learn from each other. He shows his involvement with co-workers by listening to their personal problems and advising them, and encourages them to act politely towards one another. The Fellow, in turn, while also acknowledging the importance of self-steering and productive work contributions, regularly works together with co-workers and strives to treat them as equals (e.g. teasing and being teased) in the process of carrying out work tasks.

Chapter 6.

The desire to outshine: in search of recognition

INTRODUCTION

Based on literature on dignity (*Lamont, 2000*) and respect (*Sandberg, 2009; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012*), I assume that, in order to understand how recognition gets shaped, it is important to make explicit what counts as a recognisable quality in a given context. In policy’s discourse of participation (*Chapter 4*) and in dominant professional practices (*Chapter 5*) there is a great emphasis on constantly becoming ‘better’: a better worker, a more productive worker, a more self-steering person. It was suggested that such an ‘atomising’ discourse of participation constructs some ways of being, acting, relating at the SW as valuable or ‘recognisable’, while others not.

But what about the young men themselves? What kind of subjects and actions did they consider worthy of recognition? And what did recognition actually mean to them? In this chapter, I look both at what co-workers *said* about recognition in interviews and at how they *sought* for it. I deem this double approach important to get a comprehensive picture of recognition from the point of view of the young men.

Co-workers’ understandings of recognition clearly matched Honneth’s theoretical forms of love, respect, and esteem. This chapter presents co-workers’ understandings along these lines and makes the different theoretical forms of recognition

‘come alive’ by showing young men’s various illustrations and examples.¹⁹

But things get more complicated than that. While co-workers’ *stories* on recognition resembled the various theoretical distinctions, their *search* for recognition is dominated by a search for esteem and distinction from others. Co-workers repeatedly wanted to have more than someone else, be better than others, and show off about it. It seems the atomising discourse of participation – with its emphasis on excelling individually – profoundly enters co-workers’ searches for recognition. However, in contrast to a discourse that predominantly envisions such excellence on the basis of work-related achievements (self-management and productivity at work), co-workers turn out to be very creative with the domains in which they can distinguish themselves from others and search for esteem.

1. ESTEEM

In the literature, the form of recognition that Honneth refers to as esteem is coloured by its conditionality. Esteem is based on principles of achievement and merit (Honneth, 1995, 2001, 2007). It is about being acknowledged for, and acknowledging, the work people do, their commitments and contributions to society. For both Honneth and Taylor, esteem becomes possible by sharing a common purpose and being able to contribute to that. It enables individuals to develop a sense of self-esteem (Honneth, 1992). Esteem belongs to the sphere of communities and civil society (Honneth, 2001). It is based on a ‘politics of difference’ rather than on a politics of equality (Taylor, 1994). Esteem is unequal in its outcomes. Automatically, it makes others less worthy of that privilege: a special status – whether in relation to work performances or in relation to something else – can always only be reserved for a few (Fraser, 2001, p. 28). By definition, it cannot be granted to everyone on an equal basis because it would cease to be esteem (Fraser, 2001, p. 28; Heinich, 2007). However, opportunities for esteem can be equal according to Honneth and Fraser (Fraser, 2001, p. 28; Honneth, 2007b, p. 334; 341)

“RESPECT²⁰ IS SOMETHING YOU NEED TO EARN”

In young men’s stories about respect, this conditional form of recognition was clearly present. With regard to esteem, the young men referred to indicators such

¹⁹ Readers who are familiar with Honneth’s writings will notice that, for rhetorical reasons, I treat his different forms of recognition in the opposite order, with esteem coming first, then respect, and finally love.

²⁰ Respect, as opposed to recognition, was consciously preferred as a topic of discussion, because it is a more common word in daily conversations in the Netherlands. In other words, respect is not something I first had to explain to the young men in terms of ‘what it meant’, which was particularly important seeing that I was interested in *their* views on the matter.

as being appreciated by professionals and getting any kind of symbolic or material rewards for the skills they possessed and contributions they made to the SW.

If professionals want to build up a respectful relationship with co-workers, they need to value them for their contributions to the workplace. Rik mentions that it feels like professionals respect him when they compliment him on the work he does:

I: how can a supervisor give or show respect towards you? [...]

Rik: respect me ... that they [...] if I did something well for example [...]

I: that they say something about that or? (indicating I did not understand it completely)

Rik: yes compliment. (Quotation 9)

What Rik stresses here is a form of respect that emerges out of being recognised for the ways in which he contributed to the shared goals of the workplace. He indicates that respect means being seen and complimented for that, an indicator of recognition that is present in other studies too (e.g. Mogendorff, Tonkens & Verplanke, 2012).

As David also points out, symbolic rewards like compliments can be ‘earned’ by, for example, doing your work well:

David: [...] respect is also [...] something you need to earn, let’s say, by arriving on time [...] and doing your work activities well [*je werkzaamheden goed doen*] [...] that all counts’. (Quotation 10)

Close to what the literature on esteem explains, recognition as esteem is tied to a sense of privilege and distinction from others, given to those people who make particularly good contributions, for example to the SW. That symbolic and material rewards for one’s contributions are important indicators of esteem, became extremely clear from co-workers’ frustrations and stories about when this did not happen. Consider Marco, whose self-perceived work contributions should let him be entitled to certain privileges, such as getting a driver’s license. His efforts are not rewarded with the esteem (special status) he expects to get for this particular action:

Marco has a driving license. He tells me that professionals had demanded he drive an important delivery during the weekend. These professionals trusted him with the car and with the money the recipient paid to him (300 euros) but, after having delivered that sum of money to his supervisors on Monday morning, he only received 20 euros and ‘an old sandwich’ [*oude boterham*], is what he recalls. [Repair, 11 August 2015]

Shortly after Marco complained about this, his friend and relatively new colleague Jason, who was standing with us, explained to me that one of the professionals

allows him to do things that even *'co-workers who have worked at Repair for three years already'* are not allowed to do. It is exactly this kind of special treatment, and being given more freedom and responsibilities, that is a sign of esteem for the young men. This special treatment could also take the form of material rewards. Consider Gerard, who believes that, if he hands out newspapers, he should be financially rewarded for that:

I am walking around the neighbourhood with Gerard. He points at a street and explains that he used to bring around newspapers there every week. I ask him why he doesn't do that anymore, to which he replies *'I am not crazy; I am not going to deliver newspapers for 5 euros for half a year!'* Having a 'newspaper neighbourhood' [*krantenwijk*] (meaning it is your fixed neighbourhood for bringing around newspapers) generates quite some money according to Gerard, about 200 or 300 euros a month. Pissed off, he continues to say that *'CareWell earns a lot of money thanks to us you know'* [*'verdient veel geld over onze rug hoor'*, literally *'earns a lot of money over our backs'*].
[Gardens, 12 August 2015]

For Gerard, being valued for his work-contributions in the form of delivering newspapers is tied to getting money. He is well aware that other people who bring around newspapers are financially rewarded for that and is very annoyed that he does not get anything. That Gerard, in contrast to people who deliver newspapers for a living, receives disability benefits, does not change this feeling. Like many of his colleagues, the three euros he earns for his work at the SW is not regarded as a 'nice little extra' on top of his welfare benefits. The young men continue to receive disability benefits, even if they do not show up at work. Hence, the monthly money they receive is not linked to the work they do: neither legally, nor in their feelings. It is in this context that many co-workers experience the lack of financial rewards as a lack of esteem for the work they do.

Hence, recognition as esteem is conceptualised by the young men as any form of symbolic or material compensation for the done work, or for the contributions and commitments they make. In a broader sense, this form of recognition is about being made important and being valued for the specific skills one brings to the workplace.

THE ESTIMABLE SUBJECT: A HARD WORKER, A POTENT MAN

In co-workers' stories there is an idea of recognition as being valued for one's particular contributions and achievements. So in what ways did these young men search for this kind of recognition? In what ways did they try to get a special status or compliments from professionals, from colleagues and from me? What kind of skills and contributions were put forward as estimable? As David already highlighted in

the previous part, one important way of searching for esteem was work-related; it is about working hard, working well, or being an expert. Having worked hard and well, or having performed a distinguishing work task, are transformed into estimable qualities on a daily basis. But as we will see here, these young men also search for esteem by putting forward achievements in a range of other domains, like sex.

Let us first look at how they construct the hard-working man as an estimable subject. We are out on a commissioned task, building a terrace:

'Coffee-break', Gino shouts from across the street. He walks towards us, repeats it and calls us inside. Gino emphasises that the coffee is only for those who worked. He picks on Rúben who apparently had not done anything. Gino says out loud *'you need to earn your coffee'*. Rúben is not paying attention, he walks towards the terrace where the coffee is waiting for us and leans against the wall. When Gino sees this, he gets irritated and screams *'he is sleeping again, it is not the SW here!'* We sit down and wait for the coffee. Gino repeats that *'who worked hard gets coffee, who did not work does not receive anything'*. After the break we start working again. Out of the blue, Gerard states *'taking a rest is something you do in your grave, not at your work'*.
[Gardens, 6 August 2015]

Gerard and Gino provide good examples of the importance attached to being hard-working. They assert themselves as such in contrast to other people who they believe work less hard, or not at all, like Rúben in this case, who is considered a 'real client' and deserving the label of intellectual disability (Chapter 3). Only those who worked hard have 'earned' coffee. During externally commissioned tasks especially, there is a concern with presenting oneself as a good, hard worker. Presenting oneself as such seems to become increasingly important when 'outsiders' (the man for whom they are building the terrace, people who walk down the street and see them work, etc.) can see and evaluate them. It is linked to the value of doing 'real' work:

One of the professionals asks Gerard and Enzo to build a pavement. There is not much work to be done and I am sitting in the canteen with a bunch of workers. Gerard comes in a few times and gives comments about how we are not doing anything. He emphasises that only Enzo and he are 'really' working. He seems both irritated and proud. When he finishes the job he passes by and says out loud *'luckily there are at least two who have worked hard here'* [*'gelukkig hebben er toch nog twee hard gewerkt hier'*]. He is fishing for a compliment.
[Gardens, 14 August 2015]

'Real work' is something young men are proud of. In the context of the SW, it can entail a task commissioned by an external company or person; carried out without

the support of professionals; or taking place outside the sheltered domain, in a public space.

The emphasis on ‘real work’ as something valuable and worthy of esteem also emerged in co-workers’ stories about previous paid jobs. Dave, for example, summed up a list of previous employers and spontaneously started talking about this at multiple moments during fieldwork: he worked for security, for the municipality, and for a waste processing company. Every time, he emphasised how he worked ‘super hard’ there [*keihard*], and seemed to be longing for compliments, amongst others from me.

Co-workers also emphasised the value of ‘good work’. They search for esteem by presenting themselves as experts:

Kevin proudly shows his skills and knowledge to his visiting friend Jamie who has asked him to look at his bicycle. ‘*Rotten bottom bracket and broken cable*’ he says out loud, followed by ‘*ai ai ai*’. His little sounds share that it is a really messed up situation, allowing him moments later to present himself as the one who is going to save and solve it. Every once in a while, his friend says something like ‘*be careful*’, to which Kevin replies ‘*YEHEES*’ and ‘*Sbut up, I know what I am doing*’.

[Repair, 18 November 2014]

We are sorting a variety of articles. It is not an easy task: there are many articles and they all belong to different departments. There are at least ten departments! I ask some of the co-workers whether it was not too difficult to learn what belonged where. While Billy starts answering my question, his colleague Sebastiaan interrupts us to proudly say he already knew everything by heart after one week and that colleagues often need to ask him where things belong.

[Company, 2 December 2014]

Billy’s answer to my question is pushed into the background, and it is true that in other observations Sebastiaan appears to be the expert upon whom other co-workers’ rely when they do not know where to put a certain article. In both examples, we see how co-workers demand attention from others because of their expertise at work. Both Kevin and Sebastiaan show they are proud of the work they are carrying out. Co-workers here take on roles that make them ‘more important’ than others (for similar observations in the context of supported employment, see Hall & Kramer, 2009). Their particular expertise is put forward as something through which they can distinguish themselves from others: Kevin vis-à-vis his visiting friend who is clearly constructed as the one who is not an expert in relation to Kevin, and Sebastiaan vis-à-vis his friend and colleague Billy.

Interesting too in the last example is that Sebastiaan is explicitly searching for

esteem or admiration *from me*. As already introduced before, my presence could not be detached from young men’s searches for recognition. I was also a legitimate giver (and receiver) of recognition at the workplaces. In this regard, it is particularly interesting to turn to another way in which co-workers searched for esteem: not on the basis of their work achievements, but on the basis of sexual achievements. They searched for esteem not only by presenting themselves as hard workers, but also as potent young men. What better way to do this than before the eyes of a young woman?

Three young men, Marco, Kevin and Dylan, join a volunteer and me for a chat. I am excited that they are coming here to socialise. My happiness slightly disappears upon hearing them talk about the women they ‘wear down’ [*verslijten*] and the women who are constantly busy ‘opening their legs’ [*benen spreiden*] for them. The volunteer teasingly remarks to the young men that they never come to this side of the SW, they always stay on the other side, but now that there is a woman they suddenly come here...!

[Repair, 31 October 2013]

Already in the first encounters of my fieldwork, I noticed that my presence allowed co-workers to be vulnerable at times, while in others my presence encouraged them to display a particular type of masculinity that is tough, strong and virile. My situatedness as a young woman mattered! The young men put forward their virility and other sexual achievements (wearing women down) on a daily basis, but in some moments they did so even more because I was there. Especially in the beginning of my fieldwork, when we did not know each other so well yet, my presence seemed to persuade them even more to brag about their sexual achievements: the above example happened on the very first day of my fieldwork at Repair (!). Nevertheless, even after two years of intensive fieldwork (and young men getting used to my presence), they repeatedly presented their sexual achievements to each other as sources of pride and admiration. It made me conclude (and this was corroborated by professionals) that sexualised statements were not *only* tied to my presence:

When Dave walks past, Dylan (from Repair) mentions that he is feeling so happy because of a girl. He rhetorically asks Dave if he wants to know why he (Dylan) is so awake today... ‘*Because I never went to sleep!*’ he manically shouts out followed by laughter. ‘*It was a GREAT night*’ he repeats a few times and Dave and Ron are grinning while asking him for details.

[Gardens, 31 July 2015]

Women, sex and wild nights were recurrent themes in how young men at the SWs presented themselves to each other, to me and to professionals around

them. Some professionals would whisper to me ‘big words, small deeds’. It is true that some stories sounded so exaggerated that it is hard to believe they really happened – like Dylan’s comment about how the two women with whom he had spent the night in the story above arrived all dressed in leather and on a motorbike that was so powerful he could hear them coming from kilometres away. While not interested in what (f)actually happened here and what not, it remains interesting to note that many of the young men, like Dylan, put forward these kinds of ‘achievements’ as sources of esteem, in addition to work-related achievements (hard, good work).

2. RESPECT

A second form of recognition that I distilled from young men’s stories is an unconditional, universal form of respect: you deserve respect for the simple fact that you are a human being. What the young men spoke about here corresponds to the modern-legal form of recognition that Honneth refers to as ‘respect’. Unlike esteem, this form of recognition is tied to legal rights and rules, and is located in the public spheres of law and state (Honneth, 1995, 2001; Taylor, 1994).

People deserve this form of recognition just for being human, and it is thus unconditional. It is based on universalist, egalitarian principles of equal worth and dignity. The idea of mutuality or reciprocity is acknowledged as a key factor of this type of recognition by a multitude of authors. Sennett, for example, argues that ‘... reciprocity is the foundation of mutual respect’ (2003, p. 219) and that it is the key aspect that separates respect from other concepts like status and prestige, where that sense of mutuality is lacking (*ibid.*, p. 54).

“I LET YOU PLAY THE MUSIC YOU LIKE, BUT NOT TOO LOUD”

This form of unconditional recognition spontaneously appeared in co-workers’ stories on respect. A first clue for this was found in the fact that young men believe all people deserve respect. In several interviews, upon mentioning the word respect, and before asking a specific question about it, young men made clear that it is a moral imperative:

I: I have another difficult question. It is about respect, the word respect
 Ron: respect, yes [...] everybody should have respect here [*iedereen moet respect hebben hiero*] [...] for each other and for supervisors too. (Quotation 11)

I: And I would also like to hear about [...] what you think of when you hear the word respect
 Adriaan: just for everybody. (Quotation 12)

At first, neither Ron nor Adriaan elaborated much on respect, but pointed out its self-evidence: it is something everybody should have for everybody. As most important ‘indicators’ of this type of respect, co-workers invoked accepting other people’s differences and acting normally with one another – indicators that I will explain in what follows and that will partly be used for analysing interactions of recognition in Chapter 7.

On the more general and abstract level, co-workers spoke about treating others with respect by ‘letting people be’:

Jordy: YES I find the word respect, then I think like, that you just treat everybody the way they are [*dat je gewoon iedereen behandelt zoals ie is*]

David: ‘I think that respect is [...] accepting everybody as they are [*in hun waarde laten*, literally ‘leaving everybody in their value’].

For Jordy and David, respect means people can decide for themselves who and how they want to be. Underlying this is the idea that we are all equal human beings. Other co-workers touched upon the issue of differences between people and explained that respecting people means taking into account all the different appearances people can have:

I: hey and when you hear the word respect, what do you think of then, and there are no good or wrong answers here you know [...] What does respect mean for you?

Rik: hmm (thinking). Respect, that you deal well with people [*goed omgaat met mensen*] [...] that they are allowed to be who they are, and [...] it doesn’t matter what you are for example [...] Surinamese, brown, white, and from which country you come doesn’t matter. As long as you are kind/friendly [*aardig*]. (Quotation 13)

As Rik points out, whatever skin colour, origin, or (dis)ability you might have, people need to be allowed to be who they are. Something often heard in this regard is that, in order to treat each other respectfully and let other people be who they are, people need to ‘act normally’ with each other. Acting normally as a way of conveying respect is often defined by co-workers as approaching the other person as an adult, as an equal human being:

I: And how do you do that, ‘have respect’?

Ron: yeah look, [...] just treating [each other with] respect and not like a little child, [...] not treating [...] like a little child. (Quotation 14)

I: [...] when you work with others [...] how can you show respect for each other?

Marco: just like, [act] normal as always, just like a grown-up guy [*‘volwassen vent’*]

I: yes. And normal then is [means]?

Marco: just talking normally and respectfully to each other! (Quotation 15)

It is striking that in almost *every* individual interview with co-workers, the first thing young men replied when I asked them about respect resembled something like ‘just acting/being/doing normally’ with each other. It would be interesting to conduct a wider study on people’s understandings of respect, and see whether ‘acting normally’ remains an important part of such understandings, or whether it needs to be understood in the context of co-workers’ experiences of being labelled ‘abnormal’ and the shame and negative experiences arising from there.²¹

Consistent throughout co-workers’ stories of acting normally and with respect, is the principle of reciprocity. Co-workers’ treat the other with respect (by being kind, having a normal conversation, or letting the other person be) on the assumption that the other person is treating them with the same kind of respect. Samir comes up with a very concrete example of mutually respecting each other:

I: If you hear the word respect, what do you think about then?

Samir: that you respect each other for who you are [*‘zoals hoe je bent’*]

I: yes, and how do you do that then, respect each other for who you are?

Samir: to say it with something simple: you like classical music, and I do not like it but I respect that you play that music or, [...] like it.

But I do ask you if you could play it not too loud [*‘of je het niet hard wil zetten’*] [...] in that way you respect me for not wanting something [namely, listening to that classical music]. (Quotation 16)

Not only will Samir allow you to play the music you like, it is *your* task to respect him too by turning down the volume. What matters in this meaning of respect is not what you do or who you are, what matters is you are considered a full human being, who chooses to listen to a particular kind of music and to live his/her life in a certain way.

²¹ Macarena Orchard is a PhD candidate at Nottingham University who has done a large-scale investigation of people’s understandings of respect in Chile (thesis forthcoming, 2018). While reading each other’s work, she pointed out to me that the emphasis on acting normally is not at all present in her findings, and suggested the link with these young men’s care contexts.

What this second understanding of respect points out is that it is not about liking or valuing a particular kind of music, but about acknowledging that it matters to someone else and letting that be. In other words, respect is not an attitude towards concrete decisions or issues on how to live one’s life (*van Quaquebeke et al., 2007*), it is instead an attitude that respects the other person’s autonomy to make such decisions.

THE RESPECTABLE SUBJECT: ‘ANY’ HUMAN BEING

In contrast to esteem, young men’s understandings of respect show that, by definition, it does not need to be earned. Like both co-workers and the literature showed, you are entitled to respect: an equal (and adult) treatment just for being human. Considering the universal and unconditional nature of this second form of recognition, we would expect who or what the young men construct as ‘respectable’ to be any kind of human being. Interestingly enough, this did not appear to be the case in practice. Their searches for this kind of recognition reveal a different picture.

LOOK AT HOW SMART AND INDEPENDENT I AM

The lives of the co-workers in this study are marked by long histories of care. Like more people who are in need of care and professional support, the extent to which they are respected, i.e. taken seriously, and approached as independent and rational agents, is not (and has never been) self-evident. As we saw in Chapter 3, many of them experienced first-hand that identifying as a person in need of care or ‘lacking’ cognitive abilities easily falls prey to disrespectful treatment. The self-evidence, universality, and unconditionality of this form of recognition therefore become questionable.

Indeed, in their search for respect outside interviews, co-workers repeatedly tried to prove their independence, intelligence, and adulthood to others. In order to be treated equally and ‘normally’, they feel the need to prove they are not just any kind of human being, but *intelligent* and *independent* ones. Similar to the way they obsessively distanced themselves from any association with a client-identity or the label of mild intellectual disability (associated with dependence and ‘abnormality’) in Chapter 3, co-workers showed an obsessive need to emphasise their independence and intelligence. Interestingly enough, it becomes unclear in such moments whether the young men are searching for respect (equal treatment) or for esteem (distinction from others). Independence and ‘smartness’ are turned into something to compete for internally:

Gino, like many other young men at the SWs, shows an almost obsessive need to claim his normality and intelligence. One day, he expresses feelings of frustration and hate; he feels unfairly treated by

CareWell. Out of the blue, he utters *'a fox loses his hairs but not his tricks/pranks'* [*stroken*]. When I ask him what he means by it, he clarifies that *'It means I am not retarded. I am smarter than the whole of CareWell'*. Ron, who is standing next to him, is quick to add to his colleague's statements that he too is smarter than the whole of CareWell. [Gardens, 12 August 2015]

The young men here are competing over their smartness: Gino by claiming he is the smartest of the whole care organisation and Ron, in turn, by making use of the moment to show he is as smart as Gino.

In addition to being smart, young men emphasised and competed over their independence. Through a range of behaviours, they tried to show how independent they 'actually are', in order to secure equal treatment from others. Adriaan, for example, presents himself as a person who *'often gives powered grass trimmer lessons'* [*bosmaaier lessen*]. He does this after explaining what it means to be a client: clients are actually *'little helpers'* or *'slaves'* (see Chapter 3). Slaves, we could interpret, are the ultimate example of people who are dependent and not treated equally or as 'full human beings' (respect). Hence, Adriaan presents himself to me as someone who is very independent, so much so that he even teaches other, more dependent people how to use the trimmer. There is definitely some truth in this: Adriaan also taught *me* how to trim the grass and keep the pathways beautiful. But what Adriaan does not mention is that this seldom happens. Still, what is interesting to note is that, rather than being *in need of support*, he presents himself as someone who *gives support*. We could suggest that, in order not to be treated with disrespect, Adriaan feels he needs to emphasise his independence.

For Billy, displaying himself as a person who can take care of himself, takes on an almost disproportionate dimension around the time he is moving from his parents' house to an independent living facility belonging to CareWell:

Billy repeatedly informs fellow co-workers, as well as regular employees from Company, about the step he is about to take. It seems to give him so much pride that it is reason to repeat it over and over again... After the move, I ask Billy how he is doing at the independent living facility. He replies that he is doing really well. He had been sick last week and stayed at his parents' house but immediately wanted to go to his own home again. *'THAT is how much I like living alone'* [*ZO graag woon ik alleen*]. In the weeks that follow, he spontaneously tells every person who shows the slightest interest that he *'has been living alone for two weeks already and that it is going really well'*. [Company, 2-9 December 2014]

We recognise in Billy's words an aspiration to be independent and not need help. He is very proud of it and wants to let other people know how independent he is.

It seems that, in order to be treated equally and respectfully by his supervisors, regular employees from Company, his co-workers and me, Billy feels the need to state that he can take care of himself, that he can 'self-manage'. At the same time, though, his independence is invoked as something through which he can distinguish himself from other co-workers who are less independent.

In sum, the young men involved in this research are very much concerned about showing others how 'normal' they are, in terms of being smart(er than others), being able to do things independently, and being able to take care of themselves. We can interpret the examples given here as ways of constructing, on a daily basis, independence and intelligence as necessary qualities to be treated as an equal (respect), but also as qualities to potentially be treated superiorly (esteem). Others are also treated with respect (and esteem) on the condition that they have those qualities. Those who fail to be 'normal' human beings become easily treated with what they understand as disrespect: they are not treated equally or taken seriously.

In the literature, recognition as respect is not about deserving it, but about rights and being entitled to those rights on the basis of being human. The category of 'human being' is seen as an encompassing one where no differences are made, for example in terms of intellectual (dis)abilities. However, through their long histories of care, co-workers have got used to *not* always being treated normally and equally, and have learned they need to actively put forward specific qualities – independence and intelligence – in order to be treated respectfully. In other words, they need to show they 'merit' equal treatment (respect). In contrast, many theories of recognition base their idea of respect on a rather uncritical universal view of the human being as rational and independent.

3. LOVE

Only few authors have dared integrate the theme of love in their theories of recognition, arguing mainly that this dimension should not be taken into account in view of its private, rather than public, nature (e.g. Taylor, 1994, p. 37). Against this, some authors like Honneth (1995) and Young (2007) have explicitly focused on how respect can operate through relationships of intimacy, care, and emotional support. They show the different ways in which being of unique value to others can be a source of recognition.

This form of recognition is neither based on a principle of merit (esteem) nor on a principle of rights (respect). Love, instead, is based on a principle of care and uniqueness. There is no fundamental equality in this form of recognition, as love often involves partly or temporary unequal relations of caring for each other (Young, 2007). For Honneth, intersubjective relations of love are necessarily tied to family,

lovers, and close friends. In asserting the link between emotional attachment to these ‘unique others’ and the development of self-confidence, Honneth builds on studies about the bond between parent (mother) and child (1992, 1995). Subsequent authors have taken on Honneth’s conceptualisation of love and pointed out its broader implications and shortcomings, for example with regard to gender equality (Young, 2007) and legal state arrangements (Barsback, 2007).

“SOME PEOPLE ENTRUST THEIR BANK CARD TO ME”

This third form of recognition that Honneth identifies as ‘love’ clearly arose in co-workers’ stories on respect. Most importantly, the young men invoke trust, helpfulness, and reliability as indicators of love and friendship.

On the work floor, respect and helpfulness are closely intertwined. For Rayan, although his words come out deviously and he is shy at first, respect seems to be about working together and helping each other out:

- I: and if you hear the word respect, what do you think of then? It is not an exam here, you know that, don’t you?
 Rayan: heheh (laughs about me saying it is not an exam) [...] You need to have respect for other people
 I: yes, and how do you *do* that then, have respect for other people?
 Rayan: ... sometimes if, helping together, yes. (Quotation 17)

Ibrahim has a similar understanding of respect. He clarifies his idea by giving a concrete example of respect as helpfulness:

- I: yes, and how do you show people you respect them?
 Ibrahim: that I just help them
 I: because you help them. And the other way around, how do people show they have respect for you?
 Ibrahim: That they help *me*. [...] Like Kevin, what I just said ‘take a screwdriver’ [*neem even een schroevendraaier*] [...], a crosshead screwdriver he had taken for me
 I: okay, and that for you is then actually a way [through which] Kevin shows you that he respects you?
 Ibrahim: (nods). (Quotation 18)

Respect as helpfulness was salient throughout young men’s accounts and was invoked both in general terms, and in specific interactions with supervisors and peers. Later on in the interview, Ibrahim emphasises, for example, that interactions with supervisors, according to him, are respectful when they integrate the same quality of helpfulness. He points out that he respects supervisors by taking or

handing over tools when they ask him to do so, and the other way around, that they treat him with respect when they do the same. Recognition as love is neither based on the work achievements of the other person nor on his status of (independent and rational) ‘human being’; it is based instead on the unique relationship some co-workers establish with each other and with professionals.

In co-workers’ stories, concrete acts of helpfulness on the work floor are linked to a more general idea they associate with respect, which is the idea of reliability. One way in which people respect and are respected is when they (colleagues in this case) ‘*are just there for you and I am there for them*’ (Jordy). Jordy communicates that respect is linked to a deep trust that he can count on his colleagues, and that they can count on him in return. Roy makes a similar interpretation of respect as based on trust and reliability. He feels respected when people show they trust him:

- I: hey and what does respect mean for you? If you hear that word what...
 Roy: yes [...] a lot of people respect me
 I: okay, and why do they have, what do they respect you for then?
 Roy: if they ask me something I do that for them and stuff like that [...] Even my mother’s best friend [*bartsvriendin*] once asked me like ‘do you want to withdraw money for me’ [...] She just gave me her PIN. Some friends also give me their bankcard to withdraw money
 I: so then they actually show you that they trust you?
 Roy: yes, they trust me. (Quotation 19)

For Sebastiaan too, respect is linked to trust. He explains his idea of respect by referring to things people have been through in their lives, and that such stories are important to respect and keep to oneself:

- I: [...] and what does a respectful relation look like, between colleagues for example, can you say something about that?
 Sebastiaan: [...] that you just give respect through your way of working and also when you have things on your mind, for example, things from the past that you experienced... and that they then also just respect that. [...] That you can confide it [*in vertrouwen geven*], that he does not disclose it [*niet doorvertellen*].
 I: yes yes yes
 Sebastiaan: so I never disclose when somebody, for example, has experienced something in the past. (Quotation 20)

Sebastiaan explains that not disclosing the information someone else gives you is an act of trust and an indicator of respect. What co-workers understand as love, and the examples they give about how people can convey it to one another – through an attitude of trust, helpfulness, and reliability – will be used as ‘indicators’ of

recognition in the following chapter (7), where I will dive deeper into whether co-workers' search for recognition actually turn out to be successful or not.

THE LOVABLE SUBJECT: A CARING BROTHER, LOVER, PET OWNER

So what specific qualities are worthy of the third form of recognition, love or friendship, according to the young men? How do they search for love in the meanings just described (helpfulness, trust, and reliability), and how do they construct themselves and others as 'lovable'?

The co-workers typically constructed kindness, loyalty, practical help, and care as lovable human qualities, and presented them as such vis-à-vis colleagues, lovers (who figured in their stories, phone calls, or sporadically visited the SW), me, and even in relation to pets. In this first example, Dylan, who often presented himself as a tough guy, presents himself as a caring person.

In the morning I notice Dylan is wearing a necklace with a key around his neck. He tells me that he gave a heart with a key to the girl he is dating now and that she gave him *'the only key to her heart'* until they are really together in a relationship. He tells me she still has things to sort out first. Dylan sounds very melodramatic and romantic.

[Gardens, 31 July 2015]

His act of giving a necklace with a heart to 'his girl', is figurative for how he wants to show himself as a kind, caring, and generous person. It is something he is proud of, and that he sees as necessary qualities to receive love from the girl.

A caring attitude is also present in co-workers' search for friendship, for example in this situation that involves me as a researcher:

One day I ask Marco and Kevin whether they have bolt cutters [*betonschaar*] in the shed. I tell them that Temwa lost the keys to his bicycle lock(s) and feels a little helpless now. I have hardly finished my question and Kevin walks off to get the bolt cutters. Marco offers to drive over to Temwa to cut the lock and five minutes later we are on our way. Once we arrived, Marco is able to show us his expertise by cutting the lock with the heavy bolt cutters. After struggling for a little while, he manages to open the big lock, lifts the bike, and puts it in his car. Temwa follows us on his skateboard. Marco is very attentive and makes sure that Temwa, who does not know the way to the SW yet, is following us. When we arrive, Kevin is sitting in a parked car and is playing with his phone. He puts the phone down, gets out of the car, shakes Temwa's hand and gets the grinding wheel [*slijptol*] to cut the second lock on Temwa's bike. Marco gets WD40 to oil the

chain and gets one of the professionals to disentangle it. I am moved by their hospitality, kindness, and helpfulness. Kevin tells Temwa to come back whenever he wants.

[Repair, 23 June 2014]

In this example, Kevin and Marco show they care: they give practical help to me, and to my partner who they had not met before. It must be remembered that there were many moments when co-workers were not kind, helpful, or welcoming at all, especially not to 'strangers'. Yet, the two young men put forward their helpful, caring capacities, and this can be considered a search for friendship. Of course much more is going on in this specific example: the fact that I asked them for help (in a context with little work, visible from Kevin's 'activity' of playing with his phone in a parked car) and that they want to show their expertise – Marco with the bolt cutters, exhibiting his driving skills; Kevin with the grinding wheel – could also be presented as opportunities for esteem. To me, however, in addition to being a first-hand experience of one of their indicators of respect – namely, *receiving* help – it is also an example of how Kevin and Marco construct themselves as lovable subjects by *giving* practical help.

This helpfulness and caring attitude are also present in relationships between co-workers:

Dave says he almost did not come to work today because of a fight with his girlfriend, but that he *'could not let his little brother* [*'broertje'*] *wait*'. His 'little brother' is his colleague Ron who passes by Dave's house every morning for them to travel together to work. Ron tells me he was in a good mood this morning but that, when Dave opened the door, he could immediately tell something was not okay with him. He was too silent. Dave nods as a way of confirming that he was not feeling well at all. *'But I could really not make my little brother wait'*, Dave repeats a few more times.

[Gardens, 31 July 2015]

Some co-workers who befriend each other consider themselves family. Dave might be the most extreme example in that he literally calls his friend 'brother' (and a girl in a nearby SW 'sister'). Such a brotherhood is typified by loyalty, always being there for the other, standing up for the other, and not abandoning him. It is this 'loyalty' that sets the standards for what it means to be a good friend. As Dave illustrates, this loyalty puts friends or colleagues at the same level of family. Ron shows how well he knows Dave. He builds on a shared history of many mornings when Dave opens the door for him and they travel together to work. From these previous shared moments, he can immediately sense when something is wrong with his friend. Dave, in turn, emphasises the importance of not letting your best friend down, even at difficult times. He describes how he considered not going to work, but that in the end the loyalty and love he feels for Ron won him over.

Another striking way in which co-workers present themselves as ‘lovable’ is in relation to living – but non-human – beings. During fieldwork, I was constantly struck by the number of times co-workers presented themselves as caring *animal* lovers. Many co-workers at multiple times emphasised their proximity and affection towards animals as a source of love:

Walking around the neighbourhood to pick up trash with Dave and Ron, we constantly run into people who are taking their dogs for a walk. Dave stops every time to pat each dog, show his affection, and make small talk with the dog owner. Every time, Dave’s affection towards dogs strikes me. On another of those walks, Ron tells long stories, full of love, about the pets he has and had in the past. Both Dave and Ron explain they like pets for the cosiness [*gezelligheid*]. Dave has dogs at home. He says he likes the fact that they do not talk and that he can play and fool around with them [*spelen en stoeien*]. Later that day, Dave announces he is going to go on another round picking up trash. I excuse myself and say I am not joining him. He answers *‘I don’t care. I will meet enough dogs anyway’*. [Gardens, 14 August 2015]

Dave usually does not like to work alone. He likes working with other co-workers and with me. When a co-worker with whom he regularly used to work stopped showing up at the SW, he made explicit that he missed him. Dave likes togetherness and having little chats with others. We could say he values these moments of friendship. But in the above example, he shows that cosiness [*gezelligheid*] and friendship can also be given by an animal.

Similarly, Samir’s rabbit figures prominently in his daily stories. He repeatedly shows pictures of the little animal during work time to whoever wants to see them, and his love for the little creature seems endless. Marco’s cats take a similar position in his life. At times, these little living creatures seem to be his reason for being alive. There were even days when Marco stayed at home because one of his cats was sick. Furthermore, a substantial amount of his disability benefits goes to the care of his cats.

Dave’s mention that animals ‘do not talk’ suggests there is something about the love or friendship of animals that is different from the love of human beings. Could it be the experience of a more unconditional love/friendship, in which they do not feel categorised or judged as people who are ‘dependent’ and ‘dumb’? What is most important for this analysis is that it is not only the love for these animals that is striking in all these stories, but the frequency with which young men speak about them, and thereby present themselves as caring, attached human beings.

In line with the literature and with co-workers’ understandings of recognition (as love), the moments described above show how they search for love based on a principle of uniqueness and care for ‘special others’. However, similarly to what

the previous part on respect showed, the following part shows how a principle of merit and competition regularly enters their search for love and friendship. In those situations, friendship and love are things co-workers’ compete for amongst each other. Again, it becomes blurry whether such moments are about searching for love, or for esteem, and I will come back to this point in the conclusion.

LOOK AT HOW MANY FRIENDS I HAVE ON FACEBOOK

Remembering Dylan’s example with the key he received to his girlfriend’s heart, we can note this is a way of searching for love, but also a way of searching for esteem. If it were only about love, he would have perhaps worn his necklace under his sweater. Instead, he chooses to wear it over his sweater and, in addition, talk about it multiple times during the day. In situations where love and esteem get blurred, I hold, what stands central is the status the young men can get through exclusive relationships. In such moments, co-workers want to show in various ways that they matter (to someone). They want love, but also esteem and admiration for being of importance to someone. The most obvious way of doing so is competing over who has the most friends:

Adriaan is showing off with the number of friends he has on Facebook. He proudly says he has 369 friends and asks me how many I have. I say I don’t know it by heart and ask him why he thinks it is important to know. I don’t get an answer to that question, except for *‘just because’* [*gevoon*] and *‘therefore’* [*daarom*]. [Gardens, 29 July 2015]

Kevin, Marco and I are sitting in the office. There is little work to do. Kevin sits behind the computer and surfs to his Facebook profile. He wants to delete a girl from his friend list because she had been gossiping that he had cheated on his girlfriend, which wasn’t true. Kevin is very aware of the fact that Marco and I are looking at his profile. In order to make sure we notice how loved and popular he is, he points to the screen and proudly exclaims *‘139 friends, seriously!’* [Repair, 16 June 2014]

Another dimension of competing over, and trying to get a special status through friendships, is by claiming ownership, or ‘property rights’. In such moments, what is disputed is who became whose friends first, and hence gets the credits:

For Marco, the least others can do when he introduces them to good friends of his is to express gratitude and acknowledge who introduced who to who. He explains this in the context of a quarrel he

had with one of his colleagues, Dylan. Marco had taken Dylan to one of his favourite events: a car meeting. The car was Dylan's but the friends were *his*, is what Marco emphasises. *He* was the one who had chosen and made those friends. After a while, Dylan went to the car meetings and to Marco's friends *without* Marco, but took his girlfriend along instead. Since then, Dylan and Marco are fighting. [Repair, 21 May 2014]

For Marco, these car meetings are 'his' and he feels a sense of ownership and pride over the relationships he has built there. When Dylan 'ran off' with friendships that he, Marco, invested in, there is a breach of loyalty (= marker of respect, as previously seen): Dylan uses Marco's friendship efforts and then abandons him when it suits him, resulting in strong emotions of disrespect on Marco's side. In the course of fieldwork, I was often struck by how friendships and other relationships are carefully and vigilantly protected against 'outsiders'. There are strong feelings of jealousy and 'I got to know him/her first' when friendships are 'disturbed' by someone else.

On the one hand, I believe that strong feelings of jealousy can be understood through a more general sensitivity towards being 'dissed' (disrespected). Literature on street culture attests that such sensitivity is built up in particular by people with low self-esteem (*Anderson, 2000; Bourgois, 2003; De Jong, 2007*), i.e. people who structurally feel disrespected by society, for example because they belong to a devalued category like young Moroccan men in the Netherlands (*De Jong, 2007*) or, in this research, people labelled with a mild intellectual disability (*see Chapter 3*). On the other hand, I believe that friendships are carefully protected against outsiders exactly because they are turned into fields of competition. As the following chapter (7) will show, this becomes understandable in a context of aspiring but having little opportunities to excel in other domains such as, for example, work.

As a young woman and frequenter of the SWs, at times I also became the pivot of this territoriality of relationships. Some young men tried to blame and talk badly about others to me. More than once, I got the feeling this was a strategy to be more 'liked' by me or to have a more exclusive relationship with me. Some young men would brag to colleagues about their chats with me, either on Facebook or Whatsapp. Others proudly told colleagues they had my phone number. There was, on the one hand then, a longing for friendship with me ('love'), and on the other hand a clear longing for being more important and better than others ('esteem').

CONCLUSION: INVASION OF MERIT

Reflecting on this chapter, it becomes clear that recognition matters to the young men. They have ideas about the different forms it can take, and it is something they

actively search for, also or maybe especially, in the context of experiences of disrespect (*see Chapter 3*).

What stands out is that recognition as love and respect is important to the young men, but what is even more important is recognition as esteem. As the chapter showed, co-workers are constantly looking for things in life and at work where they can stand out from the crowd. Co-workers appeared very creative in their ways of searching for esteem. While hard work, real work, and good work were turned into important sources of esteem, plenty of other activities that were not related to work were also invoked to obtain a special and distinct position or status at the SW. Co-workers tended to present themselves as experts and outstanding in a range of non-work related activities. The chapter showed, for example, that friendship (love) and autonomy (respect) were regularly transformed into competitive areas in which young men could assert their worth over others'. In practice, who or what is worthy of love and respect is flooded by a desire to outshine others.

Theoretically, this implies that Honneth's domains of love and respect, marked by principles of care (love) and universality (respect), see the introduction of a principle of merit (traditionally linked only to esteem). In connection with this, it is untenable to assign co-workers' search for recognition to one category (love, respect, esteem) only. Examples like Dylan's necklace or their friendship with me attest to a blurring of love and esteem. Co-workers could be searching for love and esteem, or respect and esteem at the same time.

While Honneth's theoretical distinctions are very helpful analytically, they appear more rigid and counterproductive at times. I am not the first to note this. Young (2007), for example, argues that the boundaries between the principle of care and the principle of achievement need to be softened, in order for all people, men and women alike, to be esteemed for their social contributions. More generally, she calls for a more thorough reflection on the separation between the spheres of love and esteem (p. 212). In his turn, Barshack (2007) claims that modern family is shaped by legal state arrangements and therefore involves both love and respect, in the same way as the state itself is made up of relations of care and love between members. Hence, he questions the absolute boundary between law (respect) and love. In the light of this literature (*Barshack, 2007; Young, 2007*) and the data, in the next chapter (*Chapter 7*) I introduce my own forms of recognition that, while inspired by Honneth's idea of esteem, transcend it and also include elements of love.

Empirically, I hold that co-workers' desire to feel esteemed at all costs and in all spheres of life can be understood in relation to a discourse of participation that constantly emphasises becoming 'better': a better worker, a more productive worker, a more self-steering person (*Chapters 4 and 5*). The kind of subjects that young men present as recognisable can be interpreted as effects of a welfare state that attempts to encourage recognition as esteem, through a principle of being responsible and becoming a better version of yourself (*Kampen et al., 2013*). However, in comparison to young men's diverse sources of esteem (toughest guy, most friends on Facebook, independent and smart), we could argue that policy and the domi-

nant professional role of Facilitator quite narrowly define estimable participation through (self-steering and productive) work achievements.

In the following chapter, I focus on daily interactions between co-workers and their experiences of recognition at the SW. The main challenge will be to bring together the different elements that the book has presented so far – most importantly, young men’s indicators of, and search for, recognition, as well as policy and professionals’ dominant atomising discourse of participation (*Chapters 4 and 5*) – in a telling account of recognition. The big question will be whether co-workers’ desire to excel, encouraged by policy and professionals within the limits of self-steering and productive participation, truly leads to experiences of recognition and, if not, what happens instead.

Chapter 7.

Working alone, acting tough, caring together: everyday interactions of recognition in Dutch sheltered workshops

INTRODUCTION

Sheltered workshops (SWs) are set up to prepare co-workers for regular work, and at the same time be a place where they can tackle old experiences of failure and generate new experiences of recognition through (labour) participation. However, in line with national and European policies, the Dutch care organisation CareWell defines ‘good’ participation in a very specific way. In Chapter 4, I referred to it as an ‘atomising’ discourse of participation, since it is mainly about how co-workers, as individuals, can develop themselves in terms of self-management and productivity, and take responsibility for their own progress.

Participation in the way that policy defines it is not easy to bring about. Developing and securing co-workers’ self-management *and* their productivity at the same time appear difficult in daily life at the SW. In Chapter 5, I showed how, confronted with ordinary situations, professionals put the atomising policy discourse into practice in a variety of ways. Some, like the dominant Director, act in consonance with, and anchor their support practices in, policy’s dual language of self-management and productivity; others, like the Fellow and the Teacher, appear more dissonant and reject or change parts of the discourse (*Brüer, 2008*). With the Director at the forefront, policy’s atomising discourse of participation remains largely in place: valuable participation is participation that furthers co-workers’

self-management and productivity.

In this chapter I concentrate on co-workers' experiences of recognition, and attempt to show how this atomising discourse of participation fosters some forms of recognition in the Dutch SWs, while foreclosing others. My approach to identifying interactions of recognition is multi-layered (*see also Chapter 2*). Throughout the two years of fieldwork, I made broad observations and paid attention to sensitising literature; I investigated sources of recognition as they are constructed by policy, professionals, and co-workers; I interviewed co-workers about their understandings and experiences of (dis)respect, and finally – following the literature that argues that recognition has a strong emotional dimension (*Heidegren, 2002; Honneth 1992, 1995; Petersen & Willig, 2004*) – I attempted to observe and 'sense' experiences of recognition.

In the course of observing and being sensitive to moments of recognition, I directed my attention to bodies and bodily activities. Largely absent from theories of recognition, I claim bodies play an important role in giving shape to and experiencing (the emotional dimension of) recognition. Inspiration was taken from literature that brings bodies to the centre of shaping good care (*Mol, 2008*), citizenship (*Pols, 2006*), dignity (*Pols, 2013a, 2013b*), respect for self and others (*Wacquant, 2004*), success (*Abdallah, 2017*), solidarity and emotional energy (*Collins, 2004*), or a sense of self, belonging and identity (*Van Wolputte, 2004*). In a similar vein, I will argue that bodies are a fundamental part of experiencing recognition and that they offer one way to concretise and make explicit recognition's 'intersubjective' condition²². The empirically driven focus on bodies, then, also becomes a theoretical argument.

1. RECOGNISING INDIVIDUAL ACHIEVEMENTS

DRIVING AROUND DELIVERIES

At Gardens, a special task is reserved for one co-worker with a driving license. The task consists in delivering food boxes, and picking up the empty ones at different living facilities belonging to CareWell and located in the neighbourhood surrounding the SW:

Dylan, one of the co-workers at Gardens, has been asked to deliver food by van to CareWell's neighbouring living facilities. He is the only co-worker with a driving license. Today, he asks me to join him. Before leaving, we need to go to the kitchen where the food is prepared. We load all the boxes into the van. Dylan receives a little

²² This chapter is based on a published article that resulted from the combined efforts of several authors: Sebrechts, M., Tonkens, E. & Bröer, C. (2018). Rituals of recognition: Interactions and interaction rules in sheltered workshops in the Netherlands. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology*, DOI: 10.1080/23254823.2018.1464399.

plastic bag with two sandwiches from the kitchen lady for his own consumption. She thanks him for the work he is doing.

We stand outside again. *'I am the boss of the delivery service'*, Dylan suddenly says to one of his co-workers. He explains to me that he is some sort of 'manager' who is allowed to send co-workers away. When seeing my frown, he nuances his story by saying that he perhaps cannot send them away but is allowed to say something when they are not doing anything.

We are on our way. At the first living facility, Dylan rings the bell. We pick up the empty boxes, put them in the van, and are thanked by the professional who opens the door. We do the same thing for the other living facilities. Dylan helps me putting the empty boxes in the van when they are too heavy. Two other co-workers help delivering the food on foot, with the help of a cart. Dylan shouts to one of them *'watch out that you don't load the wrong boxes'*. Sitting in his van, literally 'above' the co-workers who stand on the ground, Dylan acts and feels like the manager and boss of the delivery service.

In the car, Dylan tells me that Kevin, one of his friends from his previous workplace, Repair, has failed the theory exam for his driving license. The tone with which he tells me this indicates a sense of self-confidence and pride, because he, Dylan, already has a driving license. He *did* manage to pass the theory and later the practical driving test. I show my disappointment about the news from Kevin, knowing how much he was looking forward to having a driving license too. Dylan mentions that he would like to work at Gardens for two days a week, and work at Repair the remaining three days. I ask him whether that means he prefers the work at Repair. His answer is that he wants to return to Repair because he heard that he is being missed there.

We drive back to the SW and Dylan reverses into the parking spot. He says that even the professionals at Gardens cannot park the van as well and tight, and that one of the professionals told him *'almost nobody could do that'*.
[Gardens, 31 July 2015]

Dylan 'participates' in a desired way, according to policy and to the dominant Director. He contributes *productively* to CareWell (that does not need to pay an external company or external workers for doing the food delivery), and he carries out the work *independently*. Dylan can drive the car on his own, he knows when to start the work, and does not need to receive orders. His motivation and personal choice for driving a car align beautifully with what needs to be done at the SW.

In extension of this discourse of participation, Dylan and other co-workers see the food delivery as 'real work' (*see also Chapter 6*). It is commissioned by someone

external to the SW (even though it is still internal to CareWell); it is carried out without the help or support of professionals; has a sense of urgency (these people need to get their food!); and takes place outside the sheltered domain. As we saw in Chapter 6, ‘real work’ is one of the things co-workers aspire to and construct as worthy of recognition.

I want to suggest that, in the situation described above, Dylan indeed feels recognised for the ‘real work’ he is doing. By being responsible for the food delivery and driving the van, Dylan distinguishes himself from the many other co-workers at Gardens (and Repair) who do not have a specific task or responsibility. What he is recognised for are his individual work achievements and, more generally, his position as the ‘best’ or most ‘talented’ worker at the SW.

For driving around the food boxes, Dylan gets compliments – one of the indicators of esteem that co-workers raised in interviews (see Chapter 6). Compliments, but also gratitude, come from multiple people. In the specific example, there are the professionals from the living facilities who open up the door for us, see us pick up the empty boxes, and deliver the full ones; there is the lady from the kitchen who thanks Dylan every day and even gives him a little gift (sandwiches); there is the professional who tells Dylan that ‘almost no one can park the van in reverse as well as him’; and there is the gratitude from professionals who, although not described in the example, thank him for the food delivery, let him go home earlier, and sometimes express their impression about how quickly (and well) the work has been done.

Then there is the admiration from other co-workers. Those helping him deliver on foot look up to Dylan both literally and symbolically. While they too are recognised for their contribution to the delivery process (e.g. by professionals who thank them) and show feelings of energy, enthusiasm and pride towards, the fact that Dylan has a driving license makes all the difference. Being the only co-worker with a driving license gives him a privileged position at Gardens. It is something Dylan likes to emphasise, for example by telling stories about other co-workers who long for a driving license but cannot have one. In the interaction of him telling me Kevin’s story, and me reacting with disappointment to the news, we jointly construct a driving license as something important, as a way of distinguishing oneself from others, and thereby as a source of esteem.

Having a driving license, and being asked to carry out work because he has a driving license, makes Dylan feel valued and indispensable. While driving around, he shows great enthusiasm and a sense of pride. He has a lot of energy to do things and to help me loading boxes that are too heavy. His reference to his previous workplace, Repair, and how people miss him there makes these feelings of indispensability as a friend, but certainly also as a worker with a driving license, even clearer.

The compliments and gratitude from multiple people; the special ‘role’ he holds at Gardens; and being able to carry out what is perceived by co-workers – including himself – as ‘real work’, give Dylan an experience of recognition. It is a feeling of recognition that emerges from standing out from the crowd; the crowd being the

majority of co-workers who do not have a special skill and are more dispensable on an everyday basis. It is in contrast to these others that Dylan feels like a boss. Not only does he act it out by letting other people listen to his orders, he also makes it explicit by saying he is ‘some sort of manager’.

BOREDOM AND FEELING DRAINED

Few tasks at Repair and Gardens have a similar sense of urgency and necessity as the one described in the example above. While SWs in the Netherlands, and in Europe more generally, are supposed to develop a business-model (EU, 2015) and offer more (what co-workers call) ‘real work tasks’, they bump into very real problems in the process of doing so. ‘Real work’ and ‘good participation’ are defined as such exactly because of their embeddedness in a market logic that demands a certain degree of self-management and productivity (see Chapter 4). The fact that these young men need a certain amount of daily supervision and support leaves the workshops down at the bottom of a competitive labour market. Things being made, repaired, and arranged at the SWs exist in a world where things can be made, repaired, and arranged more efficiently and cheaply elsewhere. At the time of fieldwork, the SWs of Repair and Gardens had a hard time reinventing themselves as places with ‘real work’ and had little access to urgent work tasks.

The difficulty, and at the same time necessity, of working towards a ‘business-model’, I observed, had an impact on daily interactions on the work floor. The atmosphere felt drained, co-workers felt dispensable, and had a hard time experiencing the much longed for, and institutionally prompted, recognition for ‘real work’ tasks.

Officially, Repair and Gardens have fixed working schedules, but in practice many of the co-workers arrive when they want. Professionals try to make the workshops as welcoming as possible by being lenient about daily attendance and emphasising co-workers’ personal responsibility (see Chapter 5). In reality, there are little incentives for the young men to get out of bed if they feel it does not really matter whether they attend the SW or not. Turnout was often low, or co-workers started working late.

Timothy is sitting on a bench, overlooking the SW. I ask him how come I haven’t seen him much in the past few weeks. He tells me he comes here so little because there is no work [*omdat er niks te doen is*, literally: ‘because there is nothing to do’].
[Repair, 23 April 2014]

Co-workers, with the exception of the few like Dylan who have specific skills, are not approached as employees that contribute to the workplace in important ways and whose work activity is missed if they do not show up. Indeed, co-workers

easily get the impression that it does not matter whether they are present at work or not and regularly expressed feelings of dispensability.

SWs like Gardens and Repair offer flexible tasks with plenty of choice: co-workers can choose to pick up trash from neighbouring streets, tidy up tool sheds, prepare coffee for the breaks, or give a finishing touch to what it is they were repairing. The dominant professional role of the Director expects co-workers to take initiative, rather than give them orders (see Chapter 5). But, contrary to this well-intended emphasis on initiative, few initiatives are taken and co-workers are often waiting for the day to pass:

When I arrive at the SW, Anass, Rivano, and Mitchell are sitting in the canteen. An atmosphere of boredom pervades the scene. Several hours later they are still sitting there, all three of them with their earphones plugged in and their phones in their hands. Anass asks me what time it is and wants to know whether it is almost time to go home. A big sigh follows when I say it is still 14:00 and work only officially ends at 15:30. Outside, two professionals are working with less than a handful of co-workers. I sit down with the young men in the canteen and wait. Nothing happens, they stay there, I watch them, and during the next half hour no professional comes in. The young men remain focused on their phones. When I get up and ask them if they don't have work to do, nobody answers. They don't even seem to hear my question.

[Repair, 9 April 2014]

Daily life at Repair and Gardens is characterised by long stretches of time sitting and hanging around. Moments of boredom occur. In such moments, there is little energy. Often, co-workers are just hanging about, playing with their phones, listening to music. They do not focus on each other and the atmosphere feels drained, even for me as a researcher. I experienced first-hand what the absence of work activities did to me (and I still had observations to make!). It made me feel uncomfortable, bored, insecure, and listless. I wondered whether I *should* be doing something; what other people – co-workers and professionals alike – would think of me; and whether I should go home and do something else.

Repeatedly, I heard co-workers make fun of their workplace (Repair and Gardens) and compare it to a 'children's playground'. Professionals and (team) managers of Carewell too, while not saying it in front of the co-workers, also assigned a low reputation to the SWs they worked at. Sporadically, they called Repair and Gardens the 'leftover projects' or even 'dustbins' of Carewell. In the context of a 'children's playground', where there are few urgent tasks and where it does not matter so much who is there and who is not, there are limited opportunities for co-workers to engage in work activities and feel esteemed because of that.

In contrast, at Company, more 'real work' is on hand. In view of its embeddedness in a regular company, daily tasks *do* have a sense of urgency, as they need to be finished within a certain time frame (e.g. before customers arrive). Experiences of recognition on the basis of individual work achievements, like in Dylan's story, appeared to be more common: co-workers regularly get compliments from customers, from 'regular' employees, and from me, who for example felt amazed at their ability to remember which article belonged to which department of Company. Co-workers here have multiple moments during the day where they can show their personal expertise and knowledge. When they take on a work task, it means less work for the regular employees of Company. This means co-workers take some of the pressure off them, and on an interactional level Company's employees regularly thank them for that.²³

Company is a success story in terms of 'good participation' and interactional experiences of recognition via work achievements.²⁴ However, it needs to be clarified that Company has very specific conditions for its co-workers. They need to be able to live up to demands of time pressure, independence, performance, and polite, customer-oriented behaviour. Consequently, the list of 'dismissed' workers who began working for Company but could not survive in its demanding environment was very long. These dismissed co-workers ended up in less demanding work environments, like Repair and Gardens, where there were less opportunities for 'real work'.

When there is sporadic 'real work' at Repair and Gardens, my observations led me to conclude that those workers who best mimic 'normal workers' in terms of self-management and productivity are preferred over others, as the described situation with Dylan illustrates. Young men with a driver's license or a welding certificate, or who can work fairly independently and well, are best suited to carry out the urgent and serious work tasks. This resembles what is called 'creaming' in the public governance literature, meaning that while the most promising candidates benefit from respective activation measures and move on to regular work, the most vulnerable people benefit the least and stay behind (EU, 2012; Larsen, 2005; Van Berkel & Borghi, 2008; Van Oorschot & Abramson, 2003). While creaming, in our case, does not occur in terms of being allowed to enter the SW in the first place or in terms of moving to regular work, it does occur in terms of recognition. Within the SW, co-workers who receive compliments and a special status for the (individual) work they are doing are those who best live up to the image of a 'normal', productive, independent worker.

²³ Co-workers at Company are esteemed and valued on an interactional level, but on an institutional level there are many experiences of misrecognition: they have smaller lockers than regular staff; getting invited to the annual staff party is not always self-evident; they need to wear a different outfit to make the distinction from regular staff clear; and they receive a different (cheaper) Christmas present. This leads to big frustrations and sadness on the side of co-workers.

²⁴ Which is why CareWell referred me to this location for fieldwork, like I reflect on in Chapter 2.

BULLYING ANOTHER CO-WORKER

The lack of recognition on the basis of individual work achievements does not mean there is no recognition whatsoever at the SWs of Repair and Gardens. On the contrary, co-workers are able to generate different experiences of recognition on a daily basis. If they cannot be valued for their individual work achievements, they can be valued for other kinds of ‘achievements’, as the following situation demonstrates:

Ron, Dave, and I are sitting around one of the tables in Gardens’ shed. We are chatting a bit and waiting for time to pass by. There is not much work to do. It is summer holiday and only one professional, six co-workers, and myself are present today. Ruben is sitting in the shed too and looks tired. He is sitting on a chair and puts his weight on the two back legs of the chair in order to lean against the wall. He rests his head and closes his eyes. The plastic spoon with which he stirred his coffee is sticking out of his mouth.

Adriaan and Max walk into the shed. Ruben is half asleep by now, to the annoyance of his fellow co-workers. Gerard walks in a few times and mentions loudly ‘at least we are working, we are doing real work’, as opposed to the co-workers hanging around, and Ruben in particular who, according to Gerrit, *‘never does a thing’*. Gerrit walks out but seems to have given the lead for a bullying ritual to start with Ruben as the dupe.

Max takes the container of powdered milk that is standing on the table; he holds it in the air above Ruben’s head whose eyes are still closed; and tilts it as if going to sprinkle the powdered milk on his hair. In the meanwhile, Adriaan – a fellow co-worker – walks in. Max’s action makes him and the other young men in the shed start to laugh. Dave bursts into laughter and claps his hands. All eyes are turned towards Max and an unsuspecting Ruben. Ruben, still oblivious, opens his eyes and looks around with a surprised look, followed by even more laughter from his colleagues. Not struck by anything unusual – Max has pulled back and put the powdered milk container back on the table – Ruben closes his eyes and leans his head against the wall again.

The other co-workers are still focused on him and seem to wonder what Max will do next. Under the gaze and expecting smiles of his colleagues, Max now takes his lighter out of his pocket and holds it close to Ruben’s nose. He does not light it, but again acts as if he is planning to. Adriaan has physically moved close to where the action is taking place. It all happens in a matter of seconds now: Max repeats the joke with the lighter a second time, but this time

really lights it and holds the flame close to the plastic spoon Ruben is holding in his mouth. When the flame hits the spoon and he feels the heat close to his mouth, Ruben gets a terrible fright. At the same time Max’s lighter touches the spoon, Adriaan gives Ruben a final punch on the head. Dave and Ron are laughing, while Max and Adriaan flee the scene, joyous in their comportment and bursting with energy. [Gardens, 14 August 2015]

I want to suggest that, in the situation described above, several co-workers engage in an interaction that generates an experience of recognition for Max (and, more peripherally, for Adriaan too) that is not based on individual work achievements, but on streetwise achievements.

From observations and colleagues’ reports, I know that Ruben is seen as not hard-working, more ‘retarded’, in need of more care, not having many ‘masculine’ traits, and being too naïve. In the observed situation, Ruben displays some of these traits: sitting in the shed, not working but falling asleep, he is an easy (bullying) prey. Therefore, Ruben represents everything that is the opposite of what co-workers construct as estimable characteristics: such as being hard-working, not caring (or pretending not to care), being tough, dominant, and witty. He stands symbol for the non-estimable subject. By distancing himself from Ruben, ridiculing and even hurting him, Max successfully presents himself as an estimable subject: not because of his working skills, but because of his boldness and dominance.

For Max, the experience of recognition stems from getting support, attention, and admiration from others. He gets symbolic rewards – one of the indicators mentioned – through the clapping, laughter and bodily encouragement of his fellow co-workers, Dave and Ron. Max’ actions are physically imitated and repeated by Adriaan. Adriaan also wants to share in Max’s success, or perhaps even wants to outdo him by engaging in an even more extreme action (hitting Ruben on the head).

Recognition, I suggest, partly stems from a physical source here. In the restricted space of the canteen, Max is able to draw all the attention towards himself. Ron and Dave, and later Adriaan too, physically turn their bodies and their gaze towards Max, and to his victim Ruben; there is a mutual focus that generates emotional energy (Collins, 2004). Max starts the bullying interaction and is physically stimulated and rewarded by his fellow co-workers Ron, Dave, and Adriaan who are clapping, laughing, imitating him, and shouting words of encouragement. The energy builds up until it reaches a peak when Max, who is laughing boisterously and feeling full of energy, flees the scene and is followed by Adriaan.

As a researcher, I did not experience much of the excitement and was mainly observing, with mixed feelings about whether or not I should intervene, afraid they might hurt Ruben even more. What I did feel was a change of atmosphere: the bullying interaction broke with the air of boredom, and replaced it with an atmosphere filled with energy, laughter and excitement.

FOSTERING “TOP DOG RECOGNITION”

The described example, with Max as protagonist, was not unique. It is illustrative of recurrent observations of co-workers engaging in streetwise, tough, bullying interactions. I suggest that these interactions emerge within the same individualised discourse of ‘good participation’ that encourages recognition for one’s individual work achievements. In both forms of recognition, it is about *you* and about how *you* can outshine or be better than others. Both are cases of what I would like to call ‘Top Dog recognition’: who or what is recognised is the best individual or most outstanding behaviour *in any kind of endeavour*. Top Dog recognition can be obtained through individual work achievements, but also through something else, for example acting streetwise and bullying others. Both operate within the same grammar of excellence, competition, and individualism.

Engaging in socially recognised, urgent, or paid labour is very difficult for most of the co-workers in this study. It is reserved for a few who can operate and function in a labour market based on profit, production and competition, or who can do so in SWs that are increasingly founded upon similar principles. Experiences of recognition on the basis of individual work achievements are reserved for those who can survive in a more demanding environment like Company, or for the few lucky individuals at Repair and Gardens who can excel on the basis of their work skills or independence. They are compensated, either symbolically or materially, for the work they bring and the contributions they make to the SW. They are made important and feel valued for their individual work achievements.

The remaining majority of co-workers feels the exact opposite; they feel dispensable and misrecognised for what they bring to the workplace. The described drained atmosphere; the lack of energy and activities; widely shared frustrations about the lack of symbolic or material compensation for the work (*see Chapter 6*) all attest to this. Autonomous and productive (individual) work contributions are hard to make for the majority of co-workers – both due to structural barriers, like the lack of ‘meaningful’ tasks, and due to their impairments – leading them to find alternative ways of becoming important and admired. Similar to what is stated in the literature, they find ‘compensation mechanisms’ (*Ferrarese, 2009; Lamont, 2000; Todorov, 2001; Walzer, 1983*). Instead of excelling through work, they excel by being witty, funny, and having a big mouth. Instead of dominating others through work, they dominate others through bullying. Instead of being indispensable to the SW because of their technical skills, they make themselves indispensable through their entertaining skills.

I interpret the thriving of streetwise and bullying interactions as a counter-reaction to the strong desire for (*see Chapter 6*), but repeated failures of, Top Dog recognition *via work achievements*. Streetwise recognition thrives in a setting where recognition via self-steering and productive work achievements is promised and encouraged (*see Chapter 4*), but hard to realise, due to current institutional conditions. The lack of expected, but failed, Top Dog recognition *via work*, in combination

with a more general vulnerable context of recognition, due to their diagnostic label and position as young men in sheltered employment, led to sometimes explosive situations of streetwise behaviour and experiences of recognition along those lines.

2. RECOGNISING THE PARTS IN THE WHOLE

Alternatively, co-workers engaged in interactions of recognition in which it is not individual achievements (Top Dog recognition) that count, but being part of a group without necessarily having to excel or stand out. In what follows, I show how this is formed in relation to work tasks, or in relation to other things, like caring for another member of the group. However, in contrast to Top Dog recognition, situations in which co-workers feel recognised as a part of the whole are mostly discouraged by professionals, with the exception of moments in which professionals take on the role of Teacher or Fellow.

DISMANTLING THE GREENHOUSE

Stretched out in front of us is a desolate field with an iron greenhouse structure that needs to be dismantled. Without many explanations, co-workers, professionals, and volunteers start to work. Kevin positions the van in such a way that three of his fellow co-workers can climb on top and reach the upper part of the greenhouse. They pull the big iron roof pipes out of the base pipes planted in the ground. Every now and then, the van needs to be moved for them to be able to reach the highest part of the pipes. Kevin moves it by stepping hard on the gas.

Standing a few metres away, I watch co-workers, professionals, and volunteers working together. It seems everyone has his own task. Some more active than others, but all are focused on dismantling the greenhouse. Using their strength, all at once, the three co-workers on top of the car pull the roof pipe to get it out of the base pipe; they divide the weight of the pipe, hold it, and carefully guide it from above their heads to their waistlines. Then they bring the pipe down to their colleagues on the ground and hand it over to two of them. These two co-workers carry the pipe away and throw it on a pile further down the field. In the meanwhile, those standing on top of the van pull out the next roof pipe and give it to two other co-workers on the ground. After a while, I start helping the co-workers on the ground. I take turns with them taking the iron pipes being handed down by the co-workers who are on the van.

The cycle continues like this until all roof pipes are down. It strikes me that I hear no complaints and that every co-worker is doing something. They

try to take down the pipes by wiggling and rapidly pushing and pulling them back and forth. They pull and push again and again and again, as hard as they can. While doing so, they make eye contact with each other, share knowing glances, grin and laugh together. It becomes clear to me that they imitate having rough sex.

[Repair, 7 May 2014]

Dismantling the greenhouse is seen as urgent and meaningful by the co-workers. They see it as ‘real work’, because it has been commissioned by an external party (still internal to CareWell). The greenhouse *needs* to be dismantled and this involves some time pressure. Even though they do not get additional money for it, it makes them feel important – not necessarily as individuals, but as a group, or as parts of that group.

The situation described fits neatly some of the ‘indicators’ of recognition that young men put forward in Chapter 6, such as trusting and helping each other. In the process of working together – and I saw this happening not only with dismantling a greenhouse, but also with offloading hundreds of heavy boxes, or building a terrace – young men become attuned to each other. They come to rely on each other’s activities and concrete acts of helpfulness. They embody and make concrete an attitude of trust towards one another: for example, by trusting that the other person will not drop the heavy iron pipe. Their indicator of ‘being able to count on each other, as a sign of recognition, becomes very practically and physically enacted in this situation.

By working on the same task, co-workers, professionals, and volunteers are physically assembled in the same place. There is a shared focus and concentration on the heavy pipes. The workers on top of the van need to synchronise their movements. By wiggling out the pipes, lifting them (1,2,3, lift!) and bringing them down, they become attuned to each other’s movements, and to colleagues on the ground to whom they carefully hand over the pipes. The joint focus and activities generate a feeling of energy, observable in co-workers’ facial expressions and bodily movements. For example, full of energy, Kevin switches between sitting inside the van and moving it, and getting out of the van and climbing to its top to help pulling out the pipes. In stark contrast to the usual boredom, everyone is active and there are no complaints. Being part of this situation of recognition, I notice similar emotions. While working with the group of co-workers and professionals, and carrying pipes down the field with them, I become part of the group and feel that my (small) contribution is appreciated.

The work ‘ritual’, to speak in Collins’ terms (2004), motivates everyone to take action. It creates a feeling of group attachment, belonging, confidence, and self-esteem in a very corporeal, physical way. The rhythm of walking, and counting before throwing the pipes down on the ground, require careful attention and synchronisation. Similar to what the gym and its boxing program in a Chicago ghetto do to young male boxers (Wacquant, 2004), with the dismantling of the greenhouse

co-workers engage in rhythmic synchronisation and jointly generate physical and emotional highs. They experience themselves as one body amongst other bodies, and feel recognised for the small, yet indispensable, contribution they make.

CARING FOR THE INJECTION

Ruud is one of the older co-workers at Repair. He is a little restricted in his movements and needs a medical injection on a daily basis. It seems that a handful of co-workers see it as their task to help Ruud out. Every day around 12 o’clock, a specific little ‘ritual’ occurs: they first ask Ruud if it is time yet. If he responds affirmatively, they walk towards the fridge in the canteen and take out the injection pen. Sometimes two or three co-workers walk over there side by side, other times one of them walks over to the fridge and the others stay with Ruud.

The person holding the pen prepares the right dosage for Ruud. It is an act of precision; the numbers on the injection pen are small. Sometimes two or even three co-workers look at the numbers together, one over the other’s shoulder. Meanwhile, Ruud is still present at the scene, quietly sitting in his chair. The pen-holding co-worker asks a professional to check whether it is correctly prepared: turning it on the right dosage is of the utmost importance. This attracts multiple actors on the scene to act together: checking the dosage, or calling in the help of a professional for a double check. The professional glances at the pen and confirms when the dosage is correct. He then gives the pen back to one of the co-workers who, in turn, hands it over to Ruud. Not much talking takes place; this is more of an automatic, silent happening.

Now it is Ruud’s turn. He lifts his t-shirt, grabs one of his belly fat rolls, and sticks the injection pen into it. While injecting, he is given some privacy: some look away, others start conversing or making jokes, but they are all aware that Ruud is injecting the medication, and they are all waiting for him to finish the injection. As soon as the pen is taken out of the flesh and the shirt lowered down, co-workers’ attention is directed towards Ruud again, signalling their latent focus on their fellow co-worker. They get up, Ruud hands them over the pen, and they put it back in the fridge until 12 o’clock the next day.

[Repair, e.g. 19 November 2014]

The repetition and dedication with which these – usually tough – young men take care of Ruud and his daily need for medication signalled to me that they get *something* out of this. Nobody asked them to do this. Sometimes they are busy with

a ‘real’ work task and they still put their work on hold to make sure the medication is administered. Throughout fieldwork, it occurred to me that the 12 o’clock ritual gives the involved co-workers a sense of purpose. It is a fixed moment during the day in which they know something important needs to be done. It encourages co-workers to do something for *another* colleague and gives them a sense of interconnectedness and purpose in an environment often marked by boredom and individualism.

All in all, the little ritual does not last more than a few minutes. However, during those few minutes, at least two – often three or four – young men and at least one professional rely on each other. Their bodies are close together, they focus on the same pen to make sure they get the dosage of the medication right, and they share the same mood of concentration, dedication, and concern towards Ruud’s health. The pen circulates between different acting subjects: it is passed on from one co-worker to a professional, to Ruud, and back to a co-worker.

During the interaction, the pen becomes a tangible symbol of values of loyalty, helpfulness, care, and friendship. While these values are often overshadowed by the desire to excel, they are also values that co-workers identified as making a person worthy of recognition (*Chapter 6*). The daily injection, I hold, leads to experiences of recognition for the multiple people involved in the interaction. Recognition in this example is generated and experienced through having a sense of purpose, feeling interconnected, and being allowed to engage in an activity – turning the medication on the right dosage – that will decide on the well-being or ill-being of a fellow colleague. Every day anew, Ruud allows a handful of co-workers to share a concern and a responsibility for his health. To Ruud, this interaction communicates loyalty and dedication from his colleagues. While they do not put it into words, through their practical and physical help they communicate that he is important and valued enough to be included in their daily routine.

FORECLOSING “TEAM PLAYER RECOGNITION”

I want to suggest that the two situations described – dismantling the greenhouse and caring for the injection – generate a form of recognition that is very different from Top Dog recognition, which can be called ‘Team Player recognition’.

Recognition in these situations arises from group cohesion and from fulfilling a relatively easy but urgent task in which everyone can take part according to his abilities. The work is not linked to individual hard work or expertise, but to a kind of work that only becomes possible when working as a group. Participation and achievements are ‘communalised’: collegiality and bringing a task to a good end together are more important than individual career mobility or personal achievements.

In situations of Team Player recognition, bringing a task to an end together, and one’s (humble) role in being a small part of the group, is what counts. Feelings

of recognition are not generated because one outdoes others, but because one becomes important for others just like one realises the importance of others for oneself. Such recognition can be obtained through shared work, but also through other things, for example caring for another member of the group, as shown by the injection case.

At least some professionals – in terms of roles, the Teachers and the Fellows – acknowledge the value of working together, and the possibilities this offers in terms of recognition. This professional from Repair, for example, explicitly told me that he wants:

‘... to cultivate the *We-feeling*’. He wants co-workers to feel like they are an indispensable part of the whole. He wants them to be a ‘*real group in an evil world*’ [*‘boze buitenwereld*’], with a strong and solid base, and with people standing up for each other [*‘voor elkaar opkomen*’]. He continues to say that everybody at Repair complements each other [*‘elkaar aanvullen*’]: there is the person doing the welding, there are the ones with driving licenses, those who do the finishing touch, and so on.

[2 November 2015]

Interestingly, this professional partly speaks as if this were *already* the case. In my observations, such interactions of togetherness, or Team Player recognition, only happened very sporadically. When sharing my observations with him in this specific conversation, he admitted there is still much work to be done.

Contrary to what this professional dreams of, there are many moments in which professionals prompt co-workers to focus on themselves, making explicit that they are here ‘for themselves, not for others’ (*see Chapter 5*). At Gardens, the day after a meeting between co-workers and professionals, two clients tell me they only remember one thing from the meeting: that professionals told them that they [co-workers] should not be paying so much attention to each other and should interfere less in each other’s business. There is an active discouraging of ‘togetherness’ at the Dutch SWs for the sake of being, or becoming, (more) employable: if one wants to develop oneself, one’s personal goals, and grow towards independence, one needs to do so alone. Others are more of a hindrance than a help to one’s self-development, according to this reasoning.

Co-workers internalised this idea of being there ‘for themselves’ to a large extent, as illustrated by Marco, who says the following about his colleagues in an interview:

‘[They are] none of my business’ [*‘beb ik niks mee te maken*’ – literally: *I don’t have anything to do with it*] ... I am here for myself and not for those others ... If I am here together with others, and if I have to work with them, that is fine but in principle I am here for myself

and not for somebody else, otherwise I might just as well stay home!’
(Quotation 21)

An incessant focus on the individual who needs to become self-steering and productive – present on the level of policy, in the dominant professional role, *and* in co-workers’ search for recognition – encourages Top Dog recognition and marginalises Team Player recognition.

By prioritising the individual and letting co-workers focus on how they themselves can be(come) good employees, other ideals and practices are pushed aside. For example, it is no longer about how to work together, about finding out how to be a good group of employees, or about what they are here to do with each other. With a constant emphasis on self-management and on ‘being here for yourself’, an ‘anti-caring’ environment is created in which personal merit, independence, and excellence are foregrounded. In such a context, it is not surprising that co-workers develop attitudes of indifference towards others, or use others as a stepping-stone towards the much longed-for Top Dog recognition. Situations like those of the injection pen and the greenhouse, which generate Team Player recognition, become rare in such a context.

CONCLUSION: THE PRODUCTIVE FORCE OF RECOGNITION

While co-workers pointed out verbal indicators like compliments, money, or getting assigned a special status, I did not see much of this. Such moments of recognition, as I argued, are reserved for the few like Dylan and co-workers at Company who can live up to the demands of productivity and self-management. They are complimented for those qualities by multiple people, including myself, are admired and assigned a special status.

Still, all the others did not seem to be mere victims. Even in a context with a lack of ‘real work’ and special skills that would allow them to shine out individually, there were moments in which I observed other co-workers experiencing recognition: I saw and felt enthusiasm, energy, heightened self-confidence to take action, emotions like joy and pride. Such experiences seemed to be generated by the coming together of bodies, physical encouragement, and built-up (group) energy. Driven by empirical observations in which bodies seemed to be at the core of emotional experiences like self-esteem, and inspired by literature that assigns an important role to bodies (*Abdallah, 2017; Collins, 2004; Mol, 2008; Pols, 2006, 2013a, 2013b; Van Wolputte, 2004; Wacquant, 2004*), I paid attention to what happened at the SWs in emotional and corporeal terms.

When taking physical activities, bodies, and emotional experiences as the focus for studying recognition, we see that co-workers at the SWs are in no way

completely deprived of (self) esteem. Certainly, the atomising discourse of participation narrowly focuses on what I have called Top Dog recognition.²⁵ However, supported by professional roles, such as the Teacher and the Fellow, co-workers also construct subjects and actions as recognisable – like the caring colleague or the rough rebel – that are alternative to the dominant recognisable subject of the self-steering, productive worker. Co-workers are partly limited by the atomising discourse of the SWs (*Chapters 4 and 5*), in the sense that they strongly aspire to shine out and excel (*Chapter 6*), but are not determined by it. Other sociological studies have shown this too: people develop a certain degree of pragmatism and resilience in the face of denigratory, disabling barriers to recognition and self-respect (*Bourgeois, 2003; Elsbout, 2016; Ferrarese, 2009; Lamont, 2000*). In that way, recognition, or the lack of it, produces its own new forms and dynamics (*see also Holtgrewe, 2001*).

The relevance and importance of fostering interactions of Team Player recognition lies in the fact that the fostered and so much longed-for Top Dog recognition *via work* is unattainable for many. Such a form of recognition only exists by the grace of having specific skills, knowledge, or being very independent, which is out of reach for many of the co-workers. By contrast, the act of handing over an injection pen, or fulfilling a small task in the dismantling of the greenhouse, is not tied to specific skills or particular knowledge. The recognition derived from such a role – which I called Team Player recognition – is not bound to one person and his merit alone. The co-worker who turns the pen on the right dosage needs a professional or another co-worker to double-check this. Similarly, the co-worker who dismantles the greenhouse depends on all the other colleagues and professionals who help carry the heavy pipes. In that sense, Team Player recognition involves more people and is a form of recognition that is more readily available. Fostering situations where experiences of recognition can be derived from this more ‘communalised’ base might temper co-workers’ obsessive desire to individually excel and dominate others. The following chapter (8) zooms in on daily life at the Portuguese SWs, where such an ‘alternative’ form of Team Player recognition is more all-round and encouraged by professionals.

As a final note, it needs to be mentioned that the distinction between Top Dog and Team Player recognition is an analytical one. I have argued that streetwise situations are predominantly marked by competition: they are about trying to have the best story, the roughest night, being the rudest, and deriving an experience of Top Dog recognition from there. Nevertheless, there is some collaboration, group effort and entrainment too. Adriaan, who helps his colleague Max with

25 When seeking to overlap the empirically identified forms of recognition with Honneth’s theoretical ones, there are no definite answers. Both Top-Dog recognition and Team Player recognition are about being valued for one’s contributions at work (= esteem), but they are based on a broader definition of what counts as a contribution or achievement: e.g. a group work or caring for another member of the group. The latter, in particular, makes it come close to what Honneth calls ‘love’. But Honneth’s theoretical forms appeared too rigid for the analysis, leading me to introduce my own (though Honneth-inspired) theoretical forms. Team Player and Top Dog recognition seemed to better fit practical reality and leave more space for messy interactions of recognition that often revolved around both ‘love’ and ‘esteem’ at the same time (*see also Chapter 6*).

the bullying, by hitting the victim on his head, and the other co-workers who are encouraging them to continue, are also engaging in a collective effort, similar to what was found in situations of Team Player recognition. It is likely that the group energy generated in this situation also gave co-workers an experience of Team Player recognition. In practice, Top Dog and Team Player recognition are not neatly separated – just as the professional roles are not either – and interactions can generate both forms of recognition at the same time.

Chapter 8.

Sharing success and sanctions: everyday interactions of recognition in Portuguese sheltered workshops

INTRODUCTION

In the very first chapter of this book, I explained how, in Portugal, concerns with the full citizenship and participation of people with disabilities, and the welfare state more generally, only started developing after the fall of the fascist regime in 1974 (*Ferreira, 2006; Fontes, 2008*). In comparison to the Netherlands and many other European countries, these developments came late. In the post-dictatorial Constitution (1976), a disability law was put into place with equal rights, integration, and solidarity at its core (*Fontes, 2008*). Since becoming a member of the European Union in 1986, a discourse of participation and citizenship rights became prominent in the care and support of people with disabilities (*Fontes, 2008, 2009; Loja, 2011; Pinto 2011b*).

On an abstract level, policies for the labour participation of co-workers are similar in both the Dutch and the Portuguese context: they revolve around activating citizens (with disabilities), responsabilising, and encouraging them to become more productive and self-steering. However, between everyday practices and the abstract ideas that swirl around in policy texts, welfare institutions, managerial conversations, and national legislation, there is still a long way to go. Indeed, several Portuguese authors have argued that European directives on self-management – such as autonomy – have not taken root in everyday perceptions and practices (*Fontes, 2008; Loja, Costa & Menezes, 2011*).

With this knowledge in mind, I assumed that the practical meanings and interpretations of participation in the Portuguese SWs would be different than they were in the Dutch ones, and that this could potentially teach us something about recognition and how it is shaped. In this chapter, I look closely at the Portuguese cases and begin by concisely investigating how participation is presented in national policy documents, as well as on the more local level of the care organisation Support4All. Similar to what I did in Chapter 5 for the Dutch context, I then focus more elaborately on professional practices, and on how policies of participation get implemented on a day-to-day basis. As the analysis of Portuguese supervision practices confirms, participation is a ‘travelling idea’ (Newman & Tonkens, 2011) that comes to mean different things on the ground. In the third and last part of the chapter, I dive deeper into daily interactions of recognition – as I did for the Dutch SWs in the previous chapter (7) – and show how a contrastive discourse of participation gives rise to different dynamics of recognition.

1. A SIMILAR ATOMISING POLICY DISCOURSE

In the second half of the 20th century, governments in many Western European countries embraced the demands of disability movements for more participation. Across these countries, including the Netherlands, but also Portugal (see Hespanha, 2007), the common trend in disability policies was ‘activation’ (Van Oorschot & Hoinden, 2000). Activating policies made successful use of disability movements’ rhetoric of participation, independence, and choice, to restructure the welfare state (Chapter 1). Bottom-up demands of social movements and top-down economic restructuring found themselves united in a language of activation and participation (Tonkens, 2016).

Even in Portugal, a country where passive welfare measures remained weaker than in many other European states, literature affirms that a language of activation and personal responsibility now pervades major social policies (EU, 2012; Hespanha, 2007). The introduction of the Employment Action Plan [*Plano Nacional de Emprego*], for example, marked a growing concern with increasing the nation’s overall employment. Its objective is to activate unemployed and ‘inactive’ people [*inactivos*] (amongst others, people with disabilities) to participate in programmes aimed at the enhancement of their employability (CM 2003, 2005). Similarly, the Portuguese Action Plan for Inclusion [*Plano Nacional de Acção para a Inclusão*] is focused on activating disfavoured social groups and on increasing their (labour) participation.

The central aim of Portuguese SWs is to prepare and adapt co-workers to the demands of the labour market, and to enhance their participation and inclusion in society (IEFP, n.d.). At the SW, co-workers learn the technical skills necessary for their social integration and inclusion in the (regular) labour market (Support4All, 2013; website Support4All). A brief analysis of how labour participation is framed in

national legislation,²⁶ in documents from Portuguese advocacy groups,²⁷ and by Support4All,²⁸ reveals many similarities with the atomising policy discourse of participation in the Netherlands. In Portuguese policy too, participation is mostly about becoming a more self-steering and productive citizen. This type of individual progress would not only benefit society; from the sidelines, we notice sporadic references to the benefits it would bring to the individual in terms of ‘recognition’.

First of all, a collection of goals linked to the goal of self-management pervades national policy documents. Participation is presented alongside an ‘individuality principle’ (APD, n.d., p. 10; CM, 2001; SNR, 2005, p. 6); individual freedom (CM, 2001, p. 4803); initiative (IEFP, n.d., p. 17); personal choices (APD, n.d., p. 10; MTSS, 2006, p. 30; SNR, 2005, p. 6); self-determination and control (Da Veiga & Fernandes, 2014, p. 19); and autonomy (APD, 2002, p. 15; MTSS, 2006, p. 66; CM, 2001, p. 4803, 2005, p. 39). Likewise, Support4All voices a concern with individuality, self-determination, autonomy, and choice, which are presented as basic rights of clients (2014, 2015, 2016). According to a (sheltered-work) manual from the Portuguese Association of People with Disabilities, which is actively used by Support4All’s SWs, one of the core tasks of staff is to increase co-workers’ level of autonomy, and thereby their participation (APD, n.d., p. 15, p. 31). The Portuguese SWs included in this study specifically promote themselves by stating that they ‘value individuality’ and focus on the self-development of co-workers, for example by working with personal plans (*plano individual de cliente*) (Support4All, 2013). Much like in the Dutch SWs, these individual plans formulate what co-workers should learn and what not, and this is adapted to their personal needs, desires, and choices.

Second, Portuguese policy documents embed the participation of co-workers in a language of productivity and personal responsibility. At Support4All, a big emphasis is placed on allowing co-workers to develop the necessary competences during their first year of training, and supporting them in their access to internships, or other kinds of work trainings in a ‘real work context’, during their second year (Support4All, 2013) (see also Chapter 2). The time spent at the SW centres on making the necessary progress for the transition to regular work – amongst others, developing and strengthening skills and capacities (APD, n.d.; 2003; Da Veiga & Fernandes, 2014; IEFP, n.d.; MTSS, 2006), heightening one’s productivity (APD, 2003; CM, 2003, 2005), and gaining more flexi-

²⁶ For the Portuguese national level, I make use of documents issued by the Council of Ministers [*Conselho de Ministros – CM*]; documents issued by the National Secretariat for the Rehabilitation and Integration of People with Disabilities [*Secretariado Nacional para a Reabilitação e Integração das Pessoas com Deficiência – SNR*], belonging to the Ministry of Work, Solidarity and Social Security [*Ministério do Trabalho, Solidariedade e Segurança Social – MTSS*]; and documents from the government’s Employment and Training Centre [*Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional – IEFP*].

²⁷ On the level of non-governmental national players, I use documents on vocational training from the Portuguese Association of People with Disabilities [*Associação Portuguesa de Deficientes – APD*].

²⁸ On the level of the care organisation Support4All, I make use of various annual reports, a brochure issued by the management of the sheltered workshops (vocational training centre), and their website (mission, vision of the organisation, rights and duties of clients). For privacy reasons, these sources cannot be referred to more explicitly than ‘Support4All’, followed by the year in which the document was written.

bility (APD, 2003, p. 8). When successfully making such progress, it is assumed that co-workers will be able to contribute *productively* to a regular company and enhance the company's position in the competitive labour market (*ibid.*, p. 6, 8).

By giving people with disabilities the opportunity to become more 'employable' and to pursue training at a SW, a high degree of personal responsibility is expected in return. Policy texts present participation as part of a wider discourse of citizenship that highlights citizens' rights and responsibilities (APD, 2003, p. 8; MTSS, 2006, p. 10; CM, 2001, p. 4803; SNR, 2005, p. 6). The objective of the National Plan for Inclusion, for example, is to promote the inclusion of all people (in the labour market), as well as solidarity and social cohesion. Linked to that, it is explicitly stated that it is an instrument for making every individual responsible for, and aware of, his citizenship duties (CM, 2001). Likewise, on its main website and in its annual reports (2014, 2015, 2016), Support4All articulates a range of rights and duties for the people who make use of its services. These people are required to make efforts to develop their (work) potential and, more generally, to make individual progress. In line with (European) activation trends, Portuguese SWs focus on the potential people have and on optimising that potential, rather than focusing on their difficulties (Borgbi & Van Berkel, 2007; Holmqvist, 2010; OECD, 2007; Newman & Tonkens, 2011). Clients are asked to make maximum use of, and collaborate with, the support they get (*website Support4All*).

Labour participation is put forward at Portuguese national level as one of the solutions to enhance people's independence, productivity, and thereby also their self-esteem (MTSS, 2006, p. 79) – or, more broadly speaking, their 'quality of life' (Da Veiga & Fernandes, 2014, p. 9, p. 19; MTSS, 2006, p. 79). Lack of independence and self-esteem are considered one of the greatest vulnerabilities of people with disabilities (IEFP, *n.d.*, p. 79). Similarly, Support4All proclaims that everyone should be able to contribute to society, have a good 'quality of life', feel respected and valued (*Support4All 2014*, p. 8; *website Support4All*). Regular references to recognition, self-esteem, and quality of life, combined with a focus on self-management, productivity, and personal responsibility, clearly remind us of the Dutch atomising policy discourse on participation (Chapter 4).

However, contrary to what I found at the Dutch CareWell, and contrary to what Portuguese national policy proclaims, Support4All does not link the right to recognition specifically to (productive and self-steering) labour participation. Recognition is described not so much as a matter of making particular (independent, productive) work contributions, but as a matter of being valued for one's participation as a 'fully fledged human being' (*Support4All, 2014; website Support4All*). Another difference lies in Support4All's more group-oriented organisational values. In addition to individual-oriented rights like autonomy, self-determination, and choice (self-management), some of the words we come across are 'cooperation, team-spirit and loyalty' (*website Support4All*). This attention to the group, as we will see, becomes stronger and stronger the further we move away from European and national legislation and the closer we move to the grass-roots level of professionals.

Their ways of putting policy's largely atomising discourse into practice turn out to be very different from the Dutch SWs. The atomising policy discourse of participation is no longer atomising, but is transformed into a more 'communalising' discourse. It draws attention to the fact that a buzzword like participation does not have a fixed meaning, but travels around in different institutional contexts and is adapted to particular ends (Newman & Tonkens, 2011).

2. THE TEACHER AND THE PARENT

As we saw for the Dutch context, it is not always easy for professionals to reconcile the individual goal of self-management with the more societal goal of productivity. In the tensions that arise from conflicting policy goals, professionals find room for manoeuvre. Similar to what I found in the Dutch SWs (*see Chapter 5*), different professional roles could be analytically distinguished with the help of the resonance model (Bröer, 2008). The Director fully embraces policy discourse and strives towards making co-workers simultaneously more self-steering and more productive. The Fellow and the Teacher, in turn, reject parts of the discourse or have different interpretations of what it means to be self-steering and productive.

Contrary to what was found for the Dutch SWs (*see Chapter 5*), in the Portuguese ones it was not the 'consonant' Director who appeared to be dominant, but the 'dissonant' Teacher: out of 223 observations, 98 (44%) were coded as Teacher. By contrast, 22 observations were coded as Fellow, and only 17 as Director. The remaining 86 observations of professional practices (39%) received codes that could not be related to any of the existing (Dutch) professional roles. This pushed me to come up with and develop a fourth professional role. I introduce you to the Parent. In terms of the resonance model, the Parent stood neither in a consonant nor in a dissonant relation to policy discourse, but represented what Bröer (2008) calls an 'autonomous' position in which '... people neither reproduce the dominant discourse nor do they struggle with it. People draw on other discourse [...] But, contrary to the dissonant position, they do so 'at their ease' and do not refer to the dominant discourse' (p. 99). In what follows, I describe the two dominant roles of Teacher and Parent, as I observed them at the Portuguese SWs of *Reparação* (technical workshop), *Jardins* (green-maintenance workshop), and *Empresa* (detached workshop).

HIERARCHY AND AFFECTION

A first striking element in professional practices at the Portuguese SWs (common to regular companies and Portuguese society more generally) is related to hierarchies and corresponding ways of behaving and addressing each other. Older people

are standardly greeted with *'você'* [formal 'You'], as opposed to *'tu'* [informal 'you'], and people with a higher education are addressed with *'doutor(a)'* [doctor]. At the SWs, the dominant Teacher insists that co-workers' use these courtesy words correctly, and often reprimands them when they fail to do so. As a researcher with a 'higher degree', on different occasions I was the reason for these reprimands:

My research assistant and I are making a typical Dutch soup [*snert*] for lunch at the headquarters of Support4All, so that co-workers can learn about the Netherlands. At the last minute, we decide to add meat to the soup, as it should be. I ask one of the professionals where we can find meat, and one of the co-workers, Adriano, tells me he can come with me. He uses the word *'contigo'* ['with you'], to which Filipa, the professional, corrects him by saying he should say *'consigo'* ['with You']. She specifies that he should only use *'contigo'* if I (Melissa) have given him permission to address me like that. I quickly say I do.

[Support4All, 19 March 2015]

At *Empresa*, I ask one of the regular employees, Daniela, where I should sit for lunch. She assigns me a chair and asks me if I am fine with sitting there. Out of the dressing room I vaguely hear Catarina, another regular employee, shout something to Daniela about *'tu'* (informal 'you') and *'você'* (formal 'You'). Daniela also does not understand what she is saying and Catarina calls her into the dressing room. I suddenly hear them whisper. Minutes later Daniela asks me whether I am okay with her addressing me with *'tu'*. There is no doubt now that she has been reprimanded by Catarina (who knows I am writing a PhD) about her style of addressing me. I feel very awkward about it. Daniela is older and the head (*'chefe'*) of this group of employees.

[Empresa, 19 May 2015]

The latter example shows how correcting people on using the right courtesy words is not confined to co-workers and SWs, but happens with people (in regular companies) in general. For Daniela is not a co-worker, but a regular employee at *Empresa*. This example, as well as my day-to-day experiences of living in Portugal, directed my attention to the issue of hierarchies, and the emphasis placed upon respecting them.

In the Dutch SWs too, we saw that the Teacher pays attention to hierarchy. This hierarchy is perhaps not as visible and explicit as in the Portuguese case, but is visible in the Teacher's approach of giving (professional) advice to co-workers, assigning tasks, and controlling their work. The hierarchy of the Teacher implies a certain distance between professional and co-worker. With the stronger and more explicit emphasis on hierarchy by the Teacher at Portuguese SWs, I expected

an equally bigger distance between professionals and co-workers. But, contrary to what I expected, there were many moments in which professionals acted very affectionately towards co-workers and came close to them. It was the first signal that another kind of professional role – the Parent – might be at play here. The Parent, amongst others, combines hierarchy with affection:

It is Renato's first day at Company. Professional Tamara, who supervises co-workers working at *Empresa(s)*, and I drive him to his new workplace. Renato is nervous. When we arrive, he needs to change clothes in the dressing room. Tamara and I are waiting for him. It takes a while before he is ready and when he comes out, still slightly nervous, he comes stand next to us and far away from his future (regular) colleagues. Tamara tells him to pull down his shirt a bit more because it is too high up in his neck. Renato pulls it a little but it still does not look quite right, so she takes over and pulls his shirt as it should be.

[Empresa, 6 May 2015]

After we have left Renato at *Empresa*, Tamara tells me she could feel he was nervous. Her act of pulling down his shirt can be seen as an act of concern. It is literally something a parent would do, for example before his/her child needs to go on stage and perform something. The Parent, in this case too, felt this was an extremely important (first) day at *Empresa* for Renato. Starting such an important day in a shirt that is not properly worn could be dramatic. Hence, she intervenes out of concern and emotional attachment by pulling his shirt right before leaving him to 'perform' on the stage of his new workplace. What typifies the Parent is his hierarchic, but at the same time emotionally engaged and proximate relationship with co-workers.

These signs of affection were not restricted to professionals working at the sheltered SWs. Outside the sheltered environments, at the different Companies, regular employers and colleagues also sporadically took on the role of Parent, and showed affection in combination with their often hierarchical position:

From conversations with Césarío, I know that his boss at *Empresa*, Luciano, almost never speaks to him. He evaluates Césarío's work but rarely establishes contact with him. The day comes when Luciano – who takes on the role of Parent in this example – evaluates Césarío's work, together with one of Support4All's professionals, Tamara. Tamara asks him whether there would be a possibility of extending Césarío's stay at *Empresa* because Césarío really enjoys the work there. Luciano replies that he will have to check what is possible, and turns to Césarío and asks him whether he would indeed like to get an extension. Césarío nods. Usually very talkative, Césarío now

remains silent, head bowed down. He looks nervous. As he leaves, Luciano gives Cesário a gentle and affectionate pat on the back. He tells him to enjoy the time with Tamara and me, and makes sure Césario knows where to go to after the conversation ends.
[Empresa, 7 May 2015]

While the Parent's action in this example could be interpreted as a strategy to make a good impression on the visiting professional from Support4All and me, the observation that employers and 'regular employees' at *Empresa* were affectionate towards co-workers was more recurrent. To give but two examples: in Rafael's case, when his supervisor Pedro told him he still had to learn how to plant plants, he put his hand on his hair and stroked it; in another case, I observed boss Davina put her hand on Bernardo's back while explaining to him what he had to do. In sum, while the Teacher pays attention to hierarchy and politeness, the role of the Parent emerges when those features are combined with a close, affectionate attitude. Moments in which professionals took on such a role existed at both the sheltered and detached workshops.

EDUCATING FOR WORK, EDUCATING FOR LIFE

Teachers at the Dutch SWs showed that daily attendance is a must and that co-workers need to be convinced to show up. The Portuguese Teachers show a similar attitude, but have more institutionalised tools (sign of their dominance!) on hand to monitor daily attendance and co-workers' punctuality. A digital 'clocking-system' exists at the Portuguese SWs: co-workers need to register upon arriving and departing from the SW every morning and evening. Co-workers who fail to clock in on time need to speak to one of the '*doutoras*' (supporting staff) from Support4All about what is going on.

While the clocking-system monitors morning arrivals and evening departures, Teachers also strictly monitor the beginning and end of breaks during the day. They do not shy away from calling co-workers to get back to work:

When I arrive at *Reparação* after lunch break at 14:30, nobody is there yet. Professional Francisco arrives a few minutes later and shares his indignation with me: he finds it unbelievable that lunch break is over and the co-workers are still not there. It is, in fact, only 14:35. Co-worker Manuel arrives seconds later and is scolded for being late. He excuses himself in a very polite and submissive way.
[Reparação, 2 April 2015]

While the role of Teacher was sporadically present at the Dutch workshops, it never went to such a degree that co-workers were repeatedly called out and blamed for arriving five minutes too late. By contrast, at the Portuguese SWs, every day

I would observe professionals calling out co-workers and putting them to work after lunch, morning, and afternoon breaks.

Similar to what we saw at the Dutch SWs, Teachers here assign tasks. When necessary, the Teacher teaches co-workers new things; he looks at how the co-worker is doing the work; and assesses the quality of the work:

One of the supervisors from *Empresa*, Carlos, accompanies Rafael and me to the rose garden. Before we start, he explains in detail how we need to trim the rose plants and what we need to pay attention to. He explains it almost ridiculously slow and clear, as if Rafael were a very young child who does not understand a thing. The rose garden consists of a dozen of beds, each surrounded by a hedge. Every time we want to get to the rose plants, we have to climb over or through the hedge. Carlos stays outside the beds but gives us orders and instructions, from a distance, on how we can best do it; he comments when he sees us cut the wrong branch or when we forget one. After fifteen minutes –and many comments about what to do and what not to do – Carlos leaves us alone to finish the job.
[Empresa, 14 May 2015]

Actively assigning tasks is a defining characteristic of the Teacher at both Portuguese and Dutch SWs. Teachers strive towards making co-workers more productive; they teach them new work skills and proper ways of executing them. They are focused on transforming co-workers into good employees who are ready for the regular labour market.

The Parent shows something else. According to the Parent, 'good employees' are not only those who can work well and come on time; good employees are also those who can obey and who, in spite of their difficulties, show their 'good will' or 'willpower' [*vontade*] to do the tasks they are asked to do (even if they don't like them). What distinguishes the Parent from the Teacher is that he moulds co-workers into being and becoming 'good human beings' more generally. This implies an emphasis on obedience, but also on other skills, such as taking responsibility and learning to be humble:

I am working outside with co-workers Leonardo and Manuel from *Reparação*. Both professionals are working inside. One of them, professional Joaquim, calls Leonardo inside. A moment later, Joaquim comes outside and gets a little angry about the fact that Leonardo did not *immediately* come inside. At first, Leonardo defends himself by explaining he was busy knocking something out of a wooden pallet and could not drop it, but then he immediately stops and adds '*yes supervisor*' [*sim monitor*], *what is up?*
[Reparação, 1 April 2015]

The importance of obedience also becomes salient in situations where the expectation of that obedience is not met, like in this example at *Empresa*:

I am joining in the evaluation of one of the co-workers from *Jardins*, Rafael, who is now working at *Empresa*. One of his supervisors at *Empresa*, Carlos, complains that Rafael always answers back. Instead of 'yes sir' [*sim senhor*], he always starts with 'yes, but...' [*sim, mas...*] and always has something to add. Carlos finds it unbelievable that Rafael never answers with 'ok, I will do it right away, I will take care of this'. He contrasts Rafael's attitude with that of another worker 'who also has difficulties', who is always docile and who, for that reason, is a 'good worker' [*bom trabalhador*].
[*Empresa*, 8 May 2015]

What Pedro means here, is that Rafael does not show enough obedience and docility. Docility and obedience are explicitly linked to a 'professional attitude'. As Pedro illustrates, for the Parent, labour participation is not merely about becoming more self-steering and more productive, it is also about obedience, about taking responsibility for one's behaviour, and learning to be humble. The example of Rafael, who is about to start his internship and gets into trouble, is telling in this regard:

I see the professional Hélder sitting on a wall. In front of him are Eduardo, Rafael, and Luís. Eduardo and Luís are leaning against the wall as they listen to their supervisor's sermon. He angrily tells them that he protects them, that he speaks well of them to other professionals who are not so positive about them, and that they are constantly messing things up behind his back. Hélder also emphasises that he has faith in them and that they do their work well.

It turns out is that the three co-workers broke a birdcage (from Support4All) while fooling around with each other during work time. Hélder asks them who they think should take responsibility and pay for it. It takes a very long time before Rafael answers 'eu' [*I*]. Afterwards, Hélder explains to me that he really wanted Rafael to admit his fault, because this is one of his weak points and, as a supervisor, he is concerned about Rafael's upcoming period at the detached *Empresa*. He emphasises that here at *Jardins* he does not do much harm, but outside [*lá fora*] it will be different: his behaviour will have real consequences there, for example in terms of not getting an extension of his work period, or not being employed. Hélder explains that he sees it as his responsibility to teach Rafael skills like humility and honesty.
[*Jardins*, 25 February 2015]

In the above example, we see Hélder who takes on the role of the Parent waiting for Rafael to take responsibility for his behaviour. He wants him to admit his fault, reflect upon his behaviour, and be humble. These are not employee-skills that are considered important, let alone actively worked upon, at the Dutch SWs. But in the Portuguese SWs, the Parent considers general human skills like obedience, taking responsibility, and humility to be as important as working skills.

Why is that, we could wonder? The data shows that the emphasis on behavioural skills is tied to professionals' ideas about the world outside the SW. Parents want to prepare co-workers as well as possible for participating in what they present to be a harsh reality outside the SW. They repeatedly mention this 'outside' [*lá fora*] as a way of discouraging 'inappropriate' behaviour like always having a ready answer, being too impudent, straightforward, or immodest. A symbolic boundary is drawn between the SW where they are 'amongst themselves' – where it is cosy and enjoyable – and outside, where they will have to prove themselves and do what others ask of them in order to participate 'successfully' and retain a regular, paid job. The underlying assumption is that, if you are not so skilled in technical terms, you can compensate by being skilled in, e.g. obedience and humility.

At times, the disciplining and educating measures of the Parent even transcend daily work life at the SW, and extend into the personal life, behaviours, tastes, and overall lifestyle of co-workers:

At 10:30 we take a break. I am sitting on a low wall at *Jardins* next to Salvador and Lourenço. Professional Afonso says to Lourenço, who is eating his sandwich while standing, that he should sit down. Lourenço obeys and sits down. A piece of stone falls off the wall he is sitting on. Reason for professional Afonso to tell Lourenço, who is slightly overweight, that he should eat more vegetables and less bread. He repeats to him a few times the importance of eating many fruits and vegetables in order to stay healthy.
[*Jardins*, 13 April 2015]

At the Portuguese SWs, where the Parent and the Teacher roles prevailed, co-workers are standardly called '*jovens*', meaning youth or youngsters (even when the co-worker is 50 years old). It signals, more than in the Dutch SWs where professionals only sporadically refer to the 'actual emotional or intellectual age' of co-workers, the default perception of co-workers as needing education or re-education. Weekly theoretical classes of '*cidadania*' (citizenship) also reveal that Portuguese SWs are aimed at giving a much broader 'education' to co-workers that, according to the Parent, should touch upon all aspects of human life, not merely working life. The sense of egalitarianism and concerns with paternalism typical of Dutch welfare interventions (*Van den Berg, 2015*) appear almost absent here.

TEACHING TO SHARE RESPONSIBILITIES

Professionals at the Portuguese SWs mould co-workers on an *individual* level – the Teacher mainly with regard to employee skills and the Parent usually with regard to human skills – but they also actively mould co-workers on a *relational* level.

As I discussed for the Teacher at the Dutch SWs, the role of Teacher at the Portuguese SWs is also typified by intervening when co-workers are quarrelling, or when teasing runs out of hand. Considering the dominance of the role of the Teacher at the Portuguese SWs, this occurred way more – actually *every time* professionals witnessed ‘inappropriate’ behaviour between co-workers – than it did in the Dutch case. Moments in which young men engaged in teasing behaviour that resembled bullying in the slightest way were sanctioned:

I am sitting in the front seat of the van with professional Hélder, who is driving. We are returning from a task outside the SW. The young men in the back make a lot of noise. Nicolas, who is more moderately intellectually disabled, is chatting and blabbering non-stop, and the other young men are making fun of him out loud. Suddenly, Hélder pulls over and turns around saying ‘*bo bo bo take it easy*’ [*tranquilo*]. He points out that we are making a trip [*estamos a passear*] and that they are just quarrelling and being rowdy. He continues to say that we spend more time with each other than we do with our families, so things should stay a little pleasant and enjoyable; otherwise they will turn into hell.

[Jardins, 16 April 2015]

Streetwise or rough behaviour is not tolerated, and professionals like the Teacher in the above example do not avoid pointing that out to co-workers. But where the Teacher merely intervenes when things go wrong (*see also Chapter 5*), the Parent tries to encourage ‘positive’ relations already before they run out of hand: on the one hand, by helping solve internal conflicts; on the other hand, by making co-workers feel responsible for each other and for the tasks they jointly perform.

Professionals taking on the role of Parent actively mediate quarrels between co-workers, providing the necessary support and facilitation for these situations to be solved. When hearing about a quarrel, disagreement, or something of the sort, the Parent makes co-workers sit together – sometimes under the supervision of a psychologist or social worker – to talk things through and solve the problem. Examples are abundant and involve young men in their relationships with young women at the workplace (situations of flirting or love relationships that ended), but also quarrels or bullying between young men. Similar to the observed role of Teacher in the Dutch context, and contrary to the role of Director, professionals here take for granted that (inter)personal problems are taken to the work floor, and

professionals hence see it as one of their tasks to facilitate this in order for things to run smoothly at the SW:

Yesterday one of the co-workers, Paulo, had a psychotic and aggressive episode, and was removed from the SW with the help of paramedics and fire fighters. The next day two professionals – one daily supervisor, Filipa, and a psychologist, Sara – sit together with the group of co-workers to talk about how to treat Paulo next time they see him. Sara explains that everybody has problems once in a while (some break their arm, others get problems in their head) and, emphasises, that everyone should keep on treating each other as human beings. Both professionals explain how this can be done by empathising and by questioning how they, after a similar situation, would want to be treated by others. As such, they actively teach their co-workers to ‘care’ about Paulo in this case: not to make fun of him, but also not to ignore him, trying to understand his problems and relating them to their own lives.

[Jardins, 19 March 2015]

The Parent is not content with merely setting boundaries, like the Teacher does, but aspires to help co-workers solve quarrels by opening a conversation about what happened, or by encouraging them to clear things up. In such moments, professionals try to make co-workers understand what the matter is, and the different sides there are to the story.

Another way in which the importance of the group and relations within the SW become salient is not linked to conflict, but to work tasks. While the Teacher regularly assigned tasks to multiple co-workers (just as in the Dutch SWs) – for example, because they could learn something from each other – the Parent goes a step further. He strives to make co-workers feel responsible for the whole group they are working with:

Professional Hélder tells his Gardening group to clean up and put a public garden in the neighbourhood in order. The lawn needs mowing, the shrubs need pruning, and everything needs to be raked. We are all put to work. Co-workers who are able to work with machines do the mowing, others do the raking. When Hélder checks on us after we have finished, he is not content about the raking. He takes a rake and calls Luís, Bento, and Marcelo to finish the work. Bento says he has not raked, but professional Hélder replies it does not matter: everyone is responsible for the whole piece of land and everyone needs to help each other out.

[Jardins, 15 April 2015]

What we see in this example is that co-workers are held responsible *as a group* for fulfilling tasks that professionals assign to them. Working together is framed as benefitting everyone because people can complement each other. This could not be made clearer than in the story handed out by a professional from *Reparação*, about different tools in the workplace and the importance of all of them for making beautiful furniture. The morale of the story is epitomised in its last paragraph, stating:

‘The group of tools understood that the hammer was strong, the screw united and made things stronger, the sandpaper was good for refining and softening roughness, and the metre was precise and accurate. They felt like a team producing quality furniture. They felt joyful at the opportunity of working together’.
[Reparação, 2 April 2015]

Being held responsible as a group for fulfilling work tasks implies that both positive and negative consequences of the work are shared. When co-workers do their work well, they share the success, as the above story illustrates, but when they do not work well or do something else that is undesirable, they share the sanctions too:

Nicolas is playing with his phone during work hours. Luís, Bento, and Levi show their indignation about the fact that he has his phone with him. I ask them what the problem is, and whether they are forbidden to use their phones (I heard something similar yesterday). Luís explains to me that they got punished because Eduardo and he were sending too many messages before. Consequently, they are not allowed to use their phones during work hours for the coming three weeks, and they need to leave them in their lockers at the beginning of each day. I ask whether the whole group was punished only because Luís and Eduardo ‘misbehaved’. Luís shrugs his shoulders and answers with a tone of self-evidence, *‘por um pagam todos’* (literally – for one, all pay), meaning that the whole group pays for the action of one person.
[Jardins, 16 April 2015]

While only a few had done something wrong, the whole group was punished. This example of a shared punishment was not unique. Such examples are illustrative of the concern with the group and of the Parent’s efforts to make co-workers look out for each other and feel responsible for each other’s behaviour. Much in contrast to the Director – who perceives the SW as not interesting in terms of internal relations (because people need to integrate and make ties with people *without* disabilities) (see *Chapter 5*) – the Parent (and the Teacher, to a lesser extent) considers it an excellent place to develop team spirit and group loyalty. These relational qualities are not only important for what happens outside the SW, they are also important to

make the time spent at the SW pleasurable.

Unlike the other professional roles, the Parent does not seem to be torn between ideals of self-management and productivity. With the goal of participation in mind, the Parent focuses on making the time at the SW pleasant; showing his concern and affection; and moulding co-workers into obedient, humble human beings. He mainly draws from sources of love, friendship, cooperation, and team spirit, of which we found a few mentions in Support4All’s organisational values (see *part 1 of this chapter*). These communalising ideals, however, float in a sea full of atomising, self-managerial ideals like autonomy, freedom of choice, personal responsibility (website *Support4All*), and are largely absent from the (European and national) policy discourse of participation.

Hence, in terms of the resonance model, we can state that the Parent, notwithstanding the few hints on Support4All’s website, stands in an ‘autonomous’ relation to the atomising policy discourse (Brüer, 2008). Where exactly the Parent’s sources and interpretative framework come from is not investigated in this research, and is therefore restricted to speculations about the major role of the family in Portugal, informal support networks, and Catholicism (Andreotti et al., 2001; Fontes, 2008; Pinto, 2011b; Wall et al., 2001).

I shall only conclude that in the Portuguese SWs – dominated by the professional roles of the Teacher and the Parent – the *team or the group* is the most important unit, as opposed to the *individual* in the Dutch SWs. In other words, the overarching atomising policy discourse of participation becomes a more communalising one in daily practices: participation at work is interpreted and strived for by developing workers’ social and relational skills in an affective, yet hierarchic, work environment. Despite the fact that the overarching policy discourse is similar in the Dutch and Portuguese contexts, ‘good participation’ gets a very different meaning on the ground. As I show next, the particular meaning participation gets in the Portuguese SWs fundamentally changes what happened at the Portuguese SWs in terms of interactions of recognition.

3. INTERACTIONS OF TEAM PLAYER RECOGNITION

I suggested before that discourses of participation, at least partly composed of policy and professional practices, define what is worthy of recognition at the workshop and what is not, who is successful, and so on (see *Chapter 7*). These discourses make specific forms of recognition desirable and possible, and others not. Keeping the communalising discourse of participation in mind, in what follows I zoom in on everyday interactions at the Portuguese SWs and ask what happens there in terms of recognition. I suggest that a communalising discourse predominantly makes desirable the form of recognition that remained marginalised in the Dutch SWs,

namely Team Player recognition: where who or what is recognised is the ‘caring worker’, the one who looks after his colleagues, shows concern and attention on the work floor, and during particular work tasks.

SHARING FOOD AND FRIENDSHIP

Co-workers at the Portuguese SWs give a lot of attention to each other and express their affection and concern on a daily basis. It starts when everyone greets each other in the morning with handshakes, kisses, hugs, and continues throughout the working day (and beyond).

During practical work and theoretical classes, facial expressions and (soft-spoken) comments about the severity of professionals indicated that co-workers sometimes found the training at the SW boring or too disciplining. But such complaints are rarely made out loud (the Teacher and the Parent would be quick to bar them). The severity of the training makes co-workers very much look forward to the two short twenty-minute breaks in the mornings and afternoons, and to the longer lunch break at noon. In those moments, co-workers can chat with each other, listen to music, dance, eat, laugh, and hug. There is a lot of warmth and physical affection. Some of it involves young women (attending other SWs nearby), and this adds elements of love and flirtation that were not present in the Dutch only-men context.

While love and flirtation involved young women, affection amongst young men only also occurred repeatedly. Many of the young men befriend each other and show their affection in a variety of ways: they play around, give hugs, meet up outside working hours, or show this affection in more practical ways, for example by sharing food:

Like Cesário explains to me when I am working with him at *Empresa*, the most important thing he learnt at the SW is honesty [*honestidade*]. When giving me an example, it seems that generosity [*generosidade*] comes closer to what he means: ‘When I received a sandwich, at first I would have never shared it with someone else. That is what the SW has taught me’. He concludes by saying that the SW has taught him to become a ‘better person’.
[*Empresa*, 22 May 2015]

Sharing food with others is one of the concrete practices that exemplify workers’ concern and affection towards each other in the Portuguese SWs. As the previous part on professionals attested, these sharing practices are actively encouraged by the Parent and, to a lesser extent, by the Teacher too.

Another example of group cohesion and togetherness emerges at *Jardins*:

Typically, the gardening group stops work earlier (sometimes up to

an hour) in order to shower and get changed before going home. The remaining time is used to play table football. A table stands in the middle of the hall and is the place where co-workers gather around during breaks, before and after work. Moments of boredom, due to a lack of urgent work tasks, inevitably arise at these SWs too (*for a similar observation at the Dutch SWs, see Chapter 7*). But here these moments are filled with a game that includes multiple people; workers and professionals in an atmosphere of playfulness and enjoyment.
[*Jardins*, e.g. 15 April 2015]

Co-workers get entrained in the game of table football. Like in the Dutch bullying, greenhouse, and injection examples (*Chapter 7*), the coming together of bodies, the mutual focus on the game, and the shared mood (*Collins, 2004*), enable co-workers to develop a positive sense of self (*Honneth, 1995*).

The experience of recognition here is not about being the best or outshining others. Of course there is always a winner and a loser in a table football game: the first to get closer to ten wins. But at *Jardins*, players (and therefore winners) constantly rotate. There are others who want to play too. Both co-workers and professionals keep an eye on this rotation. Those who do not often play, like me, are encouraged to partake. ‘Good players’ are actively coupled with ‘bad players’. Because of this rotation, it seldom happens that one person constantly wins, excels, or dominates the scene.

The interpretation that such moments result in experiences of Team Player recognition, rather than Top Dog recognition, can also be noticed through what happens when the game comes to an end. Afterwards there is no, or very little, bragging about ‘I am the best’ or ‘I am better than you are’. While some players are indeed better than others, it is also about playing the game *together* and about having fun, without competing. This was a big difference from the Dutch SWs, where my observations led me to conclude that nearly *everything* is invoked to compete and outshine others. The SW Company even showed this in relation to table football: there too, a table stood in the middle of the lunch room, and co-workers, after winning a game, regularly bragged to me about their performances.

It is in a context of sharing sandwiches, getting that daily special handshake, playing table football together, being friends on Facebook, and meeting up outside working hours, I suggest, that co-workers generate experiences of mutual Team Player recognition. When the training is over after two years, contact often continues. Co-workers extensively express their ‘*saudades*’ (missing, longing for) and keep in touch through phoning, texting, and social media. Similar to the example of the injection pen at the Dutch workshop, co-workers are not so much recognised for their individual work achievements as they are for their social role as colleagues. The big difference is that, under the dominant supervision of the Teacher and the Parent, these interactions of recognition are constantly taking place at the Portuguese SWs.

COOPERATION AND HUMILITY

Team Player recognition was not only produced through hanging out together during breaks, but also during work itself: through helpfulness and complementing each other in work, or through carrying out a task and bringing it to a good end together, similar to the dismantling of the greenhouse at the Dutch SW (*Chapter 7*).

At the Portuguese SWs, co-workers regularly urge each other to wrap up and start working after lunch (also when there are no professionals around!), or draw attention to what, or how, something needs to be done. The Parent's insistence on group responsibility bears its fruits. Co-workers ask each other for help (e.g. 'go grab something for me') and this alternates, as the following example with Manuel, João, Leonardo, and Tomás, attests:

A big pile of wooden pallets need to be taken apart and undone of all metal nails and screws so they can be reused. It takes us, the group from *Reparação*, several days to work through the pile. Throughout all the hours that I am working outside with Tomás, Leonardo, João, and Manuel, I am struck by their helpfulness towards each other and towards me.

Manuel is helping Leonardo hold a pallet while he hits it with a hammer. Meanwhile, I take out nails and screws from the restored planks. Leonardo tells Manuel to get another hammer and a pair of tongs inside; a little later, it is the other way round and Manuel sends Leonardo to get wooden supports.

When Leonardo gets back, Tomás, who is holding a wooden structure, asks him to get a tool for him. Leonardo goes inside to get the tool and gives it to Tomás, so that Tomás can continue what he was doing without having to drop the wooden structure he is holding.

Shortly after, João asks Tomás to get him some screws. Tomás himself is busy clearing away wooden planks but, nevertheless, puts his own work on hold and gets nails for his colleague, without complaining or moaning.

[*Reparação*, 31 March 2015]

The above example, with different co-workers taking turns in asking each other for help, might seem a little confusing. But this is exactly the point I want to make with it: it is not always the same co-worker who orders another co-worker to grab things for him and who dominates the scene. When at 13:00 it is finally lunch break, I am exhausted from having pulled nails out of wooden planks during four hours, unpleasantly bowed forward (neck and back pain) in a cold courtyard. Coming from fieldwork in the Dutch SWs, the absence of complaints, as well as young men's helpfulness towards me and towards each other, struck me throughout the morning. The switching of roles – who gets to help who – unrolls in a silent,

self-evident manner. At times, co-workers put their own work 'on hold' in order to help out a fellow colleague. Instead of rebelling against the work they have to do, they try to be supportive so that they can finish the task as quickly as possible.

The high degree of helpfulness and of complementing each other's work resulted in sharing the responsibilities and merits of the work, similar to what I observed in the Dutch greenhouse example (*Chapter 7*):

The co-workers get the tools from the tool-shed and start working on the municipality's land. They know what they have to do. Some co-workers are preparing and planting cuttings [*estacas*]. Rubim is pulling weeds. Elmano is mowing the lawn of a slope on the other side of the property. Two other co-workers, Benjamim and Diogo, are raking the grass that Elmano cut into heaps. The professional of the group tells me that she lets Benjamim do the raking because it is one of the few things he can do. She also explains to me the contact this group of co-workers has with people from the neighbourhood. Residents who are passing by regularly stop to thank co-workers for the work they are doing.

[*Jardins*, 23 February 2015]

People from the neighbourhood thank the co-workers for the work they are managing *as a group*. There is not much individual shining in this. The piece of land gets beautiful because of their joint efforts, not because of the work of one co-worker in particular: the co-workers who have more 'abilities' and can handle machines, like Elmano, do so; but they do not receive more credits – neither from people from the neighbourhood, nor from professionals – than those who do the raking. As a matter of fact, the valuing of co-workers who are more skilled in terms of productivity and self-management (for example, those who can work with machines independently) is toned down by equally valuing co-workers who are obedient, nice, or helpful to others (but perhaps technically not as strong).

Having participated in the work myself, in both the Dutch and the Portuguese contexts, I can say without a doubt that the work in the latter is more exhausting, more annoying, dirtier, longer, harsher. Less breaks are taken, less coffee is drunk, on warmer and colder days alike more work is carried out, and so on. Still, co-workers' efforts are not automatically positively rewarded or valued in an individual grammar of self-management and productivity, but rather in terms of having worked well *together*.

AND THE 'BAD BOYS'?

What about streetwise behaviour at the Portuguese SWs? *Is it not 'normal' when putting a bunch of young men together that such behaviour and 'rough' interactions are*

produced, people asked me before. Displaying a particular kind of masculinity that hinges on toughness, carelessness, bragging and boasting, and searching for recognition along those lines was also notable at the Portuguese SWs. At *Reparação* for example, pictures of fast motors and rock music decorated the walls. Co-workers, there, told each other stories about (stealing) girlfriends from other boys, laughed with gays, and bragged about violent encounters (*levar e dar porrada*):

Professional Francisco leaves early today. Professional Joaquim is inside but is busy with his own things. During the next half hour, Manuel, Leonardo, and Romano are acting very ‘boy-ish’: they are playing/fooling around and swearing in English: *‘kiss my ass’* and *‘kiss my balls’*; *‘are you gay or what’*, *‘you are gay too’*, *‘I like gays’*, *‘whaaaaat’*? Manuel asks Leonardo what happened to him, saying he did not use to talk like that (referring to rough language). Manuel is playing with his lighter and turns it on the biggest flame. Earlier that day, one of the professionals reprimanded him for that, telling him he shouldn’t do that because of the big gas tank on the property. Manuel told Leonardo he found that an idiotic comment. *‘Nothing will happen really’*. He seems to think it is ‘cool’ to light up the lighter again while he is not allowed to do that. Twice I hear him call Leonardo – who is dark-skinned – *‘macaco’* [monkey] and laughing his ass off because Leonardo would look like a monkey while drinking.
[Reparação, 2 April 2015]

However, the above-described observation was quite exceptional, for two reasons. First, the hierarchical relationship between professionals and co-workers makes it difficult for co-workers to act tough. When language gets too aggressive, tough or impolite, soon enough professionals interfere and get angry, or even humiliate and punish co-workers. During work time, there is little space for co-workers to act streetwise and to engage in interactions of recognition based on those acts.

Second, other co-workers also interfere when someone acts ‘too streetwise’ They speak up when they think a co-worker is trespassing the boundaries of appropriate joking and teasing behaviour. When comparing it to Dutch situations at the SW, the role of co-workers in discouraging streetwise acts and behaviours is striking. It is true that the presence of women at the Portuguese SWs partially accounts for this, and that more observations of this kind occurred when male and female co-workers were together (as in the mixed theoretical classes and during breaks). However, also in situations where only men were present, co-workers would reprimand each other and openly judge the other person’s behaviour as ‘not appropriate’:

Professional Francisco brought *‘pirilampas’* [fireflies] with him: little gadgets that give light in the dark, and that are sold by Support4All as a way of raising funds. Romano and Rui are laughing and say

that Leonardo will sell *‘pirilos’*. They are teasing him, most probably because Leonardo mispronounced the word earlier. Leonardo is not laughing and is awkwardly looking around with his hands in his pockets. Romano and Rui, in turn, have a blast: they are enjoying themselves, laughing out loud, and encouraging each other to continue with the teasing. Suddenly, Romano exclaims that Leonardo is going to sell *‘pussy’*. Rui immediately tells Romano that he needs to watch his language, and is joined by another colleague, Vasco, who repeats this. Romano’s streetwise act is condemned by his fellow co-workers. Both Vasco and Rui, who at first were hanging out with Romano, turn their backs on him after this ‘incident’ and (physically move) towards other colleagues. The fairly young and new co-worker, Romano, remains alone with an upset look in his eyes. The shame can be read from his face when he forces an awkward smile in reaction to his colleagues’ disapproving messages and looks.
[Reparação, 11 May 2015]

In many situations at the SW, being too streetwise or acting too cool are not a source of admiration and esteem, but are framed as being shameful and inappropriate. Amongst co-workers, then, streetwise interactions *can* be a source of recognition, but typically they are not fostered, either (unintendedly) by professionals or by co-workers themselves. The fact that other co-workers too see it as their responsibility to say something about what they see as ‘inappropriate behaviour’ at the workplace cannot be understood without the dominant roles of the Parent and the Teacher. These two figures actively create and maintain a working environment where concern for, and meddling in, each other’s ways of being, acting, relating, and talking, is okay and even a valuable way of ‘participating’.

Throughout fieldwork at the Portuguese SWs, there were few moments in which I saw co-workers aspire to excel or put others down as a way of standing out from the crowd, as was so obsessively done by co-workers at the Dutch SWs (see Chapters 6 and 7). Top Dog recognition is not promised and longed-for as much as it is in the Dutch SWs. Instead, the communalising discourse of participation makes Team Player recognition desirable and possible. Who or what is mostly recognised is the ‘group worker’ (team member/greenhouse recognition), but also the ‘caring worker’, i.e. the one who looks after his colleagues, who shows concern and attention on the work floor and during particular work tasks.

THE RISK OF HUMILIATION

This does not mean all is fun and games at the Portuguese SWs. When the ‘safe space’ of the SW falls away and workers are confronted with more competitive work environments, the communalising discourse of participation runs the risk of

fostering experiences of humiliation. Creating an environment for co-workers to experience moments of Team Player recognition comes with a price.

As previously mentioned, the Teacher and the Parent make it very clear to co-workers that they will only be retained in regular companies, complimented, and liked, if they carry in them a ton of willpower, courage, and perseverance. Co-workers are repeatedly reminded about how difficult it is 'out there' (*lá fora*) and are prepared for the often-harsh reality of being low skilled.

At many of the regular companies I visited or worked in, co-workers are constantly confronted with inequalities and hierarchies. They wash big cars for bosses in high-rise office buildings; wash dishes in a three-star hotel; or pull weeds in a business district where men in suits literally look down on them. Co-workers are socialised to find that those differences are 'normal' and are taught that working hard and doing what is asked of them can make them upwardly mobile. Somehow paradoxical, what is proclaimed, or at least put into practice, is that co-workers need to 'know their place in the rank order', in order to climb up and be valued as employees:

Césario does things he knows are always good to do and others won't easily do. One example is peeling big amounts of garlic for the cooks to use in their preparations. Césario takes two iron bowls (one for me too), fills them with water and throws in a dozen bulbs of garlic. Many are rotten and mouldy. We take out the good cloves and peel them with a knife. The water has turned completely brown due to the rotten garlic, and a mush of soft, squashy garlic peels floats around. Césario does this daily without complaining and with much humility. Another task he continuously does is cleaning the pots and pans used by the cooks. The cooks throw them in the kitchen sink and Césario washes them. Again, it takes some humility and servitude to clean pans full of congealed meat fat, bloody meat trays, and casserole dishes that fill the water with the leftovers of a typically-Portuguese creamy fish dish (*bacalbau com natas*). All along there are no complaints, just Césario's dream of being allowed to help cooking instead of constantly doing the dishes.

[Empresa, 22 May 2015]

Team Player Recognition rests on humility and obedience. Co-workers feel like they contribute to the common good, and feel valued for the small contribution they make. Who or what is recognised is the 'humble worker', who shows respect for institutionalised hierarchies, is subservient and docile. The social skills that are emphasised and actively 'taught' at the Portuguese SW (obedience, dealing with others, respecting hierarchies), are used as an asset outside the SW too, where many co-workers might not shine and stand out for their self-steering skills and productivity (which regular employment demands), but at least they can be 'of value' on an interpersonal level.

While humility, servitude, and docility can be a source of (Team Player) recognition, they can also become sources of misrecognition. Let's continue with the case of Césario:

Césario has been doing dishes full-time for the past three months (while the agreement was that he would be allowed to help in the kitchen and the pastry). One day he admits to me that, through dishwashing, he isn't learning anything and that he regrets being detached to this specific company. He tells me he wants to learn to prepare the food for the staff of *Empresa*. That afternoon, while standing in the kitchen, Césario expresses his wish to the cooks. It is met with little warmth or sympathy. The cooks make jokes amongst each other about Césario's request (loud enough for him to hear) and ask him sceptically '*so you want to do the cooking on your own in the end?*' [Empresa, 22 May 2015]

The humility and servility that Césario successfully embodies, and that could potentially help him 'climb up' to the kitchen and pastry departments, are not appreciated and seen as such by his regular colleagues. Instead, the cooks hint that he will never be able to do the cooking and that he belongs to the dishwashing area. Césario's selflessness and servitude are taken to be self-evident and definite states for a low-skilled (*and disabled*) worker like him. Instead of being appreciated for these qualities, he experiences humiliation. Césario feels he is not learning anything and that the original agreements have not been respected; quite the opposite of recognition.

Such moments of misrecognition, and co-workers' willingness to endure them, cannot be understood without making the link to the material (redistributive) aspects of theories of social justice (see Fraser, 2000; Fraser & Honneth, 2003). Most co-workers live with their families: parents, brothers, sisters, in-laws, aunties, or uncles. Family is a source of joy and loyalty; many co-workers (also at the Dutch SWs) have tattoos of family members' names on their bodies. But family relationships are also a source of misery: there are many absent fathers, many co-workers were raised in institutions, and many families face problems of poverty with living on a single income. Portuguese co-workers often explain the wish to have a job, to be humble and obedient, by referring to this family and to the need of raising an income.

In comparison to co-workers at the Dutch SWs, co-workers in Portugal have more to lose: they cannot stay at the SW for an indefinite period of time and cannot survive from disability benefits alone. The training at the SW is a temporary training, aimed at facilitating co-workers' move to the regular labour market. Dutch SWs have the same aim, but remain open and welcoming to co-workers who do not manage to make the transition. Monthly welfare benefits for their intellectual disability (*pensão social de invalidez*) are very low (202.34 euros per month), and the welfare benefits they receive during the training at the SW end when they complete the training. In such a context, the pressing need to find and maintain a

position in a regular work environment becomes more understandable. In such a context too, we can imagine why experiences of humiliation are endured to such a great extent. It points out that co-workers are not only, or primarily, driven by a search for recognition, but for money too (see Fraser & Honneth, 2003), and that recognition and redistribution cannot be separated in our quests for social justice.

An important question that arises is whether the Portuguese ‘communalising’ discourse of participation actually prepares co-workers better for the transition to regular work than the Dutch atomising discourse. On the basis of limited quantitative data from 2015 and 2016, it seems that more co-workers from the Portuguese SWs make the transition to regular work: from the 51 co-workers at (all of) Support4All’s SWs, 10 transitioned (19.6%) in 2015. By contrast, from the large number of 671 co-workers in all of CareWell’s SWs, a meagre 2.23% (= 15 co-workers) transitioned to regular work in 2016.²⁹ In both countries, the majority of transitioned co-workers work under a temporary contract, and employers are (financially) supported by the government. In the Netherlands, temporary contracts can be renewed up to 23 months, after which many co-workers are dismissed; in Portugal, many of the contracts end after one year. In both countries, the recent establishment of a legal quota for companies to hire people with a ‘distance to the labour market’ is hoped, and expected, to bring a change in this respect.

Nevertheless, Portuguese co-workers seem better equipped than their Dutch counterparts for dealing with current institutional conditions; they are trained to do what is asked of them and to keep up with the insecurity of hopping from one temporary contract to the next. However, we can wonder whether it really offers these low-skilled young men a brighter future with more possibilities of participating and feeling recognised, or whether it merely prepares them for a lifetime of subservience and temporary low-paid employment. In the following chapter (Chapter 9), I will elaborate on the importance of highlighting the inclusions, but also the exclusions and inequalities, that arise from different dominant discourses of participation.

CONCLUSION: DIFFERENT DISCOURSE, DIFFERENT FORMS OF RECOGNITION

Despite similarities in the overarching policy discourse of participation, the closer we move to concrete daily life at the Dutch and Portuguese care organisations and SWs, what work means and what it means to ‘recognisably’ participate at work

²⁹ The availability of exact numbers on the transition of co-workers proved limited both at CareWell and at Support4All. Therefore, I present data from 2015 for the Portuguese case, and from 2016 for the Dutch case. Additional information about numbers on the transition of co-workers in Dutch sheltered workshops during the years of fieldwork (2013-2016) was only communicated informally. A manager revealed that in 2014 one out of 180 co-workers from the sheltered workshops under his control transitioned to regular work.

steadily differs in both places. Participation, as many other policy ‘buzzwords’, does not have a fixed meaning but takes on different meanings in particular places (Newman & Tonkens, 2011). Professionals, I suggested, provide a fine source to investigate how exactly policies of participation acquire a local meaning. With the help of the resonance model (Brüer, 2008), professionals’ various relations to policy discourse (crystallised into distinct ‘roles’) were described. The two dominant roles in the Portuguese SWs are the Teacher and the Parent who, taken together, transform policy’s atomising discourse into a communalising discourse.

The Teacher relates to policy discourse in a dissonant manner (*ibid.*); he is concerned with the ideals of self-management and productivity, but gives a different twist to what the first means (see also Chapter 5). Autonomy is not about personal choice and control; it is not about letting the initiative up to the co-worker. Autonomy is not assumed in advance as something that needs to be ‘respected’, but rather as something that needs to be actively worked upon. Autonomy grows as co-workers proceed in their training at the SW. In order to be or become self-steering, they have to go through a phase of interventions, classes, and disciplining measures; they will not become self-steering (for example, take initiative) automatically.

While the dominant professional role of the Teacher is still structured according to goals of self-management and productivity, the other dominant role at the Portuguese SWs – the Parent – stands in an ‘autonomous’ relation to policy discourse (Brüer, 2008). The Parent propagates other messages and aims – loyalty, team spirit, group responsibility, love – that are unrelated to the policy ideals of self-management and productivity. Participation requires, above all, human and relational skills, and the time at the SW needs to be made as pleasurable as possible for all those involved. Care and concern for each other, looking out for one’s own behaviour, as well as for other people’s behaviour, are part of the Parent’s aims.

It was suggested that a communalising discourse of participation fosters Team Player recognition (see also Chapter 7): who or what can be recognised is the caring worker, who looks after his colleagues, shows concern and attention on the work floor, and contributes to work tasks as a member of the group. It is not so much about individually ‘shining’, but about being able to bring the work to a good end together. Team Player Recognition is based on being servile, humble, being a nice or cosy colleague, and being able to work *together*. Recognition emerges from interactions between friends and colleagues, who take on a specific task, and share its responsibilities and successes.

This does not mean co-workers at the Portuguese SWs never longed to be the best, most-talented individuals, or to stand out from the crowd. While the Teacher and the Parent were the dominant professional roles, there were also moments in which professionals took on the role of Director or Fellow (see Chapter 5). This implies that there are, sporadically, interactions in which co-workers are encouraged to excel and in which their individual successes are rewarded. In that sense, the two discourses of participation that I distinguish on the basis of policy and professional practices – one atomising, the other communalising – cannot be neatly fitted into

one (national) context. There are elements of both in the Portuguese and Dutch SWs. However, analytically identifying these discourses, and the dominance of one over the other, proved to be useful for furthering our understanding of experiences of recognition. It helps to sharpen the argument that recognition arises, and can be best studied, at the intersection of institutional discourses and everyday interactions; and it offers situated knowledge on the different forms participation can take on the ground.

Chapter 9.

The ambivalent enterprise of recognition: concluding the research

INTRODUCTION

The co-workers from the technical, green-maintenance, and detached sheltered workshops in the Netherlands and Portugal were the main characters of this book. More and more, they need to (and want to) ‘participate’ in society, ideally by having a regular, paid job. As I explained in the introductory chapter, when I first got to know them, I was slightly intimidated by their looks and outer appearances. But, upon spending more and more time with them, listening to their stories and watching their actions, it occurred to me that many were more vulnerable than they appeared at first.

Much like young men in street culture literature, co-workers built up a sensitivity to being ‘dissed’ (= disrespected) (*Anderson, 2000; Bourgois, 2003; De Jong, 2007*). It is in this context of being susceptible to misrecognition and disrespect that the central theme of this book – recognition – shows its relevance. It is not only important for young men to be active and participating citizens; it is also important for them (like it is for all people) to feel valued and respected. Policy also acknowledges this, and in its discourse of participation regularly refers to recognition.

However, when policy proclaims that everyone should be able to fully participate and be a recognised citizen, what is often underestimated is the power of institutions to narrowly define the ways in which people can legitimately participate

and be recognised. Throughout the thesis, I attempted to sketch a picture of institutionalised discourses of participation in sheltered workshops in two different contexts – principally in the Netherlands, and more concisely in Portugal – and investigate their relation to experiences of recognition.

In this concluding chapter, I bring together all previous chapters. An inventory is made of what was expected on the basis of policy and theory; what happened in practice; and what can be learned from this. With regard to the latter, the book has two aims: on the level of theory, it seeks to further the ‘sociologisation’ of recognition; on the level of policy, it argues for revaluing the Team Player and letting ‘love’ play a bigger role on the work floor.

1. WHAT WAS EXPECTED

A PROMISING INTENTION

Labour market participation holds a big promise: it would give financial, emotional, and social gains, also € or maybe especially € in the case of people like the ones in this research, who have suffered (and often still suffer) from social exclusion. Participation is not only something activating welfare states require or impose, it is also something that people with disabilities have been fighting for, for many decades and in different parts of the world, including the Netherlands and Portugal. Albeit in different forms, both countries saw the rise of disability movements in the second half of the 20th century as a response to the oppressive and segregated spheres in which people with intellectual disabilities found themselves.

In the Netherlands, a central claim of such movements was deinstitutionalisation, which began in the 1960s, while in Portugal, disability movements only started flourishing after the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, and deinstitutionalisation was not a main goal. Still, in both countries the second half of the 20th century marked the beginning of a rights-based language of citizenship and participation in the domain of disability. Such a language of participation was soon taken over by governments, which saw themselves confronted with a ‘crisis’ of the welfare state by the second half of the 1970s. The discourse of participation gave both material and ideological reasons for retrenchments.

From the 1970s onwards, claims for participation made by social movements were increasingly coloured by claims for recognition (Newman & Tonkens, 2011, p. 9-10). There was a realisation that mere participation was not enough: people also wanted to feel respected for their sameness and valued for their differences. The increasing focus on recognition in social movements coincided with a theoretical emphasis on recognition in the social sciences (Fraser, 2000; Taylor, 1994). Recognition found its way into a wide range of disciplines and themes. A ‘recognition turn’ (Editorial comments *Acta Sociologica*, 2004, p. 323) took place in the 1990s in the political

and philosophical debate: ‘recognition’ became a new cornerstone in social theory in general, and an increasingly debated concept in welfare studies in particular. Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser were two authors who put great effort in building comprehensive theories on the just and good society, in which recognition played a major role.

In short, participation – and, with it, recognition – were introduced as the solution to a range of social ills like loneliness, exclusion, or a secondary citizen status. I was interested in investigating how such participation was fostered and resulted in experiences of recognition, or not, in the case of young men working in sheltered workshops.

SETTING THE SCENE

So what is participation about in the case of these co-workers? How does policy conceptualise labour participation for people working in sheltered workshops? Upon closer reading, policy’s discourse of participation can be called an ‘atomising’ discourse, and this holds true both for the Dutch (see Chapter 4) and the Portuguese case (see Chapter 8): it is predominantly about how co-workers, as individuals, can develop themselves in terms of being self-steering, productive, and taking responsibility for their own progress.

Sheltered workshops are considered the ideal environment to learn how to take steps in this regard. Sheltered workshops and the services they provide are considered a right for people who have difficulties finding regular employment, but at the same time they become an obligation. In ‘active welfare states’, participation is both a right and a duty (Borgbi & Van Berkel, 2007; Holmqvist, 2010; Newman & Tonkens, 2011). In this stream of thought, the ultimate goal is for people in the (transitional) sheltered workshops included in this study to move on to regular work: a goal that many of the co-workers in this study also dreamt of and held dear.

Policy assumes that, at the sheltered workshop, co-workers can develop themselves, contribute to society, and gradually become prepared to move on to regular work. Meanwhile, it is thought, co-workers can feel valued and ‘recognised’ for the contributions they make to the sheltered workshop (see Chapter 4). As, for example, the Dutch CareWell states, their work might not be paid, but it is certainly valuable (2016a, p. 5). The underlying assumption is that co-workers too can and should participate through work and feel recognised.

Moving closer to the level of professionals who put policies of participation into practice on an everyday basis, we see that they are confronted with conflicting goals. Policy discourse neatly fits the goal of self-management and the goal of productivity together into the same endeavour of participation, but in practice the two stand on tense footing. According to European, national, and CareWell’s policies, participation is a must. When people *can* contribute to society, they *have* to contribute. At the same time, co-workers need to be enabled to make their own

choices and exert control over their lives. Sentences like, people with disabilities should be enabled to *'live the life they choose to live'* (CareWell, 2010, p. 4), sound very emancipatory, but combine difficultly with the compulsory language of productively contributing to society (Chapter 4).

The 'resonance model' (Brüer, 2008) was used to make sense of the different ways in which professionals put conflicting policy goals into practice (Chapter 5). Through their support practices, professionals sometimes fully embrace policy discourse and stand in a 'consonant' relation to its goals; and, at other times, they reject parts of the discourse and act in 'dissonance' (Brüer, 2008) to it. Finally, at the Portuguese sheltered workshops, professionals regularly acted from an 'autonomous' position (*ibid.*) and drew on an alternative discourse of participation, the sources of which could not be studied in this thesis (*see also Chapter 8*).

The different ways in which policy discourse resonated in professional practices were brought together in four analytical professional 'roles': the (consonant) Director, the (dissonant) Teacher and Fellow, and the (autonomous) Parent. It was suggested in Chapter 5 that distinct roles prepare the ground for distinct interactions of recognition to take place at the sheltered workshop.

A SPECIFIC FORM OF RECOGNITION

In what follows, I summarise the findings from the dominant professional role in the Dutch sheltered workshops and the kind of recognition that was expected from it. The findings from the Portuguese sheltered workshops are indicated further on in this conclusion (*see 'A comparative gesture'*), as their function is to provide a contrast and an alternative to the main investigated Dutch workshops.

On balance, at the Dutch workshops, the professional role of the Director emerged as the most common. The Director focuses on co-workers' personal choices; wants them to take initiative; urges them to work individually and to develop their technical skills. Most in line – or consonant – with policy discourse, the Director tries to uphold both goals of productivity and self-management. As such, after passing through the hands of professionals, the policy discourse of participation predominantly remains the same in the Dutch sheltered workshops. It is still 'atomising': participation is geared towards the individuality, autonomy, and self-reliance of co-workers; participation is about 'you', about what you do for yourself and for your personal self-development at work.

Under such an atomising discourse, it was expected that co-workers in the Dutch workshops would feel valued for being hard workers, for working independently, being skilled, taking initiative, and excelling in a particular task. Co-workers indeed were obsessed with the idea of excelling and distinguishing themselves from others (Chapter 6). In their understandings of, and especially in their search for, respect, the young men very much longed to be esteemed and stand out from the crowd: for example, by being assigned a special status, or by being

rewarded materially and/or symbolically. Everything, including their search for other forms of recognition, such as friendship and equal treatment, were subject to competition.

Translated into theoretical forms of recognition, the form of recognition that was expected is what Honneth calls esteem (*e.g. 1995*). Esteem is about valuing in each other 'those qualities which contribute to the reproduction of the social order' (Honneth, 2001, p. 47). It is about recognising the particular talents and abilities of a person (Taylor, 1994). On the basis of the aspirations of co-workers and the atomising discourse of participation, we would expect esteem to flourish at the sheltered workshops. In other words, we would expect co-workers to experience recognition for what they individually contribute to the workplace, most likely in terms of individual, self-steering, and productive work achievements. However, what was expected often did not turn out to be the case.

2. WHAT HAPPENED INSTEAD

FAILING THE PROMISE

Feeling esteemed on the basis of individual work achievements rarely happened at the Dutch sheltered workshops. In daily life there were few signs – at least in two out of the three Dutch sheltered workshops (Repair and Gardens) – that young men felt valued and rewarded at the workplace. Co-workers expressed many frustrations about not being rewarded for their contributions, neither symbolically nor materially (*see Chapter 6*). The list of dismissed workers at the more 'successful' workshop, Company, was very long. The number of co-workers transitioning to regular work was also very low (2.23% in 2016), and this includes the more 'successful' workshops, like Company, which also had more 'manageable' co-workers (*see Chapter 2*).

The young men find themselves in a contradictory situation: recognition is meant to arise from individual work achievements, but only a small percentage can live up to the labour market demands of productivity and competition. For the others, there is hardly any serious employment on offer, and they end up at workshops with limited possibilities of experiencing recognition on the basis of their individual work achievements. This is reserved for the few who best mimic 'normal' workers in terms of self-management and productivity – characteristics that are favoured in the regular labour market and, by extension, in (transitional) sheltered workshops too (*see Chapter 7*). Paradoxically, while a partial dependence on help and support is precisely one of the criteria by which these young men are defined as 'different' from other people, in practical work settings (both inside and outside the sheltered workshops) this is exactly what they need to get away from if they want to participate in work and be rewarded for their participation, either financially and/or symbolically.

HIJACKING RECOGNITION

Rebelling

Instead of the hoped-for recognition via individual work achievements, we see something else burgeoning in the Dutch sheltered workshops. Co-workers repeatedly engage in streetwise interactions where they try to outdo others, distinguish themselves, and get recognition along those lines (*Chapter 7*). Such recognition is achieved by acting in opposition to what is seen as desirable by policy and professionals. It is about showing that you are cool; that you dominate the scene; and that it is you who deserves the applause and the laughter from others. Others are used as a point of comparison: co-workers compete over who had the best and best-paid ‘real job’ in the past; who has been in a relationship for longest; who has his own house; who has the most sensational stories; or who can drive the fastest. In sum, it is about personal gain, competition, and outshining others.

Chapter 7 suggested that rebel-recognition emerges from the same roots as the intended recognition via individual work achievements. Instead of excelling through work, young men excel through being witty, funny, and having a big mouth. Instead of dominating others through work, they dominate others through bullying. Instead of being indispensable because of their work skills, they make themselves indispensable by bringing spice to the workplace. Hence, I defined both types of recognition as being different, yet similar ways of getting at ‘Top Dog recognition’.

Caring

Incidentally, co-workers engaged in interactions that generated a form of recognition that is unlike Top Dog recognition. In between all the rough interactions, young men would help each other, for example by jointly repairing a broken scooter, sharing lunch, making coffee, or keeping an eye on a fellow’s daily medical injection (*Chapter 7*). I suggested that such situations lead to different ways of feeling valued and recognised, and referred to these as ‘Team Player recognition’: instead of being based on the individual that excels and distinguishes himself from the group, it is based on the individual that carries out good work as a member of the group. Who does what, and who is most special or self-steering during that work, is not of central concern. Instead, Team Player recognition is about how different individuals work together and share the efforts, responsibility, and merit of the activity. Similar to Top Dog recognition, Team Player recognition could be generated both through work activities and through other activities, such as caring for another member of the group or through friendship.

Situations of Team Player recognition were sporadically encouraged, or even initiated by less dominant professional roles (namely, the Fellow and the Teacher) who, through their support practices, broaden what count as ‘good’ or legitimate ways of participating at work. In those moments, group work and even meddling

in each other’s affairs were encouraged – for example, because a ‘real’ and urgent work task needed to be done. The focus on self-management temporarily disappears and makes space for a more directive style of supervision (either by showing the good example or through ‘teaching’), and for working together with other colleagues and professionals.

However, such moments of Team Player recognition are marginalised by the strong individualising and atomising policy language of participation. In line with such a discourse, the dominant professional role of the Director actively discourages togetherness, out of fear of obstructing the development of co-workers in terms of self-management and initiative taking. Co-workers are mostly encouraged to focus on themselves and on their individual self-development, and to not ‘get into trouble’ in their interactions with colleagues (*Chapter 7*). At the Dutch sheltered workshops, striving for Top Dog recognition overshadows opportunities of working together, or caring together, and enjoying (Team Player) recognition along those lines.

A COMPARATIVE GESTURE

Sheltered workshops in the Portuguese context provided us with a completely different picture. On a national level, both Portuguese and Dutch disability policies reveal an atomising discourse of participation that puts self-management and productivity at its centre. Nevertheless, by following the literature (e.g. *Newman & Tonkens, 2011*), it was assumed that the ways in which concrete welfare projects, such as sheltered workshops, use and implement the idea(l) of participation, would be different in Portugal. With its history of more family-oriented and solidaristic (disability) care arrangements (*Andreotti et al., 2001; Fontes, 2008; Pinto, 2011b, 2011c; Wall et al., 2001*), it was expected that professionals would perhaps not act in ‘consonance’ with policy’s atomising discourse of participation as much as their Dutch counterparts did. Furthermore, in line with this, co-workers’ experiences of recognition would potentially have a different dynamics too (see also Chapter 4).

As expected, the way in which the policy goals of self-management and productivity were interpreted and put into practice by professionals at the Portuguese sheltered workshops was in fact very different (Chapter 8). While I identified the same professional roles as in the Dutch workshops, the Teacher (rather than the Director) emerged as the most dominant. Moreover, a new role appeared: that of Parent. The Parent emphasises group spirit as well as young men’s position in, and belonging to, the group. The Parent actively teaches co-workers how to behave and work with other co-workers as a form of participation. He stands in an ‘autonomous’ relation to the atomising policy discourse (*Brüer, 2008*) and draws on other sources like love, team spirit, and loyalty. While the whereabouts of these sources were not investigated in this study, they do correspond to what is argued in literature on Portuguese welfare arrangements, namely that more ‘individualistic’ concepts like autonomy, choice, and citizenship have not yet taken root in daily life (*Fontes, 2008; Loja et al., 2011*).

Together, the two dominant professional roles of Teacher and Parent give shape to what could be termed a more ‘communalising’ discourse of participation. Under a communalising discourse, Chapter 8 showed that institutionally encouraged interactions generating experiences of Team Player recognition are much more common. Portuguese co-workers regularly feel valued for being caring, looking after their colleagues, showing concern and attention on the work floor, and contributing to work tasks as members of a group.

Team Player recognition appeared to be a fairly democratic and inclusive form of recognition, since it is available to more people at once – including those co-workers who are less ‘talented’ or ‘skilled’. In addition, the communalising discourse of participation appears to better prepare co-workers for the transition to regular, paid work. In contrast to the meagre amount of 15 out of 671 co-workers from CareWell, 10 out of 51 of the Portuguese co-workers from Support4All made this transition.

However, Chapter 8 also showed that the close-to-‘nannying’ role of the Teacher and the Parent, their emphasis on obedience and docility, comes with a price. Portuguese co-workers seem better equipped than their Dutch counterparts to deal with current institutional conditions that are, despite good policy intentions, still not very welcoming to people who are not very productive or ‘independent’. Portuguese co-workers are trained to do what is asked of them and to acquiesce in their position at the bottom of the hierarchy. Fieldwork showed that their trained docility, especially outside the ‘safe environment’ of the sheltered workshop, is appreciated but also easily misused. Instead of being a springboard for a more interesting or better-paid position in the future, their efforts and humble behaviour are considered handy for the ‘dirty’ jobs. Co-workers have little power and room to negotiate their position, and not seldom end up feeling humiliated. Hence, we can wonder whether a communalising discourse of participation really offers these low-skilled young men a brighter future with more possibilities of participating *and* feeling recognised, or whether it merely prepares them for a lifetime of subservience and temporary low-paid employment.

At the same time, as will be further reflected on in this chapter (see ‘Revaluing the Team Player’), it seems that the atomising discourse of participation, which is dominant in the Dutch sheltered workshops, does not really offer a better alternative. Co-workers are prepared for a world that has not (yet) been realised – namely, one in which people who need support and have a low IQ can make a beautiful career too – with many feelings of failure, frustration, and discontent resulting therefrom.

3. WHAT CAN BE LEARNED

On the basis of what was expected and what happened in practice, lessons for theory and policy can be learned. First, on a theoretical level, the book wishes to

contribute to what I call the ‘sociologisation’ of recognition. Second, on a policy level, it argues for revaluing the Team Player and for letting recognition as ‘love’ play a bigger role on the work floor.

SOCIOLOGISING RECOGNITION

The principal theoretical aim of this thesis is to contribute to making the mainly political-philosophical concept of recognition fit for our sociological endeavours. In what follows, I outline the elements that, on the basis of this study, are considered most important for sociologising recognition. First, I suggest paying attention to bodies and collective achievements as a way of amplifying and concretising recognition’s fundamental condition of ‘intersubjectivity’. Second, a relational approach to recognition is advocated, one that combines institutions and interactions by looking at how they work together in shaping recognisable subjects. Third, a call is made to take ‘intra-group’ forms of recognition, such as the streetwise kind that was recurrent at the Dutch sheltered workshops, seriously. These forms of recognition, it is suggested, entice us to compromise recognition’s perfectionist character by acknowledging its unequalising mechanisms and its ambivalence.

Bodies and collective achievements

A first contribution to the sociologisation of recognition is made by amplifying and concretising recognition’s so-called ‘intersubjective’ premise. Both our classical authors emphasise the importance of intersubjectivity, albeit in different ways. For Fraser, the intersubjective condition is linked to those situations where subjects come into contact with institutionalised patterns of value that do, or do not, contribute to their parity of participation (e.g. 2001). Honneth, in turn – especially in his earlier work – emphasises interactions between subjects, claiming that such (literal) ‘inter-subjectivity’ is the basis for the three forms of recognition he distinguishes between (e.g. 1995).

In Chapter 7 of the book, I attempted to put flesh on the bones of Honneth’s idea of intersubjectivity. One way this can be done, I argued, is by focusing on bodies and collective achievements at the workplace. In this line of reasoning, recognition can have a physical aspect and can be produced through practical and bodily engagements with others and with the world. Sociological theories of interactions, like Randall Collins’ *Interactional Ritual Chains* (2004), prove to be of great value to analyse concrete situations, and pinpoint how exactly experiences of self-esteem and emotional energy are generated through a physical coming together, and working together, of bodies (see Sebrechts, Tonkens & Brüer, 2018). Here, I want to elaborate on this argument and point out how it can be valuable for the sociologisation of recognition.

Honneth (1995), as well as Taylor (1994), are very clear about the importance of the ‘individualising’ achievements upon which esteem is based. Both authors claim

that in ‘ancient societies’ respect and esteem were unified by the concept of honour: the way you were treated legally (respect) and the extent to which you were valued (esteem) were inscribed in your social standing (*ibid.*). Honour was fundamentally asymmetrical and non-inclusive; such a system hindered individuals’ development in terms of autonomy and freedom. In what they call ‘modern democratic’ societies, hierarchical honour was separated into respect and esteem (Honneth, 1995; Taylor, 1994). It is only with this historical separation, they argue, that recognition received its equalising and individualising character (*Owen, 2007, p. 313*).

While historically we can understand the importance of individualising achievements as sources of esteem, this study shows the importance of including collective achievements too. As the reader will know by now, one of the main forms of recognition I conceptualised was Team Player recognition. In its work-wise sense, it consisted in large part of executing tasks together, joining forces, and experiencing oneself as a small part of the whole. In moments of Team Player recognition, the constellation of a group is a practical one. It is not based on premodern or hierarchical systems of social ranking, but on concrete forms of cooperation through which young men become a small part of the whole. Instead of losing their independence – as Taylor and Honneth argued to be the case before achievements were individualised – in situations of Team Player recognition people become interdependent. They achieve something, but can only do so together with, or even with the help and supervision of, other people. Without this interdependence, there is no contribution or achievement, and hence no experience of (self-)esteem.

In the examples of collective achievements given (*see Chapters 7 and 8*), co-workers become important and valuable for other co-workers, professionals, or regular employees on a practical and physical level. The (individual) experience of recognition is generated by working closely together with other bodies and by being focused on, and getting entrained in, the same activity.

In theories of recognition, the body does not play an important role. At most, it emerges in love’s requirement of physical integrity (*Honneth, 1992, 1995; Zurn, 2015*); or in human differences like skin colour and sex that disable people from participating on a par, subsequently leading them to make claims for recognition (*Fraser, 2003*). In Honneth’s writings on the subject, in particular, it is the mind that gets an active role. In his ‘identity model’, (mis)recognition emerges when a subject looks down upon or values another subject; it is mainly about human attitudes, beliefs, and representations (*see also Fraser 2000, p. 113-114*). In order to narrow down the conceptualisation of recognition, it is suggested, for example, to only consider as acts of recognition those acts where a person *consciously* and *intentionally* takes on a recognisable attitude towards someone else; and where the person at whom this attitude is directed accepts and agrees upon the content of that recognisable attitude (*Honneth, 2007b, p. 330; Ikäheimo & Laitinen, 2007, p. 44*).

On the basis of my fieldwork, I suggest that such a turn to the (individual) mind and to intentionality leaves out a large and important part of experiences of recognition, namely its physical dimension. This is perhaps even more so in the

case of people like the ones included in this research, who have limited abilities to mentally reflect on – and consciously intend to take – a recognisable attitude towards someone else; or to accept and agree upon the (content of the) recognisable attitude that someone else takes towards them (*ibid.*). Such an approach to intersubjectivity, I hold, is too much concerned solely with the mental, reflexive capacities and intentions of people to recognise each other. A focus on bodies and what they can achieve together, I sustain, can be another, perhaps more inclusive way of concretising recognition’s prerequisite of intersubjectivity (in Honneth’s sense) and of helping advance the sociologisation of recognition.

A relational approach

The second contribution to the sociologisation of recognition consists in combining Fraser’s focus on institutions with Honneth’s focus on interactions. Instead of weighing one against the other (*Fowler, 2009; Garrett, 2010; Juul, 2012; Swanson, 2005; Zurn, 2003*), the ‘relational’ approach I propose provides the opportunity to combine them (*see also Danermark & Gellerstedt, 2004*). Taking a relational approach to recognition sounds very obvious at first. For, Honneth and Fraser *also* look at recognition relationally; the first through his emphasis on relations between different subjects; the second through her emphasis on relations between groups and institutions. The relational approach I suggest is based on combining their theories, by examining how institutionalised patterns of value transform co-workers into subjects with very particular self-stories, aspirations, and ways of searching for recognition.

Based on literature on dignity (*Lamont, 2000*) and respect (*Sandberg, 2009; Skeggs & Loveday, 2012*), I assumed that, in order to understand how recognition gets shaped, it is important to make explicit what counts as a recognisable quality in a given context (*see Chapter 6*). Honneth and Fraser too insist on the importance of a ‘value-horizon’ (*e.g. Honneth, 2003, p. 155-8*) or of ‘institutionalised patterns of value’ (*e.g. Fraser, 2000, p. 113-114*) in order for recognition to take place. However, they remain abstract about how these are constructed, where they come from, or how encompassing they are. In order to make explicit the value-horizon against which experiences of recognition at the sheltered workshops are shaped, I zoomed in on policy goals and professional practices. In the Dutch context, these joined to build a dominant ‘atomising’ discourse of participation.

Drawing on general insights from the sociological matter of subjectification (*Chapter 1*), it was suggested that particular discourses of labour participation tie into people’s sense of self, their ideas about value and worth, and their search for respect. This suggestion corresponds to literature highlighting the (implicit) emotional demands and ‘feeling rules’ of activating welfare institutions (*Grootegoed, Duyvendak & Bröer, 2013; Kampen et al., 2013; Tonkens, 2012; Tonkens & De Wilde, 2013; Tonkens et al., 2013*). (New) welfare arrangements make implicit suggestions about how citizens should, or should not feel about them. For example, in the case of cuts in publicly financed care, citizens in need of care quite strikingly did not appeal against the decision, but

adjusted their feelings of shame and anger to the new realities (*Grootegoed et al., 2013*).

In a similar vein, sheltered workshops' emphases on activation, on transitioning to regular work, and on personal responsibility, result in co-workers developing particular emotions. Co-workers are encouraged to want to excel (*Chapter 6*). Within the atomising discourse of participation, it does not suffice to be happy or feel safe at the sheltered workshop. Co-workers also need to want to become self-managerial, and a better version of themselves. Those who do not make 'progress' are looked down upon and end up being bullied. Those who are not working independently, or contributing to a 'real' work task, feel frustrated and bad about themselves (*Chapter 7*). In short, the atomising discourse of participation ties into young men's sense of self, their emotional experiences, and their aspirations, for example with regard to recognition.

Honneth and Fraser do not contradict the general idea that people become subjects – hence also recognisable subjects – in relation to dominant discourses. Honneth, to start with, acknowledges the crucial importance of culturally and historically specific values in interactions of recognition (*1992, p. 126; 2003, p. 140-142*). But what I refer to as subjectification has a predominantly positive connotation in his writings: because people are socialised in a specific context and take over historically and culturally specific values, they can become esteemed citizens. In reaction to his critics, Honneth acknowledges that recognition can also lead to subordination without the use of repression (*2007, p. 326*), but concludes that these would be 'false', 'ideological' forms of recognition. In other words, they are not 'real' forms of recognition because they often do not further a person's autonomy and always inflict harm in one way or another.

Honneth obviously struggles with distinguishing 'ideological and false' forms of recognition from 'moral and correct' ones. In his writings on recognition and power (*2007*), he first suggests that 'ideological' forms of recognition can only be identified empirically: therefore, people themselves need to indicate they feel oppressed (*p. 327*). However, after considering multiple issues, he finally concludes that this might not be enough and that the only way out of this problem is to add a material dimension to it, i.e. to check whether the particular form of recognition brings about changes in a material or institutional sense (*p. 345*).

Fraser, in turn, stresses the fact that institutionalised patterns of value limit who counts as a recognisable and as a less recognisable subject (*2000, 2001*). However, in a similar vein as Honneth's theory, the way discourse operates in and through subjects is taken to be problematic only insofar as subjects can recognise the (oppressive) power of that discourse. According to Fraser, people make claims for recognition when they realise there are institutionalised patterns of value (e.g. representation) that work in an oppressive and demeaning way for them. In other words, they can detach themselves from these patterns of value, reflect about them, reject them, and propose an alternative kind of representation (ensuring that this alternative is within the limits of a similar liberty for all other individuals and groups in society) (*2001, p. 33*). However, there is little account of how people

themselves – their minds, expectations, self-stories, and search for recognition – are shaped, from the inside out, by (a potentially oppressive) discourse.

Empirically, this study shows how – contrary to what Honneth and Fraser proclaim – in becoming recognisable subjects, people can hardly reflect on, or detach themselves from, normalising and disciplining power relations that consider some forms of subjectivity as less worthy than others or not worthy at all (*see also Butler, 2004; McQueen, 2015*). For example, Dutch co-workers did not actively rebel against an atomising discourse of participation that favours competition and excellence. They were not trying to change that discourse. Instead, the discourse operated through their desires and expectations, and they tried to outshine others in a variety of (not always institutionally intended) ways (*Chapter 6*). Only exceptionally did they show self-stories of interdependence, or interactions of helpfulness and care, which do not neatly fit the atomising discourse of participation (*Chapter 7*).

Hence, I hold that it is from the coming together of different (institutional and interactional) levels that recognition arises and can best be studied from a sociological point of view. Comparing the findings from the Dutch sheltered workshops with those from the Portuguese shadow cases strengthens this argument: co-workers hold different expectations and experience different forms of recognition in different policy contexts – with predominantly Top Dog recognition in the Dutch sheltered workshops, and Team Player recognition in the Portuguese sheltered workshops.

The discourse of participation is influential in both contexts, in the sense that it shapes co-workers' aspirations and expectations; it shapes actual interactions of recognition. But we also see that this discourse is not determining. In analysing how discourse is shaping but not determining all interactions, the study attempts to offer a nuanced, situated analysis of the relationship between discourse and agency (*see also Newman & Tonkens, 2011, p. 24*). On the level of co-workers at the Dutch sheltered workshops, we see that the atomising discourse of participation is not fully determining. Despite their repeated search and fight for Top Dog recognition, co-workers sporadically engage in interactions generating Team Player recognition: a form of recognition that is almost absent from the atomising discourse of participation. Co-workers also find other ways of feeling recognised and thereby partly change and broaden the restrictive discourse of participation (*McQueen, 2015*).

In the following part, I build on these empirically identified 'alternative' forms of recognition, and claim that taking them seriously is a crucial part of sociologising recognition.

Recognition's imperfections

Political philosophers, such as Fraser, Honneth and Taylor, have slightly different perspectives, but in the end all agree that relations of recognition have an equalising and inclusive potential. The relationship between recognition and social justice is a positive one: they need, sustain, and strengthen each other. Recognition has an

inherently positive character (Honneth, 2007b, p. 330) and, combined with redistribution, contributes to more just societies in which people can participate equally (Fraser, 2000, 2001). In other words, our classical authors assume that recognition is fundamentally empowering, and take its relationship with equality and social justice for granted.

They can only take this relationship for granted, I hold, because 1) they assume that people can detach themselves from oppressive patterns of value/discourses, reflect upon them and change them (see previous part), and 2) because they hold on to a narrow, perfectionist conception of what counts as recognition and what does not. In this part, I wish to elaborate on the second point by dwelling on the recurrent form of ‘streetwise-recognition’ found at the Dutch sheltered workshops.

Throughout the book, we were faced with a grimmer picture than that which theories of recognition provide us with. It was suggested that co-workers can also become an equal in interactions at the workplace, or develop a positive sense of self by bragging about violence, sex and consumption, or hurting others (Chapter 7). Ethnographic accounts provided us with a picture of recognition that stands in stark contrast to Honneth’s and Fraser’s writings, and to the more empirical literature that tends to mainly highlight ‘soft’ and ‘harmonious’ interactions, such as compliments, smiles, profound confidentiality, giving privacy, or making people’s voices heard (Gallagher, 2004; Juul, 2009; Lind et al., 2014; Lister, 2001, 2002; Wiesel & Bigby, 2014).

In the limited space our classical theorists of recognition have devoted to potentially violent, ‘intra-group’, or ‘subcultural’ forms of recognition, we find both Honneth and Fraser to largely push them out of their theories. Honneth does not rule out the possibility that social groups take the alternative route of a ‘counterculture of compensatory respect, in order to rectify, through demonstrative stylisations, what they feel to be an unjust appraisal of the worth of their collective characteristics’ (1995, p. 124). And, ‘a particular *dispositiv* of esteem that we hold in retrospect to be pure ideology can prove in fact to be a condition for an intra-group attainment of increased self-worth’ (Honneth, 2007, p. 327). However, he also emphasises that intra-group forms of recognition are based on values that possess validity for a single culture, or small and bounded group only, and thus miss the normative and context-transcending goals of his theory (*ibid.*, p. 333). In addition, esteem only from a few, or from one’s subculture, are not considered sufficient to maintain one’s self-esteem over time (Anderson & Honneth, 2004, p. 131; Honneth, 1995, p. xviii).

For Fraser, the problem with intra-group forms of recognition is closely linked to her critique of Honneth’s identity-model. Recognition that is based on specific (cultural) identities, generated in isolation from other groups in society, ‘scarcely fosters social interaction across differences: on the contrary, it encourages separatism and group enclaves’ (2000, p. 113). Therefore, only claims for recognition that do not exacerbate other disparities, but are in line with human rights and equality, are considered ‘legitimate’ forms of recognition (Fraser, 1995, p. 69; 2001, p. 27, 33).

In short, in both Honneth’s and Fraser’s theories, there is only room for fairly ‘perfect’ and ‘pure’ forms of recognition. On the basis of my research, I deem this problematic: it restricts the scope of the concept of recognition to such an extent

that the young men in this research, and their experiences of recognition, become completely irrelevant. Theoretically then, they are left out, just as they are left out empirically and societally in many ways too. In what follows, I put together this thesis’ contribution to a more generous and less perfectionist concept of recognition.

Unequalising mechanisms

Outside theories of recognition, ‘intra-group’ forms and their value for social analysis have been acknowledged before. Street culture literature and literature on masculinities show how people – often men in vulnerable positions – get their share of recognition, dignity, or respect through ‘alternative’ channels (Bourgois, 2003; Connell, 2000; De Jong, 2007; Ferrarese, 2009; Lamont, 2000). However, they have not systematically extended their insights to theories of recognition. On the basis of the conducted study, I suggest that much can be gained from integrating intra-group forms of recognition into a sociological theory of recognition.

In the context of this research, taking seriously the repeated streetwise interactions as generators of some form of recognition enabled me to pose new questions: why is it that co-workers are looking so much for streetwise recognition from their peers? What are such moments about? These questions sensitised me to focus on other (interpersonal and institutional) relations that deny and inhibit co-workers from experiencing recognition, making them search for recognition through other, more readily available channels (such as streetwise interactions).

In other words, including a form like ‘streetwise-recognition’ in a theory of recognition helps us understand, from the bottom up, what people long for in terms of recognition and where such longings bump into interactional, but also institutional, barriers. Co-workers’ streetwise interactions emerge from an atomising discourse that limits ‘good’ participation to self-steering and productive work achievements, which are unattainable for many. Like Todorov argued before, compensatory forms of recognition arise exactly out of recognition’s unequalising and asymmetrical workings (Todorov, 2001, p. 88). Based on my own findings and street culture literature, I add to this that these unequalising workings push people towards other, at times violent and even (self-) destructive, ways of getting respect (e.g. Bourgois, 2003).

Since intra-group forms of recognition arise from a power relationship that denies and inhibits (other forms of) recognition, they can by definition be considered a political act (Ferrarese, 2009, p. 612). Reason enough to not consider them mere irrelevant instances of group separatism (Fraser), or to conceptualise them as the opposite of ‘morally correct’ forms of recognition (Honneth). Instead, let us take these ‘limited’ or even violent forms of recognition seriously by considering how they arise as a by-product of recognition’s unequalising mechanisms in the first place, and use them to advance our theories of social justice.

Intertwinement of recognition and misrecognition

The second way in which the thesis aims to contribute to a more generous concept of recognition is by paying attention to how misrecognition is enfolded – at various

levels and in varying degrees – in different forms of recognition. In some forms, like Top Dog recognition via streetwise or bullying interactions, this might be easier to detect than in Top Dog recognition via work achievements or Team Player recognition. Still, the thesis aims to empirically point out how misrecognition is enfolded in all the empirically identified forms of recognition. This argument is linked to the basic social scientific observation that any inclusive boundaries create excluding ones too (as similar arguments have been made in relation to the concept of citizenship, inclusion, or in identity studies more broadly). In the case of recognition, it implies that when we recognise someone for a particular set of values, the one who does not possess or cannot develop such values is automatically misrecognised.

Top Dog recognition via individual work achievements sets conditions like independence, self-reliance, and productivity, which are unattainable and therefore a source of misrecognition for many of the co-workers, as shown in Chapter 7. Top Dog recognition via rebelling is more attainable in that sense, but builds on a particular kind of masculinity that thrives at the expense of others, i.e. for some to stand out of the crowd, others are bullied, made fun of, or denigrated. Streetwise behaviour might generate recognition within the sheltered workshop, but outside it such behaviour will most probably not be tolerated, especially not if one's level of productivity is low.

Team Player recognition, in turn, could be said to imply misrecognition on an institutional level. While it seems to be one of the most realistic forms for these young men to feel recognised under current institutional conditions, they will not get money just for being helpful, humble, or kind colleagues. In addition, outside Portuguese sheltered workshops, workers' humility is valued symbolically and materially, but these workers also run the risk of ending up in relations of humiliation and with few better perspectives for the future.

These findings make it particularly important to pay attention to how exactly misrecognition and recognition are intertwined, and to acknowledge the different, partly conflicting, and unequal ways in which they relate to social justice (rather than taking that relationship for granted, as Honneth and Fraser tend to do).³⁰ Critical theories of recognition are helpful to consider the different, partly conflicting, and unequal ways in which different forms of recognition relate to social justice. They disagree with, or at least complicate, the (exclusively) liberating and empowering potential of the concept of recognition by stressing its oppressive, disciplining, and normalising potential (*Appiah, 1994; Butler, 2004; Ferrarese, 2009; Markell, 2000, 2003; McQueen; Povinelli, 2002; Yar, 2001; Young, 2007*). Young (2007), for example, argues that '...care work cannot easily be recognised as a social contribution within the dominant structures of esteem' (p. 201-202) and that unjust and unequal gender divisions are exactly kept in place through such

³⁰ While misrecognition seems to be enfolded at different levels and to varying degrees in almost every form of recognition, I do assume that recognition is a 'vital human need' (Taylor, 1994). Therefore, the thesis attempts, nevertheless, to distinguish between forms that are better able than others to secure a good or just life for many people at the same time (see next part).

dominant structures of esteem. Judith Butler, in turn, explains the restricting force of recognition by introducing the idea of 'schemes of recognition' in relation to gender (*Butler, 2004; Willig, 2012*). In becoming recognisable gendered subjects, we cannot detach ourselves from normalising, disciplining power relations that consider some forms of (gendered) subjectivity as less worthy than others or not worthy at all (*Butler, 2004; McQueen, 2015*). Schemes of recognition thus enable and at the same time inhibit people from constructing a viable sense of self. While often still in an abstract way, these studies allow us to think of recognition as being ambivalent, entailing both empowering *and* normalising or oppressive sides (*Butler, 2004; McQueen, 2015, p. 54*).

With the above critical literature and the empirical findings of this research in mind, it becomes clear that the conditions Fraser and Honneth set for recognition to be recognition as such give their theories a perfectionist and idealist character (see also *McQueen, 2015; Zurn, 2015*). This idealist character is understandable from a political-philosophical point of view, given their overall goal of striving for social justice. However, these perfectionist accounts are less well suited to our sociological endeavours.

Therefore, as a final contribution to the sociologisation of recognition, I suggest we take seriously those situations that also involve and give rise to less perfect forms of recognition, those that are skewed, involving only peers ('intra-group'), or that are based on excluding and even hurting others (whether consciously or not). The findings of the research show that a more nuanced and less perfectionist understanding of recognition is needed. Instead of interpreting 'positive' and 'negative' sides of recognition, we need to conceptualise recognition and misrecognition as being intertwined. Instead of interpreting them as incompatible or juxtaposed, we need to consider how they work together and are part of the same process.

Part of the tragedy of recognition is that we all want to be loved, respected, and valued by others, but that every form of recognition seems to entail misrecognition (for the self or for others) on another level. Only by acknowledging that can the gap between abstract political-philosophical theories of recognition and our sociological endeavours become smaller.

REVALUING THE TEAM PLAYER

Now that I have set out the most important theoretical contributions of the book, I turn towards its main contributions to policy. By way of introduction, I turn my gaze to the findings from the Portuguese shadow cases.

Traditionally, countries with a stronger welfare state, like the Netherlands, are presented as examples for Southern European countries, described as more unequal (*Ferreira, 2006*), as insufficiently securing disabled people's autonomy (*Pinto, 2011a*), and as having a tenacious medical view on disability (*Loja et al. 2011*). While not contradicting such arguments in general, my empirical findings suggest that

the Dutch sheltered workshops can learn something from the Portuguese ones.

On an interactional level, workers in the Dutch workshops get a lot of freedom. They are treated more equally (Honneth's 'respect') in interactions with professionals than their Portuguese counterparts, who are often approached as children who need to be (re-)educated. However, the respect Dutch co-workers receive on the interactional level at the workshop, hinders potential recognition on a more structural level, in the sense that self-involved and streetwise young men do not easily get a job in the regular labour market.

Co-workers in the Netherlands expect to be of unique value. They become subjects who believe their individual work contributions deserve recognition and esteem, both within the sheltered workshop and in the regular labour market. But what the promising discourse of participation conceals is that it is not guaranteed that you will ever be esteemed for being unique or for what you bring to the world in terms of work. Not every contribution counts as a *worthwhile* contribution, and not every performance is valued equally, something that writers on meritocracy have warned us of before (*De Beer & Van Pinxteren, 2016; Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008*). As this study showed, many co-workers in the Dutch sheltered workshops become frustrated and go to great lengths to receive the recognition they believe they deserve.

By contrast, in the Portuguese workshops, co-workers have fewer expectations about being recognised as unique in terms of their individual work contributions. At the sheltered workshop, they are taught that they will have to obey and make great efforts in order to be valued for their work contributions, but also that they can compensate with social and relational skills.

It is not my aim to glorify the sometimes-exploitative jobs the Portuguese workers find themselves in, or the moments of humiliation they experience. However, the ways in which they are prepared for such jobs, and for their positions on a competitive labour market more generally provides a more realistic picture of what they can and cannot expect under current institutional conditions. The workers at the Portuguese workshops seem much better prepared for a labour market that is, despite all policy measures, not very welcoming to people who are low-skilled and who do not perform well in terms of productivity and self-reliance (see also next part 'Creating Team Player jobs'). The fact that workers at the Portuguese sheltered workshops are disciplined during two long years, and that their expectations of success on the labour market are kept low, leads to less disappointments or needs to look for recognition elsewhere. In addition, as we previously saw, it leads to more effective transitions to regular work (*see end of Chapter 8*).

As a researcher, I experienced first-hand how not getting a specific kind of recognition when one expects it is harmful. In the course of fieldwork, I *invested* in recognition. I tried to look beyond young men's intimidating looks, their roughness, their denigrating comments, their medical diagnosis. I tried taking them and their expertise seriously; understanding their stories and points of view by carefully listening and taking time. To say it in Hochschild's words, I tried to 'climb a wall of empathy' (*2016*). I underestimated that, in the course of climbing,

I unconsciously expected something in return: *I expected them to look beyond some of my characteristics too*. In several moments that did not happen, and I felt reduced to an 'inferior' woman, I felt objectified and sexualised. My feelings of misrecognition did not only arise from being reduced to a sexual object, but arose from its combination with particular hopes and expectations, formed in reaction to my own efforts to recognise them. When you invest in something and expect to get some kind of reward for that, and then you do not, it leads to an even stronger experience of misrecognition. These personal experiences, combined with observations in the field, pointed out the importance of expectations.³¹ We feel misrecognised when our expectations of how others should treat us are not fulfilled.

Hence, it is harmful to promise esteem to co-workers, and convince them that their work contributions can be unique and valuable, when their daily experiences tell them they are not (e.g. they are not hired, do not receive financial remunerations, and feel they are hardly valued enough symbolically). While Top Dog recognition via individual work achievements might seem desirable from many points of view, this research attempts to show the potentially harmful consequences of promising something that cannot be fulfilled under current institutional conditions. One of these consequences is the emergence of a 'liminal space' in which other interactions of recognition are practiced and become salient: most importantly, Top Dog recognition via acting streetwise, i.e. a form of recognition that is both unintended and often unwanted by policy and professionals.

Streetwise interactions result in an experience of recognition within the sheltered workshop, but they do not necessarily facilitate recognition in the world of work outside it. It has been argued and shown before that street culture stands in direct contradiction to the humble, obedient modes of subservient social interaction that are essential for upward mobility (*Bourgeois, 2003, p. 142*). In this sense, streetwise interactions are born from an atomising discourse of participation, but they further inhibit any of the envisioned kinds of 'progress' (in terms of becoming more self-steering, more productive and transitioning to regular work) from being made. In this way, the research lines up with other studies that have shown that there is often a mismatch between good intentions on the institutional level, and unintended consequences on the ground (*Dalrymple, 2001; Enghersen, 2009; Goffman, 1961; Holmqvist, 2010; Van Hal, 2013*).

The identification of unintended consequences can inform our understanding of similar issues and contexts that reach beyond the workshops and co-workers included in this study. While the findings intend in no way to be 'formally generalisable' (*Flyvbjerg, 2006*) to all Dutch and Portuguese sheltered workshops, it is here that a part of the study's 'conceptual generalisability' lies (*Green & Thorogood, 2009, p. 226*): promising recognition without changing or securing the necessary institutional condi-

³¹ In theories of recognition, expectations are only sporadically mentioned. Hence, I believe much can be gained from actively studying people's aspirations and expectations. Future research would do well to further investigate this relationship between expectations and experiences of recognition from an empirical point of view.

tions – in this case, a lack of ‘meaningful’ work and a narrowly defined discourse of (self-steering and productive) participation – is susceptible to unintended consequences that in the long run weaken, rather than contribute to, well-intended goals of participation. Policymakers and professionals need to be more aware of the kind of expectations they help shape, if they want to understand the sometimes-explosive unintended consequences taking place on the work floor. The conversation with the Dutch care organisation CareWell is on-going in this regard.

One of the limitations of the study consists in the fact that speaking about unintended consequences is not without difficulties. First, it is extremely complicated to study professionals’ intentions or, even worse, the intentions of policy. As Engbersen (2009) argues, it is extremely complex to point out intentions on the level of the individual, let alone to identify intentions of larger groups of people or organisations such as CareWell (p. 25). Second, in identifying unintended consequences, I establish a relationship between institutions and experiences of recognition that is not just a relationship; it has a degree of causality to it. Causal relationships are difficult to establish, as they are seldom unambiguous or univocal (Engbersen, 2009, p. 95).

Nevertheless, by including the Portuguese case alongside the more dominant Dutch cases, it seems that a stronger link between discourses of participation and various intended, as well as unintended, forms of recognition could be established. Based on the empirical and comparative findings, in what follows I outline the study’s main implications for policy. I do so on three different levels. First, I make recommendations on the level of sheltered workshops. Second, I look at the labour market position of co-workers and offer some preliminary thoughts on what kind of work arrangements could be designed. Third, I look at the case of co-workers through a magnifying glass and question what it can teach us about the set-up of society for us all.

Letting love play a role

The Portuguese cases teach us something about expectations, but they also show us the value of actively working on, and facilitating, social and relational skills at the sheltered workshop.

Several studies have argued that Honneth’s conceptualisation of contributions is narrowly focused on (the middle-class, bourgeois man’s) productive work achievements (Owen, 2007; Van den Brink & Owen, 2007; Young, 2007): ‘Today, on Honneth’s account, self-esteem is tied to the achievement principle – that is to merit as a productive member of society’ (Owen, 2007, p. 313). Honneth too has admitted this and mentioned economic activity more explicitly as the normative reference point for evaluating people’s contributions in today’s society (2003, p. 141; 2007, p. 20). Other contributions such as social or artistic skills, altruism, courage, solidarity, or empathy do not standardly count as achievements, and this is not only the case in Honneth’s theory, but in meritocratic societies more generally (Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008).

The study showed that social and relational skills *can* become legitimate sources

of recognition at the sheltered workshops (and not only recognition as love, but also recognition as esteem, to use Honneth’s terms). What I identified as the second form of ‘Team Player’ recognition, not based on work but on something else, revolved around being a kind, caring, responsible, or generous colleague. Professionals like the Teacher and the Parent take the lead role in broadening what counts as a recognisable way of being, acting, and relating at work. Showing one’s good ‘character’, generosity, willpower, kindness, and helpfulness were regularly considered valuable contributions in the Portuguese workshops (see Chapter 8). These kinds of contributions are seldom acknowledged *as contributions* in the Dutch workshops, and in (European and national) policies of participation more generally.

The young men end in the Netherlands up in two of the three sheltered workshops (the ‘leftover projects’ – Repair and Gardens) (see Chapter 2) precisely *because* they cannot work together well. Many professionals believe that what stands in the way of young men’s transition to the regular labour market is not so much a lack of technical skills as it is a lack of social and relational skills. Still, very little efforts are put into designing or implementing support strategies aimed at the social and interpersonal aspects of work. Virtually no efforts are put into actively working on such skills, whereas methods focused on individuals, such as the ‘Personal Initiative Model’ (EIM), abound (see Chapter 4). An atomising discourse of labour participation, in combination with a culture of non-interference and a fear of paternalism, overshadow these priorities.

This is also a more general call not to determine beforehand what participation should look like, and to keep an openness towards how, where, and with whom people can participate. Co-workers are not only participating when they engage in self-steering and productive activities; they are also participating when they receive help from others, or when they care for others. Co-workers are not just participating when they work with a person *without* a mild intellectual disability; they are also participating when they work with other co-workers.

I am aware that this partly goes against the grain of what advocacy groups fight for and disability studies work towards, namely more community presence and participation – with community being everything outside sheltered and institutionalised environments – of people with disabilities (Goodley, 2011; Hall, 2010; Wilson, 2003). The prevailing idea is that social inclusion and participation do not occur in a sheltered environment, or in relations between people with disabilities. Hence, character skills or working on internal relations in sheltered environments is not considered a priority. Following a long history of exclusion and segregation, it is understandable where this comes from. However, I want to argue that this has gone too far, to a point where relations between co-workers, at least in the Dutch workshops, are considered completely irrelevant for the goal of participation.

Therefore, on an organisation level, Dutch sheltered workshops should include active work on, and facilitation of, internal relations, as well as the social, relational, and character skills needed for that. Not outstanding individual performance, but being a part of the whole, or devoting oneself to helping someone else, needs to

be fostered as additional sources of participation (and hence, recognition). This does not mean that everything is perfect in moments of Team Player recognition. Like every form of recognition, this one is intertwined with misrecognition too (see ‘Recognition’s imperfections’). Nevertheless, Team Player recognition seems to be a little more inclusive and democratic than Top Dog recognition. It seems to be available to more people, including co-workers.

In practical terms, a concrete and relatively simple advice would be for professionals at the Dutch workshops to put more efforts in the situations of Team Player recognition that are already happening. Instead of discouraging interactions between co-workers and insisting on making them work individually (*Chapter 7*), professionals should encourage moments of shared work. More efforts could be put in providing daily structures where co-workers can jointly engage in a work task, learn how to work together, and build on and complement (rather than compete with) each other’s strengths. In reference to the title of this book, I suggest that ‘when doing your best is not good enough, let us do it together’.

Creating Team Player jobs

As I elaborated on in the previous part, moments of togetherness with other co-workers and within a sheltered environment can certainly be of value. This does not mean to ignore that, at the same time, efforts need to be put into changing the institutional barriers that make the community outside sheltered workshops unwelcoming to people who cannot live up to the demands of productivity and self-management. The empirical findings of the book show that the labour market position of people like the ones in this research is still deplorable. On the one hand, we want them to participate through work, to be equal citizens, and we promise them they can. On the other hand, we do not really equip them, or society, to really make that happen.

While a social model of disability is now mainstream in prominent classificatory works such as The International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF), in the domain of work people with disabilities are asked to adapt to conditions of self-management and productivity of an ‘ablist’ society. The ultimate goal is to transcend the things for which they were set apart as different in the first place, like a partial dependence on professional support. In addition to being an atomising discourse of participation, we could therefore also describe it as a normalising discourse.

So how can we better equip society to include people who cannot fully live up to the demands of self-management and productivity without wanting to ‘normalise’ them? What kind of jobs do we need to create for this purpose? The case of Company, where co-workers are ‘detached’ to a regular company, provides a good start to think about this.

Company creates extra jobs for CareWell’s co-workers. Company breaks up existing functions into small work tasks and divides them amongst co-workers.

Plus, regular employees from Company can ask co-workers for help when they have too much work. Co-workers at Company do not have to perform *as well* as regular employees in terms of productivity and self-management. Nevertheless, their added value to Company is obvious: in addition to giving regular employees some breathing space and lowering the work pressure, co-workers allow Company to reduce its expenses through the cut-up functions. These seem to me valid reasons to treat co-workers in the same way as regular employees. First, by giving them the same Christmas present and letting them wear the same outfit as regular employees (rather than one that sets them apart as people from CareWell) and, second, by *paying* them for the work they do.

Since recent policy changes, the Dutch government has been working towards such a system of financial remuneration. As I explained in Chapter 2, with the introduction of the Participation Act in 2015, people with a distance to the labour market receive financial incentives to increase their wage value and earn (a percentage of) the Dutch minimum wage. This sounds promising. However, not all people are *as wanted* or *as desired* to fulfil these ‘extra’ jobs. With the current Participation Act, people with a wage value of more than 20% but less than 50% – like most of the co-workers currently working at Company, Gardens, and Repair – typically fall through the cracks. For the administering municipalities, it is cheaper to give them unemployment benefits than to put (and keep) them to work (*Mallee, 2013*). They are not ‘disabled enough’ to do occupational activities, receive permanent disability benefits (*Wajong*), and be exempt from the duty to find work (*see Chapter 2*), yet they are ‘too disabled’ to be put to work.

Put differently, under the Participation Act, the ‘extra’ jobs that are created for letting people with disabilities work in a regular work environment still abide by rules of self-management and productivity. The most productive workers and those who need less professional support are the cheapest, and therefore those who are prioritised, in terms of getting one of the ‘extra jobs’. The others are obliged to (look for) work in a regular work environment (*sollicitatieplicht*) on the one hand, but on the other hand there are no jobs for them. This seems to miss the point.

A good way forward would be to create extra jobs that are available to *all people*, including people who score below 50% of wage value, like the young men in this research. This would require the creation and allocation of extra jobs that are not guided by the principles of productivity and self-management, but by the principles of well-being and human rights. Perceiving work as a right means offering public sector jobs that are remunerated with a basic wage to *all people who can and want to work*.³² Different from the so-called

³² The idea of a ‘job guarantee programme’ is not new. In the Netherlands, it became a topic of discussion round about 1995 within the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) (De Rijk, 1995). Around the same time, it received attention in academia (economics) and led to writings about the benefits of a job guarantee programme for macro-economic policy, more specifically because of its built-in capacity for price stabilisation (Mitchell, 1998; Mosler, 1997). Currently, the idea is being revived. For example, see or listen to the (Dutch) lecture (Den Uyl lezing) titled ‘The underworld of the welfare state’ [*De onderwereld van de verzorgingsstaat*] (Frederik, 2017).

Melkertbanen,³³ the starting point is not the transition to the private sector, but the happiness, recognition, and social inclusion of people who otherwise remain at a distance from the labour market and suffer from isolation, loneliness, and low self-esteem.

If enough jobs offering a decent wage and decent conditions were available in the public sector, the *private* sector would also be obliged to improve the job conditions it offers to low-skilled people. For, when people can rely on a system that offers public sector jobs with a decent wage, there is not much holding people back from refusing to take a job with poor working conditions.

In order not to let it resemble a work-to-welfare system, the system of basic jobs can exist alongside welfare benefits. It means people can choose whether or not they want to work. However, the assumption is that, if enough jobs are available that fit people's capacities, that pay a decent, minimum wage, that are not flexible, temporary, etc., people will rather want to work and make themselves useful than sit at home. This assumption was strengthened during fieldwork. Consider Kevin, who received 1250 euros per month from disability benefits (*Wajong*), but emphasised that *'I don't get happy from sitting at home the whole day'*; or Marco, who regularly showed up at the sheltered workshop when he had a day off. People with often-limited social networks enjoy being amongst other people. They enjoy making themselves useful (or *trying* to make themselves useful in the case of the sheltered workshops where there is little work to do), and prefer going to work than sitting at home, bored and listless.

Creating extra jobs in the public sector requires that the meaning of what counts as a job, or what counts as work, needs some stretching. Instead of trying to 'normalise' people with (mild) intellectual disabilities or other people with a 'distance to the labour market' and making them adapt to labour market demands, labour market demands themselves need to be changed. In Winance's words, instead of working on normalisation, what we need to work on is the norm (2007). The norm, in this case, is (our conception of) work. I propose two ways in which our ideas and practices of work can be stretched.

First, broadening what counts as work means including activities that might not be indispensable, but that make places more pleasant, warm, and sociable. People can work as 'socialisers' in retirement homes; they can pack up foods at the counter of a supermarket; or fill up cars at the gas station. Although superficial, such jobs bring in a dimension of sociability (*Bredewold, Tonkens & Trappenburg, 2015, 2016*). People are encouraged to greet and thank each other, or to have a small chat and break with the individualistic mentality, the self-absorption, and the constant rush many (city) people daily find themselves in. By extension, what counts as a job could mean including care activities and volunteer work that often unevenly

³³ *Melkertbanen* were subsidised public sector jobs introduced by, and called after, the then Minister of Social Affairs and Employment, Ad Melkert. The aim of *Melkertbanen* was to give the long-term unemployed the opportunity to work and earn a basic wage (of a maximum of 1.2 times the minimum wage). The *Melkertbanen* were abolished around 2002 because only very few people managed to transition from such a job to the private sector.

burden the same citizens (women).

Second, stretching our notion of work means that we include jobs that alleviate the work pressure from others. Let us think about schools. Extra jobs could include a concierge, an auxiliary in the classroom, and an extra pair of eyes in the canteen during lunchtime. Some might immediately think that the young men in this study, because of their tough styles and behaviours, are ill suited to be present at schools. However, we can also envision this as an asset. With their particular backgrounds and experiences of unemployment, of bullying, and often of poverty, they could be able to create bonds with children who regular teachers – with a higher education and often with a different background – cannot always reach. As such, the young men could take on the role of Fellow (*Chapter 5*), and guide and support children from the position of a role model. Such guidance and support would not necessarily have to involve pedagogical techniques and methods, or the transference of particular knowledges, but could consist in having a daily chat and informing about how a child is doing.

In other words, such jobs do not require specific skills or excellence; they require a person to be, or learn to be, a Team Player. With 'learning' to be a Team Player, I mean normalising and including support in our conception of work too. Many of the young men in this study would not be able to work at the said public spaces all by themselves. Instead, they would need to be coupled with a colleague or a trained supervisor. Paying people a basic wage, while *also* providing (and paying for) support, is costly. However, when taking a more holistic approach to costs, and looking at what low self-esteem, psychological problems, criminal activities, etc. cost society in the long run, it might not be so costly after all.³⁴

Only on the level of schools, the creation of extra jobs could alleviate many teachers who get burned out because they cannot take a break over lunch (supervision in the canteen), or because they see some children are struggling but cannot make time for them. The same applies to hospitals, retirement homes, prisons, and other places where the work pressure is often (too) high. In the next and final part of this thesis, I continue to show how the creation of extra jobs, and the broadening of what counts as work (revaluing the Team Player) would not only benefit co-workers, but would benefit us all.

The magnifying glass

By revaluing the Team Player, I suggested we can create more realistic and 'warm' sheltered workshops, and having a job can become a basic right (*basisbanen*) for all people, including the young men in this study. Here, I want to suggest that revaluing the Team Player is important because it provides a counterbalance to the emphasis on merit and achievement that pervades society as a whole, and that affects all of us.

³⁴ For a similar line of argumentation on why it is cheaper to give homeless people money to get a place to live, (see Bregman, 2014).

Previously, we saw how Taylor and Honneth argued that basing esteem on individual achievements was necessary to individualise and equalise it (Honneth, 1995; Owen, 2007; Taylor 1994). The shift from ‘ancient’ to ‘modern’ societies is mainly considered a good one because it has equalised and democratised recognition. Other authors also identified a shift from classical to meritocratic societies in which one’s social position became less evident (Todorov, 2001; Walzer, 1983). But instead of understanding this shift as one from a traditional, unequal society to a modern, more equal society, they stress the unequal dimensions it produces. Walzer, for example, emphasises the instability and constant competition our ‘modern’ society implies: ‘[a] society of misters is a world of hope, effort, and endless anxiety’ (1983, p. 254). Hence, a society based on merit might be more equal and democratic than a society based on hierarchical ranks, but it also brought along a tiring, never-ending competition with definite winners and losers (Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008; Young, 1958).

These insights point to the importance of critically approaching the shadow-sides of meritocracies and paying attention to the position of those who are not the winners of the game. This is at least part of what I – inspired by many others before me (De Beer & van Pinxteren, 2016; Elsbout et al., 2016; Kampen, 2014; Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008; Young, 1958) – have attempted to do in this book. Despite doing the best they can, co-workers have a hard time feeling esteemed for their (individual work) achievements. They have educational degrees that are not worth much. They cannot live up to societal demands in terms of productivity and self-management. They have a hard time finding and maintaining a job. Consequently, they often struggle with maintaining self-esteem.

At least part of the problem, I argue, is the desire to constantly want to do or be the best, and to constantly feel one needs to do so in order to be valued and recognised by others. This desire is not restricted to the young men included in this study. Their self-stories and search for recognition are rather typical in a society that places so much emphasis on individual achievements, excellence, and competition (De Beer & van Pinxteren, 2016; Swierstra & Tonkens, 2008). I hold that co-workers’ situation can serve as a magnifying glass: they highlight how an achievement-principle invades other spheres of life more generally in a society that puts much pressure on merit and achievement as ways of being equal and of unique value.

When recognition is increasingly founded upon a principle of merit and individual achievements, it becomes a very insecure and unstable business. Like some of the young men’s stories showed (Chapter 6), they can earn friendship but it can slip away again in a minute. They can be treated with respect and be given privacy, but one wrong move can take these away from them. Recognition is already an unstable business from the mere fact that human beings are unpredictable, and that living together with other human beings inevitably requires a loss of control over how others see and recognise you (Markell, 2003). However, the increased emphasis on excelling and on achieving things makes the search for recognition of these young men in particular, and of all of us in general, an even more unstable business.

Paying attention to, and valuing moments of, group-work and care-work (‘Team Player’) in sheltered *and* ‘regular’ work environments could provide a counterweight to this dynamic. Team Player recognition is less susceptible to a never-ending race. In collective work and in caring for another person, one can be recognised and valued, but one cannot really compete or excel (see also Young, 2007).

The gain of valuing such moments (interactionally *and* institutionally) is twofold. It gives people like the young men in this research the opportunity to ‘participate’ more. But it also makes the workplace more pleasant for all of us. We all benefit from a work environment in which what counts is more than productivity, competition, and self-steering skills. When the conceptualisation of work includes Team Play, all of us get more freedom to ask for help. All of us get more freedom to show our strengths, but also our vulnerabilities. Like Romana Vrede recently recounted in a newspaper article concerning her intellectually disabled son (2018), by including people on the work floor who need more support, we learn about patience, about other ways of working, and about other ways of being ‘normal’. We learn about tolerance and are reminded that things do not have to be perfect all the time. We would all be freed from the burden of constantly wanting and needing to do better than we can. We would be reminded that doing our best is indeed good enough.

Summary.

When doing your best is not good enough *Shaping recognition in sheltered workshops*

The interplay of activating institutions,
professionals, co-workers, and a sociologist

PARTICIPATION AND RECOGNITION IN ACTIVATING WELFARE STATES

Full citizenship, inclusion, and participation of people with disabilities are important points on political agendas worldwide. Work is approached as the solution for less social exclusion and more participation of people with disabilities. Labour participation holds a big promise: it would give financial, social, and emotional gains, also or maybe especially in the case of people with mild intellectual disabilities, who have suffered (and often still suffer) from social exclusion.

One of the services that European member states designed to facilitate their participation on the labour market are sheltered workshops. While no official definition or overarching classification of different types of sheltered workshops exist, a general distinction is made between traditional and transitional ones. Traditional sheltered workshops provide permanent alternative employment to people with disabilities, while transitional ones are focused on their transition to the regular labour market. More and more transitional workshops are preferred because they would be more cost-beneficial.

Such transitional sheltered workshops, and young men diagnosed with a 'mild intellectual disability' working in them, stand central in this book. From this point onwards, they will be referred to as 'co-workers', the name they themselves preferred over 'clients' or 'people with mild intellectual disabilities'. As they reasoned, in the context of the sheltered workshops, they are primarily people who work on different projects, together with professionals and other young men. They literally 'co-work'.

The study starts with questioning whether being active and participating through work contributes to experiences of recognition. It attends to the power of institutions in shaping participation in a very specific way, and the implication this holds for experiencing oneself as a recognised and valued citizen. The central question of the study reads:

How is participation put into practice, and how does this shape co-workers' experiences of recognition?

In posing this question, it is assumed that discourses of participation shape young men's possibilities of being and feeling recognised. I investigate these discourses by looking at the ideals of participation that activating institutions articulate, and the ways they are put into practice by professionals working at the sheltered workshops on a daily basis.

In assuming a relationship between discourses of participation and experiences of recognition, the research includes a contrasting case, namely that of Portugal. It is expected that sheltered workshops in a country under the same umbrella of (influential) European participation policies, but with a distinct welfare history, put participation into practice in a different way. Potentially, experiences of recog-

dition would also be divergent in such a context.

As I explain in Chapter 1 of the book, a ‘recognition turn’ took place in social theory in the 1990s: ‘recognition’ became a new cornerstone and an increasingly debated concept in welfare studies. Political philosophers Axel Honneth and Nancy Fraser are two of the most prominent theorists of recognition.

Honneth is primarily concerned with the intersubjective, psychological, and emotional dimensions of recognition. He distinguishes between recognition as love, as respect, and as esteem. Relations of recognition are considered indispensable for people to develop their identities and practical self-relations (self-confidence, self-respect, self-esteem). For Fraser, not interactions between subjects, but the relations between institutions and individuals are fundamental for recognition, which she defines as equal participation in social life. Of crucial importance, then, are institutionalised patterns of value that allow, or do not allow, people to participate on an equal par.

The theoretical framework of the study highlights the usefulness of both theories and suggests combining them by turning to the broader sociological matter of ‘subjectification’. With such an approach, the focus lies on how subjects, their aspirations, and interactions of recognition (Honneth) are fundamentally shaped by institutionalised discourses of ‘good’ participation (Fraser). As such, the research attempts to make an empirical, but also a theoretical contribution, and work towards a conceptualisation of recognition that is useful for empirically founded, sociological research.

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

In this book, I am looking for co-workers’ experiences of recognition, and assume that these do not emerge out of nowhere, but are embedded in, and shaped by, the interplay of participation policies, professional practices, and daily interactions. It is this relationality, and the wish to research what recognition looks like ‘from the inside out’, that guided the set-up of the research. In Chapter 2, I describe its qualitative approach and the methods used, with participant observation being the main one.

Over the course of two years of fieldwork, I followed a total of 53 co-workers, 40 professionals working at the sheltered workshops on a daily basis, and 11 managers and coordinators in six different sheltered workshops. Both in the Dutch and Portuguese context, three similar types of sheltered workshops were selected: a technical workshop, a green-maintenance workshop, and a workshop whose similarity does not derive from the same type of work-activities but from its embeddedness in a regular company.

In spite of the existing literature from different fields (political theory, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, pedagogy), recognition is not an easy concept to research. We cannot see recognition, we cannot smell it, touch it, taste it. It might

not even mean the same to different people. In approaching the main concept of recognition, the study therefore combines a variety of elements.

First, I go back and forth between broad observations and sensitising literature. Second, attention is paid to value constructions on the level of policy, professionals, and co-workers themselves. What ways of working, behaving, relating at the sheltered workshop are constructed as legitimate sources of recognition, both verbally and practically, i.e. what are co-workers proud of, what do they brag about, who do they make fun of? Third, co-workers are interviewed about their understandings and experiences of (mis)recognition.

Finally, assuming that recognition has an emotional aspect to it, efforts are put into observing and sensing co-workers’ emotions. Getting to know the young men personally, almost as friends, and bringing in my own emotions and sensitivity, I try to distinguish between moments in which co-workers feel enthusiastic, happy or elated, and moments in which they feel unhappy, bored or miserable. It means I appoint heuristic value to my personal emotions in the field and, by bringing them through a moment of reflection, explore in what ways they can be productive for arriving at a deeper understanding of the concept of recognition.

‘WE DON’T FEEL THAT WAY AT ALL’

Who are these young men – co-workers – who are the main characters in this book? What stories do they tell about themselves? One thing becomes immediately clear: they do not want to be seen or recognised as clients or as people with a mild intellectual disability. Stories about people they consider to be ‘real’ clients or to ‘deserve’ the diagnosis of mild intellectual disability evoke (negative) associations with dependence, abnormality, and a lack of progress in life. Linked to this, the few moments in which co-workers did identify as clients or people with an intellectual disability resulted in harm, feelings of shame, and misrecognition.

Against a background of being liable to misrecognition, co-workers tell a variety of self-stories. In Chapter 3, I group these stories together into four narratives: ‘I am a little bit spastic’; ‘I had a rough life’; ‘I am a bad boy’; and ‘We are all interdependent’. The different self-stories show, first of all, that the young men do not completely ignore the difficulties they come across in life. Second, they show that co-workers seek and find various ways of escaping potential experiences of misrecognition. On the one hand, they assign their difficulties to other, less shameful diagnoses. On the other hand, they explain their difficulties in such a way that it makes them less susceptible to negative evaluations and judgments. For example, it is less shameful to be ‘stuck’ at the sheltered workshop when it is a matter of bad luck, or when you ended up there because of your actions as a bad boy, than when it is because of your intellectual limitations.

Analysing co-workers’ self-stories, what is striking is that the first three narratives all (re)produce the discourse that once made them feel ashamed and misrec-

ognised: a discourse in which dependence, ‘abnormality’, and stagnation in life are negative. It is either something you need to get away from, something you need to be able to justify, prove you are not responsible for, or give a different meaning to. Only the fourth narrative (‘We are all interdependent’) slightly changes the discourse of (in)dependence. Dependence is no longer defined as undesirable or negative, but as a universal, human given.

In what follows, it becomes clear that the emphasis on dependence, ‘abnormality’, and lack of progress, which becomes apparent in young men’s self-stories, is deeply engrained in policies of participation.

WHAT ‘GOOD’ PARTICIPATION IS ABOUT

In the Netherlands, like in many other European countries, participation is presented as a panacea that can heal a range of social ills and combine a variety of goals. When looking more closely at European, national, and local policy documents, two aims stand out. In encouraging the participation of people with disabilities, policy puts great emphasis on ‘self-steering’ and ‘productive’ work participation. Self-steering participation refers to a number of ideals such as self-reliance, self-control, personal choice, and independence. With productive participation, what is highlighted is that people have the responsibility to (learn to) contribute productively to society. Participation is, then, not merely about partaking in work activities, but about making products and delivering services that can be sold.

Self-management and productivity are juxtaposed in policy texts – at times explicitly, others implicitly – with what co-workers previously identified as shameful, namely participation that is non-productive, stagnant, and dependent on professional support.

Policy has ideas about recognition too. The more productive and self-steering co-workers become, so it is assumed, the more they will feel valued and recognised. Sporadically, policy hints at other possible sources of recognition, for example, through creating meaningful relationships with others. Policy’s emphasis on self-management and productivity is summarised in Chapter 4 as an ‘atomising’ discourse of participation: what counts as good participation is predominantly based on co-workers’ individual efforts to become more self-steering, on the one hand, and to take up responsibility for productively contributing to society, on the other hand.

While policy texts present the ideals of self-management and productivity as an immaculate combination, I describe their combination as being more problematic. On the one hand, people are obliged to participate and contribute productively to society; on the other hand, they need to be left free to make their own choices. The first people in line to deal with these tensions are professionals supervising co-workers at the sheltered workshops on a daily basis.

PUTTING PARTICIPATION INTO PRACTICE

How do professionals put policy’s atomising discourse of participation into practice? In concrete aspects of work at the sheltered workshop – attending the place, initiating, and executing work tasks – the tensions between self-management and productivity become very clear. In their support practices, professionals sometimes fully embrace the policy discourse and stand in a ‘consonant’ relation to its goals, while at other times they reject parts of the discourse and act more in ‘dissonance’ with it. In Chapter 5, this distinction becomes the basis for crystallising different professionals ‘roles’: the (consonant) Director, and the (more dissonant) Teacher and Fellow.

The Director focuses on co-workers’ personal choices, wants them to take initiative, to work individually, and to develop their technical skills. Most in line with policy discourse, the Director tries (but often fails) to uphold both goals of productivity and self-management at the same time. By contrast, the Fellow and the Teacher refer to policy’s instructions of self-management and productivity, but hold that they are often untenable in practice. The Teacher assigns tasks without being too concerned about whether or not this is what the client ‘really wants’ (self-management) and without being concerned about being too directive. The Fellow neither nudges nor intervenes directly, but tries to make co-workers more productive and skilled by giving the example.

On balance, at the Dutch workshops, the professional role of Director emerged as the most common. As such, after passing through the hands of professionals, policy’s discourse of participation predominantly remains the same: it is still ‘atomising’. Participation is geared towards co-workers’ individual efforts to become more self-steering, on the one hand, and to productively contribute to society, on the other hand. Under such a discourse of participation, how do co-workers understand and search for recognition?

THE DESIRE TO OUTSHINE

Young men’s understandings of recognition closely resemble Honneth’s three forms of recognition. In Chapter 6, we first see that they explain recognition as something that needs to be earned and that can be communicated by valuing the other (either materially or symbolically) for his contributions and achievements (Honneth’s ‘esteem’). Second, they frame recognition as a moral imperative: all human beings have the right to be recognised. In this sense, recognition is about treating others equally, ‘normally’, and letting them live the life they choose to live (Honneth’s ‘respect’). Third, co-workers explain recognition in terms of the unique relationships of trust and loyalty they have with friends, family, lovers, and pets (Honneth’s ‘love’).

When moving from interviews to observations, a striking discrepancy appears

between what the young men say and what they do. While their understandings of recognition are diverse (recognition as esteem, respect, love), their search for recognition is coloured by esteem and by a principle of merit. Co-workers repeatedly want to have more than someone else, be better than others, and show off about it. In their search for love (friendships), they compete over who is most loved and who has the most friends on Facebook. In their search for respect (equal treatment), they compete over who is the most intelligent and independent individual. The principle of merit, theoretically linked only to the domain of esteem, overshadows the other principles of universality (respect) and care (love).

Interestingly enough, it becomes unclear in such moments whether the young men are searching for love, respect, or esteem. Theoretically, this implies there is a blurring of Honneth's tripartite classification of recognition. When showing off about how loved they are, the young men search for love, but also for esteem, in the sense that they try to distinguish themselves from, and be better than, others. When emphasising how smart and independent they are, they search for respect, but again, also for esteem. Love and respect are turned into forms of recognition that have a structure similar to esteem – where you have winners and losers who are judged on the basis of their individual achievements and contributions.

Empirically, it seems that the previously identified atomising discourse of participation profoundly enters co-workers' search for recognition. They are mainly looking for ways in which they can excel individually, have more, or be better than somebody else. However, when recalling policymakers and professionals who envision such excellence on the basis of work-related (productive and self-steering) achievements, what stands out is that co-workers have a much broader and creative understanding of excellence. Plenty of other activities and characteristics are invoked to obtain a special status or distinct position at the sheltered workshop, e.g. being a potent and dominant man, a loyal friend, acting smart, or being independent.

WORKING ALONE, ACTING TOUGH, CARING TOGETHER

What do situations of recognition actually look like at the Dutch sheltered workshops? Where and how did I notice young men experience recognition? I hold that this question requires more than the mere combination of the previously discussed elements (ideas about 'good' participation, professional practices, and young men's understandings of, and search for, recognition). It also requires attending to immediate situations and interactions between people, for example by paying attention to bodies and emotions. Chapter 7 meticulously describes situations at the sheltered workshops in terms of bodily activities and emotions, with the aim of evocatively recalling co-workers' experiences of recognition.

A first situation shows Dylan – a co-worker who has a driving license – delivering food to residential clients by car. On his round, he receives compliments and gratitude from multiple people. He gets a special status, and communicates he is

the 'boss' of the delivery service. Dylan is allowed to do what both he and other co-workers perceive as 'real', independent, urgent work. His experience of recognition emerges from standing out from the crowd of co-workers who do not have special (work) skills (like a driving license). What Dylan feels recognised for are his individual work achievements and his position as the 'best' or most 'talented' worker at the sheltered workshop more generally.

This kind of recognition is actively encouraged by policy and professionals (and desired by co-workers too), but is reserved for the few, like Dylan, who best mimic 'normal' workers in terms of self-management and productivity – characteristics that are favoured in the regular labour market and, by extension, in the sheltered workshops too. For the others, there are hardly any serious work tasks on offer. They feel drained, bored, and frustrated.

However, far from being completely deprived of recognition, co-workers repeatedly find recognition through participating at work in ways that are not fostered by policy and by the dominant professional role. A detailed description of emotions and bodies in a streetwise, bullying situation leads to identifying a second empirical form of recognition. It resembles Dylan's experience of recognition in the sense that it too is based on living up to atomising ideals of excelling, competing, and outshining others, only this time not through work achievements, but through acting streetwise. Both situations are instances of what I call 'Top Dog recognition': who or what is recognised is the best and most talented individual in any kind of endeavour.

More sporadically, co-workers engage in situations that generate a form of recognition that I refer to as 'Team Player recognition'. In these situations, (humble) contributions to the group, or to members of the group, become the basis for recognition. Feelings of recognition are not generated because one outdoes others, but because one becomes part of a group. In this regard, a first situation describes the dismantling of a greenhouse, and the very corporeal generation of Team Player recognition for the workers involved, including myself. Team Player recognition could be obtained via shared work, but also through other things: for example, through jointly caring for a fellow colleague's daily insulin injection.

Yet, the strong atomising discourse of participation, and Directors' active discouragement of togetherness, marginalised situations of Team Player recognition at the Dutch sheltered workshops.

SHARING SUCCESS AND SANCTIONS

In the Dutch context described above, the discourse of participation is predominantly atomising, and it fundamentally shapes co-workers' experiences of recognition. In Chapter 8, the contrasting case of Portugal shows that participation could also be put into practice in a less atomising, more 'communalising' way.

In terms of professional roles, I show in Chapter 8 that not the (consonant)

Director, but the (dissonant) Teacher appears most dominant. In addition, a fourth professional role, that of the Parent, emerges. The Parent actively teaches co-workers how to behave and relate to others, as colleagues and as human beings more generally. The Parent is emotionally close to his co-workers, or at times even intrusive. The atmosphere is affectionate, but also hierarchical.

With the Teacher and the Parent as dominant roles, the team is the most important unit, as opposed to the individual in the Dutch sheltered workshops. Co-workers are held responsible as a group for fulfilling tasks that professionals assign to them. Working together is framed as benefitting everyone because people can complement each other. When co-workers do their work well, they share the success, but when they do not, they also share the sanctions. The discourse of participation takes the form of what can be termed a ‘communalising’ discourse: participation at work is interpreted and strived for by developing workers’ social and relational skills in an affective, yet hierarchical, work-environment. Under such a discourse, what happens to experiences of recognition?

Descriptions of concrete situations at the Portuguese workshops show that, under a communalising discourse of participation, co-workers predominantly long for, and experience, Team Player recognition: who or what is recognised is the ‘caring worker’, who looks after his colleagues, and shows concern and attention during particular work tasks. As previously argued, discourses of participation shape what becomes possible in terms of experiences and interactions of recognition. The Portuguese case strengthens and refines this argument.

In contrast to their Dutch counterparts, the Portuguese workers seem better prepared for a labour market that is, despite all policy measures, not very welcoming to people who are low-skilled and who do not perform well in terms of productivity and self-management. At the sheltered workshop, they are taught that they will have to obey and make big efforts in order to be valued for their work contributions, but also that they can compensate with social and relational skills. However, the combination of affection and hierarchy, of being for others instead of (only) for oneself, also entails some risks. The Portuguese co-workers are disciplined into subservient and docile workers who get little chance of ever transcending their position as low-skilled workers.

THE AMBIVALENCE OF RECOGNITION

Welfare arrangements and work institutions are not morally neutral: they have strong views on what are recognisable ways of participating and what are not. In this dissertation, I have explored the relation between these discourses of participation and the experiences of recognition of, in this case, young men working in sheltered workshops.

Under the atomising discourse of participation that was found to be dominant at the Dutch sheltered workshops, it was expected that co-workers would feel valued

for being hard workers, for working independently, being skilled, taking initiative, and excelling in a particular task. This form of recognition was referred to as ‘Top Dog recognition’, signalling the emphasis on merit, achievements, and individual dominance over others. Despite many efforts from professionals, under current labour market conditions, Top Dog recognition via work achievements was unattainable for the majority of co-workers. Instead, Top Dog recognition via streetwise achievements burgeoned. These findings highlight how harmful it is to promise esteem to co-workers and convince them that their individual work achievements can be unique and valuable, when daily experiences tell them they are not.

The contrasting case of Portuguese sheltered workshops showed a different picture. While a similar atomising discourse of participation was at play in national policies, it was put into practice very differently, and amounted to what was described as a communalising discourse. Under such a discourse, co-workers regularly produced and experienced moments of Team Player recognition. Team Player recognition occurred sporadically at the Dutch workshops too, but was actively foreclosed by an atomising discourse of participation and its dominant professional role. Reflecting on these findings, what can they teach us regarding theory on the one hand, and policy on the other hand?

In Chapter 9, I set out the main implications of the research. Theoretically, the research contributes to the ‘sociologisation’ of recognition, and does so in three ways. First, it suggests paying attention to bodies and collective achievements (which are largely absent from theories of recognition) as a way of amplifying and concretising a fundamental condition of recognition, namely its ‘intersubjectivity’. Recognition involves physical elements, and can be produced through practical and bodily engagements with others and with the world.

Second, a relational approach to recognition is advocated, one that combines institutions and interactions by looking at how they work together in shaping recognisable subjects and activities. Such an approach combines Honneth’s focus on interactions with Fraser’s focus on institutions by examining how institutionalised patterns of value transform co-workers into subjects with very particular self-stories, aspirations, and ways of searching for recognition. Comparing the findings from Dutch sheltered workshops with those from the Portuguese strengthens this argument: co-workers hold different expectations and experience other forms of recognition in different institutional contexts.

Third, the thesis suggests that misrecognition is enfolded in different ways, and to varying degrees, in various empirical forms of recognition. A call is made to take situations that give rise to less perfect forms of recognition seriously, namely those that are skewed, involving only peers, or that are based on excluding and even hurting others, like the streetwise kind that was recurrent at the Dutch sheltered workshops. Such forms of recognition lead us to compromise recognition’s perfectionist character, acknowledge its unequalising mechanisms, and study its ambivalence.

Empirically, the study suggests that the role of the Team Player needs to be revalued in sheltered workshops, in the labour market, and in society more gener-

ally. To start, Dutch sheltered workshops should include active work on, and facilitation of, internal relations. Being a part of the whole, or devoting oneself to helping another person, need to be fostered as additional sources of participation (and hence, recognition). In reference to the title of this book, I suggest that ‘when doing your best is not good enough, let us do it together’.

On the level of the labour market, extra jobs need to be created and made available to all people, including co-workers like the young men in this research who are currently considered too expensive to work in a regular work environment. This would require the creation and allocation of jobs that are not guided by principles of productivity and self-management, but by principles of well-being, recognition, and human rights. Having a job with decent conditions and a decent wage become basic rights in this stream of thought.

Finally, on the level of society, revaluing the Team Player can provide a counterbalance to the emphasis on merit that pervades society as a whole, and that affects all of us. Co-workers’ situation serves as a magnifying glass here: it highlights how an achievement-principle invades other spheres of life more generally. Recognition is an unstable business in general, but becomes even more so when it comes to depend on principles of personal merit and competition. Paying attention to, and valuing moments of, group-work and care-work (‘Team Player’) in which one cannot really compete or excel, could provide a counterweight to this dynamic. It would free all of us from the burden of constantly wanting and needing to do better than others or better than we can. It would remind us that doing our best is already good enough.

Samenvatting.

Als je best doen niet goed genoeg is *Hoe erkenning vorm krijgt in beschutte werkplaatsen*

Het samenspel van activerende instituties,
begeleiders, mede-werkers, en een socioloog

PARTICIPATIE EN ERKENNING IN ACTIVERENDE VERZORGINGSSTATEN

Wereldwijd zijn volwaardig burgerschap, inclusie en participatie van mensen met een beperking belangrijke punten op de politieke agenda. Werk wordt benaderd als de oplossing voor minder sociale uitsluiting en meer participatie van mensen met beperkingen. Arbeidsparticipatie omvat een grote belofte: het zou financiële, sociale en emotionele baten hebben, ook, of misschien met name, in het geval van mensen met een licht verstandelijke beperking die (een geschiedenis van) sociale uitsluiting kennen.

Een van de voorzieningen die Europese lidstaten ontwierpen om mensen met verstandelijke beperkingen te 'activeren' via werk, zijn beschutte werkplaatsen. Ondanks het feit dat er geen officiële definitie of overkoepelende classificatie van verschillende soorten beschutte werkplaatsen bestaat, wordt regelmatig een onderscheid gemaakt tussen 'traditionele' en 'transitionele' beschutte werkplaatsen. Traditionele werkplaatsen verschaffen permanente, alternatieve tewerkstelling aan mensen met beperkingen. Transitionele werkplaatsen daarentegen, zijn gericht op hun doorstromen naar de reguliere arbeidsmarkt. Steeds vaker worden transitionele beschutte werkplaatsen verkozen boven traditionele, omdat ze kosteneffectiever zouden zijn.

Zulke transitionele beschutte werkplaatsen, en de daarin werkende jonge mannen die gediagnosticeerd zijn met een 'licht verstandelijke beperking', staan centraal in dit boek. In dit boek worden zij 'mede-werkers' genoemd, de naam die zij zelf verkozen boven 'cliënten' of 'mensen met een licht verstandelijke beperking'. Want, zoals zij redeneerden, zijn ze binnen de context van de beschutte werkplaats primair mensen die 'mee werken' aan tal van werkzaamheden.

In het onderzoek wordt vertrokken vanuit de vraag of actief meedoen en participeren via werk bijdraagt aan ervaringen van erkenning. Er wordt daarbij aandacht geschonken aan de manieren waarop instituties vormgeven aan participatie, en aan de invloed die dit uitoeft op de mogelijkheden voor burgers om zich erkend en gewaardeerd te voelen. De centrale vraag van het onderzoek luidt:

*Hoe wordt participatie in de praktijk gebracht, en hoe vormt dit de
ervaringen van erkenning van mede-werkers?*

Met deze vraag wordt verondersteld dat participatiediscoursen de gevoelens van erkenning van de jonge mannen in dit onderzoek mede bepalen. Ik onderzoek zulke discoursen door te kijken naar wat betrokken, activerende instituties zoals zorginstellingen en de arbeidsmarkt onder 'goede' participatie verstaan, en hoe participatie in de praktijk wordt gebracht door begeleiders die mede-werkers op dagelijkse basis ondersteunen.

In het onderzoek maak ik tevens gebruik van een contrasterende casus, name-

lijk beschutte werkplaatsen in Portugal: een land onder dezelfde (invloedrijke) koepel van Europees participatiebeleid, maar met een ongelijksoortige verzorgingsstaat. Anders dan in Nederland werd de ontwikkeling van de Portugese verzorgingsstaat belemmerd door een decennialange dictatuur, waardoor familie-netwerken en liefdadigheidsinstellingen tot ver in de 20ste eeuw belangrijk bleven. Ook in de huidige staat wordt Portugal getypeerd als een land waar idealen zoals burgerschap, autonomie, en keuzevrijheid in de zorg slechts moeilijk voet aan de grond krijgen. Verwacht werd dat participatie in een dergelijke context anders in de praktijk gebracht zou worden. Mogelijkerwijs zouden daardoor ook de ervaringen van erkenning van mede-werkers verschillen.

Zoals ik uiteenzet in Hoofdstuk 1, deed het concept erkenning in de jaren '90 zijn intrede in grote sociologische, politieke, en filosofische debatten. Erkenning werd een kernconcept dat met name veel besproken werd in studies over de verzorgingsstaat. Politiek filosofen Axel Honneth en Nancy Fraser gelden als twee van de meest befaamde theoretici van erkenning.

Honneth houdt zich in de eerste plaats bezig met de intersubjectieve, psychologische en emotionele dimensies van erkenning. Hij brengt een onderscheid aan tussen erkenning als liefde, als respect, en als waardering. Relaties van erkenning worden onmisbaar geacht voor het ontwikkelen van identiteiten en positieve zelf-relaties (zoals zelfvertrouwen, zelfrespect, zelfwaardering). Voor Fraser zijn niet de interacties tussen subjecten, maar de relaties tussen instituties en individuen fundamenteel voor erkenning. Zij definieert erkenning als gelijkwaardige deelname in de maatschappij. Cruciaal daarbij zijn wat zij 'geinstitutionaliseerde waardepatronen' noemt, die mensen in staat stellen, of verhinderen, om op gelijke voet te participeren.

Het theoretische geraamte van dit onderzoek is grotendeels gebaseerd op de erkenningstheorieën van Honneth en Fraser. In plaats van deze twee theoretische invalshoeken met elkaar te vergelijken en hiërarchisch te rangschikken (zoals vaak gedaan wordt), probeer ik ze in deze studie te combineren. Dat doe ik aan de hand van de algemenere sociologische kwestie van 'subjectivering'. Met een dergelijke benadering richt ik me op hoe subjecten, hun aspiraties, en interacties van erkenning (Honneth) fundamenteel gevormd worden door geïstitutionaliseerde discoursen van 'goede' participatie (Fraser). Op die manier wordt getracht zowel een empirische als een theoretische bijdrage te leveren en toe te werken naar een benadering van erkenning die bruikbaar is voor empirisch gefundeerd, sociologisch onderzoek.

EEN ETNOGRAFIE VAN BESCHUTTE WERKPLAATSEN

In dit boek ben ik op zoek naar de ervaringen van erkenning van mede-werkers, en veronderstel ik dat deze niet zomaar ontstaan maar ingebed zijn in, en gevormd worden door, het samenspel van participatiebeleid, begeleidingspraktijken, en dagelijkse interacties. Het is deze relationaliteit en de wens om te onderzoeken hoe erken-

ning er 'van binnen' uitziet, die de opzet van het onderzoek bepaalden. In Hoofdstuk 2 treed ik onder andere in detail over de kwalitatieve benadering van het onderzoek en de voornaamste methode, die van participerende observatie, die gebruikt werd.

In de loop van twee jaar veldwerk volgde ik 53 medewerkers, 40 begeleiders, en 11 managers en coördinatoren in zes verschillende beschutte werkplaatsen. Zowel in de Nederlandse als in de Portugese context werden drie soortgelijke beschutte werkplaatsen geselecteerd: twee technische werkplaatsen, twee werkplaatsen voor groenonderhoud, en twee workshops waarvan de gelijkensis niet voortkomt uit hetzelfde type werkactiviteit, maar uit het feit dat het ging om detachering bij een regulier bedrijf.

Ondanks bestaande literatuur in verschillende vakgebieden (politieke theorie, filosofie, sociologie, antropologie, pedagogie), is erkenning geen gemakkelijk te onderzoeken concept. Je kan erkenning niet zien, ruiken, aanraken, of proeven. Misschien betekent het niet eens hetzelfde voor verschillende mensen. Om erkenning te bestuderen combineer ik in dit onderzoek daarom een verscheidenheid aan elementen.

Ten eerste wisselde ik aftussen brede observaties en sensibiliserende literatuur (sensitising literature). Ten tweede besteedde ik aandacht aan hoe vanuit beleid en door begeleiders en mede-werkers zelf, ideeën en praktijken over 'waarde' worden geconstrueerd. Wat voor activiteiten, gedragingen, en manieren van met anderen om te gaan worden gepresenteerd als legitieme bronnen van erkenning in de beschutte werkplaatsen, zowel via woorden, als via daden, d.w.z. waar zijn mede-werkers trots op, waar scheppen ze over op, op wie kijken ze neer? Ten derde werden mede-werkers geïnterviewd over hun opvattingen over, en ervaringen van, erkenning en miskennis.

Tot slot, en ervan uitgaande dat erkenning een emotionele dimensie omvat, probeerde ik de emoties van mede-werkers te observeren en aan te voelen. Door de jonge mannen persoonlijk, bijna als vrienden te leren kennen, en gebruik te maken van mijn empathisch vermogen, probeerde ik een onderscheid te maken tussen momenten waarop mede-werkers zich enthousiast, gelukkig of opgetogen voelen, en momenten waarop ze zich ongelukkig, verveeld of ellendig voelen. Dit impliceert dat ik heuristische waarde toeken aan mijn eigen emoties in het veld. Door er op te reflecteren en ze expliciet te maken in de tekst, tast ik af hoe de emoties van een onderzoeker kunnen bijdragen aan een beter begrip van het onderzochte concept, in dit geval, erkenning.

'ZO VOELEN WIJ ONS HELEMAAL NIET'

Wie zijn eigenlijk deze jonge mannen, de mede-werkers, die de hoofdrol spelen in dit boek? Wat voor verhalen vertellen ze over zichzelf? Eén ding is zeker, en dat is dat ze noch gezien of erkend willen worden als cliënten, noch als mensen met een licht verstandelijke beperking. Via hun verhalen over 'echte' cliënten en over mensen die de diagnose volgens hen wél verdienen, komt aan het licht dat ze vooral

bezig zijn met zich te distantiëren van (negatieve) associaties van afhankelijkheid, abnormaliteit, en stilstand in hun (professionele) leven. In het verlengde daarvan, wordt uit verhalen van mede-werkers' duidelijk dat de geringe momenten waarop zij zich toch identificeren met de labels van cliënt of licht verstandelijke beperking, ze geconfronteerd worden met gevoelens van schaamte, stigma, en miskennen.

In een context waar miskennen constant op de loer ligt, presenteren mede-werkers zichzelf via andere verhalen. In Hoofdstuk 3 breng ik die verhalen onder in vier verschillende narratieven: 'ik ben een beetje spastisch', 'ik had een zwaar leven', 'ik ben een bad boy', en 'we zijn allemaal van elkaar afhankelijk'.

Ten eerste laten deze vier narratieven zien dat de jonge mannen hun diagnose niet omarmen, maar dat ze de moeilijkheden waar ze tegenaan botsen in hun leven evenmin volledig negeren. Ten tweede laten de narratieven zien dat mede-werkers verschillende manieren zoeken, en ook vinden, om te ontsnappen aan potentiële ervaringen van miskennen. Aan de ene kant doen ze dat door hun problemen toe te wijzen aan andere, minder beschamende diagnoses. Aan de andere kant verklaren ze hun problemen op zo'n manier dat ze minder vatbaar worden voor negatieve evaluaties en oordelen. Het is bijvoorbeeld minder beschamend om langdurig in de beschutte werkplaats te blijven zitten (gebrek aan vooruitgang in professionele leven) wanneer het een kwestie van pech is, of wanneer je daar terecht bent gekomen door je eigen handelingen als streetwise en stoere jongen.

Door de verhalen die de jonge mannen over zichzelf vertellen te analyseren, valt op dat de eerste drie narratieven allemaal een discours (re)produceren waarin afhankelijkheid, 'abnormaliteit', en stilstand in het leven negatief zijn. Telkens opnieuw zijn het dingen waar je je van moet distantiëren, die je moet kunnen rechtvaardigen, bewijzen dat je er niet verantwoordelijk voor bent, of waar je een andere betekenis aan moet geven. Enkel in het vierde narratief ('we zijn allemaal van elkaar afhankelijk') lijkt het discours van afhankelijkheid deels veranderd te worden. Afhankelijkheid wordt dan niet meer als onwenselijk of negatief gedefinieerd, maar als een universeel en menselijk gegeven.

De obsessie van mede-werkers om afstand te nemen van stempels die associaties oproepen met 'abnormaal' zijn, dom, en afhankelijk, wordt begrijpelijker door te kijken naar beleidsdiscoursen en hun duiding van 'goede' participatie als zelfstandige, productieve, en progressieve participatie.

WAAR 'GOEDE' PARTICIPATIE OM DRAAIT

Zoals in veel andere Europese landen, wordt participatie in Nederland gepresenteerd als een wondermiddel dat meerdere sociale kwalen tegelijkertijd kan genezen. Bij nadere beschouwing van Europese, nationale, en lokale beleidsdocumenten over participatie van mensen met (licht verstandelijke) beperkingen springen met name twee doelstellingen in het oog. Enerzijds wordt in beleid een grote nadruk gelegd op zelfsturende participatie, anderzijds op productieve participatie. Onder

zelfsturende participatie vallen tal van idealen zoals zelfontplooiing, eigen keuzes kunnen maken, zelfstandig leren zijn, en 'eigen regie' te nemen. Met productieve participatie wordt bedoeld dat mensen verantwoordelijk zijn om via werk productief bij te dragen, of te leren bijdragen, aan de samenleving. Participatie draait dan niet louter om deel te nemen aan werkactiviteiten, maar ook om het produceren van producten en diensten die verkocht kunnen worden.

Deze twee doelstellingen staan centraal in wat telt als 'goede' of de 'ideale' participatie waar mensen, zoals ook de jonge mannen in dit onderzoek, naar moeten streven. Zelfsturing en productiviteit worden in beleid soms expliciet, soms impliciet, gecontrasteerd met datgene wat mede-werkers eerder als beschamend benoemden, namelijk participatie die niet productief is, geen vooruitgang kent, en steunt op hulp en ondersteuning van begeleiders.

Gekoppeld daaraan, worden in beleid ook ideeën over erkenning geformuleerd. Hoe productiever en zelfsturender een mede-werker wordt, zo is de aanname, hoe meer hij zich gewaardeerd en erkend zal voelen. Slechts sporadisch wordt in participatiebeleid verwezen naar mogelijke andere bronnen van erkenning, bijvoorbeeld erkenning door middel van zinvolle relaties met anderen aan te gaan.

De beleidsmatige nadruk op zelfsturing en productiviteit vat ik in Hoofdstuk 4 samen in de term van een individugericht, atomiserend participatiediscours (atomising discourse): wat geldt als goede participatie is grotendeels gebaseerd op de individuele inspanningen van mede-werkers om zelfsturender te worden enerzijds, en om productief bij te (leren) dragen aan de maatschappij anderzijds.

Ondanks het feit dat in beleid zelfsturing en productiviteit worden gepresenteerd als een harmonieuze combinatie, beargumenteer ik dat ze juist op gespannen voet met elkaar kunnen staan. Aan de ene kant worden mede-werkers verplicht om productief deel te nemen en een bijdrage te leveren aan de samenleving; aan de andere kant moeten ze vrijgelaten worden en hun eigen keuzes kunnen maken. De eerste mensen die zulke ingewikkelde tegenstellingen van beleid in de praktijk moeten brengen, zijn begeleiders die mede-werkers op een dagelijkse basis ondersteuning bieden in de beschutte werkplaatsen.

HOE PARTICIPATIE IN DE PRAKTIJK WORDT GEBRACHT

Hoe brengen professionals het atomiserende participatiediscours van beleid in de praktijk? In concrete en dagelijks terugkerende activiteiten in de beschutte werkplaats, zoals dagelijks komen opdagen, werktaken aangaan, en ze uitvoeren, worden de spanningen tussen zelfsturing en productiviteit onvermijdelijk. Soms omarmen en reproduceren begeleiders het atomiserende beleidsdiscours volledig; dan staan ze in een zogenaamde 'consonante' verhouding tot de geformuleerde beleidsdoelen. Op andere momenten distantiëren ze zich van beleidsdoelen en verhouden ze zich op een 'dissonantere' manier tot het heersende participatiediscours. In Hoofdstuk 5 worden op basis van dit onderscheid drie verschillende

begeleidersrollen gedestilleerd die professionals op verschillende momenten aannemen: ik spreek van de (consonante) Regisseur, de (dissonante) Docent en het (eveneens dissonante) Maatje.

De Regisseur concentreert zich op de persoonlijke keuzes van mede-werkers, wil dat zij eigen initiatief tonen, spoort hen aan om individueel te werken ('bemoei je met jezelf, je bent hier voor jouw ontwikkeling') en om hun technische vaardigheden te ontwikkelen. In overeenstemming met het beleidsdiscours, probeert de Regisseur om beide doelen van productiviteit en zelfsturing tegelijkertijd te handhaven (maar slaagt daar vaak niet in). Het Maatje en de Docent daarentegen, refereren regelmatig aan zelfsturing en productiviteit, maar zijn van mening dat de combinatie van beiden in de praktijk vaak onhoudbaar is. De Docent deelt actief werktaken uit aan mede-werkers en maakt zich daarbij geen (of weinig) zorgen over het feit dat zijn directieve rol haaks staat op het ideaal van keuzes en zelfsturing van mede-werkers. Het Maatje leidt noch intervenueert expliciet, maar probeert mede-werkers productief en vaardig te maken door zelf aan de slag te gaan en het goede voorbeeld te geven.

Uit een analyse van de verschillende begeleidersrollen en hun sterke of minder sterke aanwezigheid in de Nederlandse beschutte werkplaatsen, valt op te maken dat de rol van Regisseur het dominantst is. Dat betekent dat het beleidsdiscours, deels getransformeerd door dagelijkse begeleidingspraktijken, grotendeels gereproduceerd wordt: het is nog steeds 'atomiserend'. Begeleiding is gericht op de individuele inspanningen van mede-werkers om zelfsturender te worden enerzijds en productief bij te (leren) dragen aan de maatschappij anderzijds. Wat betekent erkenning eigenlijk voor mede-werkers in het licht van een dergelijk participatiediscours en hoe zoeken ze ernaar?

DE DRANG OM UIT TE BLINKEN

Interviews met de jonge mannen in de beschutte werkplaatsen tonen aan dat hun opvattingen over erkenning zeer sterk lijken op de drie vormen van erkenning die Honneth onderscheidt. In Hoofdstuk 6 laat ik zien dat ze erkenning in de eerste plaats duiden als iets dat men moet verdienen, en dat gecommuniceerd kan worden door de ander te waarderen (op materiële of symbolische wijze) voor zijn bijdragen en prestaties (Honneth's 'waardering'). Ten tweede beschouwen ze erkenning als een morele verplichting. Een mens hoort respect voor de ander te hebben louter voor het feit dat die ander ook een mens is. In dat opzicht gaat erkenning over anderen gelijk en 'normaal' te behandelen, en hen de vrijheid te geven om hun leven naar eigen inzichten en wensen in te vullen (Honneth's 'respect'). Een derde opvatting van respect die mede-werkers communiceren heeft te maken met vertrouwen en loyaliteit, zoals ze die ervaren in de unieke relaties die ze hebben met vrienden, familie, geliefden en zelfs huisdieren (Honneth's 'liefde').

In de vergelijking tussen interviews en observaties, valt iets op. Er lijkt een

discrepancie te bestaan tussen wat mede-werkers zeggen en wat ze doen. Terwijl hun opvattingen van erkenning divers zijn (erkenning als waardering, respect, liefde), lijken ze in hun zoektochten naar erkenning eenzijdig een principe van verdienste aan te hangen. Herhaaldelijk laten mede-werkers zien dat ze meer willen hebben dan de ander, beter zijn dan de ander, en scheppen ze daarover op. In hun zoektocht naar liefde (vriendschappen) bijvoorbeeld, concurreren ze over wie het meest geliefd is en wie de meeste vrienden heeft op Facebook heeft weten te veroveren. In hun zoektocht naar respect (gelijke behandeling) wedijveren ze om wie de slimste en zelfstandigste persoon is. Daarmee overschaduwde het principe van verdienste – traditioneel louter verbonden aan erkenning als waardering – de principes van universaliteit (erkenning als respect) en zorg (erkenning als liefde).

Opvallend genoeg wordt op zulke momenten onduidelijk of de jonge mannen op zoek zijn naar liefde, respect, of waardering. Theoretisch gezien betekent dit dat Honneth's driedelige onderscheid ietwat vervaagt. In het opscheppen over hoe geliefd ze zijn, zoeken mede-werkers naar liefde maar zoeken zij ook naar waardering, in de zin dat ze trachten zich te onderscheiden van, en beter te zijn dan, de rest. In het benadrukken van hoe slim en zelfstandig ze zijn zoeken zij naar respect, maar wederom, ook naar waardering. Liefde en respect worden getransformeerd tot vormen van erkenning die een structuur hebben die vergelijkbaar is met die van waardering – waar je winnaars en verliezers hebt die beoordeeld worden op basis van hun individuele prestaties.

Empirisch gezien lijkt het eerdere besproken atomiserende participatiediscours zich diep genesteld te hebben in mede-werkers' zoektochten naar erkenning. Zij zijn voornamelijk op zoek naar manieren om individueel uit te blinken, meer te hebben, of beter te zijn dan anderen. Echter, terugdenkend aan beleidsmakers en begeleiders – die voornamelijk een soort uitblinken voor ogen hebben dat gerefereerd is aan productieve en zelfsturende werkprestaties – valt op dat mede-werkers een veel bredere en creatievere opvatting hebben van uitmuntendheid. Zij doen appèl op talloze andere activiteiten en eigenschappen om een speciale status te verkrijgen in de beschutte werkplaats, door zich bijvoorbeeld te profileren als sterke en dominante man, als loyale vriend, of als slim en zelfstandig persoon.

ZELFSTANDIG WERKEN, STOER DOEN, SAMEN ZORGEN

Hoe zien concrete situaties van erkenning er eigenlijk uit in de Nederlandse beschutte werkplaatsen? Waar en hoe zag ik jonge mannen erkenning ervaren? Het beantwoorden van deze vraag vereist meer dan enkel de combinatie van de eerder besproken elementen (beleidsidealen, begeleidingspraktijken, mede-werkers' opvattingen van, en zoektochten naar erkenning). Het vereist ook aandachtig zijn voor concrete situaties en interacties tussen mensen, bijvoorbeeld door te focussen op lichamen en emoties. In Hoofdstuk 7 beschrijf ik situaties van erkenning in beschutte werkplaatsen in termen van lichamelijke activiteiten, geobserveerde en

ervaren emoties. Op die manier tracht ik op beeldende, evocatieve wijze de ervaringen van erkenning van mede-werkers voor de lezer te beschrijven.

Een eerste situatie draait om Dylan – een mede-werker met een rijbewijs – die eten bezorgt aan cliënten met zwaardere beperkingen. Tijdens zijn bezorgronde krijgt hij complimenten en dankbaarheid van meerdere mensen. Hij krijgt een speciale status toegewezen, en maakt duidelijk dat hij de ‘baas’ van de bezorgdienst is. Dylan mag werk uitvoeren dat zowel hij als zijn collega’s zien als ‘echt’, zelfstandig, en urgent werk. Zijn ervaring van erkenning ontstaat doordat hij zich onderscheidt van het overgrote deel van mede-werkers dat geen speciale vaardigheden (zoals een rijbewijs) bezit. Dylan voelt zich erkend voor zijn individuele werkprestaties, en algemener voor zijn positie als ‘beste’ of meest getalenteerde mede-werker van de beschutte werkplaats.

Deze vorm van erkenning wordt actief gestimuleerd door beleid en begeleiders (en verlangd door mede-werkers zelf), maar is voorbehouden voor de enkeling, zoals Dylan, die erin slaagt te gelijken op een ‘normale’ werker die zelfstandig en productief kan werken – vaardigheden die belangrijk worden geacht op de reguliere arbeidsmarkt, en in het verlengde daarvan, ook in de beschutte werkplaatsen. Voor de andere mede-werkers zijn er amper serieuze of urgente werktaken voorhanden. Zij zitten er verveeld bij, tonen hun frustraties, en voelen zich lusteloos.

Desondanks voelen ook deze mede-werkers zich soms erkend in de context van de beschutte werkplaats, al is het niet de soort erkenning waar beleid en de dominante begeleidersrol op aansturen. Een gedetailleerde beschrijving van emoties en lichamen in een pest-situatie, stelt me in staat een tweede empirische vorm van erkenning te onderscheiden. Deze gelijkt op Dylan’s ervaring van erkenning in de zin dat het ook gebaseerd is op excelleren, concurreren en zich aan de massa te onttrekken. Dit keer echter niet via werkprestaties, maar via streetwise prestaties. In deze situatie, die wederom beschreven wordt in termen van lichamelijke activiteiten en emoties, ervaren een aantal mede-werkers gevoelens van erkenning door een collega fysiek uit te dagen, pijn te doen en bewonderd te worden door omstaanders. Zowel Dylan’s situatie als die van het pesten, zo toon ik aan, zijn situaties van wat ik ‘Top Dog erkenning’ noem: wie of wat erkend wordt hangt samen met de mate van succes in, of talent voor, eender welke soort activiteit (kan gaan van werk tot pesten).

Sporadisch bevinden mede-werkers zich in situaties waarin niet Top Dog erkenning geproduceerd en ervaren wordt, maar een andere soort erkenning die ik ‘Team Player erkenning’ noem. In zulke situaties worden iemands (nederige) bijdragen aan de groep of aan andere leden van de groep de basis voor erkenning. Gevoelens van erkenning komen niet tot stand door zich tegen anderen af te zetten, maar door onderdeel te worden van de groep. Een voorbeeld hiervan betreft het gezamenlijke afbreken van een serre, en de zeer lichamelijke manier waardoor Team Player erkenning ontstaat en ervaren wordt door de betrokken werkers, mijzelf inclusief. Team Player erkenning kan verkregen worden door samen te werken, maar ook door samen te zorgen, bijvoorbeeld voor de dagelijkse

insuline-injectie van een collega.

Echter, door het sterke atomiserende participatiediscours, en de actieve ontmoediging van de Regisseur van momenten van samenzijn, werden situaties van Team Player erkenning in de Nederlandse beschutte werkplaatsen gemarginaliseerd.

HET DELEN VAN SUCCES EN SANCTIES

In de hierboven beschreven Nederlandse context, noemde ik het discours van participatie hoofdzakelijk atomiserend, en liet ik zien hoe dit van fundamenteel belang was voor de ervaringen van erkenning van mede-werkers. Door de contrasterende Portugese casus wordt getoond dat participatie ook in de praktijk gebracht kan worden op een minder atomiserende, meer gemeenschappelijke manier.

Wat betreft begeleidersrollen in de Portugese werkplaatsen, laat ik in Hoofdstuk 8 zien dat niet de (consonante) Regisseur, maar de (dissonante) Docent het meest dominant is. Daarenboven verschijnt er een vierde rol op het toneel, die van de Ouder. De Ouder is actief bezig om mede-werkers aan te leren hoe zich te gedragen als collega, en meer algemeen als (mede)mens. De Ouder staat emotioneel dicht bij de mede-werkers, en is soms op het randje van bemoeizuchtig. De sfeer in de werkplaats is affectief, maar ook hiërarchisch.

Met de Docent en de Ouder als dominante rollen, zien we dat de groep de belangrijkste eenheid is, in tegenstelling tot het individu in de Nederlandse beschutte werkplaatsen. Mede-werkers worden als groep verantwoordelijk gehouden om de taken die hen worden opgelegd tot een goed einde te brengen. Samenwerken wordt voorgesteld als voordelig voor iedereen, omdat de een de ander kan aanvullen. Wanneer mede-werkers het werk goed uitvoeren delen zij het succes, maar wanneer zij het werk niet goed uitvoeren delen zij tevens de sancties.

Door hun begeleidingspraktijken transformeren begeleiders het participatiediscours om tot een meer gemeenschapsgericht of ‘communautariserend’ discours (communalising discourse): werkparticipatie wordt voornamelijk geïnterpreteerd en gestimuleerd door de nadruk te leggen op mede-werkers’ sociale en relationele vaardigheden in een affectieve doch hiërarchische gemeenschap. We kunnen ons nu afvragen, ‘wat gebeurt er tegen deze achtergrond met (ervaringen van) erkenning’?

Ook voor de Portugese werkplaatsen beschrijf ik concrete situaties en interacties tussen mede-werkers, en tussen mede-werkers en begeleiders. Daaruit valt op te maken dat mede-werkers voornamelijk Team Player erkenning verwachten, en ook ervaren. Er vinden herhaaldelijk interacties plaats waarbij jonge mannen worden erkend als zorgzame werkers, die tijdens het werk omkijken naar andere collega’s, betrokkenheid en aandacht vertonen. Zoals ik eerder beargumenteerde, bepalen participatiediscoursen in grote mate wat wel en niet mogelijk is in termen van (interacties van) erkenning. Met behulp van de Portugese casus wordt dit argument versterkt en verrijkt.

In tegenstelling tot de Nederlandse mede-werkers, lijken de Portugese mede-werkers beter voorbereid voor een arbeidsmarkt die, ondanks de vele beleidsmaatregelen, nog steeds niet verwelkomend is voor mensen die laaggeschoold zijn en moeilijk kunnen voldoen aan eisen zoals productiviteit en zelfstandigheid. In de beschutte werkplaats wordt de Portugese mede-werkers duidelijk gemaakt dat ze zullen moeten gehoorzamen en erg veel moeite zullen moeten doen om erkend en gewaardeerd te worden voor hun werkprestaties. Echter, zij leren ook dat ze dit (deels) kunnen compenseren door sociaal en relationeel sterk te zijn.

Het communautariserende discours in de Portugese beschutte werkplaatsen omvat echter ook enkele risico's. Mede-werkers worden gedisciplineerd als onderdanige en volgzaam werkers, worden soms vernederd, en maken weinig kans om ooit hun positie als laaggeschoolde arbeiders te ontstijgen.

DE DUBBELZINNIGHEID VAN ERKENNING

Verzorgingsstaten en werkinstellingen zijn niet moreel neutraal: ze vertonen uitgesproken ideeën en praktijken over wat erkenningswaardige participatie behelst en wat niet. In dit proefschrift heb ik de relatie onderzocht tussen zulke participatiediscoursen en de ervaringen van erkenning van, in dit geval jonge mannen die in beschutte werkplaatsen werken.

Tegen de achtergrond van een atomiserend participatiediscours in de Nederlandse beschutte werkplaatsen werd verwacht dat mede-werkers zich gewaardeerd zouden voelen voor hun harde werk, hun zelfstandige werk, het ontwikkelen van vaardigheden, het nemen van initiatief, en het uitblinken in specifieke taken. Deze vorm van erkenning werd 'Top Dog erkenning' genoemd om aan te geven dat de nadruk daarbij veelal ligt op verdienste, prestatie, en individuele dominantie over anderen. Ondanks vele inspanningen van begeleiders was Top Dog erkenning via werkprestaties – tot grote frustratie van de mede-werkers – onbereikbaar voor de meesten. Tegen deze achtergrond zochten mede-werkers naar, en ervoeren zij veelvuldig Top Dog erkenning via streetwise interacties. Deze bevindingen tonen aan hoe schadelijk het is om mensen erkenning te beloven, en hen te overtuigen van het feit dat hun werkbijdragen uniek en waardevol zijn, wanneer dagelijkse ervaringen hen het tegenovergestelde duidelijk maken.

Door de contrasterende casus van de Portugese beschutte werkplaatsen werd een ander beeld geschilderd van participatie en erkenning. Terwijl op nationaal niveau een vergelijkbaar atomiserend discours van participatie aanwezig was (onder invloed van Europees beleid), wordt participatie anders in de praktijk gebracht. In plaats van een atomiserend discours is er sprake van een communautariserend discours. Dit discours stelt mede-werkers in staat om regelmatig Team Player erkenning vorm te geven en te ervaren. Af en toe ontstonden ook in de Nederlandse werkplaatsen momenten van Team Player erkenning. Deze werden echter actief verhinderd door de dominante begeleidersrol (Regisseur) die vanuit

een atomiserend participatiediscours de nadruk legt op 'ieder voor zich' in de beschutte werkplaats.

Wat kunnen deze bevindingen ons nu leren met betrekking tot theorie enerzijds, en beleid anderzijds? Theoretisch gezien draagt dit onderzoek bij tot de 'sociologisering' van erkenning, en wel op drie wijzen. Ten eerste suggereer ik om meer aandacht te schenken aan lichamen en groepsprestaties (beide grotendeels afwezig in theorieën van erkenning), en als dusdanig een concretere invulling te geven aan een fundamentele conditie van erkenning, namelijk 'intersubjectiviteit'. Erkenning heeft een fysieke component, en kan gecreëerd worden door het aangaan van praktische en lichamelijke verbintenissen met anderen en met de wereld.

Ten tweede pleit ik in dit onderzoek voor een relationele benadering van erkenning. Specifieker, pleit ik voor een relationele benadering waarin instituties en interacties gezamenlijk worden bestudeerd door te kijken naar hoe beide samenwerken in het bepalen van wie of wat erkenning verdient (en wie of wat niet). Door expliciet te maken hoe waardepatronen van invloed zijn op de zelf-narratieven, de aspiraties en zoektochten naar erkenning van medewerkers, combineer ik Honneth's nadruk op interacties met Fraser's nadruk op instituties. De vergelijking van de Nederlandse en de Portugese casus onderschrijft de relevantie van zo'n relationele benadering: binnen een andere institutionele context hebben mede-werkers andere verwachtingen en ervaringen van erkenning.

Ten derde toont het onderzoek aan dat empirische vormen van erkenning op verschillende manieren en in verschillende mate miskennen met zich meedragen. Ik roep onderzoekers daarom op om ook situaties serieus te nemen die aanleiding geven tot minder perfecte vormen van erkenning: 'misvormde' erkenning, waarbij alleen peers betrokken zijn, of die gebaseerd is op het uitsluiten of zelfs pijn doen van anderen, zoals de streetwise vorm die herhaaldelijk voorkwam in de Nederlandse beschutte werkplaatsen. Het serieus nemen van een dergelijke vorm van erkenning stimuleert ons om het geïdealiseerde, perfectionistische karakter van erkenning bij te stellen, aandacht te schenken aan de ongelijkmakende mechanismen die samenhangen met erkenning, en daarmee aan zijn ambivalentie.

Empirisch gezien pleit ik in de studie voor het herwaarderen van de Team Player, zowel in beschutte werkplaatsen, op de arbeidsmarkt, als meer algemeen in de maatschappij. Allereerst zou er actiever gewerkt moeten worden aan onderlinge relaties in de Nederlandse beschutte werkplaatsen, bijvoorbeeld relaties tussen medewerkers. Onderdeel uitmaken van een groter geheel, of zich toewijden aan de zorg voor een ander zouden eveneens gestimuleerd moeten worden als legitieme wegen naar participatie (en dus ook erkenning). Refererend aan de titel van dit boek, stel ik voor dat 'als je best doen niet goed genoeg is, we het samen moeten doen'.

Op het niveau van de arbeidsmarkt moeten extra banen gecreëerd worden die toegankelijk zijn voor iedereen, inclusief mede-werkers zoals de jonge mannen in dit onderzoek die momenteel 'te duur' worden geacht om aan het werk te krijgen en aan het werk te houden in een reguliere werkomgeving. Dit alles vereist het ontwikkelen van banen waarin principes van productiviteit en zelfsturing niet

centraal staan, maar principes van welzijn, erkenning, en mensenrechten. In deze gedachtegang is het hebben van een baan (met fatsoenlijke condities en met een fatsoenlijk salaris!), ieders basisrecht.

Tot slot zou het herwaarderen van de Team Player een tegengewicht kunnen bieden aan de nadruk op verdienste die onze samenleving als geheel doordringt. De situaties van de mede-werkers fungeren in dit opzicht als een vergrootglas: hun situaties vergroten uit hoe het principe van verdienste talloze andere levensdomeinen binnendringt. Doordat erkenning gebaseerd is op hoe anderen ons zien en beoordelen is het hoe dan ook een instabiele onderneming. Echter, erkenning wordt nog instabieler wanneer het voortdurend onderworpen wordt aan principes van persoonlijke verdienste en competitie. Aandacht schenken aan momenten van groepswork en zorg voor anderen ('Team Player'), zou mogelijkwijs een tegengewicht kunnen bieden aan deze dynamiek. Het zou ons allen bevrijden van de druk om voortdurend op onze tenen te moeten lopen en immer hoger te moeten reiken. Het zou ons er allen aan herinneren dat ons best doen al goed genoeg is.

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Appendix 1.

Interview topic list

Dutch topic list

THEMA'S	VRAGEN	HOE DRAAGT HET BIJ AAN WAT IK WIL WETEN?
<i>Werk</i>	Hoe lang werk je hier al?	Algemene informatie
	Hoe ben je hier terechtgekomen? (Het is me opgevallen dat ik jullie daar nooit over hoor praten). Kan je me daar iets over vertellen?	Opleidings- en werktraject. Eigen reden voor aanwezigheid beschutte werkplaats (komt er een diagnose in voor?)
	Wat vind je leuk aan het werk hier, en wat vind je minder leuk?	
	Zou je hier willen blijven werken? Zo ja, waarom? Zo nee, waarom?	Zijn ze gelukkig in de beschutte werkplaats, of zijn ze op zoek naar een betaalde baan? Waarom dan? Wat verwachten ze te vinden bij een betaalde baan dat ze hier niet vinden?
	Hoe zou jouw ideale baan eruit zien? Kan je die beschrijven? wat voor werk doe je dan, met wie, waar,...	Wat is belangrijk bij een baan (bv. leuke collega's, geld verdienen, of het soort werk).
	Als geld in hun vorige antwoord naar voren komt: waarom wil je graag een betaalde baan?	Redenen om geld te verdienen. Wat vinden zij belangrijk m.b.t geld: status, meer dingen kunnen kopen (en wat voor dingen dan), niet meer afhankelijk willen zijn van Wajong uitkering, ...)

Diagnose en cliënt zijn

Waar denk je aan wanneer je aan CareWell denkt?

Zie jij jezelf als 'iemand van CareWell'/als een cliënt?
Zo nee, waarom niet?
Wat is het verschil tussen jezelf en de mensen die jij ziet als cliënt?

Wat vind je van de term 'cliënt'? (Indien afkeuring): hoe zou je liever genoemd worden? Wanneer ik over jou schrijf, hoe zou je dan willen dat ik je in mijn boek noem?

Waar heb jij begeleiding voor nodig?

Wat vind je van de term 'licht verstandelijk beperkt/gehandicapt'?
Zie jij jezelf zo?

Hoe vind je dat CareWell je behandelt?

Respectabele mensen en eigenschappen

Met wie van de begeleiders kan je het beste vinden? Waarom? Met wie van de begeleiders kan je het niet goed vinden en waarom?

Welke mensen mag je en welke mensen mag je niet? Waarom?

Wie bewonder je?
Aan wie heb je een hekel?
Waarom?

Ik hoor jullie vaak zeggen 'mensen moeten gewoon normaal doen'.
Wat betekent dat voor jou? Wanneer doet iemand 'gewoon normaal'?

Bij wat voor soort mensen voel je je beter dan hen?
Bij wat voor soort mensen voel je je minder dan hen?

Associaties bij CareWell (vaker gehoord 'dat zijn daar allemaal mongolen').

Reflectie op eigen 'anderszijn' (of niet).

Hun mening over de beleidsterm 'cliënt' en mogelijke voorkeur voor een andere benaming, ook in de context van mijn proefschrift.

Waar zij tegenaan botsen in hun leven. Definitie van hun eigen 'problemen'.

Reflectie op eigen 'anderszijn' en mogelijke koppeling aan diagnose.

Mogelijke gevoelens van verontwaardiging (veel eerdere opmerkingen over hoe slecht CareWell hen behandelt, bv. dat CareWell wegloopt met hun geld). Waar draaien die negatieve gevoelens dan rond?

Voorkeur voor stijlen van begeleiding en type personen.

Belangrijke menselijke kwaliteiten (wie is respectabel en wie niet?)

Belangrijke menselijke kwaliteiten (wie is respectabel en wie niet?)

Wat wenselijke omgangsvormen tussen mensen zijn.

Hoe ze zichzelf positioneren ten opzichte van anderen, van respectabele eigenschappen en gewenste omgangsvormen.

<i>Opvattingen en ervaringen van respect</i>	Als je het woord 'respect' hoort, wat is dan het eerste waar je aan denkt? Wat betekent respect voor jou?	Hun opvattingen en definities van respect.
	Wanneer voelde jij je laatst gerespecteerd? Wanneer voelde jij je laatst niet gerespecteerd? Kan je daar een voorbeeld van geven?	Hoe ervaringen van (dis)respect er uit zien. Waar gaan die dan over? Bv. (niet) naar geluisterd worden, (niet) serieus genomen worden, in vertrouwen genomen worden of uitgelachen worden.
	Is er een verschil tussen respect van een begeleider, een collega, of een vriend? Zo ja, kan je daar dan voorbeelden van geven?	Mogelijke verschillende ideeën over respect in relatie tot verschillende mensen.
<i>Toekomst en aspiraties</i>	Wat vind je belangrijk in het leven?	Aspiraties en het 'inhoudelijke' van respect: wat voor dromen en doelen achten zij waardevol in het leven?
	Wat vind je goed gaan in je leven en wat vind je minder goed gaan?	
	Wat zijn je wensen voor de toekomst?	

English topic list

THEMES	QUESTIONS	CONTRIBUTIONS TO RESEARCH
<i>Work</i>	Since when do you work here?	General information
	Can you tell me something about how you arrived at this workshop?	Work and school trajectories. Reasons they give for their presence in the sheltered workshop (do they mention a diagnosis?)
	What are the things you like about the work, and what are the things you do not like?	
	Would you want to continue to work here? If so, why? If not, why?	Are they fine with sheltered work, or would they rather want a paid job? Why? What do they expect to find in a regular, paid job that they cannot find here?
	What would your ideal job look like? Can you describe it? What kind of work would you do, with who, where?	What do they consider important in a job (e.g. nice colleagues, earning money, specific work activities)

<i>Diagnosis and being a 'client'</i>	If money becomes a theme in their previous answer: why do you want to have a paid job?	Their reasons to earn money. What do they find important in that regard? E.g. is it about status, about being able to buy stuff (what kind of stuff then?), or about not wanting to be dependent on their disability benefits?
	What do you think of when you think about CareWell (the care organisation)?	Their associations with the care organisation (often heard things like 'they are all mongoloids there')
	Do you consider yourself to be part of CareWell/to be a client? If not, why not? What is the difference between yourself and the people you do consider to be clients?	Their reflections on their own differences.
	What do you think about the term 'client'? (If not liking it): how would you rather be called? Also, if I write about you, how would you like me to call you?	Their opinion about a policy term like 'client' and their possible preferences for other names, also in the context of my 'book'.
	What do you need professional support for?	Their ideas about the problems and difficulties they bump into in life.
<i>Respectable people and properties</i>	What do you think about the term 'mild intellectually disabled'? Do you see yourself as a person with a mild intellectual disability?	Their reflections on their differences, and the potential link with their official diagnosis.
	How does CareWell treat you in your opinion?	Their possible feelings of indignation (in context of repeated previous mentions about the bad treatment by CareWell, e.g. CareWell runs away with our money). What do those negative feelings precisely revolve around?
	With who from the professionals do you get along well? Why? With which professional do you not get along well and why?	Their perception and preference of different types of people and different styles of professional support.
	What kind of people do you like, and what kind of people don't you like? Why?	Important human qualities (who is worthy of respect and who is not?)
	Who do you look up to? Who do you look down upon? Why?	Important human qualities (who is worthy of respect and who is not?)
I often heard co-workers express that 'people just need to act normally'. What does that mean for you? When does a person 'act normally'?	Desirable social behaviour between people.	

	In whose presence do you feel superior? In whose presence do you feel inferior?	How they position themselves in relation to others, and to what they think of as 'respectable' properties and desirable social behaviour.
<i>Understandings and experiences of (dis)respect</i>	When you hear the word 'respect', what is the first thing you think of? What does respect mean to you?	Their understanding and definition of respect.
	Can you think of a moment in which you felt respected? Can you think of a moment in which you did not feel respected? What happened?	What experiences of respect or disrespect look like, and what they revolve around. E.g. is it about (not) being listened to, about (not) being taken seriously, about being trusted or being made fun of?
	Is there a difference between respect from one of the professionals, from a colleague or a friend? If so, can you think of an example?	Possibly different ideas about respect in relation to different people.
<i>Future and aspirations</i>	What do you find important in life?	Their aspirations and dreams in life.
	What kind of goals are respectable or valuable to have in life?	
	What is currently going well in your life, and what is not going so well?	
	What are your wishes for the future?	

Appendix 2.

Original quotations

LEGEND TO VERBATIM (DUTCH) TRANSCRIPT:

[...]	deleted word or sentence (repetitions or interviewer's 'yes', or 'okay')
.	pause of approx. 1 second
..	pause approx. 2 seconds
...	pause of approx. 3 seconds, etc.
<i>Word in italics</i>	pronounced louder or with an emphasis
○	observation during interview like nodding, stammering
□	word that was not pronounced but deduced from context
/	unfinished and merging words

QUOTATION 1

I: [...] could you give an example about respect or disrespect between colleagues?
 Jordy: well yeah right now with colleagues I just have, I really have all respect, they are just there for you [me] and I am there for them (Quotation 1).

I: [...] zou je een voorbeeld van respect tussen collega's, of disrespect tussen collega's kunnen benoemen?

Jordy: nou ja ik heb gewoon nu eh, met collega's heb ik gewoon/heb ik ook echt alle respect mee, ze staan gewoon voor je klaar, ik sta voor hun klaar, euh.

QUOTATION 2

I: hey and what does respect mean for you? If you hear that word what
 Roy: yes [...] a lot of people respect me.

I: . hey en wat betekent respect voor jou? als je . dat woord hoort wa wa
 Roy: ja ik heb/ja heel veel mensen hebben respect voor mij

QUOTATION 3

I: So what does it mean then, to be a client?

Melvin: I don't know that

I: no, perhaps you don't. You don't have to. There are no wrong answers you know, but I mean what... Yes you don't see yourself as a client but what *is* a client then?

Melvin: I don't know.

I: want wat betekent het dan om een cliënt te zijn?

Melvin: dat weet ik niet

I: nee je weet het misschien/het hoeft niet/er is ook geen fout antwoord hoor maar ik bedoel wa/ja je vindt jezelf geen cliënt maar wat is dan een cliënt?

Melvin: weet ik niet

QUOTATION 4

I: what do you think about the word client?

Ron: client yes ... nice name nice name

I: nice name (smiles) yes? what do you like about it?

Ron: phooee (finds it a difficult question) that I don't know [...] that I really don't know.

I: wat vind jij van het woord cliënt?

Ron: cliënt ja . mooie naa/mooie naam

I: mooie naam (glimlacht) ja? wat vind je er mooi aan?

Ron: phoe (vindt 't een moeilijke vraag) dat weet ik niet

I: tis misschien, ja het is een hele moeilijk vraag

Ron: nee maar nee maar dat weet ik echt niet

QUOTATION 5

Samir: 'Naah, I don't know, there is just a kind of group/company-atmosphere [*gezelschapssfeer*] to it and not [...] look, you hear music [...] you hear people, work [...] we are just busy [working] here [...] we are not around a table with cookies and coffee [...] and tea you know, that is what all those people who are old or something like that [do]?'.

Samir: naah ik weet het niet, d'r zit gewoon zo'n, zo'n gezelschapssfeer in en niet eh [...]

ja en niet zo'n eh, kijk, je hoort muziek [...] je hoort een beetje mensen, werken maar eh . we zijn gewoon bezig hier [...] niet eh . we zitten niet eh hier aan tafel eh, even koekje d'rbij koffie d'rbij [...] thee d'rbij weet je wel, dat doen al die eh, mensen die eeh, die oud zijn of zo

QUOTATION 6

Kevin: 'On *our* side (one of the two sheds at the SW) there actually work *normal* people; you don't notice the disability, really. But when you look at the other shed, there are people like Ruud and [...] Herman [...] and Desley working there [...] Those are people who *do* deserve the label'.

Kevin: ik/ja kijk, aan *onze* kant . hier zo, ja, er werken eigenlijk best wel . ja behalve Desley dan .. werken d'r eigenlijk best wel aan onze kant werken er gewoon een beetje, ja een beetje *normale* mensen, (hapert) het is niet echt van zeggen dat je een lichte verstandelijke beperking heb . maar als ik kijk naar de andere kant [andere loods] of zo, daar is het echt eeeuh daar werken eh . Ruud en [...] Herman [...] en Delano [...] die . eigenlijk vind ik dat die die stempel *wel* verdienen.

QUOTATION 7

Kevin: 'In their case you really see they have a mild intellectual disability (on the outside) [...] but [you] also [see it] in how they behave and stuff [...]

I: How do they behave then?

Kevin: I don't know ... differently than we do I think! [...] I think they need more supervision and direction in what they do, for their projects. They hardly talk to each other, they [...] do not consult with each other and that sort of things'.

Kevin: hun bij hun zie je echt dat ze licht verstandelijk beperkt zijn [...] maar ook wel aan het innerlijk hoe ze doen en zo

I: en hoe doen ze dan, wat voor, voor

Kevin: nja dat weet ik niet .. anders dan ons denk ik! [...] ik denk dat hun meer euh euh euh begeleiding nodig hebben in het, aansturen van weet je, van hun projecten [...] hun praten bijna niet met elkaar, hun [...] overleggen niet en dat soort dingen

QUOTATION 8

Mitchell: [Professional Johan] is more busy with working on reparations in the other shed (the young men are divided over two sheds) [...] but sometimes he has

tasks for me you know [...] (imitating the professional) 'hey Mitchell can you do this, can you make coffee' [...] can you do *this*, can you eh, clean the terrain and stuff like that

I: that is what Johan says to you?

Mitchell: yes, that is what he sometimes asks me [...] when I am not doing anything [*'als ik niks te doen heb en zo'*, literally: *when I have nothing to do*].

Mitchell: [begeleider] Johan is meer in de andere loods bezig [...] maar soms heeft ie wel klussen voor mij hoor [...] (doet begeleider na) hé Mitchell kun je *dit* doen, kun je de koffie zetten [...] kun je dit doen, kun je eh het terrein opvegen en zo

I: dat zegt, Johan dan tegen jou?

Mitchell: ja dat vraagt hij me soms [...] als ik niks te doen heb en zo.

QUOTATION 9

I: how can a supervisor, give or show respect towards you? [...]

Rik: respect me ... that they [...] if I did something well for example [...]

I: that they say something about that or? (indicating I did not understand it completely)

Rik: yes compliment.

I: hoe kan de begeleider . naar jou respect, geven of tonen? [...]

Rik: ja . hmm ... mij respecteren .. euh dat ze eh wel goed hebben/ als ik iets goed heb gedaan bijvoorbeeld [...]

I: dat ze dan daar iets over zeggen of?

Rik: ja com/compliment eeh

QUOTATION 10

David: [...] respect is also [...] something you need to earn, let's say, by arriving on time [...] and doing your work activities well [*'je werkzaamheden goed doen'*] [...] that all counts'.

Dn: [...] respect is ook euh ... euh iets wat je dan dan moet verdienen zeg maar door op tijd te komen en eh, eh op tijd te komen en je werkzaamheden goed doen en euh [...] dat telt dan allemaal een beetje mee.

QUOTATION 11

I: I have another difficult question. It is about respect, the word respect

Ron: respect, yes [...] everybody should have respect here [*'iedereen moet respect hebben hiero'*] [...] for each other and, for supervisors too.

I: ik heb nog een . moeilijke vraag . het gaat over respect, het woord respect
 Ron: respect, ja [...] iedereen moet respect hebben hiero [...] voor elkaar en, voor de begeleiders ook.

QUOTATION 12

I: And I also would like to hear about [...] what you think of when you hear the word respect
 Adriaan: just for everybody.

I: en ik wilde ook nog/ik wilde ook even horen wat dat jij over/als je het woord respect hoort . wat . ja waar je dan aan denkt
 Adriaan: . gewoon voor iedereen

QUOTATION 13

I: hey and when you hear the word respect, what do you think of then, and there are no good or wrong answers here you know [...] What does respect mean for you?
 Rik: hmm (thinking). Respect, that you deal well with people [*goed omgaat met mensen*] [...] that they are allowed to be who they are, and [...] it doesn't matter what you are for example [...] Surinamese, brown, white, and from which country you come doesn't matter. As long as you are kind/friendly [*aardig*].

I: hey en als je het woordje respect hoort . waar waar denk je dan aan, en er zijn geen goeie of foute antwoorden [...] wat wat betekent respect voor jou?
 Rik: hmm (denkt na), respect . je omga/goed omgaat met mensen zeg maar [...] dat ze mogen zijn wie ze zijn en eh [...] ja, en .. ja maakt niet uit wat je eh bijvoorbeeld bent eeh [...] Surinamer, bruine [...] blank eh [...] en euh, ja . uit welk land je komt maakt niet uit eh [...] als je maar aardig bent eh, zeg maar ja.

QUOTATION 14

I: And how do you do that, 'have respect'?
 Ron: yeah look, [...] just treating [each other with] respect and not like a little child, [...] not treating [...] like a little child.

I: en hoe doe je dat dan, respect hebben?
 Ron: . jaah, kijk, kijk eh, respect gewoon met eh, gewoon respect behandelen [...] en niet als klein kind eh, niet niet als klein euh, behandelen

QUOTATION 15

I: [...] when you work with others [...] how can you show respect for each other?

Marco: just like, [act] normal as always, just like a grown up guy [*volwassen vent*]
 I: yes .. and normal then is [means]?
 Marco: . just talking normally and respectfully to each other!

I: ja, maar *als* je samen moet werken met anderen, hoe hoe ga je dan respectvol, hoe kan je respect voor elkaar tonen
 Marco: gewoon, normaal zoals altijd, gewoon als een volwassen vent
 I: ja .. en normaal is dan?
 Marco: . gewoon normaal en respectvol met elkaar praten!

QUOTATION 16

I: If you hear the word respect, what do you think about then?
 Samir: that you respect each other for how you are [*zoals hoe je bent*] [...]
 I: yes, and how do you do that then, respect each other for who you are?
 Samir: to say it with something simple: you like classical music, and I do not like it but I respect that you play that music or [...] like it. But I do ask you if you could play it not too loud [*of je het niet hard wil zetten*] [...] in that way you respect me for not wanting something [namely, listening to that classical music].

I: wat beteke/als je het woord respect hoort waar, waar denk je dan aan?
 Samir: euhm . ja dat je elkaar respecteert, zoals hoe je bent [...]
 I: ja, en hoe hoe doe je dat dan, elkaar respecteren voor wie je bent?
 Samir: .. euhm nja om het met iets makkelijk te zeggen jij houdt van klassieke muziek en ik eh, hou d'r niet van maar ik resp/resp/uh, respecteer dat jij dat, op dat moment eh, muziek draait of eh [...] ervan houdt [...] maar eh, ik vraag je d'r wel bij of je het wel eh, niet hard wil zetten [...] dan dan respecteer jij mij dat ik dat iets niet wil.

QUOTATION 17

I: and if you hear the word respect, what do you think of then? It is not an exam here, you know that, don't you?
 Rayan: heheh (laughs about me saying it is not an exam) [...] You need to have respect for other people
 I: yes, and how do you *do* that then, have respect for other people?
 Rayan: ... sometimes if, helping together, yes.

I: en als je, als je het woordje respect hoort, waar denk je dan aan? .. geen test he
 Rayan: eeuh heheh (lacht met dat ik zeg dat het geen test is) [...] je moet respect voor andere mensen, hebben
 I: ja . en hoe, hoe DOE je dat dan? respect voor andere mensen hebben?
 Rayan: .. soms als, euhm, samen helpen, euhm, ja.

QUOTATION 18

I: yes, and how do you show people you respect them?

Ibrahim: that I just help them

I: because you help them. And the other way around, how do people show they have respect for you?

Ibrahim: that they help me. Like Kevin, what I just said ‘take a screwdriver’ [*‘neem even een schroevendraaier’*] [...], a crosshead screwdriver he had taken for me

I: okay, and that for you is then actually a way [through which] Kevin shows you that he respects you?

Ibrahim: (nods).

I: ja, en hoe laat jij bijvoorbeeld zien aan mensen dat je respect hebt voor hen?

Ibrahim: dat ik ze gewoon help

I: omdat je ze helpt .. en andersom, hoe laten mensen aan jou zien dat dat ze respect hebben voor jou?

Ibrahim: dat eh dat ze *mij* helpen [...] zoals Kevin wat ik net zei ‘pak even schroevendraaier’ [...] pak even een schroevendraaier [...] kruiskop had ie voor me gepakt

I: oké, en voor jou is dat dan eigenlijk een manier, euh, dat Kevin laat zien dat hij jou respecteert?

Ibrahim: (knikt)

QUOTATION 19

I: hey and what does respect mean for you? If you hear that word what...

Roy: yes [...] a lot of people respect me

I: okay, and why do they have, what do they respect you for then?

Roy: if they ask me something I do that for them and stuff like that [...] Even my mother’s best friend [*‘bartsvriendin’*] once asked me like ‘do you want to withdraw money for me’ [...] She just gave me her PIN. Some friends also give me their bank card to withdraw money

I: so then they actually show you that they trust you?

Roy: yes, they trust me.

I: . hey en wat betekent respect voor jou? als je . dat woord hoort wa wa

Roy: ja ik heb/ja heel veel mensen hebben respect voor mij

I: oké, en wa waarom hebben ze/of waarvoor hebben ze dan respect?

Roy: als ze me iets vragen dat doe ik voor hun en zo [...] zelf eh, me moeders hart-vriendin vroeg me een keer . van wil je voor mij, pinnen [...] gaf ze d’r gewoon d’r pincode . sommige vrienden geven me ook hun eigen pasje om te pinnen

I: dus dan dan tonen ze eigenlijk, dat ze vertrouwen in jou hebben?

Roy: ja zij vertrouwen mij ja

QUOTATION 20

I: [...] and what does a respectful relation look like, between colleagues for example, can you say something about that?

Sebastiaan: [...] that you give just give respect through your way of working and also when you have things on your mind, for example, things from the past that you experienced... and that they then also just respect that. [...] that you can confide it [*‘in vertrouwen geven’*], that he does not disclose it [*‘niet doorvertelt’*].

I: yes yes yes

Sebastiaan: so I never disclose when somebody, for example, has experienced something in the past.

I: ennn, hoe ga je/als je het over respect hebt en collega’s hoe, hoe ziet, hoe ziet een respectvolle relatie eruit, tussen collega’s bijvoorbeeld, kan je daar iets over zeggen?

Sebastiaan: gewoon, een beetje van, dat je iedereen gewoon respect geeft gewoon van qua manier waarop je, werkt en ook gewoon waarop/hoe je, soms . gewoon met dingetjes zit bijvoorbeeld zoals dat er dan ook weer respecteert van dat je dan, bijvoorbeeld, van vroeger dingen, gewoon . uh (hapert) meegemaakt hebt en [...] en dat ze dan ook gewoon zeggen respecteer/gerespecteerd wordt, hoe het is [...] gewoon, dat iemand in vertrouwen, kan geven van dat ie het niet door (hapert) vertelt

I: ja ja ja, ja

Sebastiaan: dus ik, ik vertel nooit door van als iemand, bijvoorbeeld, iets van vroeger meegemaakt heeft.

QUOTATION 21

Marco: ‘(Colleagues are) none of my business’ [*‘heb ik niks mee te maken’ – literally: I don’t have anything to do with it’*] ... I am here for myself and not for those others ...

If I am here together with others and if I have to work with them that is fine but in principle I am here for myself and not for somebody else, otherwise I might just as well stay home!?’

Marco: [Collega’s] heb ik niks mee te maken [...] ik ben er toch voor mezelf en niet voor die anderen? [...] ik ben samen met anderen en als ik samen moet werken prima maar ik, ik werk in principe voor mezelf [...] en niet voor iemand anders, anders kan ik ook wel gewoon thuis zitten!

Labour market participation holds a big promise: it would give financial, social and emotional gains like recognition. This holds also, or maybe especially, for people with mild intellectual disabilities who have suffered (and often still suffer) from social exclusion. But when policy proclaims that everybody should be able to feel valued and recognised, what is often underestimated is the power of institutions to narrowly define the ways in which people *can be recognised*.

In her dissertation, Melissa Sebrechts focuses on the experiences of recognition of young men working in sheltered workshops in the Netherlands and Portugal. Such experiences appear to be shaped by the interplay of activating institutions, professionals, the workers, and herself, the researcher. Through intensive periods of participant observation, the author traces the different forms that recognition empirically takes, and the sometimes-explosive unintended consequences that arise in the Dutch workshops. An individualising discourse of participation limits young men's possibilities to feel recognised, driving them to seek recognition through other, streetwise, channels. The Portuguese case serves as a contrasting case to refine and strengthen the link between discourse and experiences of recognition. It shows how a more communalising discourse of participation gives rise to forms of recognition that – under current labour market conditions – are more accessible and inclusive to the workers in the sheltered workshops. Theoretically, the thesis seeks to contribute to the 'sociologisation' of recognition. On the level of policy it argues for letting 'love' play a bigger role on the work floor.