

"A Glass of Water"

**A qualitative research to neoliberal technologies of governance and
moral economy in buurthuis Het Hoekie**

Master Thesis

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1. Introduction

Thompson mentioned as early as 1971 that “we know all about the delicate tissue of social norms and reciprocities which regulates the life of Trobriand islanders, and the physic energies involved in the cargo cults of Melanesia; but at some point this infinitely-complex social creature, Melanesian man, becomes (in our histories) the eighteenth century English collier who claps his hand spasmodically upon his stomach and responds to elementary economical stimuli” (Thompson 1971,78).

Thompson is a historian who criticised his own academic discipline and nurtured the anthropological method for understanding human life. Today in 2016 I use Thompson’s 1971 critique to address the flaws in anthropological theory that analyses society from the perspective of neoliberal governmentality. Although this body of literature might not portray individuals as only responding to economical stimuli, in this theoretical paradigm there is only little room for social resistance against neoliberal discourses. Theory of neoliberal governmentality holds the individual frozen in an interplay between technologies of neoliberal subjection and neoliberal subjectivity (Hilgers 2010, 351-364)The individual has no other choice than enterprising itself.

A 'buurthuis'¹ is a Dutch traditional and liberal institution that aims at the establishment of a community by the practice of recreational activities (Nijenhuis 1987). During neoliberal transformations in the Netherlands municipal governments closed most of these traditional institutions. After the economic crisis of 2008 some buurthuizen were reopened in self-management by local communities. The central question I will address in this thesis is: how is the moral economy of volunteers in buurthuis 'Het Hoekie' rearticulated in times of neoliberal social change? To answer this question I conducted four months of ethnographic fieldwork early 2016 in such a buurthuis in self-management. This research has provided me the insights to draft my thesis: *the study of local moral economies illuminates alternative models for social organisation and alleviates the over determination in the anthropological theoretical tradition that studies societies through the prism of biopolitics and neoliberal governmentality.*

The over determination in the theoretical tradition of *biopolitics* is the subject of the theoretical chapter. Foucault used the notion of biopolitics to explain a shift in *governmentality* that occurred with the rise of science and liberalism in early modern Europe (Lemke 2011, 33-52). In Foucault's reading of biopolitics means the exercise of power over human life.

¹ All words in this thesis are my personal translation.
Buurthuis: neighbourhood home, a social institution similar to the British community center.

The main critique to this approach is that resistance of individuals and local communities against biopolitical discourses, in a greater social body, is hard to conceptualise. This problem of over determination continues in the anthropological theory that approaches neoliberalism as a technology of governance. This approach portrays the subject as subjected to the interplay between neoliberal technologies of subjection and neoliberal technologies of subjectivity, this is a process that reinforces itself (Hilgers 2010, 351-364). Furthermore, in the abstract definition of neoliberalism as a technology of governance lures the danger of over interpretation. Moral economy is a useful concept to overcome this over determination. Thompson (1971) introduced moral economy in the academic debate to conceptualise communal resistance against new models of social and economical organisation. Moral economy, added to the theoretical framework of biopolitics, illuminates alternative models for social organisation. Subsequently, moral economy can function as a new theoretical lens that alleviates the over interpretation of neoliberalism.

In the contextual chapter I address the neoliberal transformations and discourses in Dutch society that the volunteers in Het Hoekie resist. During neoliberal transformations the buurthuis disappeared from public and academic discourses in Dutch society. The recent reappearance of the buurthuis in Dutch discourses might correlate with a relatively new neoliberal model for social organisation officially introduced by the national Dutch government in 2013.

The Dutch 'participation society' aims at a neoliberal transformation of state, society and economy (Lemke 2001, 190-207). The discourse of the participation society holds citizens responsible for their own care and the care of their social networks. The new buurthuis is a financial independent foundation and is operated in self-management by local communities. Self-management means financial independent. In the neoliberal political economy the buurthuis has to gather its own economic resources by the lease of its facilities and rooms. Do the volunteers that work in such a new buurthuis govern themselves by neoliberal technologies of the Self? At first glance it appears that they are participating in line with the discourse of the participation society. Or are there other motivations for the volunteers to reopen their buurthuis?

My first argument is that buurthuis Het Hoekie is indeed governed by neoliberal technologies of governance. More important, I argue that this is by far not the whole story of governance in Het Hoekie. In the first empirical chapter I will demonstrate that neoliberal technologies of governance are not sufficient to explain the rent rates calculated for tenants in Het Hoekie. Contrary to the official rent rates represented by enterprise Het Hoekie some ZZP² tenants receive a discount on their rate. Because there is no economical reason for enterprise Het Hoekie to do so, I propose to conceptualise the adjustments of the rent rates as instigated by a moral economy:

² Zelfstandige Zonder Personeel: Self-employed without staff

“A consistent traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community” (Thompson 1971, 79) A moral economy is grounded in historical experiences, customary practices and future moral outlooks (Edelman 2012, 49-66). In the past Het Hoekie functioned as a petting zoo which established a neighbourhood community. This historical experience with Het Hoekie in this neighbourhood informed the volunteers to favour children activities.

Agamben (1998) introduced the concept of biopolitics of Otherness to explain how biopolitics works to exclude the ‘undesired Other’. ‘Camp’ is an alternative model for social organisation established by states making exceptions to protect the ‘polis’. In the second empirical chapter I reverse the use of the theoretical concepts of camp and polis. In my argument it is not the state that makes exceptions to discourses that govern the polis but the local community. In Het Hoekie moral economy inspires the defence of the customary practice “doing something nice together”³. As an exception to neoliberal discourses that hold that all practices should be conducted efficiently and productively, the practice of doing something nice together establishes camp. Camp is an alternative model for social organisation where the contribution of the ‘vulnerable Other’ is nurtured accepted. When moral economy establishes camp it is carried by local communities, not established by powerful political institutions.

³ Conversation on 20th February

Moreover, when moral economy establishes camp it is a pleasant sphere of inclusion not exclusion.

In the last empirical chapter I discuss this vulnerable Other and the greater community that includes them. Before moral economy instigates action, legitimisation by a wider consensus of the community is necessary (Thompson 1971, 76-136). I argue that it is not a neighbourhood community but a contribution community that legitimises the defence of customary practices. To establish camp all contribution to Het Hoekie is necessary. The existence of a community that supports camp is important to motivate the volunteers in their continuous practice of contribution. A sign of both the contribution community and camp is the coffee morning. The vignette I provide in the last empirical chapter shows how moral economy inspires the struggle to carve out this alternative model for social organisation in the polis. Last I turn to the vulnerable Other. Who is this vulnerable Other? And what does it mean that people classify each other as vulnerable in Dutch society? These questions embed this camp in Het Hoekie in the greater neoliberal political economy of the polis. I conclude my thesis with a discussion on what the existence of camp means for the *universal* of the participation society.

2. Methodology

In the interpretative social sciences there is no clear demarcation between the researcher and the subjects studied. Thus, “examining feelings, prejudices and personal characteristics” (de Walt and de Walt 2010) is as much a part of ethnographic research as the research population. ‘Autoethnography’ is that method that connects the personal to the cultural and political context under study (Ellis 2004). In this chapter I use Autoethnography, I consider this chapter a chance to tell the story of how my “feelings, prejudices and personal characteristics” influenced my research. Likewise, I consider this chapter a chance to tell how my development as an ethnographic researcher informed my choices during my fieldwork.

All my past research projects were societal engaged projects. For me it is important to search for solutions to contemporary problems while doing research. Therefore, when the so-called refugee crisis⁴ accelerated in the Netherlands I decided to subscribe to the anthropology master Sustainable Citizenship in my hometown Utrecht. I felt that mainstream media contributed to the problems. Late 2015 the media mainly covered this issue by reporting on local protests against the arrival of refugees in small countryside communities.

⁴ This was how the mainstream media reported on the increase of immigration to European countries, I do not consider this is a refugee crisis

People spoke of the silent majority who welcomed the refugees but were not adequately represented in the mainstream media. Subscribing to an anthropology master would provide me the necessary recourses to conduct an ethnographic research. My research population would be either this silent majority or the countryside communities engaged in violent protests. My initial aim was to help relieve the shallow representations in the media by conducting an in-depth ethnographic research.

I learned about a neighbourhood where many civil initiatives were founded to welcome and help new arrived refugees. This neighbourhood housed a refugee centre as well as a successful buurthuis in self-management. Moreover, the refugee centre was housed in a 'panopticon'. I could not have found a better neighbourhood to research the relation between camp and polis. Camp (signified by the panopticon) and polis (the buurthuis) would be the two poles in my field of study. I would find that the dichotomy between polis and camp is not rigid but blurred. I would find that neighbourhood residents, informed by a moral economy that underscores the importance of a common humanity, welcomed refugees in their community. During my research I would document democratic initiatives that could help relieve some of the problems in Dutch society.

Ethnographic fieldwork starts with *participant observation*. After I conducted a day of fieldwork I documented my observations and considerations in an extended record of field notes. I followed the rule that what was not documented in my field notes did not happen. (de Walt

and de Walt 2010)I gained access to buurthuis Het Hoekie in the neighbourhood of my choice, by *active participation*. I took on the job of writing articles for their website, I did so in order to *build rapport*: to establish a mutual commitment to each others' goals (de Walt and de Walt 2010). I am happy I took on responsibilities that kept me busy working in Het Hoekie. Otherwise I had left this buurthuis to seek for another civil initiative in the neighbourhood. It turned out that the volunteers in Het Hoekie had little contact with the refugees in the neighbourhood. Therefore I was about to extend my field site to the larger neighbourhood. If I had done this I would have found a research population that acted according to my personal research preferences. I would have found what I was looking for; refugees excluded from citizenship who were integrated in a network of engaged citizens. There were plenty of other civil initiatives in the neighbourhood that were engaged with refugees. Of course, to find exactly what you search for is an indicator for bad ethnographic research. My supervisor opened my eyes by asking why I presupposed that camp is about refugees and refugees centres. Camp can be any alternative model for social organisation in an given society. Driven by the ambition to document solutions to the so-called refugee problem I shut my eyes to other forms of alternative organisation in Dutch society. Even worse, I was so focused on refugees I almost stepped in the trap I was about to criticise theory for; I was about to reify biopolitical discourses with my focus on state technologies of power.

When I started my research my first goal was to gain entrance to diverse groups in the neighbourhood. After this important realisation my main research population became the volunteers working in buurthuis Het Hoekie. By that time I already gained entrance and conducted a few *semi-structured interviews* for my own research and their website. I do not consider these first interviews as high quality data. I was too confused about my subject during these first interviews. Nonetheless, during this starting period I gained entrance to the network of volunteers in Het Hoekie, and I practiced my skills as a qualitative interviewer. The coffee morning became the backbone of my participant observation. When I met up with informants for an interview or participated in activities the coffee morning was almost always the starting point of my day. I consider this strength in my research because the volunteers in Het Hoekie consider the coffee morning as that activity that signifies what the Het Hoekie is about. Moreover, An important group of volunteers in Het Hoekie are the regulars at the coffee morning.

The second period in my research relied heavily on *unstructured methods*. As I will demonstrate in this thesis, Het Hoekie operates on the fault line of neoliberal discourses and moral economy. Both moral economy and neoliberal discourses are in general about what people consider a valuable practice and why they consider this as valuable. Questions about value are easy to prompt when people conduct that practice they value.

Thus I *participated in activities and events*, and held *informal conversations*. I contrasted these *observations* with *official policy documents* of Het Hoekie. The contrasts if found between representations and actual practices proved to be interesting. I elaborate on this contrast in the first empirical chapter. If I located gaps of knowledge in my data collection, I asked people about the topics in *informal und unstructured interviews*. I documented *oral histories* of both the neighbourhood and Het Hoekie in *a timetable*. The histories in the contextual chapter are grounded in this documentation of important past events.

The topic of my research turned out to be how a moral economy provides this local 'contribution community' in Het Hoekie the capacity to modify neoliberal discourses. To explain this social process I integrate a "vertical slice" in my analysis in order to "expose different layers of power relations (...) [and] construct complete picture of cause and effect" (Stryker and Gonzales 2014, 1-26). To acquire the data needed for such a vertical slice I attended a few meetings hosted in Het Hoekie. In these meetings civil and state representatives discussed the current transformations relating the neoliberal participation society. Added to these meetings I *interviewed two municipal officials* and *reviewed national and municipal policy documents*.

Concerning the topic of neoliberalism I also had to reconsider my own emotions. To put it mildly, I am not happy with the neoliberal policies currently conducted by the national government.

I decided not to introduce this topic to my informants myself, and neither did my informants for a long period. This silence in discourses in Het Hoekie surrounding the issue of governmental policies is a finding on its own, I elaborate on this issue in the third empirical chapter. In general, during my research I considered my emotions as a source of data (Diphorn 2013, 201-225). Before I attended Het Hoekie I documented my mood and I kept a track of my emotions during and after fieldwork. When I felt indignation about an issue I documented this, sometimes I reconsidered my observations because the documented emotions.

One of the important insights I gained from this 'mood record' is that I avoided the documentation of class in my field notes. I realised this when I read back my field notes in which I documented a repetitive unease in certain social situations. In retrospect I realised that this unease had something to do with the class differences between volunteers and between my informants and myself. My reluctance to document class resonates with a national culture in which it is considered impolite to discuss and acknowledge class differences. In discourse Dutch citizens all belong to the middle class. Thus, although class is an important social category in the social relations in Het Hoekie, I decided to honour the expressions of my informants and use the word class as little as possible in this analysis. I find it important to note here that the concepts of human capital, class and the social category in Het Hoekie I labelled as the vulnerable Other relate.

I observed that in Het Hoekie middle class volunteers are often considered as less vulnerable than working class volunteers.

However, class is not the only variable that correlates with vulnerability. Not all working class volunteers are classified as vulnerable. Still, the relation between class and vulnerability is of importance, I return to this issue in the conclusion.

Method triangulation crosschecks conclusions and enhances the validity of findings (de Walt and de Walt 2010). In general I asked people when I needed to know something, and I observed people when I thought there was more going on than expressed in their words. I am confident that my findings match the experiences of my informants. During my research it happened more than once that I enhanced and confirmed my understanding of the worldviews of my informants by method triangulation.

My thesis turned out to be theoretically focused. Therefore, I structured the empirical chapters to build up my critique to theory and subsequently move theory further. In the first empirical chapter I introduce the concept of moral economy to explain practices in Het Hoekie. In the second empirical chapter I demonstrate how moral economy shapes practices in Het Hoekie. In the last empirical chapter I discuss the consequences of my findings for Dutch society.

3. Theoretical framework

My central thesis is: the over determination in biopolitics can be overcome by attributing the concept of moral economy to this theoretical prism. In the first paragraph of this theoretical chapter I discuss biopolitics as conceptualised by Foucault. This discussion of biopolitics relies heavily on Thomas Lemke's reading of Foucault's work (2001, 2002, 2011). In the second paragraph I introduce Thompson's (1971) concept of moral economy, and discuss how Scott (1977) used this concept for his analysis of Vietnamese peasant society. Both authors used the concept of moral economy to explain how local communities influenced the course of history during periods of political and economical turmoil.

My aim is to show that moral economy is a powerful concept to explain communal resistance against neoliberal discourses that govern a social body. Therefore, I continue this chapter with an overview of the anthropological literature that studies neoliberalism as a modern form of governmentality. The problem of over determination in the theoretical framework of biopolitics mirrors the theoretical problems in the anthropological tradition that analyses societies through the prism of neoliberal governmentality. Although I take a different stance to the concept of moral economy than Fassin (2012), my central thesis is that moral economy is a powerful analytical tool to overcome this over determination.

3.1 Governmentality and Biopolitics

Foucault (1977) demonstrated that governmentality through multiple institutions in society was common before the 17th century. European medical, social and technological innovations transformed Western societies (Foucault 1977). Examples of these non-political institutions that governed were: the family, the church and the soul. With the dawn of liberalism people started associating government with the political domain. Governmentality is a rationale or a mentality that legitimises the exercise of power over a population. This rationale is discursively represented in a society to legitimize the use of power as a technology.

Foucault (1977) introduced a new view that linked knowledge to power. How knowledge and power interrelate is explained by the idea of a discourse. A discourse is the struggle over meaning and power in a society. In discourses the appropriate form of governmentality is represented, and thus the appropriate use of technologies of power. Discursive representations are negotiated by and through all institutions and individuals in society, not just by agents in the political domain (Lemke 2011, 33-52). Governmentality is the "conduct of conduct" the many ways by which the conduct of others is directed by calculated means (Ferguson and Gupta 2002, 981-1002).

Foucault (2008) approached *biopolitics* as a modern form of exercising power over populations.

In a broader sense biopolitics means the exercise of power over all human life (Lemke 2011, 33-52). Foucault embedded the idea of biopolitics in the political economy (Lazzarato 2009, 109-133). With the progresses made in the medical sciences during and after the enlightenment, sovereign powers became responsible over the health of the population. Sovereign power over life and death transformed in a power over living beings and legal subjects. The health of the *individual body* became extended to the health of a population as a greater *social body* (Lemke 2011, 33-52). Biopolitics represents and structures technologies of security to govern the individual body, and to govern the health of the greater social body. Subsequently, technologies of discipline are exercised through institutions as the army, prisons, schools and hospitals. These technologies and institutions function to discipline the individual body and secure the biopolitical social body from internal and external dangers (Foucault 1977).

Biopolitics need a demarcated territory with a population subjected to rights. This population is the social body, and today the modern nation-state (Lazzarato 2009, 109-133). The body of literature that discusses *biopolitics of Otherness* interprets how Western nation-states deal with the "*undesired Other*". According to Agamben (1998), biopolitics is not a modern phenomenon but a logical continuation of the pre modern sovereign power over life and death. Agamben criticises Foucault's approach to biopolitics.

According to Agamben biopolitics is not a productive equilibrium of knowledge and power, but biopolitics is about dealing with the undesired Other who are denied access to a legal status and the protection of the sovereign power. Agamben identified two models for social organisation both established by biopolitics: "*polis*" and "*camp*". In the polis people are granted full citizen rights to live a "*full life*". Camp is where the undesired Other lives its "*bare life*" (Agamben 1998) (Agamben 1998) (Agamben 1998) . The sovereign exploits the gap between bare and full life to produce its power (Agamben 1998). Agamben situates camp outside Western societies. Examples of modern camps are Guantanamo bay and the Nazi concentration camps. Contemporary anthropologist who evolved Agambens' theoretical concepts situate camp inside the polis. According to Fassin (2012) camp is in the refugee shelters within the borders of Western nation-states (Fassin 2012, 362-387).

This approach to biopolitics portrays nation-states as monolithic blocks. As societies free of internal conflicts and power imbalances. Biopolitics provides little concept to explain how relatively powerless individuals and institutions have the capacity to resist against powerful discourses. Related, biopolitics theoretical void is in the absence of an adequate explanation for social change. Foucault was aware of this problem of 'docile bodies'. In later works Foucault develops the concepts of 'technologies of governing the Self' and 'technologies of domination' (Lemke 2002, 49-64). Technologies of the Self are strategic power games played among individuals.

Technologies of domination are what we normally see as power: having to capacity to conduct the conduct of others, often coming from institutions as the state. Between these two technologies lies government.

When knowledge is power it is hard to understand how a person who is subjected to biopolitical discourses finds the capacity to escape or alters these. How can a subject that internalises external knowledge find alternative knowledge that enables its resistance? Technologies of the Self only explain how the subject alters external knowledge and practice by: “creative strategies of resistance” or “counter conducts” (Lazzarato 2009, 109-133). Another problem with this approach to biopolitics is that it writes out any other form of cooperation than the cooperation between the state and individual bodies. The only possible form of human interaction is a power struggle, this power struggle is formalised in governing bodies as the state. The question how all these atomised individuals resist technologies of domination conducted by that same state is not answered. In Foucault’s theoretical framework of biopolitics any community except the state and the nation is written out.

3.2 Moral economy

In “The Moral Economy of the English crowd in the 18th century” Thompson (1971) argued that the 18th century bread riots in England could not be explained by just the economic motivations of the crowd. These riots were disciplined events and aimed at the punishment of the middleman and setting the price of bread and flour.

These crowd actions, not riots, were not just about filling the stomachs of people. These crowd actions were informed by a *moral economy*: “a consistent traditional view of the social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community” (Thompson 1971, 79). This moral economy informed the English crowd on what was considered as either legitimate or illegitimate economical behaviour. Legitimation is “the informed believe that the crowd is defending traditional rights and customs that are supported by a larger consensus of the community” (Thompson 1971, 76-136).

In a similar fashion Scott (1976) demonstrated that the redistribution of goods in a Vietnamese peasant society was not just informed by economical motives. The redistribution of goods in the Vietnamese peasant society under study was embedded in a non-economic moral universe of solidarity, and the idea of the “right to substance”. According to Scott open rebellion occurred not during all economic recessions, only when the Vietnamese peasants right to substance was violated. People rebelled only when they felt the livelihood of their families and their community was threatened. These “subjective mentalities” were the necessary preconditions for an open rebellion (Scott 1976; Edelman 2005, 331-345).

Thompson and Scott both demonstrated how a moral economy legitimated crowd action. These 18th and late 20th century crowd actions were not economic riots. These crowd actions were conducted with discipline, and were a communally informed resistance against political

and economical changes in a traditional society (Edelman 2005, 331-345). Moral economies inform communities to protect their traditional models for social organisation. Moral economies are grounded in historical experiences, customary practices and future moral outlooks (Edelman 2012, 49-66).

Fassin's (2012) definition of moral economy is: "the economy of moral values and norms of a given group in a given moment" (Fassin 2012, 362-387). According to Fassin a moral economy that couples compassion and repression informs Western societies on how to deal with the undesired Other. According to Fassin this doubled moral economy answers the question: "why, in societies hostile to immigrants and lacking in concern for undesirable others, there remains a sense of common humanity collectively expressed through attention paid to human needs and suffering?" Fassin argues that polis and camp are two models for social organisation that co-exists alongside each other within the borders of Western nation-states. Camp is in the refugee shelters, and is shaped by discourses of compassion and repression. Discourses of compassion shape humanitarian care (not cure). Discourses of repression shape the exceptions governments make to juridical and international human rights discourses. These exceptions are made to protect the polis by excluding undesired Others. Humanitarianism is thus not 'apolitical', it functions to maintain an unjust and exclusive world order (Fassin 2012, 362-387).

Fassin uses a broad definition of moral economy. In this argument moral economy rationalises and structures technologies of power, conducted through political and apolitical institutions in society. This broad definition of moral economy proposed by Fassin reverses the idea of moral economy as originally proposed by Thompson (1971). Moral economy was for Thompson's 18th century town people, and Scott's 20th century Vietnamese peasants a communally shared worldview, which informed their resistance against grand political and economical models. In Fassin's argument moral economy functions not to resist but to rationalise power.

3.3 Neoliberal governmentality

When we approach neoliberalism as a new form of biopolitics, neoliberalism evolved from a liberal political rationale. Liberals see the market as a natural force that should be moulded by political intervention. This intervention must ensure the freedom of the rational individual. This free and rational individual is the necessary precondition to legitimate the existence of the state (Lemke 2001, 190-207).

According to Foucault neoliberalism evolved from German Ordo liberalism in the United States of the 20th century. Neoliberal political rationale holds that the market is a natural force that should govern all domains of society (Lemke 2001, 190-207). Neoliberal political rationale holds that markets must foster competition, and therefore the political domain needs to foster a "equal inequality" (Lazzarato 2009, 109-133) In a neoliberal 'market society' the individual is an entrepreneur.

This entrepreneur is responsible for its personal wellbeing, and subsequently for the wellbeing of society. Human capital are the embodied skills, abilities and knowledge people acquire while enterprising their lives. Whether people acquire or do not acquire this human capital is explained by their surroundings and genetic predispositions (Lemke 2001, 190-207). In a neoliberal market society the state executes new tasks, the state needs to control and manage its subjects, for which it is no longer responsible. During neoliberal transformations states do not just withdraw their boundaries from society, these transformations are more about redefining the relationship between the state, the economy and society (Lemke 2001, 190-207).

Rose (1996) marks three distinctive dimensions within neoliberal technologies of governance executed by state governmental bodies: 1) a new relation between expertise and politics by regimes of financial management 2) governing at 'arms length' 3) the efforts of the state to 'reprogramme' [sic] its subjects as active individuals that need to enterprise themselves (Rose 2006, 144-162). This general typology of neoliberal state governance is useful for theorising on governing and political policies (Kipnis 2008, 275-289). For example, Ong (2006) demonstrates that neoliberalism is a highly malleable technology of governance. Neoliberalism as a technology of governance is used in very diverse ways by Asian states in order to subject their national populations. Ongs' ethnographic studies demonstrate that in reality there is no such thing as a free market.

The rhetoric of the free market is used to maximise national production (Ong 2006). However, Kipnis (2008) demonstrates how easy it is to conceptualise post socialist audit cultures and even ancient Eastern political philosophy as Roses' neoliberal technologies of governance. In this abstract approach to neoliberalism lurks a danger of over interpretation (Hilgers 2010, 351-364).

Another problem with the concept of neoliberal governmentality in anthropological literature is that "technologies of subjection" and "technologies of subjectivity" continuously reinforce each other (Hilgers 2010, 351-364). Technologies of subjection are executed through powerful institutions to govern populations and maximise the productivity of human capital and human bodies. Simultaneously, increasing insecurity in living conditions and increasing competition among individuals makes people understand themselves in terms of neoliberal subjectivity. When individual agency is conceptualised as a technology of subjectivity, it drives people to act in a way that reinforces their own subjection (Hilgers 2010, 351-364).

3.4 Moral economy and power

I feel that the important role ascribed to power and power relations in the theoretical framework of biopolitics and neoliberal governmentality is essential for anthropological research.

It requires little explanation that some powerful institutions in societies have the power to conduct the conduct of others, whether this use of power is legitimised by a silent and productive rationale, or conducted by impudent technologies of domination. Analysing a society through the prism of power enriches the traditional ethnographic 'worms eye' view (Kipnis 2008, 275-289) with a "vertical slice" of power relations. This vertical slice connects local contexts to the greater web of power relations in which every field site is embedded (Stryker and Gonzales 2014, 1-26).

However, my critique on this anthropological tradition is that it is weak in explaining individual and communal capacity to resist or change the powerful discourses that govern them. This problem of explaining agency emerges because subjects always react to external discourses in this theoretical model. Another problem is that the focus on power and power games between people isolates them; there is no explanation for communal cooperation. According to Thompson isolated individuals are not easily mobilised. Crowd action in 18th century England only happened when people felt their grievances were supported by "a larger consensus within the community" (Thompson 1971, 76-136). This community then function as a source of legitimation, the community functions to mobilise individuals. The community protects itself and its traditional model for social organisation. Moral economy as a theoretical concept has the capacity to solve both theoretical problems in the framework of biopolitics and neoliberal governmentality. Moral economy explains how internalised and personal values make people move and stand their ground against

new forms of governmentality. Moral economy explains how a community enables the resistance against neoliberal governmentality.

4. The participation society and the neighbourhood

In this contextual chapter I discuss the Dutch neoliberal political discourse of the participation society. This account of the discourse of the participation society embeds my field site, buurthuis Het Hoekie, in a vertical slice of power relations (Stryker and Gonzales 2014, 1-26). This participation society is the neoliberal discourse that the volunteers in buurthuis The Hoekie resist and mould, informed by their moral economy. Subsequently, this vertical slice provides a historical overview of neoliberal transformations in the Netherlands, and how the traditional institution the buurthuis developed over time in the Dutch political economy.

4.1 Transformations

The Dutch governing body is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy. In the annual 'troonrede'⁵ the monarch of the Netherlands represents upcoming governmental policies and budgets for the next financial year. Subsequently, past years societal events and developments are discussed. The troonrede also provides an account of the desired future course the national government and society will have to follow in the next years. The noise of every day politics does not easily permeate in the royal parlour. This is why a long-term overview of the troonrede is a

⁵ King's or Queen's Speech

good source for the continuity as well the changes in the official political discourse.

An analysis of the troonredes represented by the monarch after the Second World War shows that the Dutch political economy is under a transformation from a liberal to a neoliberal model. This transformation starts in the discourse of the troonrede of 1979. The political economical model for Dutch society that comes forth out of the troonredes in the period between 1945 and 1979 is comparable to what Foucault named Ordo liberalism (Lemke 2001,193). The troonredes read out by the monarch during the post war reconstruction period, and during the so-called heyday of the welfare state continuously emphasise that the costs of economic growth and modernisation are the feelings of displeasure and alienation in Dutch society. The role of the government as represented in the troonredes between 1945 and 1979 is to protect citizens against these feelings (Becker 2005, 59-68).

Neoliberal political rationale arrives in the troonrede in 1979. From that year on the empowerment of citizens is considered a success. Therefore people are now able to speak up and 'take matters in own hands. Citizens now have a duty; to contribute to the wellbeing of the greater Dutch society. Words as empowerment, responsibility and active participation are frequently used in the troonredes after 1978 (Becker 2005, 59-68). This neoliberal political rationale becomes even more influential in the troonredes after the turn of the millennium.

This transformation from a liberal to a neoliberal political discourse mirrors similar developments in other European societies.

These developments are today known as the golden age and the decline of the welfare states (Raven 2012). In the traditional European welfare state national governments were occupied with their duty to fulfil citizens their citizen rights. With the decline of the welfare state a new neoliberal model for social organisation is introduced. In this model citizens become responsible for their own wellbeing, and subsequently for the wellbeing of society. In the Netherlands public discourses that represent and discuss the decline of the welfare state appear in the early 80's (Raven 2012). The debate on the unbearable costs of the welfare state might have started in the early 80's; it takes the national government 33 years to officially introduce an alternative model for social organisation in the troonrede.

In 2013 the new King of the Netherlands reads out his first troonrede. In this troonrede 'King Willem Alexander'⁶ manifests: "the traditional welfare state gradually evolves in a 'participation society'. Everyone who has the ability to do so will be asked to take responsibility for his or her own life and surroundings. When people shape their own future they do not only add value to their own lives but also to the whole of society" (Rijksoverheid 2013). The public and political discourses of this

⁶ King Willem Alexander's full title is: His Majesty Willem-Alexander Claus George Ferdinand, King of the Netherlands, Prince of Oranje-Nassau, Duke of Amsberg

participation society are fuelled by words as: 'citizen power', 'affective citizenship', and 'personal responsibility' (Tonkens 2006).

With this official introduction of the participation society the national government transfers the moral responsibility for the wellbeing of citizens to the social domain. Subsequently, in this participation discourse the national government legitimises its withdrawal from the domain of social and health care.

The participation society is mainly concerned with the transfer of social and health care tasks to the social domain. This participation rationale has an institutional forebear known as the 2007 participation law⁷. This participation law goal is: "to ensure that people can live as long as possible on their own in order to be able to participate in society. With or without help provided by friends, family or acquaintances. If social support does not lead to the desired results, the municipality provides support" (Rijksoverheid 2007). In the Netherlands neoliberal policies transfer governmental tasks to the social domain by a two step process. First, the national government transfers social and health care tasks to the municipal government. Second, the municipality transfers a large share of these tasks to the social domain.

⁷ In 2007 this law was introduced as the law for societal support: Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning (WMO). The WMO supports the rationale of the participation society, and was therefore renamed in 2013 as the participation law.

4.2. Participation and the neighbourhood

In January 2015, a year before I entered my field site: buurthuis Het Hoekie in Arnhem, the national government transferred a comprehensive set of governmental tasks to the municipal governing body of Arnhem. Arnhem is the name of a municipality in the East of the Netherlands, and the name of the municipal capital city. The municipal capital city Arnhem is a medium sized city in the Netherlands with a population of approximate 150.000 people. This city is where buurthuis Het Hoekie is located. In 2013 the municipal governing body of the city of Arnhem⁸ anticipated on the future societal transformations in a public policy document named; the resilient society of Arnhem. In this document the municipality manifests that this so-called resilient society of Arnhem will have to execute governmental tasks independently in the near future (Gemeente Arnhem 2013,1). In later policy documents, written in 2014 the tone is less strict, the municipality ensures citizens that they will not have to execute former governmental tasks without the necessary municipal support (Gemeente Arnhem 2014a).

In order to transfer tasks to the social domain, in line with the legislations executed by the national government, the municipality divides the city of Arnhem in eight areas. Each area consists out of two or more of the traditional neighbourhoods in Arnhem. In each of these eight areas two new municipal governmental bodies are installed: a municipal 'social team' and a 'team surrounding's.

⁸ From now on I refer to the municipal governing body of the city of Arnhem as the municipality or the municipality of Arnhem

Two municipal officials supervise these 'area teams': an area manager and an area alderman. When the area managers diagnose a problem in their area they have the duty to report this problem to the area alderman. The area alderman reports to the municipal town council about the course of events in the areas. The executive municipal officials in the social teams and teams surroundings execute the job to activate people to participate in their neighbourhood. Subsequently these officials have to map and connect all organisations and other active agents in their area. An encompassing quantity of former governmental tasks will have to be executed by agents in the neighbourhood, either citizens or organisations. Municipal support is still available, however only on the request of the municipal executive officials in the area teams. The cooperation between the social area team and the team surroundings in the areas has to reduce future governmental costs. The idea is that a healthy and liveable neighbourhood environment reduces possible social problems in the areas. The social area teams started in January 2015. The teams surrounding will start in January 2017 (Gemeente Arnhem 2014c).

The cooperation between the social and surroundings area teams is just one of the municipality efforts to reduce governmental costs. A main concern continuously expressed in the policy documents written between 2013 and 2016, are the accompanied future shortcuts imposed by the national government on the municipal budget.

The execution of past municipal governmental tasks, and the transformation of the relationship between the municipality and this resilient society of Arnhem has to happen on a tight budget. The national government argues that the tasks transferred to the municipality, can be executed with a 25% financial shortcut compared to the national budget. Guided by a mirroring efficiency discourse the municipality imposes the same 'efficiency shortcut' on the budget available for the social domain to execute past municipal tasks (Gemeente Arnhem 2014b). On both levels this austerity is rationalised by the idea that "governance organised in the proximity of the population is more efficient", and thus can happen for less money (Gemeente Arnhem 2015b) (Gemeente Arnhem 2016).

In the policy documents I reviewed both the national government as the municipality continuously represent themselves as withdrawing from society. However, the extend of the municipal governing body of Arnhem grows. The municipality continuously mentions past and forthcoming austerities imposed by the national government on the municipal budget. Still, in all policy documents written between 2014 and 2018 the budgeted overhead available to finance the municipality grows (Gemeente Arnhem 2014b). This is logical since the area teams are newly introduced municipal bodies, whilst the traditional municipal bodies are not abolished. The main future task of the municipality is to supervise the execution of former governmental task by the social domain, rather than the execution these tasks. In the future citizens are expected to execute an increasing set of former governmental tasks.

Indeed, what actually happens is not just state withdrawal, but indeed the neoliberal re-definition of the relationships between the state, the economy and society (Lemke 2001, 190-207).

The efficiency short cuts imposed on the budget available for the execution of tasks by the social domain will have to be resolved “by more neighbourhood less government” according to the municipal administration and town council of Arnhem (Gemeente Arnhem 2015a). According to the policy documents, in Arnhem the neighbourhood is traditionally a field of social cohesion. A pillar of the future participation society is thus the neighbourhood. The municipality also ascribes a central role to the buurthuis in its policies. It is the buurthuis where the social and surroundings area teams are supposed to work and where citizens must meet to collectively execute the new tasks.

4.3 A history of the buurthuis

In 1892 the first Dutch buurthuis is opened in Amsterdam. The first late 19th and early 20th century buurthuizen in the Netherlands were mainly operated and financed by a Dutch elite. It was a liberal rationale that motivated this Dutch elite to found the first buurthuizen. Through social institutions as the buurthuis this elite tried to correct and educate the poor to help them overcome their poverty. In these first 19th century buurthuizen it soon became apparent that the working poor were not seeking for elevation and education after a day of hard work.

For this reason the correctional and educational activities organised in the buurthuis became early on recreational from character (Nijenhuis 1987).

At the same time that a liberal rationale starts to dominate the official political discourse represented in the annual troonredes, the national government starts subsidising buurthuizen in the Netherlands. These governmental grants are legitimised by similar discourses that inspired the 19th century elite to establish the buurthuis in Dutch society. The national government represents the buurthuis as an institution that can alleviate poverty. To alleviate poverty, poor citizens have to be corrected and educated. The buurthuis is a proper institution to conduct these educational practices (Nijenhuis 1987). From 1945 on buurthuizen are no longer mainly operated and financed by a liberal Dutch elite. After the Second World War they become fully subsidised by the national government (De Jong and Nijenhuis 1984).

In the Netherlands people often speak of the heyday of the welfare state when they refer to the period between the early 50's and late 70's (Raven 2012). During this welfare heyday the buurthuis became an important governmental funded institution. The buurthuis had to alleviate the discomforts that came with modernity (Nijenhuis 1987). According to the national government: the buurthuis "can establish unity were social change and modernisation leads to broken communities" (van der Wielen, Hendrik G.V. 1956). Or: the buurthuis "can establish a mental well-being that is threatened by urbanisation and up scaling" (Rijksoverheid 1966).

The idea is that in a buurthuis this establishment of unity and establishment of mental well-being will happen through communally practiced recreational activities (Nijenhuis 1987).

A research report published by the national government in 1966 distinguishes between six categories of activities: gezelligheid⁹, handicraft, sports, education, musical practices and social services. Most of the buurthuis activities were practiced for recreational as well as educational goals. Thus, after the Second World War this liberal education and correction of the poor by communally practiced recreational activities becomes organised by a centralised state apparatus. During the heyday of the welfare state new social academies are established to educate the society workers that will conduct 'social work' in the Dutch buurthuizen (De Jong and Nijenhuis 1984).

The buurthuis disappears from Dutch discourses in the early 70's. Academic analysis and historical accounts of the buurthuis cover this institution until roughly the years 1969 or 1970. All secondary historical data I reviewed came from the University of Utrecht library depot, and was written before 1980. An explanation for the disappearance of the buurthuis from academic and public discourses might be that the national government withdrew national grants after the so-called heyday of the welfare state. A 1987 decentralising welfare law transferred the financial responsibility for the buurthuis to municipal budgets.

⁹ Gezelligheid: intimate/cosy/sociable

Whether a buurthuis remained open after 1987 became a decision made by the municipal governing bodies in the Netherlands. The end of the welfare heyday subsequently ended the national oversight of and research to the buurthuis.

The participation society discourse represents the neighbourhood as one of its important fields of social cohesion (Jager-Vreugdenhil 2012, 87-130). It might not come as a surprise that alongside the development of the participation discourse the buurthuis is recently reintroduced in public discourses. Interestingly, the buurthuis apparently evolved after the 2008 economic crisis. Most of the buurthuizen discussed in public and political debates are no longer mainly state funded institutions. In some municipalities buurthuizen are reopened, or are self-managed by volunteers. The volunteers that manage or open up these buurthuizen often do so in cooperation with the local municipal governing body. These municipal governing bodies probably have their own interests in keeping a buurthuis open in a specific neighbourhood (Huygen 2014). An interesting question is whether the volunteers express their motivations in terms of participation, or if they express different motivations to volunteer in such a buurthuis in self-management. My field site is one of those buurthuizen in self-management.

4.4 A history of Het Hoekie

Buurthuis Het Hoekie is located in the neighbourhood Transvaal in Arnhem. In the area that is today Transvaal the first homes were built late in the late 19th century. A social housing organisation built the first houses during a period of industrialisation and urbanisation in Arnhem. These “tiny homes” (Franssen 1994) were built to sanitise [sic] the residents of nearby slums. Other historical buildings in the neighbourhood are the former panopticon prison and a former hospital for the urban poor. During the 20th century the neighbourhood evolved and wealthier families moved to the neighbourhood. Transvaal is thus traditionally a neighbourhood with a population of wealthy and less wealthy residents. After the Second World War social housing organisations continue to build homes for the urban poor in Transvaal. Slowly, wealthier residents moved to other neighbourhoods or cities, and Transvaal evolved in a “poor and deteriorated” area. In the early 80’s young middle class families start to buy houses in the neighbourhood due to the economic crisis (Franssen 1994).

Buurthuis Het Hoekie was opened in the neighbourhood Transvaal in 1977. Compared to other buurthuizen in the Netherlands, Het Hoekie appeared late on the scene. The working class families, in 1977 the largest group of neighbourhood residents, are anti-social” and in need of correction according to the municipality. The municipality requests a national governmental grant to fund a buurthuis.

The municipality expects that a buurthuis will curtail the so-called “societal deterioration” of the neighbourhood. The national government provides this grant, and a new buurthuis is established in the former nursery school at outskirts of the neighbourhood (Franssen 1994) .

Ria was the first society worker appointed to Het Hoekie, as mentioned in the oral histories I documented during my fieldwork. Ria started her job as a society worker in Het Hoekie in the early 80’s. She was already a neighbourhood resident and lived together with her husband Jaap near Het Hoekie. This “golden couple”¹⁰ managed the buurthuis for approximately twenty years. Ria functioned in Het Hoekie as a society worker, accompanied by Jaap who functioned as her right hand and the janitor. Jaap still volunteered in het Hoekie in 2016. He told me: “we were always busy to build a home for the neighbourhood”¹¹. One of the volunteers told me: “ for Ria and Jaap nothing was too crazy to make the children happy”¹². Ria and Jaap installed a small petting zoo in the courtyard of Het Hoekie: “Pigs, chickens, goats, bunnies, and at one point we even had Benny a small pony, we walked him to the nearby playground four times a day”¹³. We also held snakes and reptiles, housed in the gym for the boys, the boys were more into that” Jaap memorised happily when I asked him about the history of Het Hoekie.

¹⁰ Unstructured interview on 18th March

¹¹ Semi-structured interview on 15th March

¹² Unstructured interview on 20th May

¹³ Semi-structured interview on 15th March

This period in het Hoekie is still cherished today by the volunteers who remember Riek and Gerard. According to these volunteers it was because of this couple that the working class and newly arriving middle class families integrated in to one big neighbourhood community.

Ria and Jaap retired before the turn of the millennium. Although Het Hoekie was considered a success, the municipality withdrew most funds from Het Hoekie by the year 2000. Het Hoekie became the responsibility of a civil organisation named Rijnstad. About this Rijnstad's period my informants told me: "these managers all did their own thing with the building, and the buurthuis had no connection with the neighbourhood anymore", another volunteer said: "at one point there even was a kickboxing school in the building which nobody even asked for it was al very faint"¹⁴. Slowly Transvaal residents stop visiting Het Hoekie.

A new turning point for Het Hoekie starts when some neighbourhood residents, people who met each other years ago in Het Hoekie, start cooking together once or twice a week. These neighbourhood residents ask the Rijnstad manager permission to use the cooking facilities and the living room in Het Hoekie. The spacious living room with its large windows is a pleasant site to dine. After all, the building belongs to the neighbourhood, right? Other neighbourhood residents see the group of friends collectively dine in the living room. When a neighbourhood resident walks past the big windows near the front door the cooks often invite them.

¹⁴ Semi structured interview on 18th March

After all, Het Hoekie must facilitate “doing something nice together”. Moreover, doing something nice together should not happen only among acquaintances. The whole neighbourhood is welcome in Het Hoekie!¹⁵ A neighbourhood cooking club is born. From its early days on the cooking club keeps on growing. Everyone who wants to join is welcome. In 2005 Rijnstad also decides to withdraw their funds and managers from Het Hoekie. The building will be closed. Members of the cooking club will have to find a new location for their practice. When Het Hoekie closes it will be the end of the cooking club, because other possible locations ask too much rent. Nobody knows what will happen to the building when Rijnstad abandons it. The cooking club members noticed the original beauty of the building during the weekly cooking events. Beautiful yes, but it also needed a major renovation. “The interior looked like nothing had changed since the opening in 1977, I am not sure but probably that was even true”¹⁶ one first hour cooking club member told me. Some cooking club members had strong feelings of ownership to the building. For them, the building should belong to the neighbourhood¹⁷.

Some of the cooking club members organised a neighbourhood meeting in Het Hoekie to find out if there was enough neighbourhood support to reopen Het Hoekie in self-management. The attendance was overwhelming.

¹⁵ Unstructured interview on 12th May

¹⁶ Unstructured interview on 13th May

¹⁷ Field notes of 20th February

The municipality promised to provide the necessary resources to finance a five year transformation period between 2005 and 2011. In January 2011 Het Hoekie must be financial independent. After 2011 all resources necessary to keep the building open must be gathered by hiring out the facilities and rooms inside the building. If the volunteers succeed in this, the building can then facilitate other desired neighbourhood activities as the cooking club.

The following transitional years, between 2005 and 2011, are years of trial and error. First, the new volunteers learn that while a lot of people contribute by doing small and irregular jobs, it is much harder to find people who are willing to invest large amounts of free time in a project with an unsure future. Another problem is that a lot of people hold their own agenda for Het Hoekie. Not everybody is in the mood to consent to the wishes of a larger group. Some people become frustrated in the process and withdraw from the project. In a rare case people are sent away. This only happened a few times but: "some people displayed very selfish behaviour, and made it impossible to establish a democratically operated buurthuis"¹⁸.

Slowly the group of volunteers that contributes to Het Hoekie evolves. A group of steadfast volunteers execute and coordinate the daily tasks in Het Hoekie. This group are named the 'kartrekkers'¹⁹. This group of kartrekkers emerged from the transformative period between 2005 and

¹⁸ Unstructured interview on 18th March

¹⁹ Kartrekkers: (group of) pulling forces

2011. These kartrekkers are the people who still managed Het Hoekie in 2016. Thus, this transformative period is not only a period trial and error; it is also a constructive period. The kartrekkers develop a business model and the building is renovated.

January 2011; Het Hoekie is a financially independent buurthuis, operated in self-management. There is an inner circle of volunteers that experienced the whole period of transformation. This inner circle is very proud on their buurthuis. However, the kartrekkers run into trouble. The self-management of a buurthuis turns out too be too much work for this small group of dedicated volunteers. Most of the volunteers have full time jobs. The kartrekkers receive support from the extended inner circle of volunteers, but somehow this is not enough. The kartrekkers feel 'over asked', and feel they carry too much responsibility. In 2013 the kartrekkers reach out for help. They apprenticed with a group of retired business experts. In the following period of 'professionalisation' the kartrekkers document the central goals for Het Hoekie²⁰. Subsequently, they draft an efficient management structure for the coordination of the volunteers. They learn "not to carry the burden of the tasks", but to "coordinate the execution". Their job is to oversee the execution of the tasks.

²⁰ Kerngroep members, "nieuwe organisatie structuur", Arnhem 2013: Appendix I

In this new management structure the kartrekkers are responsible for a certain field of tasks in Het Hoekie. The group of kartrekkers reformulate their name: from kartrekkers to *kerngroep*²¹.

In 2016 Het Hoekie is a popular rental location for the zelfstandige zonder personeel (ZZP)²², civil, governmental and commercial organisations. Enterprise Het Hoekie is a financial healthy institution. A coffee morning is organised every weekday. At this coffee morning volunteers, neighbourhood residents and other visitors meet. Some neighbourhood residents organise their birthday parties in the living room. Many neighbourhood residents collectively celebrate New Years Eve together in Het Hoekie. Although this new buurthuis in self-management is not considered to be an equally vibrant place as it was during Ria's and Jaap's petting zoo, Het Hoekie still means a lot for the people who contribute to it.

4.5 Vertical slice

In this contextual chapter I demonstrated that the foundation of the buurthuis in the Netherlands is grounded in a liberal form of governmentality. It was a wealthy elite that mainly conducted this liberal form of governmentality. In the second half of the 20th century the national government centralised the management of the buurthuis.

²¹ Kerngroep: Core group

²² Zelfstandige Zonder Personeel (ZZP): Self-employed without staff

This government interference in the buurthuis was legitimised by a similar liberal rationale. Between 1980 and 2008 there is little governmental interference in the buurthuis. When the discourse of the participation society emerges the buurthuis reappears in public and political discourses. In Arnhem area teams will use the buurthuis in the future. These area teams have to manage the upcoming transfer of governmental tasks to the social domain. Although the buurthuis is considered a pillar of the neoliberal participation society, the existence of such a buurthuis in a neighbourhood in 2016 is by no means ensured, due to a past decentralisation policy. In Transvaal there still is such a buurthuis. This new buurthuis in self-management appears to be a perfect example of neoliberal governmentality. Apparently the national government and municipality successfully reprogrammed [sic] (Rose 2006, 144-162) their subjects as rational and responsible citizens. Apparently, these reprogrammed citizens rightfully balanced the [economical] costs and benefits (Lemke 2001, 190-207) for the need for a buurthuis in the participation society. However, the following chapter demonstrates that neoliberal technologies of governance are insufficient to tell the whole story of governance in Het Hoekie.

5. Petting Zoo

In this first empirical chapter I demonstrate that neoliberal technologies of governance are insufficient to explain what Het Hoekie means for the volunteers. I argue that Het Hoekie holds two institutions with two different functions. Neoliberal technologies of governance structure the first institution, I named this institution enterprise Het Hoekie. However, Het Hoekie holds a second institution: the “low threshold living room”²³. This second and social institution is grounded in a moral economy, which constitutes the national customary practice of the buurthuis and the historical experience of volunteers with this particular buurthuis in the neighbourhood Transvaal. I will demonstrate that this moral economy has the capacity to mould neoliberal technologies of governance.

During the period of professionalization in 2013 the kerngroep documented five central goals. These central goals are: “1) Het Hoekie is a low threshold living room for all area residents of Arnhem West. 2) Het Hoekie facilitates, supports and coordinates if possible, and in an active manner, activities from neighbourhood residents and neighbourhood groups 3) Het Hoekie facilitates and supports civil organisations who contribute to the care and well-being of neighbourhood residents 4) Het Hoekie is an financial independent neighbourhood centre.

²³ Field notes of 22th February

5) The central goals of Het Hoekie are recognised within the neighbourhood and shared widely and are thus regularly discussed and tested”²⁴.

All goals except the fourth goal of financial independency aim at the establishment a low threshold living room. This low threshold living room also the first central goal. All goals but the fourth goal aim at attracting people from the neighbourhood to Het Hoekie. During my fieldwork I noticed that this low threshold living room is the main reason for volunteers to contribute to Het Hoekie. Without these social goals that aim at Het Hoekie as a low threshold living room the buurthuis would be: “just a rental location for professional organisations which is not what we are here for”²⁵. To explain why the volunteers are there, I first turn to what they consider as less important. This is enterprise Het Hoekie.

5.1 Enterprise

‘Stichting’²⁶ buurthuis Het Hoekie gathers its own economical resources by hiring its rooms and organising activities. All economic resources are reinvested in the building or in social activities.

²⁴ Kerngroep members, “nieuwe organisatie structuur”, Arnhem ,2013: Appendix I

²⁵ Semi structured interview on 18th April

²⁶ Stichting: Foundation

The annual budget provides a detailed account of the incomes and expenses in the year 2015²⁷. The costs of the building and the inventory are 60.000²⁸ in 2015. These costs are: housing 30.000, purchase-for-profit 11.000, annual inventory write-off 10.000, general costs 7.500 and staff costs 2000. The main annual incomes are rental incomes: 33.500, beverages revenues 22.000, donations 2.300, revenues internal activities 3.000 and additional revenues 11.000. In the year 2015 Het Hoekie made a modest profit of 1.500 and gathered enough economical resources to provide its own economical costs of 60.000. Enterprise Het Hoekie gathered its main incomes in 2015 by rental revenues of 33.500 and beverage incomes of 22.000. The two main sources of income are logically interrelated. Hiring the rooms attracts people to Het Hoekie, who consume the beverages.

A table published on the official website of Het Hoekie explains that different rent rates are calculated for "category using groups".²⁹ The highest rate is calculated for "category C using group" defined as "professional organisations and/or organisations with commercial activities".

²⁷ "Jaarrekening Het Hoekie 2015", Arnhem, 2015
Appendix II

²⁸ All numbers are rounded and in euros

²⁹ "Verhuurprijzen vanaf 2016", Arnhem , 2016
Appendix III

The logic behind the highest rate calculated for C, is that the scale and/or commercial goals of these organisations provides them enough money to pay “market conform or normal”³⁰ prices.

Examples of category C using groups are municipal organisations, civil organisations and large companies that hire rooms in Het Hoekie for their meetings³¹. The category or using groups that gets the highest discount is A, the category using group defined in the table as organising: “non profit activities for the area”. The logic behind this lowest rate is that category A using group completely cooperates with the social goals of Het Hoekie: to attract people to Het Hoekie (without aiming for profit). An example for A is the Bingo evening organised by neighbourhood residents. Important is that user group A is not allowed to make profit. For example, when the bingo evening made profit these revenues were considered as part of the budget of Het Hoekie. Category B using group is: “for profit activities that are neither category A or C and are or are not for the area”. Category B is an individual who organises activities in Het Hoekie for profit. These category using group are the ZZP. In the past social workers as Riek organised the activities in a buurthuis. The logic behind this reduced rate (but still a higher rent rate as calculated for A) is that the ZZP partly cooperate with the social goals of Het Hoekie (attracting people to the buurthuis), but also hold their own economical goals. Both parties profit.

³⁰ In the words of the programme coordinator, who also mentioned that “even this firm rate for is still modest to the actual market prices as these on zaaltjeshuren.nl”.

³¹ Field notes of 12th March

Enterprise Het Hoekie appears, at first glance, as a perfect example of how state conducted neoliberal technologies of power conduct the conduct of volunteers in Het Hoekie.

The state indeed managed its population through: "calculative regimes of accounting and financial management", "governing at arm length" and the "efforts to reprogramme [sic] subjects" (Rose 2006, 144-162). In the Netherlands the end of the welfare state is rationalised by the idea that the costs of this welfare are unable to bare, and that idea that state sponsored welfare made citizens passive and dependent. By the discourse of the participation society, people are empowered to "to take responsibility for his or her own lives and surrounding" (Rijksoverheid 2013). This discourse rationalises state withdrawal from the social domain. If citizens feel their participation society needs a buurthuis they are the ones who have to establish it. This is neoliberal governmentality, a form of governmentality that encourages individuals to become enterprising agents, and to revive their sense of personal responsibility (Lemke 2001, 190-207). Enterprise Het Hoekie is a neoliberal technology of governing the Self. Enterprise het Hoekie is a neoliberal institution that gathers its economic income and subsequently takes responsibility for society. The table of rent rates provides a straightforward and completely transparent calculation of the exchange between economical and social value, which is also a neoliberal technology of governance.

5.2 Low threshold living room

This is however not the whole story of the rent rates calculated in Het Hoekie. The programme coordinator told me:

The building costs money but the main goal is not the lease of the rooms in the building to professional organisations but to have a vibrant and accessible house for the area and for the neighbourhood we want to keep it as cheap as possible to free (...) with this commercial lease we gather as much as possible income, in that way if a kids club starts, or for example this coffee morning, we can facilitate that for free or almost free, it all needs to move, all of it needs to be dynamic if there is a lot to do here than people come here and that is what you see more and more people come here³²

The goal of financial independency is covered in four words: the building costs money (but). This quote demonstrates that the financial independency goal is fulfilled only to facilitate the other four social goals. The quote also introduces the issue of children in Het Hoekie, or rather the issue of the absence of children. Volunteers often discussed how they could attract children to Het Hoekie. "Children are very busy nowadays with their after-school activities, they do not have time to play here³³" one of the volunteers informed me on the issue, he continued: it will never be how it used to be, when there was little else to do for the children and they attended the after school film club and weekend pyjama parties organised by Ria and Jaap".

³² Semi-structured interview on 18th March

³³ Field notes of 12th April

The programme coordinator asked me to brainstorm with other neighbourhood members on the issue how to attract children to Het Hoekie. In general, the absence of children in Het Hoekie was a great concern for many volunteers³⁴.

One of the rare children activities in Het Hoekie is the singing and dancing with toddlers' activity. This activity is organised a few times a week by Greet. Greet combines her expertise in health care and psychology with her love for children and music. This toddler activity is a charming happening. Parents come by with their one to four year old kids to sing lullabies and dance, while Greet skilfully plays on all kinds of instruments. It is endearing to see how the little kids are very shy at the beginning of this musical activity, but in the end dance around in circles and bounce up and down at the beat with red cones³⁵.

Although Greet earns her living with this activity her goals are not just financial. She spoke passionately about her job. Greet aims at a "healthy mental development of the toddlers" and she wants to help "establish a healthy bound between parent and kid". Therefore Greet would like to attract more "not so high educated parents" to her toddler morning³⁶.

³⁴ Actually most volunteers and visitors were 50 or older. The volunteers thought that when children would attend Het Hoekie their parents would follow. Nobody tried to attract young adults, because this was a group that never attended Het Hoekie in the past.

³⁵ Field notes of 6th April.

³⁶ Unstructured interview on 6th April

According to Greet higher educated and wealthier people already do a lot of activities with their kids. Although Greet does not make much money with her activity³⁷, she calculates a fifty percent discount on her normal price to attract less wealthy parents to her activity.

This dancing and singing with toddlers' happens in the gym. This gym is one of the prides of the volunteers because of the floor heating. The floor heating is also a concern for the volunteers, because the electricity costs are one of the main expenses of Het Hoekie (and have been a problem in the past). The floor heating is also one of the reasons, besides its size, why the gym is the most expensive room to hire. Het Hoekie calculates Greet a rent rate for the gym at *12,50 euro an hour*. According to the official rent rates she should pay *66 euro*. Greet is a category B user (group) because she aims at profit for her own income. For category B the official rent rates hold she should hire the gym for minimal four hours, even though the singing and dancing with toddlers' takes only one hour. Especially when considered that in the winter a volunteer comes in at 7 AM to turn the floor heating, because it needs to heat for two hours, I can state with confidence that Greet is benefited financially by Het Hoekie. When the costs of the floor heating are considered, the 12,50 euro an hour might not even cover the expenses of her use of the gym.

³⁷ During the mornings I attended there were never more than seven attendants

The question is: why would an enterprise benefit an activity when this enterprise also needs to be financially independent and healthy?

Another case study reveals a quite different picture of how enterprise Het Hoekie calculates its rent rates. Liesbeth organises the 'Yoga near home' activity on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Liesbeth is in the favourable position that she does not have to earn any money by organising her activity. She organises the course for a cheap price, compared to other Yoga courses. She does so to make an introduction to Yoga accessible for everyone who wishes to practice it, she told me when interviewed her³⁸. She also told me that she organises the course to motivate her self to develop her Yoga skills. "So everybody gains" she concluded, "it keeps me motivated to develop myself and I make an introduction to Yoga possible for people who otherwise would not". The whole Yoga course was centred around her wish to make Yoga accessible for everyone. She often adjusted the level of the course to the least experienced person, which was indeed in one case the ethnographer³⁹. Liesbeth is charged the full rent rate for the category B user group. She has to rent the gym for a whole four hours and thus pays 66 euros for this 'day part'. Therefore, she organises two sessions of one and a half hours in one morning, although she considers this is as a heavy load⁴⁰.

³⁸ Field notes of 12th March

³⁹ Field notes of 5th May

⁴⁰ Unstructured interview and participant observation on 12th May

The motives behind these different calculations are not in line with the rent rate table. Liesbeth appeared to me as more a non-profit organiser than Greet. Greet needs to earn her living. So she aims for profit, although she is happy she can do so in a meaningful way. Liesbeth does not have to earn her living. Liesbeth attained her course more directly to the neighbourhood, she even named her course "Yoga nearby home", although this is also a reference to the Eastern philosophy. Why is Greet and the singing and dancing with toddlers' activity so heavily benefitted by Het Hoekie?

Many of volunteers in Het Hoekie today belong to the group of people that arrived when the neighbourhood started to change 25 years ago. The mixed population of the neighbourhood got to know each other in the buurthuis, because their children often attended Het Hoekie. What happened is that a neighbourhood community was established, facilitated by the petting zoo of Riek and Jaap. Everyone who experienced this period in Het Hoekie started to glow and laugh when they talked about their early days in the neighbourhood. When I consider these historical experiences of the volunteers, the calculated rent for Greet makes more sense. I would say that this low rent rate comes from the desire to revive this old historical function of Het Hoekie: Het Hoekie as a children playground and petting zoo.

If the neighbours want their buurthuis it has to be financial independent. To gather their economic resources they hire out the rooms and facilities.

They did include the social goals of the low threshold room while calculating the official rent rates. But the actual calculation of rent rates illuminates another social reality. Profit is not the reason the volunteers operate Het Hoekie in self-management

While neoliberal technologies of governance structure the existence of enterprise Het Hoekie, I argue that moral economy explains *why* the volunteers operate Het Hoekie in self-management. A moral economy is grounded in historical experiences, customary practices and moral future outlooks (Edelman 2005, 331-345). Moral economy inspires volunteers to establish the low threshold living room. The idea of a low threshold living room is grounded in the national customary practice of the buurthuis. When the neighbourhood residents took the buurthuis in self-management the customary practice of the buurthuis informed them on what the buurthuis should become: a low threshold living room. But by what activities such a low threshold living room should be established the volunteers are informed by their historical experiences. In Transvaal Het Hoekie is remembered as a petting zoo. I argue that moral economy explains the deviations in rent rates calculated for the tenants.

The existence of enterprise Het Hoekie shows that some institutions and discourses indeed have the capacity to conduct the conduct of others in Dutch society. For a share proceedings of the volunteers are structured by discourses that are too strong for them to withstand. But it is a moral economy that provides them the capacity to mould neoliberal technologies of governance.

6. Kookclub Prinsheerlijk

In the previous chapter I argued that although neoliberal technologies of governance structure enterprise Het Hoekie, this is just one of the two institutions Het Hoekie holds. The second institution is the low threshold living room. The low threshold living room for the neighbourhood is the most important motivation for the volunteers to contribute to Het Hoekie. The goal of financial independence is just the pre condition for the low threshold living room to exist, demanded by the rules of the Dutch neoliberal political economy. A moral economy that holds the historical experience volunteers have with 'Het Hoekie the petting zoo', explains the deviations in rent rates calculated for the singing and dancing with toddlers' activity.

In this second empirical chapter I demonstrate how the concept of moral economy can alleviate the over determination in the theoretical framework of biopolitics. According to authors as Agamben (1998) and Fassin (2012) the logical outcome of biopolitics, is the creation of two models for social organisation. Polis is where citizens are granted full rights and protection, while camp is established for an undesired Other. In Fassin's work moral economy is "the economy of moral values and norms of a given group in a given moment".

In Fassin's work a moral economy of compassion and repression functions to protect the community, likewise Thompson's original definition of moral economy. However, since Fassin's community is the nation-state, moral economy functions to reify biopolitical power. In Thompson's analysis of 18th century crowds in England a moral economy inspired people to resist external powers, instead of rationalising them.

In this chapter I apply the concept of moral economy to Fassin's idea that there are diverse models for social organisation in the polis. However, I release moral economy from its duty to protect a political community. In my argument moral economy serves to protect the traditional rights and customs of the *buurthuis*, in this case study of *Het Hoekie* these rights and customs are the practice of "doing something nice together"⁴¹. Operationalised like this moral economy creates an alternative model for organisation in the polis. Moral economy establishes camp in the polis. Camp that is not established by powerful institutions to exclude an undesired Other, but a camp established by local communities to include a vulnerable Other. What follows is that this camp is carried by a local community, and is an inclusive alternative model for social organisation.

⁴¹ Unstructured interview on 14th April

6.1 Doing something nice together

The *buurthuis* is a Dutch traditional and liberal institution that aims the establishment of a community by the practice of recreational activities (Nijenhuis 1987). This customary practice of the establishment of a community by recreational activities is translated in Het Hoekie as the customary practice of doing something nice together. In the contextual chapter I explained that a group of friends who lived in the neighbourhood started a cooking club, this club is named 'Kookclub Prinsheerlijk'⁴². Willem, one the first hour Kookclub Prinsheerlijk members told me:

We just came together with a group of people to cook in Het Hoekie-doing something nice together; I didn't know you lived here; hello? That is how it all started. We took our own wine and poured each other glasses. It was much fun. And when things grew it became a challenge to work together with and cook for so many people⁴³

This quote shows that Kookclub Prinsheerlijk is about the customary practice of doing something nice together. While the cooking club started as a gathering of friends it evolved in something else. When this gathering of friends evolved to Kookclub Prinsheerlijk the national customary practice of the *buurthuis* functioned as a model for this club, and later for the *buurthuis*.

⁴² Kookclub Prinsheerlijk: Cooking club Majestic Pleasure

⁴³ Unstructured interview on 14th April

Traditionally a buurthuis is about doing something nice together, a practice that should not be done with friends but with the whole neighbourhood. More than once volunteers told me that the practice of Kookclub Prinsheerlijk is that practice that demonstrates what Het Hoekie should be: a space where people are doing something nice together.

This customary practice of doing something nice together is not just about recreation. One of the volunteers who coordinated Kookclub Prinsheerlijk already during its first days in 2005 said:

I find this so important that all people from all creeds have the ability to meet each other and that they all have the opportunity to eat out once in a while, Het Hoekie is a living room and I find this very important to offer that people something (...) The people in this neighbourhood... a fair amount carries a rucksack⁴⁴ and also the people who help cooking need a lot of guidance and coordination but the Kookclub helps them they are mentioned by others and they feel of use for something and they they can contribute to something⁴⁵

This quote demonstrates the inclusiveness of this customary practice of doing something nice together, it is not *just* about doing something nice together, it is about supporting people.

⁴⁴ People who carry a rucksack: Dutch lingo for people with a mental or physical ability

⁴⁵ Unstructured interview on 13th May

And not just people with a rucksack are supported by the practice of doing something nice together:

It all started with the Kookclub and how it developed... it is a good development in way... those yuppies from the Oranje straat and the Alexander straat⁴⁶ they'll find each other. Imagine you have a physical disability, no job or you're old and lonely that is the kind of people we want to offer them something

(....)

It used to be a fun gathering and then it became more about coaching a group of people ... those vulnerable people who attend, [Kookclub Prinsheerlijk] if this is their getaway who am I to consider my own interests?⁴⁷

This quote shows that the practice of doing something nice together is about supporting and including: people with a rucksack, people who are unemployed, people who are old or lonely and all "those vulnerable".

I argue that the practice of doing something nice together is a different model for social organisation. This camp is not the outcome of biopolitics executed by powerful political institutions to *exclude an undesired Other*. This camp is an alternative model for social organisation, established by concerned volunteers to *include the vulnerable Other*.

⁴⁶ The streets in Lombok with the larger estates that mostly house middle class neighbourhood residents

⁴⁷ Unstructured interview on 15th May

Their desire to include vulnerable Others is motivated by a moral economy. A moral economy that roots in the national customary practices of the buurthuis: the establishment of a community through recreational activity. In Het Hoekie this customary practice is translated as the practice of doing something nice together. In the polis all activity and practices are valued to neoliberal norms of productivity and efficiency. In this camp activity and practices are allowed to have social goals.

6.2 The boundaries between polis and camp

When I attended Kookclub Prinsheerlijk in February 2016 it did not appear to me as an activity that served mainly social goals. I observed that Kookclub Prinsheerlijk had a well functioning business model. A coordinator told me that they had enough money in reserve to withstand a few bad evenings⁴⁸. Kookclub Prinsheerlijk owned expensive cooking utilities: high quality pots and pans, expensive olive oil and fresh herbs. These utilities were stored in the cupboards of Het Hoekie but were labelled as Kookclub Prinsheerlijk property⁴⁹. On a typical evening about thirty plus people attended the diner prepared by the members of the cooking club. The guests are charged six euros for the diner. The cooking club was almost every serving profitable.

⁴⁸ Field notes of 20th February

⁴⁹ Field notes of 12th March

The volunteers in charge of the financial management must have shared my conclusions about Kookclub Prinsheerlijk business model, in the past the cooking club was charged a higher rent by enterprise Het Hoekie. I was informed on this issue while talking to Klaas and Trees. Trees was the coordinator of the Kookclub on that day, Klaas is a first hour member and Trees right hand. We were indeed doing something nice together, cooking in the outside kitchen in the courtyard of Het Hoekie. Klaas and Trees told me in duet that there had been a conflict about the rent. Het Hoekie had discharged Kookclub Prinsheerlijk as “just one of the many user groups”⁵⁰. This was not fair according to Trees, who was continuously affirmed by Klaas during this conversation. “Kookclub Prinsheerlijk attracts a lot of people and is an important sign to the outside world, we represent what Het Hoekie actually is about”, Trees said to me. Het Hoekie at one point asked a rent rate similar to the rate for other “normal user groups”, she continued. The regular cooks of Kookclub Prinsheerlijk resisted against this rent raise. The conflicted parties settled this “money conflict”, because Het Hoekie realised how important Kookclub Prinsheerlijk was for Het Hoekie, Klaas told me when Trees left the kitchen⁵¹.

This conflict about the rent rate for Kookclub Prinsheerlijk demonstrates how the boundaries between polis and camp are negotiated in Het Hoekie.

⁵⁰ Field notes of 27th February

⁵¹ Field notes of 20th February

Camp is a different mode for social organisation, for the volunteers camp is in the activities that contribute to the low threshold room. These activities receive a discount because nobody expects these social activities to gather enough money to pay for the commercial rent rates. Or, these activities receive a discount because volunteers in Het Hoekie know that otherwise they will become too expensive for a certain category of people. That group of people the volunteers need in the living room in order for it to be named low threshold.

Kookclub Prinsheerlijk turned out to be an exception. While Kookclub Prinsheerlijk is, as reflected in the previous quotes, certainly not an activity with commercial goals, the cooking club did manage to make profit. This profit is invested in the cooking utilities for the Kookclub, but is also saved up to anticipate on future risks. This profit was for other volunteers, who executed the financial management of enterprise Het Hoekie, a reason to value Kookclub Prinsheerlijk as polis. This activity was productive and efficient enough to generate profit, and thus this activity can pay a commercial rent, some volunteers reasoned. The members of the cooking club convinced enterprise Het Hoekie that raising the rent was unfair. Despite the profit the club still had social goals. They guided vulnerable Others while cooking. Moreover, raising the rent would mean raising the prices of the dinner. A higher price for the diner would not help establish a low threshold living room for the neighbourhood.

Raising the price of the diner would also lead to higher expectations among the guests, and the cooking itself would become more professional and much harder to execute, so people with a rucksack would no longer be able to attend⁵².

In this second empirical chapter I use the concept moral economy close to Thompson's (2011) original definition. My aim is to explain how moral economy can overcome the over determination in the theoretical framework of biopolitics of Otherness. In Thompson's (2011) article a moral economy roots in traditional rights and customs, this moral economy, when legitimated by a larger community, sparks the protection of these rights and customs during societal transformation. In *Het Hoekie* a moral economy establishes camp in the polis by the practice of doing something nice together. Through the practice of doing something nice together the national custom of the *buurthuis* is protected and continued in Dutch society under neoliberal transformation.

I stay close to Agamben's useful idea that camp is an alternative model of social organisation and an unavoidable outcome of biopolitics, and Fassin's suggestion that camp is now part and parcel of the polis and is everywhere in society. However, my aim is to develop a concept of camp that is not created by political institutions that conduct exclusive biopolitics. In *Het Hoekie* camp is in the activities and practices that are relieved from their duty to be productive and efficient.

⁵² Field notes of 20th February, Unstructured interview on 13th May

In my approach to the theoretical concept of moral economy it functions to *include the vulnerable Other* not exclude undesired Others. The vulnerable Others are included by nurturing their labour, because Het Hoekie desires to be a low threshold living room. Because the inclusion of vulnerable Others attains to the social goals of Het Hoekie. In the neoliberal polis all practices must be conducted efficiency and productivity. The volunteers who coordinate Kookclub Prinsheerlijk expressed their concern that these tight norms might exclude people from practices that could be meaningful to them.

This camp in Het Hoekie is not established by biopolitical institutions, it is established by a local community and a moral economy. Through the customary practice of doing something nice together the low threshold living room is established. I argue that the volunteers in Het Hoekie establish camp to protect vulnerable Others from a *bare life* in the polis. This reversal of Agamben's terminology draws attention to the fact that when we consider camp as an alternative model for social organisation within the polis, we make assumptions about peoples lives without knowing how they experience it. When camp is in Guantanamo bay or Nazi concentration camps, it might be legitimate to consider a prisoners life as bear. When camp is within the polis, the question arises if a bare life cannot exist in the polis, and if a full life cannot exist in camp. I would argue that for at least some of those vulnerable Others who are doing something nice together, life is less bare in camp than in polis.

7. Coffee morning

In the previous chapter I used the idea of biopolitics of Otherness, as proposed by Agamben (1998) and used by Fassin (2012), in a quite different way. In Het Hoekie volunteers establish camp, informed by their moral economy. This moral economy informs the volunteers to defend the national customary practice of the buurthuis. Traditionally the Dutch buurthuis is an institution where a community is established by recreational activities (Nijenhuis 1987). However, a moral economy is not just a set of traditional rights and customs. A moral economy is also a “principled stance against the greater world” (Edelman 2012, 49-66) . When this principled stance is legitimised by a “popular consensus within the community”, a moral economy inspires “crowd action” (Thompson 1971, 76-136). In this last empirical chapter I discuss this community that consents the actions of the volunteers in Het Hoekie. In the previous chapter I introduced a social category I named the vulnerable Other. In this chapter I discuss this social category in detail, and subsequently I discuss what it means that the volunteers in Het Hoekie feel the need to establish camp for that vulnerable Other.

7.1 Camp

What other community than a neighbourhood community would manage a buurthuis: a ‘neighbourhood home’? Moreover, the volunteers in Het Hoekie desire to establish a home for the neighbourhood.

I recall the first central goal in Het Hoekie policy document of 2013: "1) Het Hoekie is a low threshold living room for all area residents in West"⁵³. One of the volunteers told me why the neighbours decided to call for a meeting when Het Hoekie was on the verge of being closed by the municipality and Rijnstad:

and we thought, when the building would be closed, what would be here? Nothing? No, this building belongs to the neighbourhood and should be for the people who live in this neighbourhood

Although the volunteers continuously represented Het Hoekie as a living room for the neighbourhood, I observed that not just neighbourhood residents attended this buurthuis. I stopped asking for visitors and volunteers residences because they lived everywhere in Arnhem. Moreover, nobody cared about each other's residence, although most of the regular volunteers lived nearby. The idea that someone would check people's residences at the door is even hilarious. I wondered what was the common bound of all people in Het Hoekie if it was not their residence. In a later stage of my fieldwork I realised that their common bound is their collective contribution. The tenants contribute because they pay rent and attract visitors to the buurthuis. The visitors contribute by their presence and by their (possible) purchases. Of course, the volunteers who invest their spare time in Het Hoekie are the most obvious contributors.

⁵³ Kerngroep members, "nieuwe organisatie structuur", Arnhem 2013: Appendix I

I argue that it is not a neighbourhood community but a contribution community that operates Het Hoekie. If the volunteers want to establish a low threshold living room they need all the contributions they can gather. If the volunteers want to keep the prices of the beverages and the rent for the preferred activities low they need an army of reliable volunteers⁵⁴. Since the building that houses Het Hoekie is located within the neighbourhood, it does not have to be operated by neighbourhood residents to belong to them. The large window that gives sight to the cosy and often busy living room, this window ensures the attraction of new (and old) neighbourhood residents.

In the contextual chapter I told about the meeting that was organised to take Het Hoekie in self-management. They started the transitional period to self-management when the overwhelming attendance convinced the cooking club members that there *was a wider consensus of the neighbourhood* to do so. This early period is the reason that today still most of the volunteers live in the neighbourhood. It was a group of neighbourhood residents who took the initiative. When the group of neighbourhood residents started the transition period the national and traditional custom of the buurthuis functioned as a model for the new buurthuis. The national and traditional low threshold function of the buurthuis attracted a new group of visitors and volunteers to Het Hoekie.

⁵⁴ Approximately 60 volunteers collectively run Het Hoekie. A new volunteer is immediately accepted (like me), and gets the opportunity to find its own way to contribute. In time it turns out whether the volunteer will stay, and what will be its chores.

As I told in the story of Kookclub Prinsheerlijk this was a group of people who needed guidance to enable them to contribute to Het Hoekie. The volunteers realised that being and remaining a low threshold living room is a labour intensive practice, therefore everyone who was willing to contribute was (and still is today) welcomed. The wider consensus of the community necessary for “crowd action” (Thompson 1971) evolved from *the wider consensus of the neighbourhood community* to the *wider consensus to establish a low threshold living room*. The community that establishes such a low threshold living room is a *contribution community* that includes everyone who is willing to contribute.

I do not doubt that most tenants and visitors that visit the activities or hire the rooms and facilities in Het Hoekie do so for their personal (economical) reasons. Still these people are welcome because their economical contribution is necessary to establish the low threshold living room. Most of these economical actors in Het Hoekie are not considered as part of the community, but I noticed that some of the ZZP who hired the rooms for many years explained their presence in terms of contribution⁵⁵. These ZZP were also the ones who often chatted with the other volunteers at the coffee morning, and some of them volunteered during events as national chores day⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ Conversation on 1th March.

⁵⁶ Observation on 12th March. The national chores day (NL DOET) is an annual event organised by Oranje Fonds, the national foundation that supports voluntary work. King Willem-Alexander and Queen Maxima are its ambassadors: <http://www.oranjefonds.nl/>

This contribution community protects the liberal practice of the buurthuis, a traditional custom of establishing a community by recreational activities (Nijenhuis 1987). Although this custom was fully subsidised by the welfare state in the past, in neoliberal discourse and practice this custom has to gather its own income. If the community likes to do something nice together inside the building that houses buurthuis Het Hoekie, they have to gather their own resources to pay the bills. To pay the bills, they need another practice: the practice of contribution.

The practice of contribution at first glance appears as a neoliberal technology of the Self. Rational volunteers accessed the cost and benefits of having a buurthuis in the neighbourhood. By their voluntary contribution they minimise the (economical) societal cost and maximise the (social) benefits generated by Het Hoekie. However, I argue that the inclusive and protective character of this collective contribution cannot be explained by neoliberal technologies of the Self alone. Neoliberal rationale explains all human interaction in terms of entrepreneurship and competitiveness. The strong desire to protect the vulnerable Other, a desire so often expressed to me by so many volunteers, cannot be explained by entrepreneurial and competitive behaviour. On the contrary, the whole practice of contribution centres on the general concern that vulnerable Others should be protected from this so-called rational behaviour.

To support this argument I provide a vignette of the contribution community in the section below.

This contribution community, who collectively establish camp in the neoliberal polis, is the beating hearth of Het Hoekie. Without the continuous reassurance that a wider community supports the low threshold living room, volunteers would not be defending their traditional custom of the buurthuis. The vignette paints a picture of the contribution community that gathers in the living room on weekdays. This is a vignette of the coffee morning:

When you enter the bright red front door of buurthuis Het Hoekie, behind the first door to your left hand is the living room. Inside this living room the first thing you will notice is the major window at the left wall. The large window covers almost the entire left wall, has cushioned sills, and gives sight to the small working class homes across the street. The little red and yellow stained windows, that border the high ceiling, spread a nice coloured light through the room, which contributes to the pleasant atmosphere. Inside the living room there are four big wooden tables with cushioned wooden chairs. The biggest table in front of the window can seat twelve people. On your right hand are old cabinets and boards 'posted' on the wall, not two of the cabinets are the same, they are all painted in the same bright red as the front door of Het Hoekie. Below these red cabinets are big white pillowed benches with another major table in front of them. Below the hanging cabinets there is also a bar. The square bar is simple; a wooden blade, a steel work bench with an old fashioned coffee machine on it, a steel sink and a few locked refrigerators. Behind the bar at the same wall as the entrance to the living room the volunteers of Het Hoekie painted a blackboard and chalked the beverages prices on it. The shelves in the bookcase across the door are filled with books.

At 7.00 AM, Bea enters the spacious corridor of this former nursery school. The wide corridor still looks like a school corridor with its old grey tiles and its pegs at the walls. Bea walks straight on enters the old gym at the outskirts of the building and turns on its floor heating. Today the Yoga course is due at 9.00 AM and it needs to heat for two hours. Bea leaves the building to walk her dog. She will be back at 8.30 AM therefore she leaves the front door unlocked for the cleaning lady.

When Bea returns to Het Hoekie at 8.30 AM she immediately pours water in the old fashioned machine behind the living room bar. When the tenants of the buurthuis arrive the coffee and tea must be ready. Bea checks if the hired rooms and facilities are tidy. She fills the ordered cans with coffee and hot water in the kitchen across the living room. She brings a platter with brightly coloured and white spotted coffee cups to the coffee table in the living room. She adds spoons, milk, sugar and the old fashioned cookie jar to the cups on the table. She checks if the flowers in the living room are still fresh. Finally she makes the coffee and tea for the visitors of the coffee morning.

At 9.00 AM Jaap arrives, he is early today and is hastily greeted by Bea who is still busy with her tasks. Jaap is the retired janitor of Het Hoekie. Jaap is early to do his gardening job in the courtyard. Today he arranges the pots of flowers squatted throughout the garden. Thereafter Jaap meets Boris in the corridor. Boris, also retired, lives across the building. Besides filling the bars and writing up the amount of beverages consumed by the tenants his job is opening the front door for tenants on request. Boris and Jaap seat at the table in front of the window in the living room. Boris checks his email on his smartphone and Jaap rolls a cigarette.

Between 9 and 10 AM people walk in and out continuously. When a new person enters the living room the coffee morning regulars greet him or her collectively. Most people who attend this coffee morning are well known by the others. Some of them do not look very mobile, a fair amount is well in their ages and use walking devices.

A few wheelchairs and frames are squatted around the table. At 9.30 AM the table is full with people chatting and laughing and shouting to one another. Bea is running around with cans of coffee and coffee cups. Her aim is to pour everyone at least their first cup, but she also has to leave to living room sometimes to direct a tenant or to bring the ordered coffee and tea cans to the rooms. At one head end of the table there is a polite conversation going on. On the other head end people watch a Youtube movie on their smartphones while they laugh out loud.

Thea enters. She is a kerngroep volunteer and has some tasks to do in the office today. She is greeted warmly when she enters the living room. Bea pours Thea a cup of coffee and adds milk and sugar. Bea does so without asking because she knows exactly how Thea prefers it. Thea asks Cor how he is doing. Cor is very old and struggles for his movements. During the coffee mornings the other regulars serve him coffee and cookies because he cannot reach the middle of the table. While answering Thea's questions he tells about the disabilities that come with his old age with humour. When he is finished everyone at the table is laughing.

One of the visitors brings a pack of cookies. Bea puts the cookies in the cookie jar immediately. Joop, Bea's husband takes the opportunity to quickly grab not his first cookie from the jar. Bea pulls out her little book. She turns to Jaap: "Jaap it is your turn to buy a pack of coffee, won't you forget?" Jaap puts up his thumbs and promises that he will bring coffee tomorrow.

The Yoga course in the gym ends. The students always drink a cup of coffee or tea in the living room afterwards. When they enter the living room the Yoga students look surprised to regulars. The talking and laughing in local dialect among the coffee morning regulars is now very loud. The young women glance towards the coffee table and seat at the table near the bar. They consume their beverages with haste and when they leave they do not greet the coffee morning regulars. Joop mumbles something when forgets to shut the door. The corridor is not heated and

the living room turns cold quickly (most of the year). Thea coughs and leaves the living room

At the head end of the table Madeleine dominates the conversation. She has a strange way of expressing herself. She repeats herself continuously and when she does she looks straight ahead at some point on the wall. A moustached man at the other end of the table continuously and says loud enough for Madeleine to hear that she had told this story too many times. Jaap tells the man that he should leave her be. The whole group, beside Madeleine and Bea, leaves to have a smoke in the courtyard. Bea starts a conversation with Madeleine.

People start to leave. The coffee morning is officially due till 12.00 AM but is often quiet early. Bea is running around with cups that need to be cleaned. Unless there is a large amount of dishes the dish washing machine is not turned on to save electricity. After the dishes Bea carefully cleans the living room and kitchen. When she leaves she does not lock the front door the tenants will lock the doors when they leave.

The coffee morning is camp. The vignette shows that camp and polis co-exist in the living room of Het Hoekie. Polis is the neoliberal economy that calculates all value according to money. This neoliberal political economy dictates that if Het Hoekie wants to have a low threshold living room it needs to acquire its own resources. Enterprise Het Hoekie is an institution of the polis, it monitors the costs of camp. The yoga course and the gathering of the yoga students in the living room is polis. They are not there to meet people in the low threshold living room. The yoga students attend a yoga course for which they pay. This vignette of the coffee morning demonstrates how heavily polis monitors camp.

Enterprise Het Hoekie allows camp only when camp cooperates with enterprise Het Hoekie. The use of the heating and electricity is carefully managed and the coffee morning regulars bring their own coffee (this is a separated stash from that of enterprise). By volunteering as the coffee morning host Bea simultaneously works for camp and polis.

Although the costs of camp are monitored by the polis the coffee morning still is camp because this activity is organised for mainly social goals. It is not efficient or productive to have big groups of non-paying regular visitors and volunteers in the living room every morning, but the coffee morning enables the contribution community to meet on every weekday. The coffee morning attracts volunteers and ensures a lively buurthuis. The volunteers contribute while doing something nice together. The coffee morning is also an inclusive practice. Bea tries to include disabled people in the group of people that host the coffee morning⁵⁷. Even if this means that she has to do most of the work when a disabled person hosts a coffee morning⁵⁸. Bea tries to include the vulnerable Others in the practice of doing something nice together and the practice of contribution.

⁵⁷ Semi-structured interview on 2th March

⁵⁸ Field notes of 14th April

7.2 The vulnerable Other

During my first attendance at the coffee morning I was told:

Everybody has his or her own task, and every person needs to be approached in its own personal manner, it is important that you get to know someone's manual. You see those flowers on the bar? Even when your task is to arrange only that vase of flowers you are important for Het Hoekie and so that person gets appreciation⁵⁹

During my fieldwork volunteers continuously underscored the fact that contribution must be fun. Simultaneously they stressed the equal value of all contributions. Volunteers in Het Hoekie generally agree that each person's contribution is of equal worth. There is also a broad consensus to the idea that some volunteers need some guidance to enable them to contribute. In the second empirical chapter I told about people with a rucksack. During the coffee morning these people with a rucksack are clearly present, they are the ones who bring their carrying devices and wheelchairs over which I tripped so often. Beside the physically and mentally disabled people there is another group who are considered vulnerable (by other volunteers). These people need to be "approached in its own personal manner" as Boris explained to me during my introduction at the coffee morning. While interviewing him for the website I asked him if he considered himself one of the leaders, since one of his tasks was to guide volunteers.

⁵⁹ Field notes of 26th February

He responded:

No definitely not, I feel that everybody should be able to develop its self in its own way that is very important. If you get the chance to develop yourself in your own way and by your own considerations and abilities, and you receive in return respect and appreciation that is what I find important⁶⁰

The words of Boris reflect a general believe, that was underscored by many volunteers during my fieldwork, that some people need guidance (not leadership). These people need to be “approached in their own personal manner” to enable them to “develop themselves in their own way”, while they contribute and therefore receive “respect and appreciation”. These people who need equal and personal guidance (according to Boris and others) are the social category in Het Hoekie I named the vulnerable Others. The people who opposed the ‘less-vulnerable Self’⁶¹ to the vulnerable Others also used the words: activity, capability, capacity, ability, social and cultural knowledge and employment⁶². One of the volunteers explained to me that many of “these others” are “a very nice and lively bunch running in and out”.

⁶⁰ Semi structured interview 26th February 2016

⁶¹ Although they did not use the term less vulnerable themselves

⁶² Field notes March 12th 2016, Semi structured interview 16th March 2016, Unstructured interview 5th May 2016 etc.

Carefully choosing his words he continued:

they are also vulnerable (...) I would call them less active than the others. There is another group who are willing to invest on the longer term... and have the ability to accept that some things just turn out differently than expected... I would say they are active on the long run and have a different attitude than... which provides them more in the end... they are also the ones in Het Hoekie with the better jobs⁶³

In this quote a volunteer opposes a vulnerable Other to the less vulnerable Self. This less vulnerable Self has a "different attitude" and certain skills or "abilities" that "provides them more" like "better jobs". These words echo the neoliberal discourses on human capital: "an inborn physical-genetic pre-disposition and the entirety of skills that have been acquired as the result of investments" (Lemke 2001, 190-207) . This quote reflects a neoliberal technology of subjectivity that encourages individuals to perceive the world in terms of competition. A subjectivity that encourages people to make rational and optimal choices, guided by the knowledge they acquire along the way (Kipnis 2008, 275-289).

The Dutch word for vulnerability is 'kwetsbaarheid'. Kwetsbaarheid is defined in the 'Van Dale' dictionary as: "1) susceptible for wounds (or other disasters and major catastrophes)

⁶³ Field notes of 12th March

2) very susceptible for injury (or impressions)⁶⁴. What does it mean that people who express a neoliberal subjectivity at the same time oppose the Self to Others who they perceive as being: susceptible for wounds, disasters, catastrophes, injury or impressions? I argue that they feel that the neoliberal model for social is a violent model. They express their concern for a group of people who, in their experience, have less entrepreneurial skills as susceptible to external damage. While these volunteers have the confidence that *they* are able to cope in the neoliberal polis, they do not express the same confidence for that everyone can do so.

This is a key point. The people who see themselves as less vulnerable cooperate with the vulnerable Other to establish a low threshold living room. They do so in their desire to relieve some of the that vulnerability of that Other. They feel that they developed and inherited the needed skills and knowledge to cope in the polis, and feel the duty to use their skills and abilities for Dutch society. Although they express a neoliberal discourse when they talk about how they govern the Self, they do not apply neoliberal technologies of governance to the vulnerable Other. They hold a different attitude to the vulnerable Other.

Classifying people as vulnerable leads to the desire to support them not compete with them, the desire to protect them instead of enterprising their voluntary labour (or exploit them).

⁶⁴Kwetsbaar: 1) vatbaar verwonding of ander onheil 2) erg gevoelig, onheil: ramp, groot ongeluk, Gevoelig: vatbaar voor verwonding of indrukken: source : <http://www.vandale.nl/>

When Het Hoekie would have been governed only by neoliberal technologies of governance, individuals in Het Hoekie would only aim at managing the buurthuis as an efficient and productive enterprise. The individuals in charge would search for volunteers who can conduct their volunteering jobs rapid and efficient, to expand the economical and social practices in Het Hoekie. Foucault defined technologies of the Self as strategic power games among individuals (Lemke 2002, 49-64). When all human interactions are neoliberal strategic power games, vulnerable people would be either exploited or excluded. The volunteers in Het Hoekie try to protect these vulnerable Others not exclude them or exploit them. As Boris insisted: every contribution is equally nurtured. Of course some other volunteers might hold a different perspective, but the point Boris made is the official discourse of Het Hoekie. This was my first day in Het Hoekie and he was instructed by the kerngroep to introduce me and explain how Het Hoekie functioned. His words echo how most of the volunteers desire Het Hoekie to function.

The moral economy of volunteers in Het Hoekie is rearticulated in times of neoliberal social change. But their moral economy is certainly not rearticulated by neoliberal framework. This moral economy is grounded in a firm believe in a liberal model for social organisation. A past model for social organisation that allowed people to care and educate others and themselves, through customary institutions as the buurthuis. The inclusive practices of doing something nice together and contribution are allowed only when volunteers cooperate with the neoliberal morals of the polis.

But if neoliberal technologies of governance have anything to do with the moral practices of het Hoekie, it is that they shape the difficult preconditions for these moral practices. If neoliberal governance has anything to do with the moral practices in Het Hoekie, is that they obscure the efforts of the volunteers to pursue their camp.

Because the efforts of the regulars at the coffee morning concern money (the management of the costs of camp), it is easy to frame these actions as “the internal rule of maximal economy” (Hilgers 2010, 351-364). I argue that neoliberal governmentality writes out the whole meaning of the coffee morning. Subsequently the existence of a camp in the polis is written out. The regulars at the coffee morning do not manage the costs of their social gathering to optimise the economical costs and benefits of enterprise Het Hoekie. They do so because when they manage the costs their camp is allowed in the polis.

7.3 Polis

In a neoliberal market society the individual is responsible for its own wellbeing and subsequently for the well-being of society. The state executes new tasks of controlling and managing subjects for which it is no longer responsible (Lemke 2002, 49-64). The Dutch version of these technologies of control and management are the discourses and practices of the participation society.

In the neoliberal polis the participation discourse represented by the Dutch national government dictates that citizens have the duty to take care of their own surroundings, and have the duty to alleviate the vulnerability of other citizens. For many citizens participation is not a big issue. They do or do not participate, and when they do they are rewarded by a neoliberal discourse. They consider themselves as behaving responsible and in line with the dominant neoliberal norms of activity, productivity and responsibility. A common compliment I heard in Het Hoekie was that someone was an active or productive person⁶⁵.

When the vulnerable Others wish to participate, the neoliberal model for social organisation needs to be adjusted. In the polis every practice has to be executed efficient and productive, and some people cannot attain to the neoliberal norm. These people are easily excluded from these practices that might make them feel "of use" or "seen"⁶⁶. Volunteers in Het Hoekie establish an alternative model for social organisation; in this camp the contribution of the vulnerable Other is not only accepted but also cherished. This camp is established on a tight budget, is enabled by the contributions of the vulnerable and less vulnerable volunteers.

Despite the tight budget of camp the neoliberal polis always seeks to run its own model for social organisation more efficient. During my fieldwork I observed that the municipality and other social organisations were eager to transfer more tasks to Het Hoekie.

⁶⁵ Field notes of 12th March

⁶⁶ Unstructured interview on 13th May

A social worker asked one of the coordinators of Kookclub Prinsheerlijk if a multiple disabled person could join this activity. The coordinator did not like to decline this request but: "we still need to cook I cannot guide people with that kind of disabilities"⁶⁷. In the new relation between expertise and politics (Rose 1996) the national government is in danger of 'over asking' the social domain. How much expertise does this camp have to execute new social and health care tasks properly? And how much responsibility can this camp carry? And how much responsibility do the volunteers wish to carry? One volunteer who worked as a professional in social care for decades said:

We always get referred to as the example of neighbourhood participation, and indeed we can come up with a very beautiful story about an oasis for the vulnerable. Well, all we have to offer is a glass of water. Indeed if you come from nothing a glass of water represents a lot...You know how busy we are here to manage this buurthuis financially and all? Way too busy and than we should actively support all these... In our spare time... Untrained for social care? No way!⁶⁸

This metaphor: "a glass of water" is how the volunteers see their camp, the low threshold living room, in the polis. The low threshold living might be important for some vulnerable people but it cannot function as an "oasis for the vulnerable" within the participation society.

⁶⁷ Field notes of 19th March

⁶⁸ Unstructured interview on 12th May

Buurthuis Het Hoekie cannot provide enough care to the vulnerable to function as an alternative for governmental social and health care institutions. This volunteer expressed his concern about the current course of events, he: "hoped nobody was going to die"⁶⁹.

I am confident that the volunteers in Het Hoekie are capable to protect their camp from exploitation by the polis. The volunteer in the previous quote is the spokesman for Het Hoekie and he did not hesitate to when he expressed his concerns to me. Other members of the kerngroep told me that they had learned to defend themselves against over asking. They took the initiative to start the professionalisation period in 2013 to protect the members of the kerngroep from investing too much time in Het Hoekie. Before they called in the help of the business experts in 2013 some volunteers in the kerngroep invested more than 20 hours a week in Het Hoekie ⁷⁰. My point is that if the neoliberal polis continues to treat camp as an opportunity to transfer its own expensive social and health care tasks, it might suffocate new alternative models for social organisation. This tendency to over ask camp in het Hoekie is worrisome, especially when I consider the discourse of the participation society. When camp is established by volunteers who do not succeed in defending their maximum input, this camp will probably evaporate.

The neoliberal discourse of the participation society portrays the buurthuis in self-management as a triumph of its own practices.

⁶⁹ Unstructured interview on 12th May

⁷⁰ Semi-structured interview on 18th March

The problem is that camp in Het Hoekie is established not by but despite of neoliberal governance. The transformation to self-management was a difficult and challenging process, even for the highly educated and pretty well-off of volunteers who took the initiative. The establishment of this camp was a lucky coincidence, for this camp to materialize it needed: a local moral economy grounded in the historical experience of Het Hoekie petting zoo, the national customary and liberal practice of the buurthuis, and the presence of a large community with enough people willing to contribute to an unsure project for six years, and a dedicated kerngroep that decided to reach out for help when "they became too vulnerable"⁷¹. This camp was a lucky and local coincidence.

The danger with universals as the participation society is that people act like they are practical truths while they are utopian models for social organisation. This 'good neoliberal society' will never materialize, just like the universal of the welfare state was never completely fulfilled. National governments try to make sense of the complex and ever changing social reality by representing such universals as the desired model for social organisation.

The participation society is not just an universal it is also a discourse that structures state technologies of power, the participation society materializes through real policies and laws. The participation discourse legitimates the transfer of large shares of social and health care responsibilities to the social domain.

⁷¹ Unstructured interview on 12th May

The law for societal support introduced in 2007 and the 2013 participation law represents the neighbourhood as one of the fields of social cohesion on which the participation society can be build. Little research is done to this assumption, but a qualitative research to this subject indicates that even when the social cohesion in a neighbourhood was high, neighbours not automatically start taking care for one and other (Jager-Vreugdenhil 2012, 87-130).

During my research I noticed that a functioning buurthuis in self-management is an exception to the rule in Dutch society. I was not the only who was one drawn to Het Hoekie's success. During my four month presence a film crew, two master students, a few government officials and other curious people attended this buurthuis. This success can become a problem when national or municipal governments consider the existence of a buurthuis in self-management as a legitimation for future neoliberal policies, when Het Hoekie is represented as evidence for the possibility of the utopia of the participation society. My research shows that the volunteers in Het Hoekie do not participate, they contribute. They contribute, not to a participation society but to their low threshold living room.

In the near future the remaining governmental social and health care is allocated to citizens in Arnhem through the buurthuis. The social and surroundings area teams will use the institution of the buurthuis to meet the vulnerable in society and help them seek adequate support in society or provide them necessary health care.

The underlying assumption that guides the policy documents that discuss present and future neoliberal transformations is that the area teams will be able to target all vulnerable in society by their presence in the buurthuis. In Het Hoekie there was a broad consensus that the 'most vulnerable' people in the neighbourhood did not attend Het Hoekie. What will happen to these most vulnerable in this new model for social organisation? And what will happen with the vulnerable others in the neighbourhood without a buurthuis? Or even worse in neighbourhoods with a badly managed buurthuis? And do we, the greater political and societal community, want to decentralise the execution of our social and health care policies to such an unknown field? Is that how we desire to organise care for the people we already classify as in treat to external injuries?

8. Conclusion and discussion

I recapitulate: how is the moral economy of volunteers in buurthuis Het Hoekie rearticulated in times of neoliberal social change? In times of neoliberal social change a local moral economy rooted in the past experience of volunteers with Het Hoekie as a petting zoo, the liberal custom of the buurthuis, and a neighbourhood community inspired neighbourhood residents to take Het Hoekie in self-management when it was on the verge of being closed due to municipal neoliberal policies.

Het Hoekie in self-management holds two institutions. The first institution, enterprise Het Hoekie, executes neoliberal technologies of governance. Financial independence is the necessary precondition demanded by the polis for the second institution in Het Hoekie to exist. This camp is the low threshold living room, an alternative model for social organisation that roots in a local moral economy.

By the customary practice of doing something nice together and the practice of contribution, the vulnerable Other is included in the contribution community. These practices establish camp in the polis where everyone's practices and contributions are equally valued and nurtured, even when it is not conducted efficient or productive. In camp contribution is not measured along the neoliberal values of efficiency and productivity that govern the polis.

Volunteers classify themselves and others by their vulnerability. This illuminates a dual subjectivity.

People who classify the Self as 'less vulnerable' do so by emphasising their abilities and attitudes that help them to enterprise their lives in the polis. The vulnerable Other is a social category for people who, as it is perceived by others, have acquired or inherited less of these entrepreneurial qualities. The same less vulnerable volunteers also express a desire to protect this vulnerable Other, to protect them from external threats. The low threshold living room established through the customary practices in Het Hoekie functions to protect and support the vulnerable other. This desire to protect and support the vulnerable Other is grounded in a moral economy.

8.1 Discussion

The theoretical lens of moral economy alleviates the over interpretation of neoliberalism (Kipnis 2008, 275-289). When we envision the world as a market in need for enterprise, we can abandon the word economy. All human behaviour and interaction is framed as a rational assessment of costs and benefits. Theories of neoliberal technologies of governance have paradoxically attributed this problem, while they aimed at falsifying dominant neoliberal political rationales. While the authors who used this theoretical lens aimed to address the social exploitation legitimised by the economical determinism in the neoliberal political rationale. The focus on how neoliberal technologies of power optimise the productivity of populations for profit, reinforces these neoliberal discourses.

In the language of power and power it is hard to explain communal resistance against these powerful discourses. It is hard to find social alternatives in a language of power and struggle.

I introduced the theoretical lens of moral economy in this thesis to distinguish between economical exchanges, which aim for nothing but profit, and a broader and social exchange that happens in the economical domain of a society. A social exchange that illuminates a moral world that is not just about personal gain and profit. We can understand the practice of volunteering in Het Hoekie as a neoliberal technology of governing the Self. We can also understand this practice as the result of a collective believes in an alternative model for social organisation. When we develop a theoretical language that allows us to understand how small communities gather the necessary resources to resist some of the powerful discourses that conduct their conduct, we can start to address our reified notions of biopolitical power and neoliberal governmentality.

The 'communal resources' I found in Het Hoekie are well explained through the theoretical concept of moral economy. Moral economy is a collective believe in a traditional model for social organisation, but moral economy only sparks action when people feel the need to protect their degenerating community.

When we shift the focus from 'normative neoliberal economical behaviour' to 'moral economical behaviour' and the interaction between these two, we might find already legitimate and functioning social alternatives and solutions to the problems that so often appear when large populations are governed by universal models for social organisation.

What reifies biopolitical power is the notion that only states can make exceptions to discourses. Who decides on the inclusion of the desired citizen and the exclusion of the undesired Other? And who decides what is a full and what is a bare life? Applied to actual camps outside the polis this classification of bare and full makes sense. But who are we as Western scholars to decide who lives the full life and who lives the bare life? I do not want to downplay the injustices done to large groups of people excluded from state protection, but neither do I feel the need to tell how people should experience their lives, as a Dutch citizen in my comfortable armchair. By applying Agamben's philosophical concepts to the actual lives of people without asking for their own perspectives and feelings should be avoided, it happens quickly when talking about undesired Others. The idea that a life is always bare in camp obscures the fact that a life can be bare in polis, people can be excluded inside the polis. And camp can be inclusive and protective as I demonstrated in this thesis. The theoretical concept of moral economy locates the alternative models for social organisations that might help to make the live of some groups in the polis a little less bare.

Many Dutch citizens experienced economical deprivation in the past few years. The institutional care for the vulnerable Others in Dutch society has been stripped by austerities. In the Netherlands the neoliberal utopian universal of the participation society was accompanied by constant cut back on public services. The relationship between the Dutch national government its citizens is damaged by this interplay between austerity and neoliberal discourses. In *Het Hoekje* nobody ever spoke about participation or the national government. When I decided to confront them with governmental policies, during the last stage of my research, people responded annoyed or even angry.

My guess is that the national government has lost some of its political power, and thus its capacity to protect its economical revenues and incomes. I believe that (even though we are such a rich country) some of the austerities were truly unavoidable for the national government. But rationalising these austerities by the same neoliberal discourses that probably caused most of the problems has done a lot of damage to Dutch society. As a Dutch native I feel free to say that the general mood in Dutch society today is one of discontent, people are angry. One could say we are a spoiled nation, and one could say that that we do not know real poverty. I would argue that the discontent is a reaction to the hypocritical neoliberal discourses that govern our polis. On the one hand people need to take the responsibility for their own lives, on the other hand the government is not behaving responsibly, the government talks about nothing but money.

The word vulnerability is integrated every day conversations of Dutch citizens. Apparently people experience the neoliberal political economy as a violent model for social organisation. The question is if we want to attribute the care for these people, who we already classify as vulnerable, to the possible but unsure existence of camps in neighbourhoods. Camp is established by a local moral economy. Small communities start to make exceptions to powerful discourses when they are in discontent with their surroundings. Neoliberal discourses should leave this camp develop on its own in stead of representing it as a triumph of its own utopian model for social organisation.

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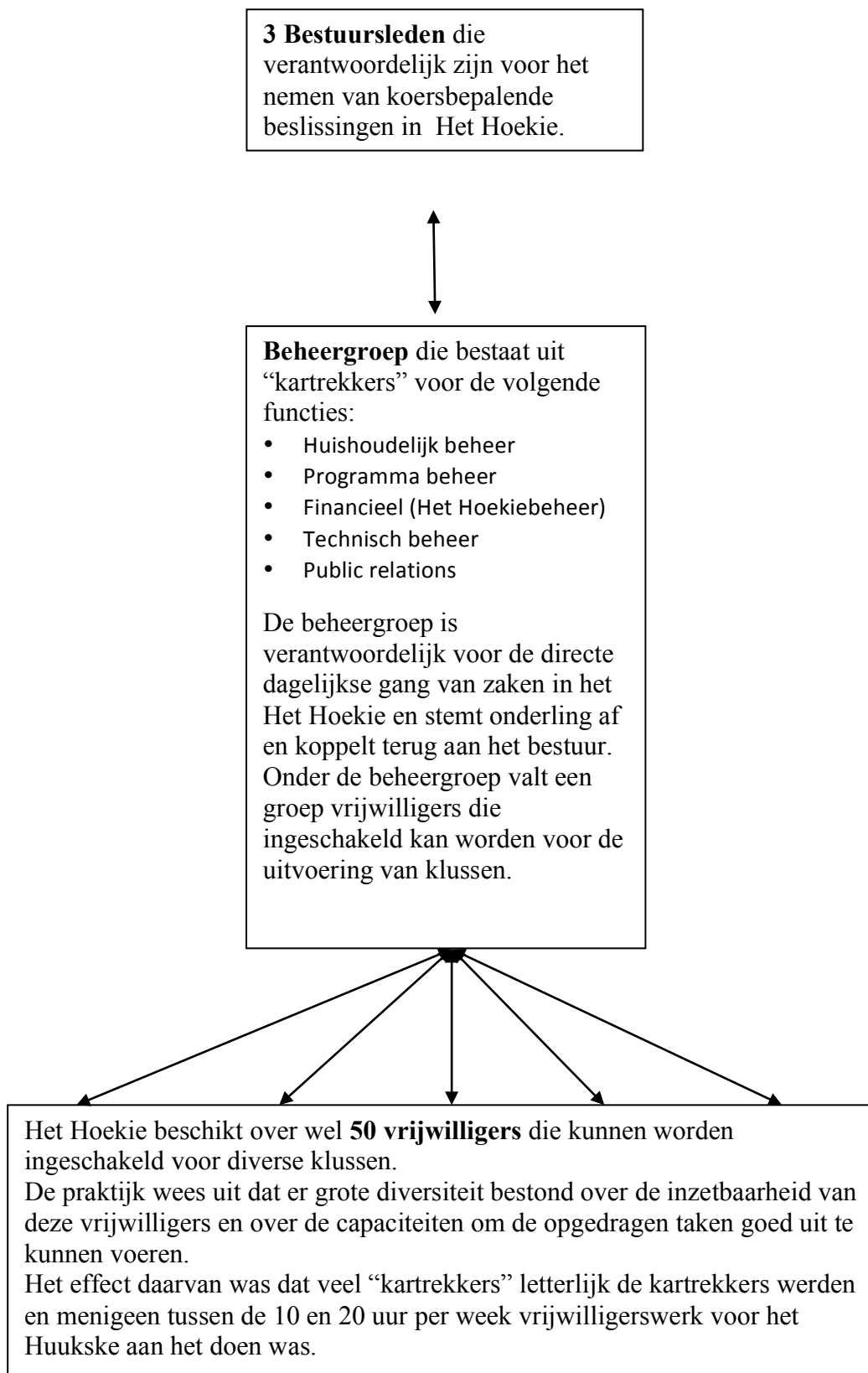
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<https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/toespraken/2013/09/17/troonrede-2013>

Appendix I – Het Hoekie “ Nieuwe organisatie structuur”, Arnhem 2013

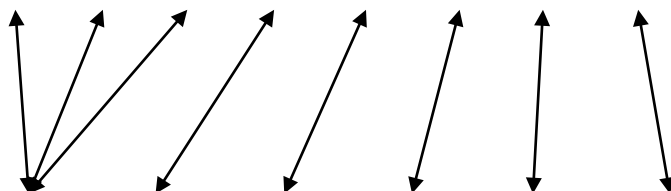
Oude Organisatiestructuur



Nieuwe organisatiestructuur van 21 oktober 2013 middels Kerngroep

a

Voorzitter bestuur
Penningmeester bestuur
Secretaris bestuur
Coördinator huishoudelijk beheer
Coördinator programma beheer
Coördinator financieel beheer
Coördinator technisch beheer
Coördinator publicHet Hoekierelations
Mensen met belangrijke specifieke taken kunnen op voordracht van kerngroep met deadline worden uitgenodigd.



- Klankbordgroep voor bestuur voor o.a. organisatorische, politieke en juridische adviezen.
- Meerdere vrijwilligers voor huishoudelijk beheer met specifieke taken en verantwoordelijkheden.
- Meerdere vrijwilligers voor programma beheer met specifieke taken en verantwoordelijkheden.
- Meerdere vrijwilligersHet Hoekievoor financieel beheer met specifieke taken en verantwoordelijkheden.
- Meerdere vrijwilligersHet Hoekievoor technisch beheer met specifieke taken en verantwoordelijkheden.
- Meerdere vrijwilligersHet Hoekievoor public relations met specifieke taken en verantwoordelijkheden.

De kerngroep van Het Hoekje bestaat uit:

- Voorzitter bestuur
- Secretaris bestuur
- Penningmeester bestuur
- Coördinator huishoudelijk beheer
- Coördinator technisch beheer
- Coördinator programma beheer
- Coördinator financieel beheer
- Coördinator public relations
- Deelnemers met specifieke taken waardoor deelname aan de kerngroep gewenst is
- Deelnemers met een specifieke inbreng waardoor deelname aan de kerngroep gewenst is

De kerngroep vergadert 5 maal per jaar (om de 2 maanden; zomervakantie valt uit).

De kerngroep vergaderingen hebben een vaste agenda structuur waarin de diverse vertegenwoordigers voor terugkoppelingen zorgen en waarin een jaarlijkse evaluatie van het functioneren van de verschillende kerngroep leden plaats vindt.

De leden van de kerngroep bepalen samen het beleid van het Huukske en nemen daarover gezamenlijk beslissingen.

De maximale belastbaarheid van vrijwilligers is 5 uur per week, voor iedere functie. We vinden het belangrijk dat vrijwilligers niet overbelast

raken, hun vrijwilligerswerk met plezier kunnen uitvoeren en zich voor een langere periode aan ons willen verbinden.

De voormalige "kartrekkers" zijn nu coördinatoren geworden om daarmee de nieuwe invulling van hun functie aan te geven. De coördinator weet voor welke taken hij/zij verantwoordelijk is in het Huukske en heeft een aantal of meerdere van deze taken gekoppeld aan specifieke vrijwilligers. Hij/zij stemt regelmatig af met deze vrijwilligers en krijgt van hen terugkoppelingen over de uitgevoerde werkzaamheden. Daarin bewaakt de coördinator dat de specifieke vrijwilliger de werkzaamheden correct uitvoert en dat de belasting in evenwicht is (geen onder- of overbelasting). De coördinator maakt dus een omslag in zijn denken en handelen. Waar voorheen een probleem door de kartrekker al snel zelf werd opgepakt/uitgevoerd, legt de coördinator nu het probleem neer bij de vaste groep vrijwilligers waardoor deze vrijwilligers de "probleemeigenaren" worden en oplossingen gaan bedenken en niet de coördinator. Dit veranderingsproces zal niet zomaar plaatsvinden. Belangrijk hierbij is dat de coördinatoren deze werkwijze onderschrijven en steeds kritisch naar het eigen handelen kunnen en durven kijken. Ondersteunend daarbij kan het delen van onderlinge ervaringen zijn en e.v. begeleiding van buitenaf als het onvoldoende werkt/van de grond komt.

Doelstellingen met puntsgewijze uitwerking

- 1. Het Hoekie is een laagdrempelige ontmoetingsplaats/verlengde huiskamer voor alle wijkbewoners van Arnhem West**

- 2. Het Hoekie faciliteert, ondersteunt en coördineert daar waar mogelijk op een actieve manier, activiteiten van individuele wijkbewoners en groepen uit de wijk.**

- 3. Het Hoekie faciliteert en ondersteunt maatschappelijke organisaties die zich inzetten voor zorg en welzijn van wijkbewoners.**

- 4. Het Hoekie is een financieel onafhankelijk wijkcentrum.**

- 5. De doelstellingen van Het Hoekie worden in de wijk herkend en breed gedragen, dus met regelmaat besproken en getoetst.**

Ad 1) Onder Arnhem west wordt Heije, Transvaal en Klingel verstaan.

Ad 2) De zinsnede "daar waar mogelijk" geeft de beperkingen aan van het actief willen zijn; Wij zijn niet zelf initiërend; we moeten de vraag wel aankunnen (hebben we de energie zowel als organisatie als individueel bestuurslid voor het gevraagde).

Ad 3) Het Hoekie wil in spelen op nieuwe ontwikkelingen waarin wijkgericht samengewerkt moet gaan worden door diverse instanties en

daarop anticiperen door aansluiting te zoeken bij, of initiatief te nemen naar maatschappelijke organisaties zoals SWOA, MEE en Rijnstad.

Ad 4) Onder financieel onafhankelijk verstaan we voldoende opbrengsten uit bar en verhuur genereren waarmee we de jaarlijkse exploitatiekosten, de afschrijvingen op inventaris en investeringen voor renovaties kunnen realiseren. Daarnaast willen we een jaarmzet als reserve hebben.

Ad 5) Evalueren en feedback ontvangen is leerzaam en helpt ons om beter af te stemmen en in te spelen op Het Hoekie behoeftes en ontwikkelingen.

De vorm waarin we dat willen gaan doen moet nog uitgewerkt worden.

Opbrengst van het brainstormen wat deze 5 doelen voor ons

kunnen betekenen:

1. Het Hoekie is een laagdrempelige ontmoetingsplaats/verlengde huiskamer voor alle wijkbewoners van Arnhem West.

- Iedere ochtend zouden er gastvrouwen met een uitgebreider takenpakket aanwezig moeten zijn in het Huukske
- Het aantrekken van een conciërge (vrijwilliger) lijkt wenselijk. Uitwerkingsvraag: wat is zijn rol en wat zijn de taken? Genoemd worden: vrijwilligers begeleiden en ondersteunen; verbinden en binden van mensen; het gezicht zijn van het buurthuis.
- Kernwaarden bij de invulling van deze taken zijn gastvrijheid uitstralen en iedereen een welkom gevoel geven.

- Uitbreiding van activiteiten m.n. gericht op de jeugd en dertigers

2. Het Hoekie faciliteert, ondersteunt en coördineert, daar waar mogelijk op een actieve manier, activiteiten van individuele wijkbewoners en groepen uit de wijk.

- Wijkbewoners die nieuwe activiteiten op willen starten en in staat zijn om deze zelfstandig aan te kunnen bieden, kunnen bij het opstarten van de activiteit op ondersteuning van het programmabeheer rekenen.
- De ondersteuning kan bestaan uit het meedenken of de aangeboden activiteit aan zal slaan bij bezoekers uit de wijk, het aanbieden van een huurvoorstel op maat en het meedenken of financiële ondersteuning middels een aanvraag bij B.V. het wijkplatform gewenst is.
- Het programmabeheer stuurt waar mogelijk in de programmering door zorg te dragen voor een gevarieerd aanbod van activiteiten, die aansluiten bij de wensen van diverse groepen wijkbewoners en die voor brede groepen toegankelijk zijn.
- Meer kwetsbare wijkbewoners die structurele ondersteuning nodig hebben bij het opzetten en aanbieden van activiteiten kunnen deze ondersteuning niet van het programmabeheer

krijgen. Ze zullen verwezen worden naar het opbouwwerk van Rijnstad en in de toekomst mogelijk naar sociale wijkteams, die gefaciliteerd worden de meer kwetsbare wijkbewoners te ondersteunen. Het Hoekie wil graag onderdak bieden en een centrale plek zijn voor de kwetsbare wijkbewoners, maar is voor de ondersteuning hiervan aangewezen op derden.

3. Het Hoekie faciliteert en ondersteunt maatschappelijke organisaties die zich inzetten voor zorg en welzijn van wijkbewoners.

- Overleggen met MEE, SWOA en Rijnstad en evt. anderen.

Vooraf nadenken welke doelen nagestreefd worden; wat is de meerwaarde van de samenwerking en welke synergie levert het op.

Vanuit het bestuur is Mieke hierin onze contactpersoon en vanuit de beheergroep is Gerda de contactpersoon. De ontwikkelingen zijn in volle gang middels o.a. de "kwartiertafel".

- Inspiratie zoeken door bijvoorbeeld bedrijfsbezoeken te brengen: daar ideeën opdoen.
- Netwerken met besturen van andere wijkgebouwen die ook samenwerking zoeken met derden en die de maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen ook in de gaten willen houden.

4. Het Hoekie is een financieel onafhankelijke buurt onderneming.

- Het Hoekie is financieel gezond. Minimaal 1 jaaromzet moeten we als buffer hebben om daarmee het voortbestaan van het buurthuis bij calamiteiten minimaal 1 jaar te kunnen garanderen.
- de administratie is op orde en werkt efficiënt.
- Prijsbepaling van de tarieven van de bar en de huur zijn een verantwoordelijkheid van de kerngroep. Gestreefd wordt de tarieven betaalbaar te houden voor iedereen en winstmaximalisatie is geen streven op zichzelf.
- Belangrijk is om in de jaarlijkse begroting rekening te houden met aanzienlijke investeringen die de inrichting en aankleding van het gebouw ten goede komen, waardoor de verhuurbaarheid gewaarborgd blijft. Blijven investeren in gebouw en inrichting is noodzaak om te blijven voortbestaan.
- Bij de gemeente wordt vanaf 2014 geen reguliere subsidie meer aangevraagd; wel kan projectsubsidie aan de orde zijn.
- **Nog te doen; visie ontwikkelingen hoe we in de toekomst geld blijven verdienen?**

Waarheen?Het HoekieWaarvoor? Wees bewust van het pad wat je loopt. Agendapunt voor 2014

- Visie op verhuurbeleid maken: welke prioriteiten stellen we in verhuur en hoe? Het Hoekie gaan we om met maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen denk wijkteams. Agendapunt voor 2014

5. De doelstellingen van Het Hoekie worden in de wijk herkend en breed gedragen, dus met regelmaat besproken en getoetst.

- Het laten uitvoeren van onderzoek om de behoeften aan activiteiten van en voor de wijkbewoners te peilen (HAN?)
- Bevorderen van de communicatie door pr, de website en facebook. Annemarie gaat deze taak oppakken.
- Open huis organiseren
- Pr, twitteren, website
- Huurders en gebruikers vragen om feedback
- Wijkplatform vragen om "Huukske " op de agenda van een themabijeenkomst te zetten.

Bij de vergadering van 7 oktober werd duidelijk dat een aantal van deze uitgewerkte doelstellingen nu al opgepakt worden zoals:

- Punt 2 wordt gewaarborgd door te gaan werken middels de nieuwe organisatiestructuur

- Punt 3 wordt in belangrijke mate door Mieke en Gerda al opgepakt
- Punt 4 wordt al in z'n totaliteit opgepakt

Punt 5 krijgt een belangrijke impuls door Annemarie

**Appendix II – Het Hoekie “Jaarrekening Het Hoekie 2015”
Arnhem, 2015**

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Toelichting op de balans	Pagina 4
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BALANS HET HOEKIE per 31-12-2015

	<u>31-12-2015</u>	<u>31-12-2014</u>
ACTIVA		
VASTE ACTIVA		
Renovaties en herinrichting	48.723	55.220
VORDERINGEN EN OVERLOPENDE ACTIVA		
Huurders	1.130	2274
Overlopende activa	217	8249
Kortlopende vorderingen	853	952
	<u>2.200</u>	<u>11475</u>
LIQUIDE MIDDELEN		
Kas	689	1136
Bank	128.949	108712
	<u>129.638</u>	<u>109.848</u>
Balanstotaal	<u>180.561</u>	<u>176.543</u>
PASSIVA		
EIGEN VERMOGEN		
Bedrijfsvermogen173321171802
SCHULDEN EN OVERLOPENDE PASSIVA		
Crediteuren	4779	2421
Overlopende passiva	2461	2320
	<u>7240</u>	<u>4741</u>
Balanstotaal	<u>180.561</u>	<u>176.543</u>

TOELICHTING OP DE BALANS PER 31 DECEMBER 2015**MATERIËLE ACTIVA****Renovatie en inrichting**

Aanschafwaarde 01-01-2015		77364	
Investerings in boekjaar		<u>3560</u>	
		80924	
Afschrijving tm 2014	22144		
Afschrijving tlv 2015	<u>10057</u>		
		32201	
Boekwaarde 31-12-2015			<u><u>48723</u></u>

VLOTTENDE ACTIVA**Overlopende activa**

Nog te factureren einde boekjaar			0
Vooruitbetaalde kosten			<u>217</u>
			<u><u>217</u></u>

Kortlopende vorderingen

te ontvangen rente			<u><u>853</u></u>
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LIQUIDE MIDDELEN**Kas**

Kas			<u>689</u>
			689

Bank

ABN AMRO 62.57.54.646			15894
ABN AMRO 62.58.49.574			3054
ABN AMRO 44.07.36.579 Spaarrekening			91566
ABN AMRO 49.11.14.435 Spaarrekening			<u>18435</u>
			<u><u>128949</u></u>

EIGEN VERMOGEN**Bedrijfsvermogen**

Saldo per 01-01-2015	171833		
Winstsaldo 2015	<u>1488</u>		
Saldo 31-12-2015			<u><u>173321</u></u>

Kortlopende Schulden en overlopende passiva

Crediteuren			<u><u>4779</u></u>
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Overlopende passiva

Vooruitgefactureerde omzet			363
Vooruit ontvangen huur (PostNL)			1273
Borgsommen huurders			825
Overige transitorische passiva			<u>0</u>
			<u><u>2461</u></u>

Exploitatierkening 2015

	Na activering	
	Resultaat 2015	Resultaat 2014
Inkomsten:		
Baropbrengsten	22.253	25.198
Verhuur	33.295	40.248
Donaties en sponsoring	2.280	4.070
Omzet interne activiteiten	3.045	3.212
Overige opbrengsten	1.071	1.748
	<u>61.944</u>	<u>74.476</u>
Kosten:		
Inkoopwaarde opbrengsten	10.920	13.697
Kosten afschrijving	10.057	9.975
Personeelskosten	2.100	3.000
Huisvestingskosten regulier	30.063	27.097
Kosten renovatie	0	1.410
Algemene kosten	7.316	4.995
Totaal aan vaste kosten:	<u>60.456</u>	<u>60.174</u>
 Exploitatiesaldo	 <u>1.488</u>	 <u>14.302</u>

TOELICHTING OP DE WINST- EN VERLIESREKENING 2015

Opbrengsten	<u>2015</u>	<u>2014</u>
Subsidies		
Subsidie Gemeente Arnhem	0	0
Baropbrengsten		
Baropbrengst huurders	19.463	21.993
Interne activiteiten	<u>2.790</u>	<u>3.205</u>
	22.253	25.198
Opbrengst verhuur	33.295	40.248
Donaties en sponsoring		
Sponsoring en overige donaties	400	1.700
Vrienden 't Huukske	<u>1.880</u>	<u>2.370</u>
	2.280	4.070
Interne activiteiten		
Inschrijfgelden	720	693
Bingo-opbrengsten	<u>2.325</u>	<u>2.519</u>
	3.045	3.212
Overige opbrengsten		
Rente opbrengsten	218	952
Overige baten	<u>853</u>	<u>796</u>
	1.071	1.748
Totaal opbrengsten	<u><u>61.944</u></u>	<u><u>74.476</u></u>
Kostprijs/inkoopwaarde opbrengsten		
Barinkopen	7.025	8.016
Kosten bingo en andere activiteiten	2.473	2.181
Catering	<u>1.422</u>	<u>3.500</u>
	<u>10.920</u>	<u>13.697</u>

TOELICHTING OP DE WINST- EN VERLIESREKENING OVER 2015**LASTEN**

	<u>2015</u>	<u>2014</u>
Afschrijvingskosten		
Renovatie Bar en Keuken	3.998	3.916
Renovatie Kantoor	143	143
Renovatie Atelier	387	387
Renovatie Grote zaal	752	752
Renovatie Toiletgroep	1.702	1.702
Posthuisje	316	316
Acoustiek en Energiebesparing	2.032	2.032
Overige afschrijvingskosten	<u>727</u>	<u>727</u>
	10.057	9.975
Personeelskosten		
Vergoedingen vrijwilligers	2.100	3.000
Huisvestingskosten		
Huur	12.101	11.938
Schoonmaakkosten	3.548	4.222
Gemeentelijke belastingen	482	
Afvalcontainers	1.459	1.258
Gas, elektriciteit en water	9.421	6.881
Terugontvangen energiebelasting	-1.751	-1.495
Keukenbenodigdheden	568	2.256
Gereedschap en onderhoud	<u>4.235</u>	<u>2.037</u>
	<u>30.063</u>	<u>27.097</u>
Huisvestingskosten inzake Renovatieproject		
Inrichting bar en keuken	0	656
Renovatie Atelier	0	157
Binnenschilderwerk	0	488
Representatie i.v.m. renovatie	0	52
Acoustiek, energiebesparing	<u>0</u>	<u>57</u>
	<u>0</u>	<u>1.410</u>
Algemene kosten		
Advieskosten	0	100
Reiskosten	140	140
Representatiekosten intern	1.689	728
Abonnementen en contributies	896	887
Drukwerk en ontwerpkosten	79	275
Verzekeringen	422	420
Telefoon- en internetkosten	1.038	980
Webite ontwikkeling en hosting	103	181
BUMA-STEMRA	619	615
Kantoorbenodigdheden	141	109
Automatiseringskosten	516	
Sleutels en cilinders	763	117
Reclame en PR	484	
Bankkosten	362	339
Overige algemene kosten	<u>64</u>	<u>104</u>
	<u>7.316</u>	<u>4.995</u>

Appendix III – Het Hoekie “Huurprijzen vanaf 2016” Arnhem 2016

Verhuurprijzen Het Hoekie vanaf 1-1-2016

Verhuur aan derden		Categorie A Wijkgerichte activiteiten waar niet aan wordt verdiend.		Categorie B Valt niet onder categorie A of C, kan wel en niet wijkgericht zijn en er wordt verdiend aan de activiteit.		Categorie C Professionele organisaties en/of organisaties met commerciële activiteiten.	
Ruimtes	Max. aantal personen	Minimale huurprijs is 1 dagdeel = 4 uur	Extra uur	Minimale huurprijs is 1 dagdeel = 4 uur	Extra uur	Minimale huurprijs is 1 dagdeel = 4 uur	Extra uur
Huiskamercafé	40	€ 27,-	€ 6,75	€ 53,-	€ 13,25	€ 81,-	€ 20,25
Atelier	20	€ 21,-	€ 5,25	€ 42,-	€ 10,50	€ 63,-	€ 15,75
Vergaderzaal	20	€ 21,-	€ 5,25	€ 42,-	€ 10,50	€ 63,-	€ 15,75
Grote zaal	50 à 70	€ 33,-	€ 8,25	€ 66,-	€ 16,50	€ 99,-	€ 24,75
Kantoor	4	€ 6,-	€ 1,50	€ 13,-	€ 3,25	€ 19,-	€ 4,75

Verhuur voor feesten Uitsluitend aan bewoners Heijenoord en Transvaal (50% korting voor Vrienden van Het Hoekie)		Klein feestje (Minder dan 15 personen)		Groter feest (Tussen de 15 en 25 personen)		Groot feest (25 of meer personen)	
Ruimtes	Max. aantal persone n	Minimal e huurprij s is 1 dagdeel = 4 uur	Extra uur	Minimal e huurprij s is 1 dagdeel = 4 uur	Extra uur	Minimal e huurprij s is 1 dagdeel = 4 uur	Extra uur
Huiskamercafé	40	€ 31,-	€7,75	€ 46,-	€ 11,50	€ 62,-	€ 15,50
Atelier	20	€ 22,-	€ 5,50	€ 33,-	€ 8,25	€ 44,-	€ 11,-
Vergaderzaal	20	€ 22,-	€ 5,50	€ 33,-	€ 8,25	€ 44,-	€ 11,-
Grote zaal	50 à 70	€ 37,-	€ 9,25	€ 55,-	€ 13,75	€ 75,-	€ 18,75