

Master of Science Thesis

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APPROACHES AND INFLUENCES ON RESILIENT COMMUNITIES

A comparative study of NPRZ and BoTu 2028

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i. Glossary

Area account manager	In Dutch ‘Gebiedsaccounthouder’
Area managing director	In Dutch ‘Rayondirecteur’
Execution program	In Dutch ‘Uitvoeringsprogramma’
Neighbourhood manager	In Dutch ‘Wijkmanager’
People based policy	Policy from which the goal is to improve the quality of life of individuals
Place based policy	Policy from which the goal is to improve the physical quality of areas
Rebel	Consultancy office based in Rotterdam that focuses on financial and strategic advisory
Resilience	Coping, adapting, and transforming capacities after setback. Includes the Dutch concept ‘veerkracht’, which is often translated as resilience. However, ‘veerkracht’ only resembles adapting capacities.
Social Impact by Design	A method that is used to create an innovative governance approach. Residents, entrepreneurs, and other private actors are challenged to contribute to integral and structural solutions that enhance social resilience

ii. Abbreviations

ABCD	Asset-based community development
BoTu	Bospolder-Tussendijken
IARB	Internationale Architectuur Biennale Rotterdam
MO	Maatschappelijke ontwikkeling [social development]
NPRZ	Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid
SO	Stadsontwikkeling [urban development department]
W&I	Werk & Inkomen [work and income department]

iii. Abstract

The goal of this thesis is to study how social resilience in neighbourhoods is influenced by area specific governance programs. In particular, the governance networks of Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028 and the NPRZ are investigated. By using qualitative analysis, secondary data, six interviews with municipal actors, and four transcripts were examined. This study demonstrates how both areas face similar challenges, but the challenges are perceived differently. This results in different statements about desirability of the involvement of residents, and differences in power of the government and local actors.

KEYWORDS: Neighbourhood policy, Network governance, Social resilience, Rotterdam, Urban regime

1. Introduction

1.1 General description

In 2013, Rotterdam joined the 100 resilient cities programme of the Rockefeller Foundation. The program was created to develop environmental, social, and economic resilience of cities around the world (ARUP, 2014; Spaans & Waterhout, 2015). The concept of resilience is used to study how individuals, communities, or organizations experience ‘the ability to withstand, adapt, or recover quickly from a disaster’ (Abramson et al., 2015, p. 43). It entails the reactions, recoveries, adjustments, and transformation to changes; in both a social and physical way. This thesis will focus on the governance methods behind the application of interventions that are used to improve the social and economic capital of neighbourhood communities.

Not every community or neighbourhood has the ability to be resilient. Human capital in cities is unequally distributed, which means that the capacities to react to (internal or external) disturbances, fluctuate between communities (Vale, 2014). How these landscapes of risks are managed, is an extremely political process. In current neighbourhood policy, public issues are no longer solely the concern of governments. The challenges governments face can be conceptualized as *Wicked Problems*. Wicked problems refer to situations without a clear solution (Ferlie, Fitzgerald, McGivern, Dopson & Bennett, 2011). Therefore, resolving the problem requires collaboration between different stakeholders, such as state and non-state actors. These stakeholders differ in opinions about the problem and/or solution of the challenges they encounter. Moreover, the challenge(s) require ‘*a broad systemic response, working across boundaries and engaging citizens and stakeholders in co-producing policy-making and implementation*’ (Ferlie et al., 2018, p. 305). Therefore, attention needs to be directed towards power and structural realities (Beilin & Wilkinson, 2015). When preventive measures are made, stakeholders in governance make decisions about who is at risk and who is not. If the perspective on certain problems is changed, top-down protective measures can be interpreted by vulnerable groups as a hazard itself (i.e. because of displacement). Therefore, ‘*if the resilience concept is to be meaningful as a social and political practice in cities, then it needs to be framed holistically enough to engage the needs of the full range of urban stakeholders*’ (Vale, 2014, p. 198).

Innovative governance networks, agenda setting, and local context together result into policy interventions that help to create resilience. These interventions can be separated into physical and social implementations. Physical interventions are the resources and processes that can contribute to the quality of life in the neighbourhood, for instance the development and design of green areas or meeting places in the neighbourhood (Desouza & Flanery, 2013). These *place-based policies* are aimed on developing the built environment. The physical quality of the built environment is used to attract residents or to keep residents in the area, and to influence the quality of life in the neighbourhoods (Kleinhans, 2012). Other examples of place-based policies are renovating or demolishing buildings, and diversification of the housing stock. *People-based policies* focus on the opportunities for residents in the neighbourhood

(Kleinmans, 2012). These policies focus on social interventions for improvement in individual socioeconomic circumstances, for instance social support, social networks, and the accessibility of institutions (Meerow et al., 2016; Desouza & Flanery, 2013).

1.2 Research context

In the city of Rotterdam there are several programs that aim to promote social resilience in neighbourhoods. Even though the main goal of these programs, improving social and economic needs of residents, is similar, the approaches that are chosen differ on several aspects. The largest active program is the National Program Rotterdam South [*Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid*] (NPRZ). The program is both substantial in duration and size: the program will run until 2030 and Rotterdam South houses over 200.000 residents. NPRZ is combining people-based and place-based policy into a long-term project that focusses on education, employment, and housing (Nationaal Programma Rotterdam Zuid, 2019). The main goal of the program is to improve the lives of the current residents in Rotterdam South. Seven neighbourhoods in Rotterdam South are selected as ‘focus neighbourhoods’¹. In 2018, another program was created to help socioeconomic weak households in the neighbourhoods Bospolder and Tussendijken. The program *Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028* [Resilient BoTu 2028] was made developed to help households and organizations to handle change, repercussion, and tension in society (Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, 2018). Residents generally have low social- and economic capital², comparable to neighbourhoods in Rotterdam South. The program has a strong focus on facilitating the local community to achieve the average level of social stability of cities in The Netherlands. The program consists of people-based ideas such as building social networks, but also of physical implementations like being the first neighbourhoods in Rotterdam without natural gas.

The programs can both be theorised as network governance, and both programs want to increase the quality of life in the designated areas through distinctive approaches. NPRZ focuses on the development of individual needs, like safety, education, and income through an integral approach. BoTu 2028 has a network-based approach which focuses on networks and community building to foster social resilience. As is the case with NPRZ, BoTu 2028 is a long-term strategy that involves both people- and place-based policies. Nevertheless, the programs substantially differ in used approaches. BoTu’s 3x3 approach is tailor-made, while the NPRZs’ strong integral connectivity with involved actors allows to monitor the whole area. The tailor-made approach is based on the *Asset Based Community Development* (ABCD) method, which aims to focus on the strengths of the neighbourhood. For example, in Bospolder-Tussendijken, evident strengths can be found in the strong (informal) social networks in the

¹ Afrikaanderwijk, Bloemenwijk, Carnisse, Hillesluis, Oud-Charlois, Tarwewijk, Vreewijk

² ‘In BoTu wonen bovengemiddeld veel mensen die geen of niet de juiste diploma’s hebben, zich eenzaam en ongezond voelen, afhankelijk zijn van een bijstandsuitkering en/of kampen met ernstige schulden. De bewoners van Tussendijken beoordelen hun kwaliteit van leven lager dan waar dan ook in Rotterdam’ (Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, 2018, p. 6).

neighbourhood. This reflects the idea that the recognition of strengths in a community will stimulate positive action for change more than a problem-based focus (Mathie & Cunningham, 2003).

1.3 Problem statement

This study investigates the difference in governance strategies and how these strategies influences the objectives of a program. More specifically, BoTu's community-based approach and NPRZ's integral area-based policies will be evaluated on how these strategies foster or develop resilience in the areas. Resilience is connected to the social and physical resources that are available in the area. The outcomes give an answer the central question of this thesis:

How are the NPRZ and BoTu2028 approaching and influencing the resilience in the designated areas?

To answer this, the following sub questions are answered first:

- How do state and non-state actors contribute to the governance process?
- How do power relations and different values influence agenda settlement?
- What are the contextual similarities and differences between the two areas?
- How do differences in approach result in different interventions?
- What can the BoTu coalition learn from bureau NPRZ and vice versa?

In order to evaluate this, the study will focus on the experiences experts who are active within either the NPRZ or BoTu 2028. How chosen strategies are experienced on neighbourhood level is outside of the scope of this research.

1.4 Academic and societal relevance

The Rockefeller Foundation has done an attempt to provide cities with practical guidelines to be more resilient with the City Resilience Framework, (ARUP, 2014). Spaans and Waterhout (2015) examined the application of the framework by Rotterdam. They concluded that the application of resilience in urban context is complex (Spaans & Waterhout, 2015). More specific, it is still unclear what exactly contributes to being resilient. Because of this, it is relevant to look how urban governance has the ability to foster resilience for both scientific and governmental purposes. Looking at the local implementation offers a systemic way of analysing the complexity of linkages in urban governance networks. A comparative design helps to explain similarities and differences in approaching social resilience. Therefore, new knowledge obtained through the execution of this study. Furthermore, while this study focuses on specific areas, and therefore cannot be generalised, the results of the current study provides more insight for interpretation neighbourhood policy, and how this affects resilience locally.

2. Theoretical Framework

Understanding the used strategies of both programs requires a general understanding of concepts that are linked to resilience and local urban governance. This section will elaborate on the concepts that are relevant in answering the research question. The first part investigates social resilience and the transitions that can either make actors more resilient or more vulnerable. The environment in which these transitions occur exists at the macro level of governing. On meso-level, collaborations between public and private actors in different areas create distinct versions of network governance. Consequently, the second part of the theoretical framework will focus on these networks and the application of urban regime analysis. Based on the chosen regime of the programs, specific policy interventions are (or will be) executed.

2.1 Social Resilience

The term resilience has its origin in the natural sciences. Resilience means that there can be adaptations to foreseen challenges (specified resilience), but also to processes and changes that are unexpected and unknown (general resilience) (Miller et al., 2012; Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013). Over the last decades it is applied to social-ecological systems, and defined by coping, adaptability, and transformability after a shock or event impacts an area. Understanding the differences between specified and general resilience helps to understand that there are different forms of resilience that can be applied in governance methods. This is also the case for the diversity of definitions that are linked to resilience, such as coping, adaptability and transformability (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013). Coping capacities are used for short term solutions to immediate threats, straight after a critical incident. Adaptive capacities are the preventive measures to anticipate on future risks. Incremental change is necessary, and long-term strategies are implemented to direct the process. Transformative capacities are measures to execute radical change, in which people's participation in the social-political decision-making process is essential. Whereas adaptation refers to securing the well-being, the goal with transformation is to increase it. To understand the challenges which social resilience tries to approach, Wilson (2012) applies transition theory.

Transition theory conceptualizes that there are different periods in societal change, and that these periods can enable a transition towards community resilience. Societal change can take place due to the change in local or national - or even global - socio-political perspectives such as migration, neoliberalism, and sustainability. These transitions can for instance lead to a government's decision to take a more top-down or bottom-up position in governing. Such developments influence the expression of resilience on all (national, regional, local, individual) levels. The pathways communities come across are influenced by institutions and governance that define the transitional corridors. The absence or presence of governance can influence the access to capital that foster resilience. A central government can for instance influence the support of a community. However, when the government takes a step back, absence can foster autonomy and the development of local strengths. In communities where

collective action can challenge vulnerability, collective strength can give access to social resilience. The ability to act collectively is influenced by past experiences that influence the self-organizing capacity of individuals; the so-called social memory that also influences path dependency. This means that some communities are better able to adapt to socio-political transition than others.

The ABCD method is tied to the same idea of local strengths. The ABCD approach reflects the idea that focussing on the strengths in a community will stimulate positive action for change more than a problem-based focus (Mathie, & Cunningham, 2003).

2.2 Network Governance

Numerous stakeholders share responsibility for the wellbeing in neighbourhood context. Not only the (local) government, but also school, housing corporations, and health organization can influence the resilience of residents. It is even debatable if governments have the resources and capacity to handle wicked problems with certain public issues (Sullivan & Skelcher, 2002). Collaboration between state and non-state actors is a way to obtain these resources, but also to achieve a shared goal or develop new ways to challenge public purposes. The cross-sectoral networks in both programs illustrate how institutions depend on each other and that relationships between state and non-state actors are less hierarchical.

To analyse how network governance functions in both BoTu 2028 and NPRZ, Urban regime analysis is applied, inspired by the application of the theory by Blanco (2013) in his study of two neighbourhoods in Barcelona. Three aspects are important in his study. Urban regime analysis assumes that to promote wellbeing in society, it is essential that state and non-state actors cooperate (Blanco, 2013). It emphasises that this is not a new idea, but an internal factor in urban governing processes. However, due to multidimensional transformations like neoliberalism, the need to cooperate has increased. Urban regime theory explores to which extent network governance adds innovation to traditional urban policy making. The second aspect of urban regime theory acknowledges the various compositions and agendas in governance networks. Different networks prioritize differently and have distinctive dynamics within their network. Urban regime analysis is therefore a valuable tool to analyse diversities in values and strategies within governance networks. The third proposition is that local context is important in understanding network variety. It recognises that there are territorial differences between areas that influence the outputs of an executed program.

2.3 Policy interventions

Governments are faced with the challenge to combine people- and place-based policy into one approach. Place-based improvement of the housing stock is usually based on the idea of social mixing. By diversifying the housing stock, it was assumed that households from different income types will be more likely to interact with each other. In the Netherlands, post-world war II housing strategies resulted in spatial concentrations of socioeconomic and cultural groups separated by neighbourhoods (Van

Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003; Veldboer, Kleinhans & Duyvendak, 2002). Later on, the Dutch government feared that these concentrations would develop into the ‘ghettoization’ of neighbourhoods. In 1997, new housing implementations were aimed to give a new impulse to homogenous neighbourhoods. It was expected that new residents with higher incomes would create social interaction and new opportunities for local entrepreneurs and institutions. The desired effect of this was that all neighbourhoods would be perceived as an acceptable living environment, which would eventually realize decreased spatial segregation in socioeconomic terms on city level. However, the study of Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen (2003) revealed that in spite of mixing different types of dwellings in a neighbourhood, physical mixing did not automatically result in social mixing (see also Kleinhans & Duyvendak, 2002). This leads to the conclusion that proximity does not equal social connectivity. Nevertheless, this does not mean that urban restructuring does not strengthen the city’s social and economic vitality. Replacing or renovating unwanted dwellings helps balancing the supply and demand of housing and therefore creates new opportunities to attract new residents (Van Kempen & Bolt, 2009). Likewise, it enables people who are able to move to a better dwelling to find suitable housing within the city or neighbourhood.

When interventions are made based on the idea of a diverse housing stock, this often leads to a significant change in the composition of the neighbourhood (Kleinhans, 2012). Since new residents move into the area, others need to be redistributed. Thus, policy can contribute to positive development of an area, while it marginalizes its former residents. Place-based policy is therefore effective for the neighbourhood, but not always for its residents. People-based policies focus on the socioeconomic development of households or individuals that live in a targeted area. Examples of policy implications are increasing education and income perspectives of households in the neighbourhood. However, a strong focus on people-based policy has two disadvantages. The first one is that implementing people-based policy only shows its effect on the long term. Therefore, they are a bigger investment for governments. The second difficulty is when the policy is successful, it is likely that the neighbourhood effects will ‘leak away’. When social economic mobility increases, the developed households are likely to move to a more developed neighbourhood.

2.4 Conceptual model

On the next page, Figure 1 illustrates how the theoretical concepts are linked to each other. Local governments decide whether resilience is approached as something that is present or absent. The presence of resilience in a locality creates an opportunity to further develop the local strengths. Entrepreneurs are an important factor that can help communities, while the (local) government has a decentralised stance in the process. If the local government perceives that resilience is absent, they are more likely to take a more central role in the governance process. Residents are not expected to take action, because they are perceived as vulnerable. Consequently, the urban regime is composed differently in these two situations. To see how local governance is affected by this, cooperation of actors,

values and power relations, and the local context are examined. The three aspects of urban regime theory are used in this thesis by mapping out the decisions that are made that result in (the absence of) the concept of resilience in BoTu 2028 and NPRZ; while BoTu 2028 emphasise the importance of social resilience as an innovative system, the concept is not applied in NPRZ. As a result of the regime, there are interventions that are preferred to approach and influence resilience.

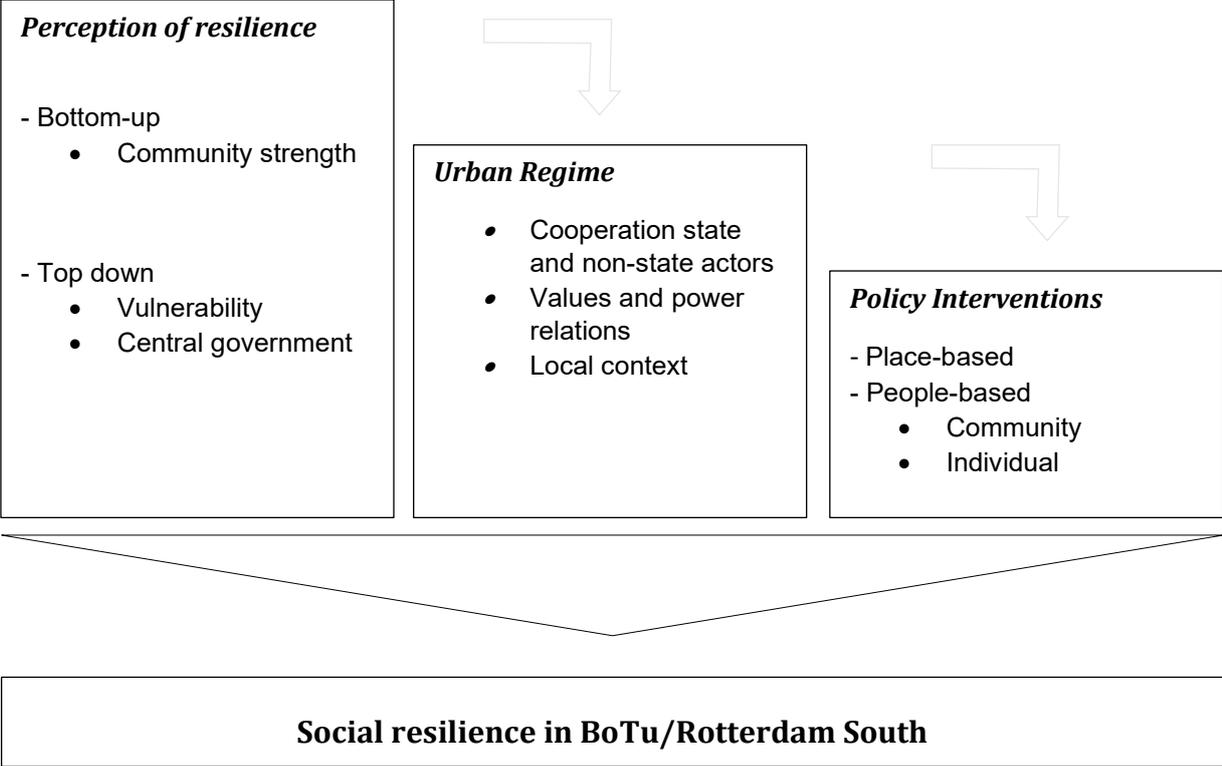


Figure 1. Conceptual model of governance approaches to create social resilience

3. Methods

3.1 Design

In order to better understand the research context, this study follows a comparative research design to examine the strategies of the programs (Bryman, 2012). This includes an elaborate assessment of both the NPRZ and BoTu 2028. The two programs are purposively sampled because of the similarities in social problems (see Appendix I). Moreover, they exemplify broader categories of approaches that are executed in urban governance, that is ‘top-down’ governance with a focus on development of households (NPRZ), and ‘bottom-up’ governance with a focus on community development. Furthermore, the programs NPRZ and BoTu2028 are active in the same time frame and same city.

The context of both cases is significant to the research findings, because the study follows an idiographic approach. The cases are unique examples of how resilience is approached on a local scale, and the results are non-generalisable. The chosen design allows for a semi structured interviewing as a strategy.

3.2 Data & Analysis

The analysis contains both desk research and interviews with experts on either one of the programs. The main source for answering the research question and sub questions are the interviews that were conducted for this thesis. In total, 4 respondents were interviewed about the NPRZ and 3 respondents about BoTu. The respondents are active on various governance levels in the areas (see Appendix II). Representing Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, the area managing director [‘rayondirecteur’] of Rotterdam-North, an employee social development, and the program secretary were interviewed. The NPRZ respondents include a program coordinator of the NPRZ, an area account manager [‘gebiedsaccounthouder’], a neighbourhood manager [‘wijkmanager’], and the area managing director of Rotterdam-North³. Besides interviews that were conducted in the framework of this study, four transcripts of earlier interviews are used as sources of data. The transcripts are not available in the public domain, but are part of the private collection of Veldacademie, as part of the Monitor Veerkrachtig Bospolder-Tussendijken. Before respondents were selected for this study, the available transcripts were analysed on relevant information. The data on BoTu is supplemented with transcripts of interviews with a strategic advisor social development, two employees of rebel, project manager urban development, and the program manager of Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028.

The interviews were executed using a semi-structured questionnaire and topic list. The questionnaire is based on the theoretical framework and the sub questions. Doing a semi-structured interview gave the opportunity for the respondent and interviewer to elaborate on subjects that were

³ In the interview with the area managing director of Rotterdam-North both programs were discussed. In agreement with the university supervisor of this thesis, this person can be included as an expert on the NPRZ as well. His contributions generally in line with those of the other respondents of the NPRZ.

relevant according to the respondent. Respondents are sampled by purposive sampling and snowball sampling. Veldacademie provided the gateway to contact the first respondents

All data is analysed in Atlas.ti. To review the transcripts, relevant sections were labelled into codes and themes to get a clear overview. Core concepts were defined by the theories that are reviewed in the theoretical framework, for example ‘collaboration’, ‘interventions’, ‘agenda settlement’, and ‘political values’. These selective codes were used to find patterns that are in line with the research context. Additionally, axial coding was used for open codes that turned out to be recurrent themes in the transcripts (Bryman, 2012). Examples of axial codes are ‘experiences’ (split into positive or negative) and ‘project management’.

3.3 Validity and reliability

Three aspects should be bear in mind concerning the internal validity or credibility of the study. First, the study might be influenced by the moment that the study has been executed. Both programs were in action during the study and intended planning to continue for eight to ten years. It is possible that respondents do not want to discredit the program too much. Nevertheless, all respondents appointed obstacles they were confronted with in collaboration with both programs. Secondly, this thesis is written in English, but the quotes that support the analytical results are in Dutch. To protect the internal validity, the quotes are not translated. Translating them has the risk of the original meaning getting lost. This decision was made based on the assumption that it is unlikely that someone who is not fluent in the Dutch language will read this thesis. Third, the time that was available for qualitative data collection and processing was limited, and due to circumstances⁴ it was more complicated to reach out to respondents. This means that saturation of the data was not achieved.

Since it is a case study, it is hard to substantiate for the external validity; the data is collected to get a better understanding of programs in two specific areas. The interviews were specified to why certain strategies are chosen, and which ones seem to be successful or not. Therefore, the data cannot be generalised for every local initiative to improve human capital. However, other area- or neighbourhood specific programs can learn from the trade-offs that were made with the NPRZ and BoTu 2028. Lastly, reliability of the data is guaranteed by giving the respondents the opportunity to reflect on their statements. Therefore, it can be assumed that if the respondents were asked the same questions, they would be giving similar answers.

3.4 Ethical considerations

By doing this study, more insights contribute to a better understanding of social resilience. This can be used by the stakeholders to redefine the concepts they use in their current projects and processes. Therefore, the study is relevant for the participating stakeholders. The respondents have accepted the

⁴ The covid-19 pandemic

informed consent. This means that all respondents were aware that they were recorded and that the obtained data can be used for secondary research. The informed consent form (see appendix III) also contained information about privacy. Since the respondents fulfil specific tasks in the program, it was not possible to fully safeguard the privacy of the respondents. All respondents have received a draft of the results to check if the obtained information was interpreted correctly, which did not lead to any significant changes. Furthermore, the author has signed and checked the 'Checklist Ethical and Privacy Aspects of Research' to critically reflect on the ethical considerations of this study (see Appendix IV).

4. Results

The results of the analysis are discussed in this chapter. First, relevant information that was collected as part of secondary research of implementation documents and related studies will be discussed for a general understanding of the governance structure of both programs. The chapter is divided into themes that are based on the sub questions: governance networks, agenda settlement, local context, and interventions. The themes are split out in concepts that were discussed in the interviews.

4.1 Additional information secondary research

The NPRZ is administered by the eponymous project bureau (NPRZ bureau), which facilitates the network structure by keeping all actors committed in the program (Dol, Hoekstra, and Kleinhans, 2019). The NPRZ is funded by the central government, the municipality of Rotterdam, and local stakeholders (i.e. employers' organizations and umbrella organizations of schools). However, the bureau is non-governmental and also relies on its alliances and lobbies for supplementary funding. Besides the municipal government and the national government (more specifically the Ministry of Housing and Living Environment), local organizations are closely involved in the project. NPRZ is an example of how intersectoral barriers are broken to constitute neighbourhood change, and therefore an example for future urban redevelopment policies in the Netherlands.

The steering group of BoTu 2028 consists of Gemeente Rotterdam, Delfshaven Coöperatie, Havensteder, Internationale Architectuur Biennale Rotterdam (IABR), and Rebel-group (Veldacademie, 2019). Together they direct local professionals in the BoTu area. The strategy requires that professionals are integrated in the community, so they can deliver custom solutions for the current challenges (Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, 2018). This means that local organizations need to open their horizon to develop new strategies to encourage the resilience in BoTu. In practice, this requires a potential shift in the responsibilities of these professionals. Examples of professionals with an active role in the neighbourhood are health- and youth experts, as well as the municipality and entrepreneurs.

Both programs focus on social improvement in the neighbourhood, however in a distinctive manner. Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028 has a strong focus on community building, which is in line with the governmental decentralization or neoliberalism. The NPRZ emphasises an integral resident-focused approach. The program emphasises the development of a stable socioeconomic fundament by improving employment prospects, school programs, and stable homes/households.

4.2. Social Resilience

In all interviews the term resilience was discussed. Resilience is split into 'veerkracht' (adaptive capacities) and 'weerbaarheid' (coping capacities) by respondents that are involved with Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028. It has to do with how people can mentally cope with hazards. In Bospolder-Tussendijken, residents have to deal with many hazards, like incidents in the neighbourhoods, but also due to personal circumstances like losing a job. The network of people around someone is a very important component

in the interviews. R1 linked resilience to community building. He argues that community building is only possible when the primary needs of a person are met. He states that besides the primary needs, there should also be some form of community organization. In some areas in Rotterdam, like Bospolder-Tussendijken, this is visible, while in other areas this is not.

According to the NPRZ bureau, resilience is not a preventative measure, but it is more repressive. This viewpoint is shared by another respondent, who describes resilience as the ability and competences for people within a poor situation to recover from a downfall. It is about the recovery after an incident. Resilience can be found in neighbourhoods in the form of educating social norms to children, for instance by sports and cultural activities. However, the NPRZ does not use or facilitate resilience explicitly. A stable household situation would be a more useful focus according some of the respondents. One respondent disagreed with this viewpoint, and argues the following:

R5: 'Als ik kijk naar het NPRZ, dan heb ik het idee dat zij veerkracht toekennen aan een niveau van zelfredzaamheid. Dat het een soort luxe is die je je pas kan veroorloven als je eerst geholpen bent om een soort basis te krijgen. Terwijl in mijn beleving is veerkracht juist het vermogen om op die basis te komen met zo veel mogelijk eigen kracht, of met hulp van jouw sociale omgeving.'

Nevertheless, resilience is intertwined in the method they use: Children's Zone De Brug. The idea of De Brug is that a positive future of children in Rotterdam-Zuid requires a strong basis of five separate pillars: home situation, health, child development, financial stability, and career development. According to the respondent who disagreed, this is also resilience because residents are given tools to get to a stable basis. For instance, when someone is unemployed, the method should be an instrument to indicate what the person needs for a stable basis.

4.3 Network Governance

This paragraph will elaborate on the collaboration between state and non-state actors. The paragraph is split into sub-paragraphs with a similar structure. First, the respondents view is given on the role of the municipality. Second, the programs experience on finding investors is discussed. And lastly, the interaction with other organisations is touched upon.

4.3.1 Collaboration BoTu

The municipality has a central role in the BoTu coalition as a connector, but also as an investor of financial resources. The BoTu coalition is managed by the municipality, that takes the responsibility over the program. The program manager (who is also part of the municipality) argues that her role is more coordinating than to control the program. According to her, this has partly to do with the program being too big to be controlled by one person. Therefore, the control of the program is more separated over the various subjects within Veerkrachtig BoTu. For instance, IARB has a more leading role in the

energy transition, and Rebel is in control of Social Impact by Design. In 2023, the budget of Veerkrachtig BoTu will be revised, so there is a possibility that the budget will be cut. Nevertheless, because the networks that exist due to the BoTu coalition, the municipal actors in the coalition are confident that the program can continue. The extra budget for the program has been used to start and to structure the program. Furthermore, the financial resources of Veerkrachtig BoTu do not only come from municipal funding, but also the general neighbourhood budget.

The municipality emphasizes that even though they are responsible for the program, the program is not composed by the municipality. The involved actors, but also the residents of the neighbourhood, have an important role in composing the program. The strategic advisor emphasizes this by saying that the more involvement in the program, the better [T4: *'ik kijk er zelf positief naar als meer partijen zich commiteren aan het programma, dan maakt het het programma ook sterker.'*], under the condition that the involved parties can improve the resilience in the neighbourhood.

The municipality is well involved in the program; all the important municipal departments (social development, urban development, urban management) are participating. However, the experience of respondents illustrates that the collaboration of the departments does not equal cooperation. Discord between more involved actors at the municipality and their colleagues seems to be linked to the transition to a more responsive government function. The urban development department is mentioned multiple times in combination with these disagreements, but respondents emphasize that this is not a structural problem within the municipality. Respondents perceive that on an individual level, there are employees that have trouble with an 'wait-and-see' approach (R1: *'op de handen zitten'*). Another challenge with the collaboration between the social and physical parties is that they plan with different time frames.

According to the program manager of Veerkrachtig BoTu, there are probably 50 that have significant impact varying from schools, to theatres and welfare organizations. The most important actor in the process are of course the residents, they are the fundament to the program. Moreover, private actors are an essential part of the program because they have more freedom in facilitating certain aspects. However, several respondents that are involved in the program report that it is hard to find new investors to support the program. Rebel tried to target entrepreneurs from outside of the BoTu area to invest in the program with Social Impact by Design. The open request for Social Impact by Design has led to new investments. The idea behind this is that new stakeholders create new energy. They have the experience that (big) companies think the program is too unclear. Parties that are already involved, like Havensteder are open to additional investments in the program. Moreover, a respondent reported that urban developers and parties that are active in the adjacent area Merwevierhaven are willing to participate in the program.

Rebel is both managing and advising the teams of social impact by design. Furthermore, every team has a contact person from the municipality who checks if the plans are in line with the vision of the municipality and Havensteder. Their structured way of working is complimented by the

municipality.

The municipality already had a long-term collaboration with IARB. The party has experience with working in BoTu as well. The program manager reports that the approach of the IARB is very society-oriented. Reason for this is that the energy transition is unfeasible at this moment due to other socioeconomic problems residents have to cope with. This makes the energy transition process very slow, yet necessary.

As mentioned, Havensteder is an important actor for the municipality because they can make the link between the dwellings and the social problems in the area. By doing inspections, Havensteder can map out where which challenges occur.

Currently professionals that are active in the area are focusing on their individual responsibilities when helping residents. In practice, respondents see that this frequently results in redirecting residents to other colleagues of professionals. This means that the professional did what they had to do, but the request of the residents is not answered. Therefore, to be more resilient, the answering of the help request should be the focus. This requires reformation of the current competencies of professionals in a way that is more accessible for residents. The following quote illustrates some examples of how this could be executed:

T1: 'En dit kan voor de ene professional betekenen ik hou een spreekuur in de wijk, voor de andere betekent dat ga eens meer samenwerken met de school, voor de ander geldt dat; je bent niet alleen van de ouder maar ook van het kind. Ga eens even breder kijken. (...) En soms hoeft je het niet zelf te doen, soms moet je het gewoon samen met iemand doen. Dan moet je dat gesprek met z'n tweeën gaan doen. Of dat je in hetzelfde pand zit en dat je iemand aan de hand mee kan nemen naar iemand anders. Het kan vanalles zijn, maar het betekent heel erg dat de professional ook flexibeler moeten zijn, meer gericht op de bewoners. Dat is wat we bedoelen met veerkrachtige professionals.'

4.3.2 Collaboration NPRZ

The NPRZ program bureau does not see the program as a top-down controlled program, but more as a multilevel approach of collaboration between national, urban, regional, and the local level. The central government funds the program, and the municipality of Rotterdam is held accountable by them. However, they do not influence the program on a daily basis. Besides that, many partners like housing corporations and schools have their own financial flows, from which they prioritise money to put into the program. The board of the NPRZ administers the program on daily basis and consists of representatives of partner organizations. Below the board, there are steering groups split out in different meetings per connected sectors (i.e., there is a housing steering group with all housing corporations, but also a steering group with the municipality and the housing corporations).

An aspect that the program bureau of NPRZ has difficulties with, is that the collaboration with

the municipality is based on agreements about what challenges should be handled. However, over time the bureau has discovered new challenges that were not foreseen in earlier negotiations. This results in friction because the municipality has difficulties with these adjustments, while the program bureau wants to achieve their goals with all means possible. As an example, for the educational goals the following disagreement occurred:

R4: 'Maar op een gegeven moment kregen we het verwijt van MO van 'willen jullie daar nu ook al mee bemoeien? Daar hebben we toch geen afspraken over?'. Maar het ging erom dat we bepaalde doelen wilden bereiken en dat lukte niet. En toen gingen we door analyseren met de mensen van waar kan dat aan liggen. Dat had dan met leerplicht te maken, dus ja, tuurlijk willen we ons daarmee bemoeien dus dat kan ons helpen om ons doel te bereiken! Aan de start van het programma, wie had dan voorzien waar we ons ook nog tegenaan wilde bemoeien? Dat vinden wij dan geen probleem, dat doen we dan onderweg alsnog. Maar sommige mensen hebben dan even tijd nodig om aan die gedachte te wennen.'

Despite of a few incidents, the NPRZ bureau is pleased with the contact with the municipality. The collaboration with the municipality is intensive, and discord happens to be a part of the collaborations. In the end, every conflict was also resolved.

The area account managers and neighbourhood managers do not have a direct influence on the execution program ['uitvoeringsprogramma']. Their role is more to make a link between the executive actors in the neighbourhood and the municipality, than it is to advice the municipality (or the program). However, within the goals of the program, executive actors like schools have enough space to cater to the needs of residents. An example is supplementary classes that are part of the education pillar of the NPRZ. Schools are free in the implementation of the extra hours, for example, they be used for homework assistance or sports activities. The program bureau checks if these implementations are used properly.

R5: '(...) Dus ik denk dat wat ik zie van onderop gebeurt. Dat gebeurt vooral op het niveau van wijk management. Daarin zitten mijn collega's die in de wijken werken. En daar dragen wij uiteraard aan bij. Maar het NPRZ is niet per se faciliterend daarin, om het even netjes uit te drukken. Het zit het meestal niet in de wijk, maar het is ook niet zo dat je zegt 'uit het NPRZ, of uit het uitvoeringsprogramma halen waar heel veel steun. Of halen wij inspiratie.' Het is meer onderop benadering binnen de wijken. Dat loopt gewoon naast. En dat wordt niet per se aan elkaar gekoppeld. Daar hoeft voor mij niet perse het stickertje NPRZ op.'

The reputation of the NPRZ has been a blessing and a curse for investments in the program. At the start of the program, businesses were deterred by the risk of financial support of the program, because the area is known as disadvantaged. Later on, the program helped to attract major players to Rotterdam South. Examples of this are the introduction of Erasmus University Rotterdam and the University of Applied Science Rotterdam in the area. Moreover, the development plan by famous architect Francine Houben to create a park in the Maashaven (neighbouring the focus neighbourhood Tarwewijk) brings new energy into Rotterdam South.

R6: 'Echt groot, mooi, goed, echt top. In plaats van één of andere lokale hovenier die een emmer zand pakt en die in het water gooit. De weet je ook eens een keer wat fatsoenlijks, waardoor het ook groots en moois is. Niet kneuterig ofzo, een beetje om fatsoenlijk... Op z'n Rotterdams!'

4.4 Values and power relations

4.4.1. Facilitating government

According to the respondents that are involved in Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, the program requires for the municipality to take a more facilitating role, instead of governing, planning, and implementation. Many of them, including Rebel and employees of the municipality, argue that not all aspects of the municipality seem to be designed for a more facilitating role, which has resulted in some discord as part of the adaption. For instance, the urban development department appeared to struggle with the adjustment because they are more focussed on planning. It seems that these conflicts happen incidental, as respondents report that the ability or willpower to adjust has to do with the commitment of individuals with the program(s). The following quote illustrates this:

R2: 'Volgens mij zit de goede wil er wel bij heel veel van zulke typen⁵ ambtenaren, die dus wel ook met die wijk te maken hebben maar best wel interne lijnen hebben die ze moeten volgen, de wil zit er volgens mij altijd, maar het is ook zoeken met hoe je..., nou ja hoe je het moet doen, hoe je het doet met je processen die je al hebt ingericht.'

A respondent who works at the social development department argued that he experienced the challenge of taking a step back as something exciting, even though he does not always agree with ideas the community of Bospolder-Tussendijken proposes; R3: *'maar dat is wat het is als je er instapt. Dan heb je dat, en dan vind ik ook dat voor een heel groot deel daar gehoor aan moet geven en veel en ruimte en aandacht aan moet geven.'* What also supports the claim that the commitment to the program is linked to the willingness to adjust, is that people who are more invested with the program, like civil

⁵ People who work more internally at the municipality, R2: *'(...) zij bijvoorbeeld veel meer aan de beleidskant of zitten zij veel meer een soort van, veel interner binnen de gemeente en veel minder op het snijvlak van de samenleving/gemeente.'*

servants in the neighbourhood, were more open to adjustments. This is because they are confronted with the challenges more, respondents say.

Creating more commitment to adjust to a facilitating government takes time. The data illustrates that this is also perceived as part of the program. The BoTu coalition was aware of this, yet they still think it is unpleasant that parts of the municipality have distrust in the taken approach.

4.4.2 Integrated approach

What appears to be a partial discrepancy between the execution program of the NPRZ and the interviews is the application of the integrated residents approach. According to the respondents, the approach seems to be an important aspect of the program. However, the capacity for a well-working integral collaboration seems to be lacking. Therefore, the executive stakeholders in the program are not able to invest in cooperation.

R4: 'Iedereen is toch geneigd om vooral zijn ding te doen waar die op afgerekend wordt en je hebt het al druk zat. De basishouding is niet samenwerken zeg maar, dat is heel begrijpelijk. Maar daar moet je echt in investeren en dat gaat niet vanzelf. Het is allemaal mensenwerk.'

Furthermore, the challenges in Rotterdam South require a higher quality of staff in sectors like healthcare, education, and safety;

R6: 'Doordat het NPRZ er wat langer zit, plannen maken voor de komende 20 jaar, is het wel wat stabiel en dat is wel fijn, vind ik. En voor de partijen volgens mij ook wel, maar dan nog moet je goede mensen hebben. Je moet de beste mensen hebben in de probleemgebieden, en dat gebeurt nog niet altijd. De beste leraren moeten in dit soort gebieden komen. De beste ambtenaren moet daar zijn, de beste ondernemers, enzovoort. (...) Dus je moet het wel kunnen en willen, je moet daar echt die intrinsieke motivatie of die passie hebben. Of je moet gewoon niks anders kunnen, of nergens anders aan de bak kunnen komen, bij wijze van spreken.'

The program office of the NPRZ was able to generate a shift at the Work and Income (W&I) department of the municipality by mapping out the shortage of civil servants in Rotterdam South. The municipality was unaware of the shortage and redistributed the civil servants with more attention for Rotterdam South.

Also in Bospolder-Tussendijken respondents perceived obstacles with the integral collaboration between different parties. Executive organizations in the BoTu area are not used to integral communication. This is a serious issue according to the municipality, because this means that residents are getting out of reach of the existing network structure. As an example, one respondent referred to the

mental health care organizations in Bospolder-Tussendijken. The municipality was unable to have the proper communication lines with the GGZ, despite having a GGZ employee in their local team.

R3: ‘Er zijn volgens mij ook heel veel mensen die we gewoon verliezen, die zich weer opnieuw terugtrekken en die opnieuw zeggen: ja, maar en als ik drie maanden of een half jaar moet wachten – ja, dan ga ik gewoon mijn eigen gang. Dan vinden jullie dat kennelijk niet zo belangrijk dan dus ik denk dat we een deel van de problemen daar ook verliezen. En dan bij die mensen, dan of ze komen er zelf uit, of ze lossen het helemaal niet op. En het wordt gewoon erg.’

4.5 Contextual differences

4.5.1 Physical change

NPRZ is notorious as a demolition program. Physical regeneration is a bigger aspect in the implementation plan of the NPRZ in comparison to BoTu 2028. It is one of the three key aspects of the program. It is the feature that gets most of the critique from media and politicians, according to the respondents. Respondents argue that the negative attention is unjust, because demolition is only a small part of the regeneration. Nevertheless, they also say that demolition is a negligible part of the physical development of Rotterdam South. According to R5 and R6, most developments focus on restructuring. Regeneration is necessary since a part of the dwellings in Rotterdam South can no longer measure with the current standards of living. Urban development programs in the post second world war era generated small and inexpensive dwellings to locate low income groups. Currently, the respondents perceive neighbourhoods with a high proximity of low-cost dwellings as problematic, because these areas are hotbeds of social problems like unemployment, environmental degradation, and criminality. Attracting new residents to Rotterdam South is not about creating new opportunities, but about eliminating old patterns.

R5: ‘Er werd eigenlijk ook alleen maar sociaal gebouwd. Daar zien we de problemen van, dat we daar toch weinig oog voor hadden. Terwijl het doel van herstructurering nu is om een aantrekkelijke woonstad voor een diversiteit aan doelgroepen te worden(...) En als je meer diversiteit wil hebben, betekent dat je eenzijdigheid afbreekt.’

Respondent R1 said that social mix is not a problem in Bospolder-Tussendijken since the type of dwellings already are more mixed. This is linked to the ability to develop resilience, because the neighbourhoods already have a critical mass of residents with ‘strong shoulders’ (also mentioned by R1). The program manager of Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028 also does not see reshaping the physical environment of Bospolder-Tussendijken as one of its core challenges. She argues that the physical environment already is in development (without the help of the program). Furthermore, social development would be more valuable for the current residents of Bospolder-Tussendijken.

4.5.2 Community building

Based on claims of respondents, many residents of Bospolder-Tussendijken are willing to participate. The number of volunteers in the neighbourhood has increased a lot. For instance, the organization ‘Delfshaven Helpt’ had many new registrations. Moreover, the municipality was surprised with the amount of applications for Social Impact by Design. Actors within the BoTu coalition did not know how many reactions the open call would deliver. Because of the many applications, Rebel (the organization in charge of social impact by design) was able to select the best ideas. The initiatives that are part of Social Impact by Design are considered very promising by respondents, including a managing director of the municipality of Rotterdam and the people that were in charge of the selection within Rebel. The resident board of Bospolder-Tussendijken (BoTu12), also had an advisory function within the selection of the proposals. However, the following example indicates that the initiatives are not yet providing solutions on a structural basis

T3: ‘We willen eigenlijk dat die dan [na 1,5 jaar] pas start en dat je vanuit daar een structureel iets hebt, waar ook een gezond verdienmodel achter zit. En dat is met een pilot van 7 mensen, ingewikkeld om een continue geldstroom voor te vinden. Als je 700 mensen kan begeleiden, dan kan je daar grote partijen op aanhaken.’

According to one participant, not all residents are able to formulate a request for help. Therefore, she argues, the municipality should also try to activate these citizens of Bospolder-Tussendijken by starting the conversation with them. Community building does not mean that residents should be completely self-reliant, but that interventions are based on their abilities and needs instead of imposed from the top. Another respondent said that the housing cooperation Havensteder is very useful for identifying households with social problems.

Applying a community building approach on the scale of the NPRZ is likely to be ineffective, according to the respondents. The challenges that the residents on Rotterdam South encounter would be in the way of structurally helping out others. Therefore, investments are made to support the basic needs of households.

Z: ‘Zou dat nu, of in de toekomst, een optie zijn in Zuid, focussen op netwerken in de wijk?’

R4: ‘Als NPRZ denk ik niet, maar we houden natuurlijk geen partijen tegen die dat toch willen doen. Wij moeten ook gewoon een focus aanbrengen. (...) En het gebeurt gewoon wel al, ik bedoel de gemeentelijke gebiedsorganisatie die is daar ook gewoon mee bezig. (...), maar vanuit het NPRZ sturen wij daar niet op omdat wij niet het gevoel hebben dat we daarmee het verschil op Zuid gaan maken. (Z: ‘En waarom dan niet?’) Nou omdat de problematiek dusdanig groot is. Ik bedoel als je al moeite genoeg doet om je eigen

huishouden te runnen, dan vinden wij het niet zo zinvol om dan die mensen te gaan stimuleren om andere mensen te helpen. Help eerst maar jezelf, dat is onze insteek.

R4: (...) Misschien dat je op een gegeven moment wel op een kantelpunt komt, hoor. Dat als je een bepaalde massa hebt dat het dan wel kan werken. Maar wij hebben nog niet het gevoel dat we al zo ver zijn. Wij denken gewoon dat we meer meters kunnen maken als we zorgen dat de basisfaciliteiten van goed lesgeven, uitkeringsgerechtigden echt op een manier helpen dat het echt effect gaat hebben, dat we daar een grotere slag mee kunnen slaan dan die netwerken stimuleren.'

Furthermore, it is not likely that in the coming years the program would develop a more community-based support system. Respondents expect that to succeed in the development of the level of education, working career, and housing in a structural way will take until 2030. This does not mean that community initiatives are not present. Neighbourhood councils and committees are facilitating local initiatives, but due to the scope of the problems of Rotterdam South, these are just a drop in the ocean [R6: *'Dat is vaak daar weer een druppel op de gloeiende plaat'*]. In contrast, the same respondent argues that the education pillar of the program facilitates in social capital by investments in sports, art, and culture for children in Rotterdam South.

5. Conclusion

The main goal of this thesis was to examine how the NPRZ and BoTu2028 are approaching and influencing social resilience in the designated areas. Theories were analysed to better understand the concept of resilience in combination with regime theory, and the interventions that follow because of governance regimes. By doing semi-structured interviews, data about the theoretical concepts and relevant themes was obtained. The most important findings of the qualitative analysis were reported in the result section. In this section, the main question of the thesis is answered by means of the sub questions.

The first sub question of this thesis is *'How do state and non-state actors contribute to the governance process?'* In the context of resilience, the approached governance methods can be categorized as more top-down for vulnerable communities and more bottom-up in resilient communities. Consistent with this idea, the NPRZ is more central governed than Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, while it focuses on creating social and economic stability for households. The NPRZ program bureau does not see the program as top-down, but as multilevel, since they discuss the challenges of Rotterdam South with all layers of the governance process. Moreover, there is a NPRZ board that consists of delegates of partner organizations. In contrary to Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, Residents do not have a significant role within the NPRZ. Central in the approach of Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028 is approach is that residents should have a leading role in the governance process. Part of this is achieved by Social Impact by Design.

The NPRZ program bureau coordinates the project. Agreements about the planning are made with the local and national government. While the national government is co-financing the program, they do not have influence on a daily base. Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028 is coordinated by a steering group that consists of partners and the municipality of Rotterdam (state and non-state actors). Organizations are also welcome to contribute to the program, provided that their main goal is to increase the resilience of Bospolder-Tussendijken.

Second, *'How do power relations and different values influence agenda settlement?'* In Rotterdam South the actual the agenda settlement takes place on a higher level. They deliberately do not ask for involvement of residents, because they assume that this is not feasible. Moreover, the addressing of structural problems like a monotonous housing environment cannot be solved with community engagement. This has to do with the collective interest of the municipality versus the individual interest of the residents. The influence of local civil servants (like area account managers or neighbourhood managers) on the NPRZ execution program is limited. Their significance within the program is that they connect organizations and important stakeholders.

Within the governance process of Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, the municipality deliberately takes a step back by taking a more facilitating stance. This decreases the power of the municipality while it strengthens the power of residents and local entrepreneurs. With the NPRZ, the government is a crucial

factor, but in Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, the continuation of the program is less reliant on government support.

The third sub-question addressed was *'What are the contextual similarities and differences between the two areas'* The NPRZ and Veerkrachtig BoTu deal with similar social problems, yet in a very distinct way. The two programs exist within a socio-political context in which the influence of the free market and participation of citizens has become more important. Whereas Veerkrachtig BoTu approaches this as an opportunity, decentralisation requires the NPRZ to give extra assistance in Rotterdam South. Even though both areas have the same type of challenges on paper (see Appendix I), respondents argue that the problems in Rotterdam South are worse. This has to do with the fact that many problems are unreported because of, amongst other things, the shortage of manpower in executing organizations like schools and welfare organizations. Without the right quality and quantity of personnel, giving and receiving help is harder in Rotterdam South. Furthermore, there is a taboo on asking for help in South because of the scope of the problem. Because many people are struggling with social or economic difficulties, the problems have become normalised. Respondents who are active in Bospolder-Tussendijken, also reported that they fear that residents are not able to get the help they need, but this has more to do with the fuzziness and the variety of organizations that provide help. By being more visible in the neighbourhood, the program Veerkrachtig BoTu is trying to solve this problem.

The fourth question focuses on the chosen interventions, *'How do differences in approach result in different interventions?'* Interventions on local level can be categorized as place-based and people-based. Place-based interventions are meant to redevelop the physical aspects of an area. This is linked to the idea that socially mixed neighbourhoods are preferred by governments. Physical redevelopment is an evident part of the NPRZ in comparison to BoTu 2028. This does not mean that there are no place-based policies in Bospolder-Tussendijken – take for instance the regeneration that is part of the energy transition – but major restructuring of dwellings and neighbourhood are not part of the program. An interesting finding that can be linked to this is that respondents do not perceive the dwellings in Bospolder-Tussendijken as a problem. Respondents stated that housing in Rotterdam South is much more monotonous. In Bospolder-Tussendijken housing has always been more varied, what results in a more socially mixed neighbourhood. This would mean that the residents in Bospolder-Tussendijken are also more socioeconomically mixed than in Rotterdam South. Still, Bospolder and Tussendijken have the highest poverty rates in Rotterdam. From a governmental perspective, it is expected that the poverty rate is undesirable. This suggests a different point of view towards social mixing between the two programs.

People-based policies target individual in a certain area, instead of the physical space. Both programs appear to have a very distinct point of view on this. In Bospolder-Tussendijken, community building is an important part of the program. From the data collected for Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, we can conclude that the respondents trust the ability of residents to design their own strategy to improve

resilience in the neighbourhood. Of course social resilience is a core concept within the program Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028. Social resilience in Bospolder-Tussendijken is mostly focused on the coping capacities and adaptive capacities of residents. In the NPRZ, the concept is absent. Despite of that, the ability to cope with uncertainty is part of their methodology (e.g. Children's zone De Brug).

In conclusion, it seems that both areas are not perceived as equally deprived areas. This is remarkable because documents and statistics of the neighbourhoods look similar. The way that they are perceived influences how resilience is approached and influenced. The NPRZ focuses solely on coping capacities of residents, while BoTu 2028 also focuses on adaptive capacities. Also, for the NPRZ program, the municipality sees active participation within the program as a burden on its residents, while for BoTu the municipality thinks it is a necessity.

6. Discussion

This final chapter will discuss the critical reflection of the results, limitations, and recommendations in response to this thesis. First of all, what should be considered are the different sizes of the program on several aspects. Not only the number of residents, but also the availability of financial resources, and the intended duration of the programs. The former could make the NPRZ program harder to manage compared to a smaller area like Bospolder-Tussendijken. The combination of the two latter aspects could make some implementations not feasible for BoTu 2028, take for instance big physical regeneration plans.

Moreover, this thesis focused on the governance approach, but not on governmental representation of residents in the program. In the light of democratic equity, there should be a critical evaluation of why community participation does not work within the NPRZ, without implying beforehand that residents cannot carry the burden. Community involvement is perhaps even more important when you are a vulnerable group.

Because the research question examines the differences between the programs, and community building is not a cornerstone in the NPRZ, the current study does not give information about community building in Rotterdam South. As some respondents also pointed out, this does not mean that community building is impossible in Rotterdam South. It can be relevant to look at how community initiatives act in the area without being acknowledged as a substantial influence by the municipality.

In the introduction, the relevance of the study was explained. This study has helped to review how social resilience can be approached. However, if the approaches indeed result in resilience, it can only be tested after the programs are finalized, because the effects of resilience should be sustainable. This especially counts for Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028, since the program has been running for two out of the ten years at this point in time.

One of the respondents mentioned that the data about Rotterdam South does not represent the actual problems. It is recommended for future research to investigate opportunities for better data collection on socioeconomical deprivation. When the challenges are better mapped out it will become easier to formulate effective approaches.

Lastly, what should be considered social interaction does not happen in the vacuum of a neighbourhood. Opportunities for social resilience can also happen outside of the neighbourhood, i.e. family members, or work. However, governments are better able to influence neighbourhood effects with the collaboration of non-state actors. NPRZ and Veerkrachtig BoTu are examples of how intersectoral barriers are broken to constitute to social resilience in the neighbourhood.

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APPENDIX I: Quantitative background information on Bospolder-Tussendijken and NPPZ focus neighbourhoods

A. Poverty rates per neighbourhood

Rotterdam

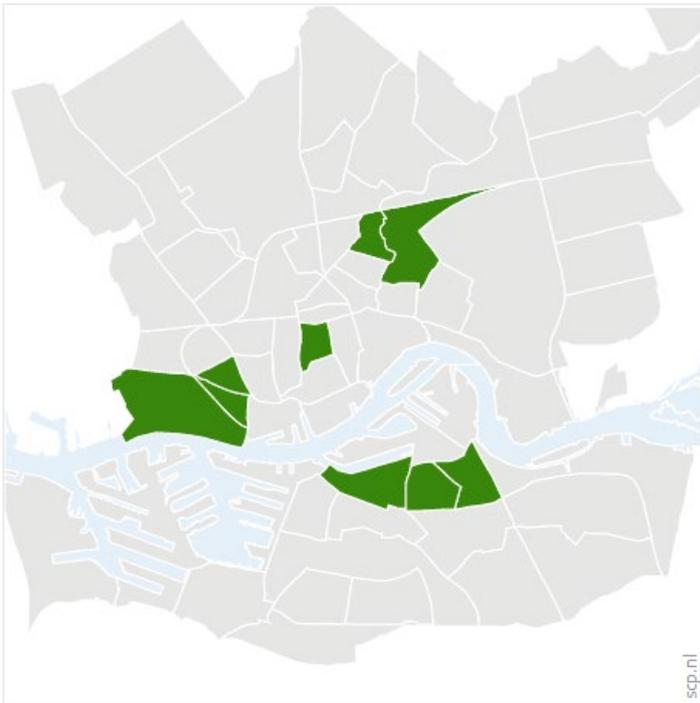


Figure A. Neighbourhood with the highest rate of residents living in poverty. Data from *The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) (Van Hulst & Hoff, 2019)*

Note: The marked neighbourhoods are the in the top 20 neighbourhoods with the highest poverty rates of The Netherlands. The neighbourhoods in the West of Rotterdam are Nieuw-Mathenesse (left), Tussendijken (top, 19,4%), and Bospolder (bottom, 20,8%). The neighbourhoods in the South of Rotterdam include Tarwewijk (left, 17%), Bloemhof (middle, 16,8%), and Hillesluis (right, 18%).

B. Social Index per neighbourhood

The Social Index is an indicator for the quality of life of neighbourhoods in Rotterdam (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020). The colours of the social index indicate the distance between the neighbourhood and the average of Rotterdam. The top ring objective rates of self-reliance [zelfredzaamheid], togetherness [samenredzaamheid], participation [participatie], and belonging [binding]. The second ring are the same concepts, but with the experienced (or subjective) rates of residents. The bottom ring shows the average satisfaction with the quality of life in the neighbourhood according to residents. The triangle is the general social index score.



Figure B. Legend for interpreting social index

Veerkrachtig BoTu 2028

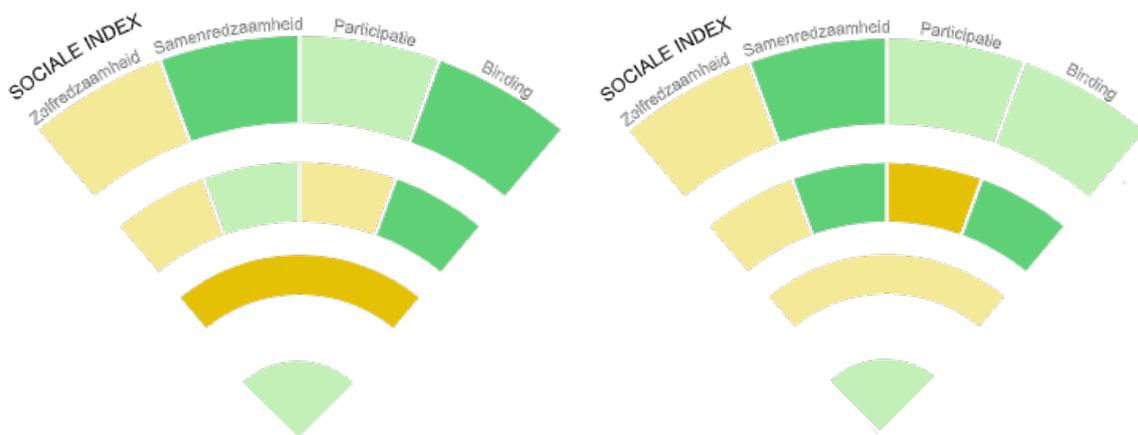


Figure C. Left: Bospolder, Right Tussendijken

NPRZ Focus neighbourhoods

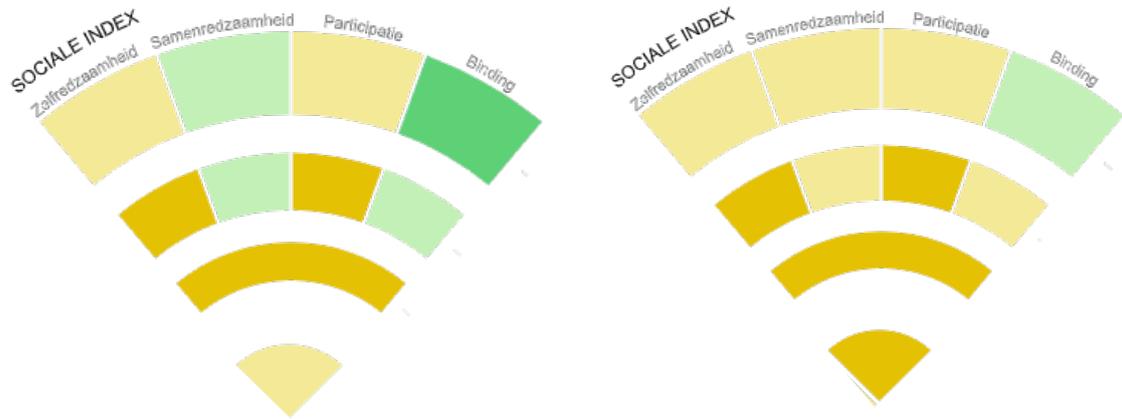


Figure D. Left: Afrikaanderwijk, Right: Bloemhof

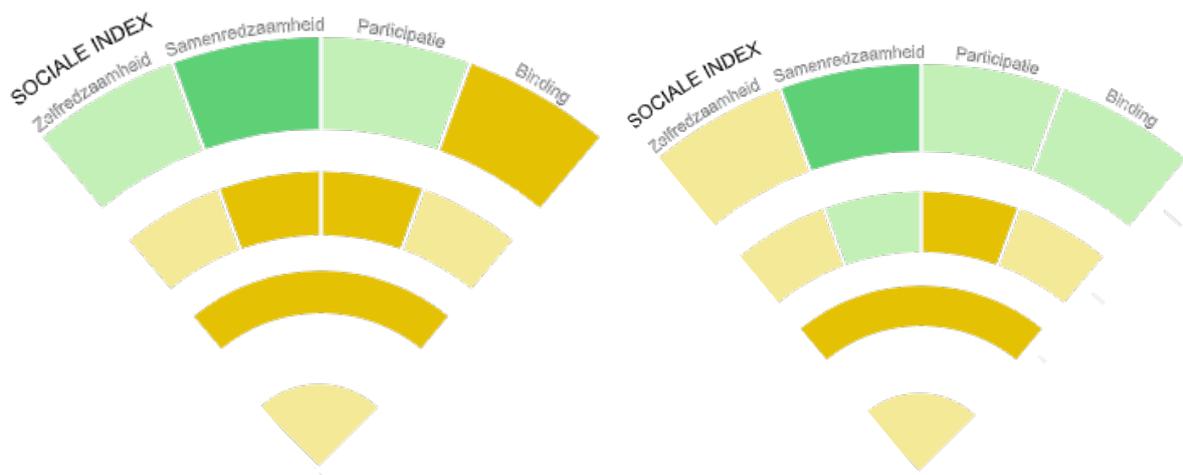


Figure E. Left: Carnisse, Right: Hillesluis

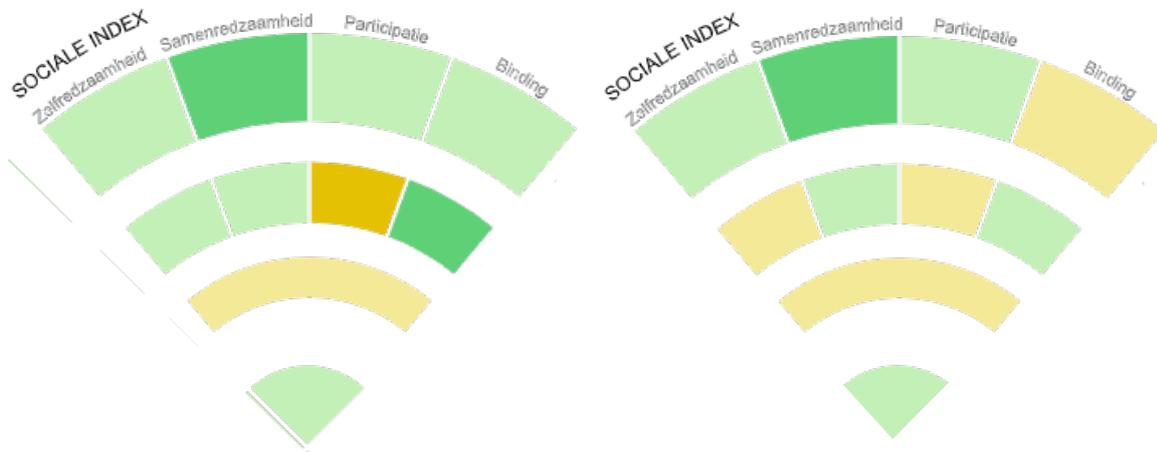


Figure F. Left: Oud-Charlois, Right: Tarwewijk,

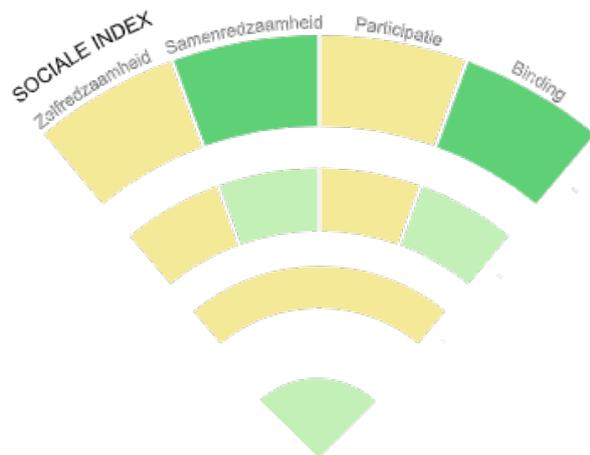


Figure G. Vreewijk

APPENDIX II: Respondent list

	Program	Profession	Date
R1	BoTu 2028, NPRZ	Area director Rotterdam North	May 1, 2020
R2	BoTu 2028	Program secretary	May 8, 2020
R3	BoTu 2028	Employee social development	May 14, 2020
R4	NPRZ	Program coordinator	May 1, 2020
R5	NPRZ	Area account manager	May 13, 2020
R6	NPRZ	Neighbourhood manager	2020
T1	BoTu 2028	Program manager	2019
T2	BoTu 2028	Program manager and project manager urban development	December 16, 2019
T3	BoTu 2028	Rebel	December 10, 2019
T4	BoTu 2028	Strategic advisor social development	2019

INFORMED CONSENT FORMULIER

Projecttitel	APPROACHES AND INFLUENCES ON RESILIENT COMMUNITIES [werktitel]
Naam onderzoeker	Zina Hottentot
Universiteit	Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
Stageorganisatie	Veldacademie
Doel van de studie	Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd in het kader van mijn afstudeerscriptie van mijn sociologie master. Ik nodig u uit om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoeksproject over veerkrachtige gemeenschappen. Het doel van het onderzoek is om inzicht te krijgen in de besluitvorming betreffende interventies die veerkracht in de wijk bewerkstelligen. De governance netwerken die als basis dienen voor de programma's worden hiervoor nader bekeken om te analyseren hoe de benaderingen voor het creëren van veerkracht tot stand komen
Procedures	U neemt deel aan een interview van ongeveer een uur. U krijgt vragen over lokale governancemethoden en -strategieën. Een voorbeeld van een vraag is: "Hoe worden uitvoerende partijen (zoals scholen) betrokken in de besluitvorming?".
Potentiële en geanticipeerde risico's en ongemakken	Er zijn geen duidelijke fysieke, juridische of economische risico's verbonden aan deelname aan deze studie. U hoeft geen vragen te beantwoorden die u niet wilt beantwoorden. Uw deelname is vrijwillig en u bent vrij om uw deelname te beëindigen op elk gewenst moment.
Mogelijke voordelen	Deelname aan deze studie garandeert geen gunstige resultaten voor u. Als gevolg van deelname kunt u mogelijk de verschillende benaderingen van buurtuitdagingen beter begrijpen. Het bredere doel van dit onderzoek is om beter te begrijpen waarom er gekozen wordt voor bepaalde interventies die sociale veerkracht bevorderen.
De resultaten delen	Na afloop van de thesis (22 juni 2020) kunnen deelnemers die het definitieve rapport willen zien een e-mail sturen naar 538709zh@eur.nl . Onderzoeksgegevens worden gedeeld met Veldacademie voor (potentieel) secundair onderzoek en de monitor Veerkrachtig Bospolder-Tussendijken. De data zullen gedurende de looptijd van de

	<p>monitor Veerkrachtig Bospolder-Tussendijken (tot 1 januari 2029) worden bewaard. Daarna wordt de data vernietigd.</p>
<p>Vertrouwelijk heid</p>	<p>Uw privacy wordt zoveel mogelijk beschermd door de wet. Er wordt geen persoonlijk identificeerbare informatie gerapporteerd in een onderzoeksproduct. Bovendien hebben alleen opgeleid onderzoekspersoneel toegang tot uw antwoorden. Mocht het zo zijn dat identificeerbare informatie, zoals een functie titel, toch noodzakelijk blijkt in de rapportage, dan zal u hiervan op de hoogte gesteld worden. Binnen deze beperkingen worden de resultaten van dit onderzoek op verzoek aan u ter beschikking gesteld voordat de thesis wordt ingeleverd.</p> <p>Dit onderzoeksproject omvat het maken van audio-opnamen van interviews met u. Getranscribeerde segmenten van de audio-opnamen kunnen worden gebruikt in gepubliceerde formulieren (bijvoorbeeld tijdschriftartikelen en boekhoofdstukken). In het geval van publicatie zullen pseudoniemen worden gebruikt. De audio-opnamen, formulieren en andere documenten die in het kader van deze studie zijn gemaakt of verzameld, worden opgeslagen op een veilige locatie in de kantoren van de onderzoekers of op de met een wachtwoord beveiligde computers van de onderzoekers.</p>
<p>Recht om zich terug te trekken en vragen</p>	<p>Uw deelname aan dit onderzoek is volledig vrijwillig. U kunt ervoor kiezen om helemaal niet deel te nemen. Als u besluit deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek, kunt u op elk moment stoppen. Als u besluit niet deel te nemen aan deze studie of als u op enig moment stopt met deelnemen, heeft dit geen nadelige gevolgen.</p> <p>Als u besluit om deel te nemen aan de studie, als u vragen, zorgen of klachten heeft, neem dan contact op met de primaire onderzoeker:</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Zina Hottentot 538709zh@student.eur.nl</p>
<p>Verklaring van toestemming</p>	<p>Uw toestemming geeft aan dat u ten minste 18 jaar oud bent; u dit toestemmingsformulier hebt gelezen of het aan u hebt laten voorlezen; uw vragen zijn naar tevredenheid beantwoord en u stemt er vrijwillig mee in dat u deelneemt aan dit onderzoek.</p> <p>Ik heb de garantie gekregen dat dit onderzoeksproject is herzien en goedgekeurd door de ESHCC Ethics Review Committee. Als u akkoord gaat om deel te nemen, kan u tijdens het interview toestemming geven.</p>
<p>Geluidsopname</p>	<p>Ik stem ermee in om mijn interviewaudio op te nemen</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Ja</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Nee</p>

Secundair gebruik	Ik stem ermee in dat de gegevens worden gebruikt voor secundaire analyse <input type="checkbox"/> Ja <input type="checkbox"/> Nee
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APPENDIX IV: Checklist Ethical and Privacy Aspects of Research

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: RESILIENCE IN THE BOTU AND NPRZ AREA

Name, email of student: Zina Hottentot
538709zh@student.eur.nl

Name, email of supervisor: Wenda Doff
wendadoff@hotmail.com

Start date and duration: 2-02-2020

Is the research study conducted within DPAS ~~YES~~ **NO**

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?
(e.g. internship organization)

Veldacademie

PART II: TYPE OF RESEARCH STUDY

Please indicate the type of research study by circling the appropriate answer:

1. Research involving human participants. **YES** - NO

If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research? YES - **NO**

Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act ([WMO](#)) must first be submitted to [an accredited medical research ethics committee](#) or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects ([CCMO](#)).

2. Field observations without manipulations that will not involve identification of participants. YES - **NO**

3. Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary data that has been anonymized by someone else). YES - **NO**

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

(Complete this section only if your study involves human participants)

Where will you collect your data?

Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

Approximately 10 (however, this also depends on the data that is already available via Veldacademie) _____

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

Not applicable

1. Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them? YES - **NO**

2. Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study? YES - **NO**

3. Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants? YES - **NO**

4. Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants? YES - **NO**

Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).

Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants? **YES - NO**

Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)? **YES - NO**

Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent? **YES - NO**

Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study? **YES - NO**

Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured? **YES - NO**

Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study? **YES - NO**

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why this issue is unavoidable in this study

6. When interviewing actors in a governmental position, it is possible that some opinions or decisions are based on political beliefs. Therefore, it is possible that this will come up during an interview.

8. Of course I would never put my respondent's health at risk, but due to the corona pandemic it is hard to guarantee that someone's health isn't at risk interviewing.

9. Because I will interview professionals and their function within the project might be relevant for the study, it might be possible to identify participants.

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

8. I will try to do the interviews online, or gather information via other online sources like email contact or the Veldacademie interview database.

9. Participants of the study have to give permission via the informed consent form and therefore are aware of the fact that I might not be able to fully anonymize them.

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

No

Part IV: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

In a private folder on my computer or in the secured storage system SURFdrive. Besides digital storage, I will also take notes in a notebook during or after the interviews. These notes will be digitalized and stored on SURFdrive.

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

Me (Zina Hottentot)

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

While doing fieldwork once or twice a week.

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

Personal details are replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.

PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student:

Zina Hottentot

Date:

March 22, 2020



Name (EUR) supervisor:

Wenda Doff

Date:

March 15, 2020

