Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital in Neighbourhood Initiatives in BoTu during COVID-19

Isabel Prins

578811

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Master Thesis Sociology

Social Inequalities

20-06-2021

Supervisor: Wenda Doff

Second Reader: Gijs Custers

Word Count: 9591

Abstract

This research qualitatively investigates how bonding, bridging and linking social capital operates within neighbourhood initiatives during COVID-19 in the neighbourhood Bospolder-Tussendijken (BoTu) in Rotterdam. 32 Semi-structured interviews were conducted among 17 neighbourhood initiatives. This research showed that bonding social capital was most visible in friend and family-type relationships within the initiative and between neighbours, and a strong feeling of connection as well as having a shared vision helped initiatives with organizational capacity and durability. Bridging social capital was most visible in relationships with other initiatives as well as relationships with residents and it facilitated initiatives to be embedded in the neighbourhood, to gain knowledge and expertise, to find volunteers and to create connections between people of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Linking social capital was visible in relationships with formal organizations and it aided initiatives mostly by offering financial resources and sometimes with extra knowledge and expertise or organizational capacity. It sometimes hindered initiatives by making them financially dependent and thus less self-sufficient. Also, it created extra work because initiatives had to account to the municipality in exchange for subsidies. Lastly, linking ties sometimes hindered initiatives by causing frustrations when there was a lack of reciprocity. This research shows that investing in all types of social ties has helped initiatives in BoTu in many ways during COVID-19. Future policy could focus on strengthening relationships between initiatives and formal organizations in order to enhance reciprocity and trust and in this way create linking ties that are truly helpful to initiatives.

> **Key words**: *Bonding Social Capital; Bridging Social Capital; COVID-19; Linking Social Capital; Neighbourhood Initiatives*

Contents

Introduction

Cities are constantly facing acute as well as more chronic challenges (Spaans & Waterhout, 2017). Cities and the communities and individuals within them have to create resilience in order to adapt to stressors, transform as a response to those stressors and grow regardless of them (Spaans & Waterhout, 2017). Currently, we are dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic, which is requiring a high level of resilience from communities worldwide. In literature about community resilience, most attention goes to the role of social capital (Doff, 2017). Access to social networks is considered to be essential in softening the effects of stressors on communities (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009). In socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods, social capital is especially considered to make a large contribution to resilience, because other forms of capital are usually more scarce (Breton, 2001). Putnam (2000) links social capital to safety, better education, economic growth, more effective governing and better health. Social capital has therefore become a popular concept in a number of academic disciplines and is often mentioned as a tool for tackling social inequality (Farrell, 2007). However, a 'dark side' of social capital is also being debated in research, that is pointing at the ability of social networks to be exclusionary and to maintain or even strengthen social inequalities (Portes & Landolt, 2000; Farrell, 2007; Blokland & Savage, 2008).

Three types of social capital are often distinguished in literature: bonding, bridging, and linking social capital (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Bonding social capital is defined as having trusting relationships between members of a somehow similar group, bridging social capital is defined as having relationships based on mutual respect between members of groups that are somehow different, and linking social capital is defined as having relationships across power and authority gradients in society (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). The three types measure different aspects of social capital, but are considered interdependent and were found to influence each other (Poortinga, 2012; Blokland & Savage, 2008; Hawkins & Maurer, 2009). Critical authors have pointed to the fact that they might differ dependent on context (Farrell, 2007; Blokland & Savage, 2008). Power relations, agency of individuals, normativity, and uses of social ties can all influence the workings of social capital in a certain context (Blokland & Savage, 2008).

Active citizenship has been proposed as one of the factors contributing to more resilience in disadvantaged communities (Rippon et al., 2020). Neighbourhood initiatives are likely to support communities to adapt to COVID-19 (Fransen et al., 2021) and to stimulate bonding, bridging and linking social capital (Agger & Jensen, 2015). However, initiatives also need all forms of social capital in order to achieve social and economic improvement in the neighbourhood and durability of the initiative (Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2020; Boonstra & Claessens, 2020). This study aims to provide more insight into how bonding, bridging and linking social capital operate in neighbourhood initiatives in the context of a disadvantaged neighbourhood during a crisis. The neighbourhoods Bospolder and Tussendijken (BoTu) in Rotterdam are two of the poorest neighbourhoods in the Netherlands (Veldacademie, 2020).

Research Context

The Rockefeller foundation has launched the 100 Resilient Cities Program in 2013 in order to facilitate the building of resilience within cities worldwide (Spaans & Waterhout, 2017). Rotterdam is one of the first cities to participate in the program. In the context of this, the project 'resilient BoTu 2028' was launched in 2018 in order to make BoTu the first resilient neighbourhood of Rotterdam (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020). An important indicator of community resilience that the initiators want to address is social capital. By connecting formal and informal networks they hope to strengthen the social structure and reach more residents. The assumption is that social networks increase community resilience in the neighbourhood (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020).

In BoTu, a lot of residents were actively involved in neighbourhood initiatives already before COVID-19 and since the beginning of COVID-19, new neighbourhood initiatives have emerged as a response (Veldacademie, 2020; Edua-Mensah, 2020; Boonstra & Claessens, 2021). Indeed, on the Social Index, where different aspects of social capital are measured, the area has a relatively high score for cooperation and bonding with the neighbourhood (Veldacademie, 2020). The Social Index is part of the Neighbourhood Profile, which is the monitoring tool of the municipality of Rotterdam to map out how the city and the neighbourhoods are doing on the social, physical and security domain. Although cooperation according to this measurement is high in BoTu, the social structure is ought to be vulnerable. When looking more generally at the Social Index, BoTu scores below average (Veldacademie, 2020). The residents of BoTu are living in two of the poorest neighbourhoods in the Netherlands and BoTu has a large concentration of social problems, such as unemployment, debts, and bad housing quality (Veldacademie, 2020). BoTu is therefore considered a disadvantaged neighbourhood. A lot of neighbourhood initiatives are vulnerable since they depend on subsidies and on the energy of the residents (Veldacademie, 2020). So far, the Social Index has made no clear distinction between bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

Problem Statement

Communities that are socially and economically vulnerable are found to be at greater risk of damage when a disaster occurs and show slower recovery due to a lack of financial capital and political power (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009; Elliott et al., 2010). The current COVID-19 crisis similarly shows that deprived communities are most affected (Berkowitz, Gao, Michaels, & Mujahid, 2020; Rusinovic et al., 2020; Kenniswerkplaats Leefbare Wijken, 2020). In the United States, COVID-19 mortality and morbidity is felt harder in disadvantaged and racially segregated neighbourhoods (Berkowitz, Gao, Michaels, & Mujahid, 2020). In the Hague and Rotterdam, research also indicates that the weakest groups suffer the most from COVID-19 (Rusinovic et al., 2020; Kenniswerkplaats Leefbare Wijken, 2020). Neighbourhood initiatives can help to lower the impact of COVID-19 on disadvantaged communities by creating social capital and resilience (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Fransen et al., 2020). At the same time, neighbourhood initiatives need bonding, bridging and linking social capital in order to achieve their goals (Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2019).

Research Goal

In this study, I will qualitatively examine how bonding, bridging and linking social capital are visible in neighbourhood initiatives in BoTu and how they help and hinder the initiatives during COVID-19 by analysing 32 in-depth interviews with residents active in neighbourhood initiatives in BoTu. The following research question will be investigated:

> *How are bonding, bridging and linking social capital visible and how do they help and hinder neighbourhood initiatives in BoTu during COVID-19?*

Societal Relevance

The functioning of different types of social capital have been proposed to be dependent on context (Farrell, 2007; Blokland & Savage, 2008). Since COVID-19 was found to disproportionally affect neighbourhoods that are socially and economically vulnerable, it is important to investigate how bonding, bridging and linking social capital operate in such a context (Berkowitz, Gao, Michaels, & Mujahid, 2020; Rusinovic et al., 2020; Kenniswerkplaats Leefbare Wijken, 2020). Moreover, according to critical researchers, all types of social capital can also have a 'dark side' and therefore sometimes might have negative effects on initiatives (Portes & Landolt, 2000; Farrell, 2007; Blokland & Savage, 2008). In order to find out how neighbourhood initiatives in disadvantaged communities might best make use of existing types of social capital and in this way create resilience, it is important to investigate in what ways bonding, bridging and linking social capital help as well as hinder neighbourhood initiatives in disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Scientific Relevance

Research shows that bonding, bridging and linking social capital are all important in different ways in order for initiatives to function (Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2020; Boonstra & Claessens, 2020). However, so far, research mostly focusses on the positive aspects of social capital and show how it helps neighbourhood initiatives. Research on the ways in which social ties might hinder neighbourhood initiatives is more scarce (Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2019). Moreover, the current COVID-19 pandemic creates a unique opportunity to study how different forms of social capital operate in neighbourhood initiatives during a crisis. Research conducted on the effects of COVID-19 on neighbourhood initiatives has been either of quantitative nature or has only briefly described bonding, bridging and linking social ties (Fransen et al., 2020; Boonstra & Claessens, 2020) More in-depth research is needed in order to understand how bonding, bridging and linking social capital are visible in neighbourhood initiatives in specific contexts during COVID-19 and how they help as well as hinder these initiatives.

Theoretical Framework

Defining Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital

Putnam defined social capital as "features of social organization such as networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (2000, p. 2). The broadness of this definition however makes it difficult to measure and examine the concept (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). In order to define social capital more precisely, a distinction between bonding and bridging social capital has been made (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Putnam (2000) based the idea of bonding and bridging capital on Granovetter's distinction between strong and weak ties (Granovetter, 1974; Putnam, 2000). Bonding social capital refers to trusting relationships between members of a somehow similar group (Putnam, 2000). Bridging social capital refers to relationships based on mutual respect between members of groups that are somehow different, regarding for example class, ethnic group, age, or religion (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Linking social capital was added to those later by Szreter and Woolcock (2004). Linking social capital refers to the ability to build relationships across power and authority gradients in society in order to have access to valuable resources (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). The distinction between bridging and linking social capital is in the assumption that bridging social capital is considered to comprise horizontal relationships whereas linking social capital is about vertical connections across different levels of power (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004).

Bonding social capital has been associated with strong ties but less valuable outcomes whereas bridging and linking social capital have been associated with weak ties but more valuable outcomes (Putnam, 2000; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Hawkins & Maurer, 2009; Poortinga, 2012). Granovetter (1974) emphasized the importance of weak ties. He acknowledged that strong ties were important, but argued that indirect influences from outside the close circle of family and friends to provide for new information and allow for getting ahead. Putnam (2000) subsequently argued that bonding social capital is capital to 'get by', whereas bridging capital is capital to 'get ahead'.

Critical authors have argued that bonding and bridging social capital are not completely mutually exclusive (Claridge, 2018; Blokland & Savage, 2008). Groups that are similar in some way, might not be in other ways and this way have bonding as well as bridging relations (Claridge, 2018). It has also been argued that bonding, bridging and linking social capital are dependent on context and constantly influence one another (Blokland & Savage, 2008; Hawkins & Maurer, 2009). Poortinga (2012) however showed that bonding, bridging and linking social capital are only weakly interrelated, which confirms that they capture different aspects of social capital. The distinction between bonding, bridging and linking social capital is well-established and highly tested, and is generally considered to maintain important differences between types of ties (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Therefore, while acknowledging that they are context- and interdependent, I argue that the distinction between bonding, bridging and linking social capital can enhance our understanding of the ways in which networks are used during the process of creating and maintaining neighbourhood initiatives.

Social Capital and Disaster Resilience in Disadvantaged Communities

Uphoff et al. (2013) found that bonding and bridging capital can buffer some of the negative effects of poverty on health and that they might lower the vulnerability of people with a lower socio-economic status. Linking social capital has also been found to have a large impact on wellbeing, especially in poor communities (Szreter and Woolcock, 2004; Dale & Newman, 2010; Hawkins & Maurer, 2009; Poortinga, 2012). Bridging and linking are considered most important for disadvantaged communities, but at the same time most difficult to create (Putnam, 2000; Hawkins & Maurer, 2009).

In the case of a disaster, bonding, bridging and linking social capital have been found to be important for survival in different ways (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009; Elliott et al., 2010; Aldrich & Meyer, 2014). Bonding social capital allows for immediate support and day-to-day activities (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009; Elliott et al., 2010). Family ties especially play an important role in resilience since family members are often the first providers of help (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014). Bridging social capital is considered useful in helping people survive by providing access to resources and information through connections across communities (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009). Ties to social organizations (e.g. churches) can provide support and information both from the organization itself and through potential new contacts (Elliott et al., 2010). Linking social capital is most important for acquiring essential resources by connecting citizens to formal institutions. In addition to aid and support, bridging and linking social capital allow residents to be introduced to new ideas and values (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Hawkins & Maurer, 2009). Crossing economic and social lines is considered most important for lower-income residents (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Hawkins & Maurer, 2009 Elliott et al., 2010).

Though bonding social capital is essential for getting by on the short term, in itself it might not be enough to create disaster resilience in disadvantaged communities (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009; Elliott et al., 2010). Deprived communities that rely more on bonding social capital were found to receive less support overall and were less resilient compared to more advantaged communities that relied more on bridging and linking social capital (Elliott et al., 2010). At the same time, bonding social capital is needed to build bridging and linking social capital (Blokland & Savage, 2008). All three types of social capital thus seem to be important for resilience, but not all are generally equally present.

The Downside of Social Capital

Despite the positive effects of social capital, researchers have also called for a critical and thoughtful approach to the concept, especially when addressing problems faced by disadvantaged or deprived communities (Portes & Landolt, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Farrel, 2007; Blokland & Savage, 2008). Though bonding social capital is an important source of social support, it can also be exclusionary and discriminating of other groups (Portes & Landolt, 2000; Claridge, 2018; Blokland & Savage, 2008; Doff, 2017). Bonding social capital can also be harmful and constraining to insiders, because of restricting norms and values (Portes & Landolt, 2000; Farrell, 2007; Blokland & Savage, 2008; Doff, 2017). During disasters, bonding capital can lead to a reduced likelihood of accepting formal disaster recovery aid (Aldrich & Meyer,

2014). Bridging social capital can also be exclusionary by allowing for differential benefits to communities depending on their access to other forms of capital, such as cultural capital (Blokland & Savage, 2008). Bridging social capital tends to have a transactional nature which can cause a threat to independence and a risk of unmet expectations (Blokland & Savage, 2008). Linking social capital can also be obstructive because gatekeepers can make demands and thereby limit the autonomy and independence of citizens, which is essential for self-organization (Farrell, 2007; Doff, 2019). Szreter and Woolcock (2004) have connected high linking social capital to nepotism, suppression and corruption.

Different types of social capital can thus be divisive and reproduce existing inequalities (Blokland & Savage, 2008; Farrell, 2007). Claridge (2018) however claims that neither bonding nor bridging or linking social capital is negative per se, but that they can become negative when out of balance. Claridge (2018) therefore highlights the importance of balance between the different types of social capital and the context specific nature of them.

Social Capital in Neighbourhood Initiatives

Active citizenship has been proposed as one of the factors causing some disadvantaged communities to be more resilient than others (Rippon et al., 2020). Neighbourhood initiatives are likely to support communities to adapt to COVID-19 through bonding, bridging and linking social capital (Fransen et al., 2021; Agger & Jensen, 2015). The emergence of neighbourhood initiatives can therefore be considered an instrument for creating resilience (Fransen et al., 2021). In resilient communities, initiatives are likely to emerge when a stressor occurs and to disappear after. Fransen et al. (2021) proposed that social capital facilitates resilience as well as the emergence of initiatives.

Research shows that all three forms of social capital are important for neighbourhood initiatives in order to achieve desired outcomes, such as social and economic improvement in the neighbourhood and durability of the initiative (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2020). Bonding social capital is important for having a core group of members that have strong trusting relationships within the initiative. This is important for organizing capacity, but a core group also prevents the initiative from collapsing when leaders decide to leave. Bridging social capital is important for the embeddedness of the initiative in the community because it allows the forming of links between different groups within the community. It can also help increasing the organizational capacity by allowing new volunteers and resources. Linking social capital is important because it connects initiatives with formal institutions, which allows for government support and subsidies (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2020).

A few researchers however also mention how different forms of social capital can possibly harm neighbourhood initiatives (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Creamer, 2015; Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2019; Fransen et al., 2021). Bonding social capital can be exclusionary, as was described earlier, and can cause withdrawal when individuals do not identify with the norms of the group (Agger & Jensen, 2015). Bridging social capital can exacerbate prejudices among networks and might create a risk of group conflict and gossip or hostility (Agger & Jensen, 2015). Linking social capital can have negative consequences when

formal parties either put their responsibilities in the hands of initiatives under the name of resilience and self-sufficiency or become too active and take over instead of collaborate (Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2019). Financial support can have a negative impact by increasing administration demands and local competition (Creamer, 2015; Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2019).

Boonstra and Claessens (2020) researched social capital in fifteen neighbourhood initiatives in Rotterdam during COVID-19. They found that the initiatives made use of bonding, bridging and linking social capital and created all types of social capital as well. Initiatives emerged out of existing network ties that were of bonding, bridging and linking nature (Boonstra & Claessens, 2020). However, neighbourhoods with lower levels of bonding, bridging and linking social capital were found to have issues creating initiatives. This research confirms that existing ties are key to the development of neighbourhood initiatives. Fransen et al. (2021) studied how neighbourhood initiatives targeting vulnerable communities emerged in different contexts during COVID-19. They found that all initiatives faced difficulties regarding funding, networks and cooperation, suggesting low bridging and linking social capital (Fransen et al., 2021). Governments are often found to hamper the emergence of initiatives by unreliable and unsupportive governance (Newman et al., 2008; Fransen et al., 2021). Agger and Jensen (2015) found that in the Netherlands, neighbourhood initiatives can create linking social capital but that the extent to which they do this is dependent on the level of bonding and bridging social capital. Linking social capital was found to be easier to create when there was bonding social capital, because if there is a supportive network where citizens feel safe, citizens find it easier to reach out (Agger & Jensen, 2015). Bridging social capital also helps creating linking social capital, because if different networks work together, they have a better chance of reaching networks higher up the hierarchy (Agger & Jensen, 2015).

Researchs has proposed that in the context of neighbourhood initiatives, bonding social capital refers to relationships among members of the core group, which is the driving force of the initiatives (Dale & Newman, 2010; Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2020). Bridging social capital in this context can be referred to as relations between initiatives and target groups or other initiatives in the community. Linking social capital refers to relations with the local government and other institutions with relative power over the initiative, like funding agencies (Dale & Newman, 2010; Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk). Agger and Jensen (2015) proposed another framework for conceptualizing bonding, bridging and linking social capital in neighbourhood initiatives, including their positive and negative functions. On the basis of the existing theory discussed above, this framework, supplemented with existing theory, is considered to best represent bonding, bridging and linking social capital in neighbourhood initiatives. The framework is displayed in Table 1.

Table 1.

Conceptualization of bonding, bridging and linking social capital (mostly adopted from Agger & Jensen, 2015)

Type of social capital	Type of relation	Positive function	Negative function
Bonding	Horizontal networks among people that are similar, such as family, neighbours or people with the same interests, ethnicity or religion	Shared identity Safety and support Access to resources in the network	Exclusion: homogenous groups tend to reinforce exclusive identities Withdrawal: people that cannot identify with these networks tend to exit
	Formal or informal	Organizational capacity	
	Strong ties	Strong core group prevents initiatives from collapsing	
Bridging	Horizontal networks that are different from each other, such as acquaintances, links to other interest groups or communities	New ideas and information Access to resources of other networks Reciprocity and trust among networks	Risk of group conflict Gossip and hostility Risk at enforcing already sedimented prejudgments
	Formal or informal	"Collective action capabilities" across different networks	
	Weak ties	Embeddedness in the community Increasing of organizational capacity by allowing new volunteers and resources	
Linking	Vertical connections to people with power outside the community, such as representatives from formal institutions	Access to external resources Creation of reciprocity and trust among local actors and representatives from formal institutions	Domination of projects Handing over responsibilities Formal sanctions
	Formal		Bureaucracy
	Weak ties	Governmental support and subsidies	

<div align="center">**Methods**</div>

Research Design

Part of the project 'resilient BoTu 2028' is the monitor, which aims to document how community resilience develops itself in practice (Veldacademie, 2020). The current study is carried out as a part of this monitor. This will be a case study of qualitative nature. This design is considered most suitable for answering the research question because it provides multiple and in-depth perspectives and is context-specific (Bryman, 2016). This will allow me to get broad and detailed information on the specific context of neighbourhood initiatives in BoTu during COVID-19. A disadvantage of conducting a case study is that it is difficult to generalize findings (Bryman, 2016). Nonetheless, the results of this study might be useful to other cities working on resilience, since BoTu could be considered an exemplifying case for other socio-economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Bryman, 2015).

Data Collection

The study makes use of interview data gathered by the Veldacademie and additionally collected new data. In 2020, shortly after the beginning of COVID-19, 68 semi-structured interviews were conducted by the Veldacademie among individuals involved in neighbourhood initiatives, individuals working for formal organizations and residents of BoTu. The interviews aimed to gather information about the ways in which initiatives, organizations and residents were dealing with and adapting to COVID-19. The interviews with neighbourhood initiatives are used for this research. Neighbourhood initiatives were partly found online and partly by using the snowball-method. The dataset is supplemented with four new interviews. These are follow-up interviews with neighbourhood initiatives to attain more specific and in-depth information about bonding, bridging and linking social capital. This leads to a total of 32 interviews with seventeen participants from fifteen initiatives. An overview of the participants that were interviewed can be found in table 2. Because of the COVID-19 crisis, part of the interviews was conducted by telephone whereas another part was conducted face-to-face.

Table 2.

Overview of Participants and Neighbourhood Initiatives

Participant Number	Neighbourhood Initiative	Times Interviewed
1	Beekhuizen Bindt	1
2	Besouk	1
3	BoTu12	2
4	De Cirkel	1
5	Delfshaven Coöperatie	3

6		4
7		1
8	Delfshaven Helpt	2
9	Islamitische Voedselbank	2
10	Nablijfklas	1
11	Stichting Schiezicht	1
12	Stichting Veerkrachtige Gemeenschap	2
13	Stichting Voedseltuin	2
14	Verbindingskamer	3
15	Yess Pop-up Store	3
16	Zelfregiehuis	1
17	Atelier de Kleine Vis	2

Data Analysis

The interviews were recorded with the permission of participants and transcribed by the Veldacademie and myself. Subsequently, the transcripts were coded using Atlas ti-8. This research partly makes use of these previously encrypted codes and partly recode the dataset while specifically focusing on indicators of bonding, bridging and linking social capital, hereby using the framework displayed in Table 1.

There is a few disadvantages to analysing data that was collected by other researchers for my research. One disadvantage of is that I do not have the same familiarity with the data compared to when I would have collected all of the data myself (Bryman, 2016). I therefore take sufficient time to familiarize myself with the data. Another disadvantage is that I do not have control over the quality of the data (Bryman, 2016). However, I made sure it is of sufficient quality by going through all the data myself. A last disadvantage is that some of the key variables can be absent (Bryman, 2016). I partly correct for this by collecting additional data on some of the respondents. Also, key variables are expected to be present in this dataset because the interviews included questions about social ties.

An advantage of using secondary data is that I am able to use a larger data set for my analysis then what would have been possible within this timeframe were I to collect all of the data myself. Moreover, using secondary data allows me to spend more time on the data analysis (Bryman, 2016). Lastly, since BoTu is an area that is researched very often, making use of

existing data will help prevent over-researching the neighbourhood and asking too much of respondents (Bryman, 2016).

Ethical Considerations

This research will pay attention to ethical considerations. Bryman (2016) described four ethical principles that need to be taken into account when conducting research. The first principle is that no harm should be done to participants (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2017). Since the project 'resilient BoTu 2028' requires research to be conducted in BoTu on a regular basis so as to monitor how resilience is developing in practice, participants are at risk to be harmed by over-asking (Bryman, 2016). To make sure participants are not overloaded, a coordinator is in place to keep track of who is interviewed and how often. However, it is important that the interviewer remains alert to a possible overload.

The second principle that needs to be taken into account is informed consent (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2017). To ensure informed consent, all participants will be asked to sign an informed consent form that is handed to them before the conducting the interview. The same procedure has been followed with interviews used in this research that have been conducted earlier. This gives respondents the opportunity to be fully informed about the nature of the research and the implications of their participation in the research (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2017).

The third principle that Bryman (2016) describes is the right to privacy. Participants will and have been informed that they have the right to retract from the research at any time and that they are not obliged to answer questions if they do not wish to. Confidentiality will be guaranteed by making records anonymous and by reporting the findings in a way that does not allow participants to be identified (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2017).

The fourth and last principle is deception (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2017). We speak of deception when researchers present their research as something other then what it really is (Bryman, 2016). This is not the case in this research, since participants are informed honestly about the goals and intentions of the research before conducting the interviews.

Results

This section discusses the main results that emerged out of the interviews. The most commonly discussed themes will be described with regard to bonding, bridging and linking social ties.

Bonding Social Capital

Bonding social capital was visible mostly in relationships within initiatives. When speaking of bonding relationships, main themes that emerged were *connectedness* and having *shared values*.

Often, participants spoke of a close or even family type bond with the core group of the initiative. This made working more fun and also connected the participants to the initiative they were working for. It was noted that connectedness within the initiative also allowed those who

are part of it to feel that they belong somewhere, even when they are not active for a while. Those who were part of the initiative thus stayed connected also in times they did not actively participate in the day-to-day activities. This way, according to Respondent 15, connectedness within the core group contributes to the sustainability of the initiative.

> *So you need it because it is sustainable. It's where people can sometimes relax for a while, I don't do anything, but I do belong, that is an important one. You could actually say kind of a family.* (Respondent 15)

Connectedness was also often mentioned when speaking about the residents of BoTu. Many neighbours helped each other out during COVID-19 and respondents noted that many of the problems that arose were taken care of by neighbours themselves. For example, many neighbours checked on each other regularly and did groceries for each other when necessary, taking some burden of initiatives like Delfshaven Helpt. Helping and looking after each other in difficult times was considered as something typical for BoTu. Some respondents noted how this connected them to the neighbourhood.

Another theme that emerged when speaking of relationships within the initiative was having a shared vision or shared values. This was also sometimes mentioned when speaking about relationships between initiatives. Many respondents mentioned that although they had their own ways of working and different personalities, in the core they had similar values and ideas. This helped them cooperate smoothly and work together towards shared goals. The will to represent the perspective of the residents of BoTu was hereby often mentioned.

> W*e actually all have our own way of doing things and at the same time there is a shared value in standing up for the perspective of how we as neighbourhood residents view situations.* (Respondent 5)

Bridging Social Capital

Bridging social capital was visible in relations and cooperation with other initiatives as well as with residents. Bridging ties were most salient in the interviews and helped initiatives in varied ways. All initiatives had one or more relations with other initiatives. Most initiatives were content with the connections they had, while some, mostly small initiatives, preferred to have more. Themes that emerged when speaking of relationships with other initiatives were *collective action* and *knowledge and expertise*.

Initiatives often said they were able to bundle their powers and collectively take action in response to COVID-19. New bridging relations emerged as well as soon as the crisis began. These ties helped initiatives to have more organizational capacity and act fast. The most salient example of this is the initiative Delfshaven Helpt which emerged soon after the beginning of the crisis out of existing neighbourhood initiatives. Respondent 8 noted that the relationships between initiatives were important for the emergence of Delfshaven Helpt.

> *Yes, and perhaps the greatest added value of this corona time is that a new way of working has been found with partners. I think we were way ahead of the city in Delfshaven in working together and getting to know each other. Because otherwise*

you would have very difficult, it was very difficult to start an initiative like Delfshaven Helpt. (Respondent 8)

Initiatives with many relations also often spoke about ways in which they made use of knowledge and expertise of other organizations. Sharing knowledge meant that initiatives did not have to learn how to do everything themselves. One respondent for example mentioned how the initiative was planning on offering language courses. Instead of providing the courses themselves, however, they were planning on cooperating with a language teacher they knew; this way they were able to use expertise of another organization and spend more time on doing other things themselves. Respondent 9 expressed similar experiences.

Yes, our motto is always everyone together, together we are one, and we are always like we don't have to invent the wheel. If someone else does something good that we don't have yet, we just join them. (Respondent 9)

Another way of gaining knowledge and expertise was that cooperating initiatives sometimes organized meetings in order to inform each other on matters that are important to all neighbourhood initiatives in BoTu, such as subsidy flows and permit systems.

A few participants mentioned they would prefer to have some more cooperation with other initiatives and institutions for the same reasons; more cooperation with other initiatives was expected to be useful because this would encourage collective action and initiatives working on similar things could complement each other.

When speaking of relationships between the initiatives and residents, themes that came up where *reaching residents*, *embeddedness in the neighbourhood* and finding *volunteers*. Participants often spoke about the amount of residents they could reach and about those who were likely to not be reached. None of the initiatives, however, considered themselves excluding of other groups, except that sometimes they were only meant for people living in BoTu. Many respondents mentioned that 'everyone is welcome'. Some respondents, mostly those who also had many ties with other initiatives or with formal organizations, said people knew very well how to find them and sometimes even that they did not want more people to find them because the initiative would not be able to sustain more people with the resources they had. This was logically most true for initiatives that were giving away free food to residents. Other respondents, mostly from initiatives that offered activities, more often said they wanted to reach more (diverse) residents with their initiative.

Many respondents were actively trying to reach more residents. Some respondents worried about people who do not want to or cannot be reached, for example those who do not speak Dutch well and elderly people. Also it was mentioned that many residents were afraid to ask for help. In order to reach those people as well, some initiatives went door-to-door during the COVID-19 crisis to have a chat with the neighbours. Cooperation's with other initiatives and organizations were considered helpful for reaching more residents. Respondent 17 for example mentioned how working for other organizations helped them promote their own initiative amongst residents.

It helps us every time we work for other organizations with children that helps us to publicize, promote, tell the kids that there is a place on the corner where they can go to make their own art and then you also learn things that are good to learn if you want to make more art. (Respondent 17)

Most initiatives had no trouble at all finding volunteers in the neighbourhood. Some initiatives even mentioned they did not do anything to find volunteers, volunteers just came to them. Many initiatives mentioned that since COVID-19 finding volunteers had been more easy, since many residents were temporally without work and were looking to help out somehow. Smaller initiatives generally worked with less volunteers, but were not in need for more volunteers either. Some participants related the increase in volunteers to the increased connectedness in the neighbourhood: a lot of residents offered to help, also residents who normally were not active in the neighbourhood. A new group of volunteers that was often mentioned to arise were young, higher educated residents.

Yes, clearly new people have stood up. It also changes the conversation, people who actually did very little for the neighbourhood, who, for example, registered at Delfshaven Helpt. So there are now people who were in a bubble and who are now in touch with how the other 80% of the world lives. So they are, that really brings about changes in people. (Respondent 5)

Some participants expected this increase to be only temporal, however. Volunteers stood up because they temporally had more time as a consequence of COVID-19 and wanted to help out during the crisis. Other respondents were however actively thinking about ways in which to keeps this 'new type' of volunteers active after the crisis.

Relationships with residents were considered important also for the embeddedness of the initiative in the neighbourhood. Knowing residents means knowing what is happening in the neighbourhood and being able to anticipate on the needs of the residents. This was visible in the way some initiatives changed their daily activities in response to COVID-19 and came up with new activities quickly in order to meet the changed needs. Embeddedness in the neighbourhood was also considered to help reaching more residents and subsequently, to help finding volunteers. Having a physical location, something which was not true for all initiatives, was considered helpful by some respondents for being embedded in the neighbourhood.

Another theme that often came up when speaking of bridging ties generally was *diversity*. Since BoTu is very multicultural neighbourhood, many respondents spoke about how residents from different cultural backgrounds and ethnicities worked together before, but even more during COVID-19. This was noted for relationships amongst residents in BoTu as well as within initiatives, between initiatives and between initiatives and residents. In an action organised by one of the initiatives for Muslims during the Ramadan, for example, non-Muslim residents participated out of solidarity. Many respondents said they found cultural diversity important or that they found it important to be a representation of the neighbourhood. Within initiatives, volunteers often came from different cultural and educational backgrounds.

And we have taught each other that, to respect each other and being able to live with each other, we have taught each other that, no matter your religion or your race or

your origin or your sexuality.(...). BoTu is a really close community, really. And not only in the sense of the Turks with the Turks, the Moroccans with the Moroccans, no. It is true, together we make BoTu. (Respondent 3)

There were also a some respondents, however, who were not satisfied yet with how this was working out and who mentioned segregation. A few initiatives mentioned they wanted to attract a more culturally diverse public. Respondent 12 for example noted that more cooperation between different cultural groups was desired and that groups of people with the same cultural background or ethnicity were sticking together too often.

The theme of inclusivity is very important to us. Because, because I may have just said to you, but we really have the impression that people work in small groups in Delfshaven. Groups of Muslims, groups of highly educated Dutch people, groups of Somalia people, people from Somalia. So our dream is that people from different backgrounds can come to talk and that they can really see that the program is meant to respect this diversity. (Respondent 12)

Linking Social Capital

Linking social capital was visible in the relations with formal organizations, most often the municipality. The relationships with formal organizations differed widely per initiative. Themes that emerged were the *intermingling of formal and informal*, *financial resources* and *support from the municipality.*

Many respondents spoke about how formal organizations, informal organizations and residents worked together and through each other, which makes the boundaries between residents and formal organizations less clear and made interaction easier. Some participants for example mentioned that those who worked for formal organizations often also lived in the neighbourhood.

Every resident is also a professional, or every professional is also a resident, because they live somewhere, we don't have homeless professionals. It has more to do with involvement, it is a constant mix and often the ideas of residents are tackled together, so with professionals. (Respondent 1)

Some participants mentioned that COVID-19 had made boundaries even more blurry, since parties on all levels started cooperating even more in order to help residents who suffered from the consequences of the crisis. Respondents mentioned that residents, initiatives and formal organizations looked beyond the boundaries of their own work and took roles they normally did not, such as professionals from formal organizations who were handing out flyers. It was also mentioned how these connections helped to identify and tackle issues very quickly, because maintaining close contact with each other allowed for residents, initiatives and organizations to know who to turn to in case an issue arises that they themselves cannot solve.

Financial resources of initiatives were often discussed, as initiatives depend on them for their existence. Most initiatives depended on funding and many additionally received subsidies from the municipality. Because of COVID-19, some of the initiatives had more trouble than

usual to keep going because they lost part of their income. This was more true for initiatives that had to stop their usual activities due to COVID-19 and initiatives with a physical location. Moreover, some initiatives were not eligible for extra municipal support. Some respondents expressed their concerns about the survival of small-scale initiatives in BoTu. Many participants spoke about SPI codes, specific codes that were necessary to have in order to receive governmental support.

> *The other thing is and you would hear that more often in initiatives that have a location like us, that the crisis has actually caused that self-reliance in a financial sense, which you actually really want, is suddenly gone. And then it is also the case that the tax authorities do not see us as a company but as a social thing and therefore we are not eligible for support. And we can keep that up for a while because we have a very good, very good treasurer. But at some point it will end us if it continues like this.* (Respondent 11)

Municipal support also came with some restrictions, since it made initiatives accountable to the municipality. Some participants mentioned they had difficulties explaining the importance of their initiative to the municipality. A few participants noted that receiving money from the municipality would possibly stand in the way of acting in the interest of the residents because of all the administration that came with subsidies or because they would have to share personal information about residents.

> *Last year we applied for a subsidy for the first time, but then you also get all kinds of questions, you have to submit such thick files, you name it, you know and then you sometimes think yes that's not worth it to me. Because sometimes you have to expose a lot of people's privacy data, I don't want that, my clients don't want that either.* (Respondent 9)

Respondents differed in how their perceived the role of the municipality. Some respondents were disappointed by the ways in which municipality supported them; they received subsidies, but apart from that, they often felt they were not seen or heard. Other respondents mentioned the municipality called them when 'they need something', but that they did not feel supported financially or otherwise by the municipality in return and that the municipality did not consider them in their decisions. Having the wrong SPI codes and therefore not be considered for extra financial support also triggered these frustrations. Some participants also mentioned that a lot of things in in BoTu were done by people that were from outside of the neighbourhood and they felt it would be more logical to let more things be done by residents, who know the neighbourhood well. Another participant noted that formal parties also seemed to use the crisis as an excuse to take away influence of neighbours on governors. Since all meetings were now online, it was more difficult to come by uninvited. A specific incident that caused a lot of frustration was that the municipality sold a building that was housing multiple neighbourhood initiatives. Residents had tried to prevent the sale but were not able to convince the municipality despite of various attempts. The placing of a large artwork of a fox in BoTu during the crisis caused frustrations as well and made Respondent 10 question the priorities of the municipality.

What I thought was funny is that in the middle of the crisis, they put up such a fox in the neighbourhood. Which certainly costs a lot of money. Is that fox more important or that social organizations continue to exist? Do you know Team Toekomst? And the Zelfregiehuis at BoTu (…)? Those 2 spaces are suddenly up for sale by the municipality and now they have to get out. Then I think well, where is your priority? (Respondent 10)

Conclusion

This research shows the many different ways in which bonding, bridging and linking social capital operated within neighbourhood initiatives during COVID-19. This section will discuss the answer to the research question: *How are bonding, bridging and linking social capital visible and how do they help and hinder neighbourhood initiatives in BoTu during COVID-19?*

Bonding social capital is mostly visible within initiatives through that the core group is often described as 'a family' and shares similar morals and values. In line with Igalla, Edelenbos and van Meerkerk (2020), bonding social capital helps initiatives by connecting residents to the initiatives and by creating organizational capacity and sustainability. Bonding social capital in a few cases hinders initiatives to attract a more diverse public, although for most of the initiatives this is not the case. Bonding social capital is also visible within the neighbourhood itself and COVID-19 has strengthened bonding ties between neighbours. In accordance with research on bonding social capital in the context of disaster, bonding social capital allowed for immediate support and day-to-day activities during COVID-19 (Hawkins & Maurer, 2009; Elliott et al., 2010). This is visible in the atmosphere described by many participants where neighbours looked out for each other and took care of each other, thereby solving many problems amongst themselves. For example, residents helped vulnerable neighbours by doing their groceries.

Bridging social capital is visible in the many connections most initiatives have with other initiatives as well as with residents. Connections with other initiatives helps initiatives to find each other very quickly and this allowed them to collectively respond to COVID-19. The ease with which collective action is created for example allowed a new initiative, Delfshaven Helpt, to come about very soon after the beginning of COVID-19. Bridging social capital also allows neighbourhood initiatives to exchange ideas and knowledge. As was found by Igalla, Edelenbos and van Meerkerk (2020), bridging social capital was found to be important for the embeddedness of the initiative in the community because it allows for connections between different groups within the community. Bridging social capital furthermore helps initiatives to reach more residents and to find volunteers (Igalla, Edelenbos & van Meerkerk, 2020). COVID-19 caused an increase in the offer of volunteers.

Linking social capital is visible in connections with the municipality and other formal organizations. Some initiatives are only linked to formal organizations for financial support, whereas other initiatives actively work together with multiple formal organizations. These differences make that initiatives have different views on the role of formal organizations and especially the municipality. Linking social capital was found to be helpful because it allows for

government support and subsidies. This is in line with research of Igalla, Edelenbos and van Meerkerk (2020). Initiatives that actively work together with formal organizations are helped not only financially, but also by an enlarged organizational capacity and knowledge and expertise. Those who are connected to formal organizations because they receive money from them however are sometimes also hampered by the relationship because they do not feel self-sufficient. These ties also require more justification and sometimes make initiatives feel insecure about their future. In accordance with Creamer (2015), subsidies from the municipality also go hand in hand with a lot of paperwork. Another way in which linking ties sometimes hamper initiatives is that initiatives feel they are helping the municipality or other formal organizations a lot but are not getting much back in exchange, which is in accordance with Fransen et al (2021). Some initiatives are disappointed with how the municipality handled the crisis and feel the priorities of the municipality should be different. Linking ties were thus found to be helpful as well as harmful, depending on the context. This is in accordance with Claridge (2018), who stated that bonding, bridging and linking ties are not negative per se, but can become negative when out of balance.

As was found by Boonstra and Claessens (2020), existing bonding, bridging and linking ties were important to the emergence and development of neighbourhood initiatives during COVID-19. Since the neighbourhood has already been working on building bonding, bridging and linking social capital in recent years, initiatives and residents could quickly respond to the new situation by working together and setting up new initiatives. In accordance with previous research, bonding, bridging and linking social capital seem to be able to lower the vulnerability of residents with a lower socio-economic status and contribute to resilience (Uphoff et al., 2013; Agger & Jensen, 2015; Fransen et al., 2020).

According to the literature, weak ties are of more importance and more valuable outcomes then strong, bonding ties (Granovetter, 1974; Putnam, 2000; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Hawkins & Maurer, 2009; Poortinga, 2012). Although this research showed that bridging and linking ties helped initiatives in more varied ways than bonding social capital, the value of strong, bonding ties was emphasized by participants as well and formed the basis of many initiatives. In accordance with Igalla, Edelenbos and van Meerkerk (2019), all three forms of social capital are thus found to be important for neighbourhood initiatives in order to achieve positive outcomes.

Discussion

Although critical researchers have often warned for the negative aspects of bonding, bridging and linking social capital, especially with regard to disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Portes & Landolt, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Farrel, 2007; Blokland & Savage, 2008), this research does not find many negative aspects for bonding and bridging social capital. Linking social capital however was found to have negative aspects when relationships are out of balance. A reason for this might be that participants are less likely to speak negatively about bonding and to a lesser extend bridging relations since these are ties with people who are close to them or who they work with. Also, an important negative aspect of bonding social capital is exclusion, which is difficult to measure when only interviewing those included in neighbourhood

initiatives. Nonetheless, most initiatives were very concerned with being inclusive and active exclusion of other residents therefore seems unlikely.

Research on neighbourhood initiatives in disadvantaged neighbourhoods during COVID-19 has shown that initiatives often face difficulties with obtaining funding, networks, and cooperation, suggesting low bridging and linking social capital (Fransen et al., 2021). However, this was not so much the case in BoTu. Bridging social capital was to a more or lesser extent visible in all of the initiatives and helped initiatives in many ways. Linking social capital was also visible in all of the initiatives, although the municipality was sometimes found to hamper the initiatives by unsupportive and unreliable governance, which is in line with previous research (Newman et al., 2008; Fransen et al., 2021). A possible reason for this could be that the project 'resilient BoTu' has been implemented in 2018 and many investments have already been made in recent years in strengthening social ties (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020; Veldacademie, 2020).

There are some limitations to this research. First of all, the operationalisation of bonding, bridging and linking social capital that was used in this research is not the only approach possible. The distinction between bonding and bridging social capital is complicated, since groups that are similar in some way, might be different in other ways (Claridge, 2018). The distinction between strong and weak ties was not always clear. This was noticeable in this research, since bonding ties sometimes could also be labelled as bridging ties at the same time. Future research could include quantitative methods in order to measure characteristics of participants and measure how similar or different they are from one another and make a clear and measurable distinction between strong and weak ties in order to make a more clear distinction between bonding and bridging social capital. Within the scope of this research, however, qualitative interviewing was most suitable and it allowed for a nuance that would not have been possible in quantitative research.

Another limitation of this research is that for some of the participants, snowball methods were used in order to recruit them. Respondents were asked whether they knew of other initiatives and whether they had their contact information. This likely has led some of the initiatives to show more bridging social capital then others and to seemingly be in 'the network' whereas other initiatives or networks might have been overlooked. Especially, small-scale initiatives with fewer bridging ties this way are more likely to not be included in the research. Future research could be of a larger scale and could include other methods of recruiting participants, such as going into the neighbourhood and asking residents or internet research.

A last limitation of this research is that the research design might make it difficult to find negative aspects of bonding, bridging and linking social capital. First, an important negative aspect of bonding social capital, exclusion, was hard to measure in this research since those interviewed were likely to be included. Other negative aspects regarding bonding and bridging social capital are likely to become less visible through interviewing than with more anonymous methods, such as a survey. Personal interviews might impede respondents from speaking about negative aspects of their relationships, especially when these are strong ties. Future research could therefore make use more anonymous methods, such as surveys, in order to find out more about possible negative aspects of bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

The ways in which bonding, bridging and linking social capital help neighbourhood initiatives in BoTu during COVID-19 show how valuable they can be for initiatives to achieve their goals, especially when all forms of social capital are present together. This research shows that investing in strengthening all types of social ties can have a valuable impact on neighbourhood initiatives and this way directly and indirectly can help to make disadvantaged neighbourhoods more resilient. Since linking social capital was sometimes found to have negative aspects as well, especially when out of balance, caution should be taken with linking ties. Trust and reciprocity seem to be important conditions in order for linking social ties to create a positive influence on initiatives. Future policy could therefore focus on enhancing trusting relationships between initiatives and formal organizations, especially the municipality, and create reciprocity. This might be achieved by maintaining closer contacts with the initiatives and by including initiatives in the decision-making processes when decisions might affect them or the residents of the neighbourhood. Small-scale initiatives should be valued and supported by the municipality especially when crises occur. Subsidies might be provided for more than one year so that initiatives do not have to worry about their existence every year. Moreover, this allows initiatives to spend less time on paperwork and justifying themselves and more time on things that really matter.

Bibliography

Agger, A. & Jensen, J. (2015). Area-based Initiatives—And Their Work in Bonding, Bridging and Linking Social Capital. *European Planning Studies, 23*(10), 2045- 2061.

Aldrich, D. & Meyer, M. (2014). Social Capital and Community Resilience. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *59*(2), 254-269. doi: 10.1177/0002764214550299

Berkowitz, R., Gao, X., Michaels, E., & Mujahid, M. (2020). Structurally vulnerable neighbourhood environments and racial/ethnic COVID-19 inequities. *Cities & Health*, 1-4. doi: 10.1080/23748834.2020.1792069

Blokland, T. & Savage, M. (2008). *Networked Urbanism: Social Capital in the City*. London: Routledge.

Boonstra, B. & Claessens, S. (2020). Maatschappelijke Coalities in Coronatijd: van Spontaan Initiatief naar Duurzaam Samenwerkingsverband. Retrieved from: https://www.eur.nl/en/media/2021-03-maatschappelijke-coalities-coronatijdeindrapportage

Breton, M. (2001). Neighborhood Resiliency. *Journal Of Community Practice, 9*(1), 21-36. doi: 10.1300/j125v09n01_02

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: OUP Oxford.

Claridge, T. (2018). Functions of Social Capital – Bonding, Bridging, Linking. *Social Capital Research,* 1-7.

Creswell, J. (2017). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed-Methods Approaches.* California: Sage Publications

Dale, A., & Newman, L. (2010). Social capital: a necessary and sufficient condition for sustainable community development? *Community Development Journal*, *45*(1), 5-21. doi: 10.1093/cdj/bsn028

Doff, W. (2017). *Veerkracht van Lokale Gemeenschappen: de Literatuur op een Rij.* Retrieved from: https://www.veldacademie.nl/img/Document/e7/3c/e73cd683-e34e-40f1-8ce5-41d185a6661b/Veerkracht%20van%20lokale%20gemeenschappen_literatuuronderzoek_DEF.pdf

Doff, W. (2019). *Kansen en Obstakels voor Veerkracht*. Retrieved from: https://www.kenniswerkplaats-leefbarewijken.nl/wp-content/uploads/rapport_WendaDoff_juli19.pdf

Edua-Mensah, E. (2020). *RESILIENT GOVERNANCE DURING CRISES:*

COVID-19 in community BoTu ROTTERDAM (Master's thesis). Retrieved from: https://repository.tudelft.nl/islandora/object/uuid%3A50278759-2fa9-45ad-aeb7-809f427d4895

Elliott, J., Haney, T., & Sams-Abiodun, P. (2010). Limits to Social Capital: Comparing Network Assistance in Two New Orleans Neighborhoods Devastated by Hurricane Katrina. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *51*(4), 624-648. doi: 10.1111/j.1533-8525.2010.01186.x

Farrell, C. (2007). Thinking Critically about Social Capital. *Irish Journal Of Sociology*, *16*(2), 27-49. doi: 10.1177/079160350701600203

Fransen, J., Peralta, D., Vanelli, F., Edelenbos, J. & Olvera, B. (2021). The emergence of Urban Community Resilience Initiatives During the COVID-19 Pandemic: An

International Exploratory Study. *The European Journal of Development Research.* doi: 10.1057/s41287-020-00348-y

Fraser, T., & Aldrich, D. (2021). The dual effect of social ties on COVID-19 spread in Japan. *Scientific Reports*, *11*(1). doi: 10.1038/s41598-021-81001-4

Gemeente Rotterdam (2020). *Veerkrachtig BoTu 2021: In Tien Jaar naar het Stedelijk Sociaal Gemiddelde.* Retrieved from https://bospoldertussendijken.nl/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Brochure_Bospolder_3.0.pdf

Granovetter, M. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *American Journal Of Sociology*, *78*(6), 1360-1380. doi: 10.1086/225469

Hawkins, R., & Maurer, K. (2009). Bonding, Bridging and Linking: How Social Capital Operated in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina. *British Journal Of Social Work*, *40*(6), 1777-1793. doi: 10.1093/bjsw/bcp087

Igalla, M., Edelenbos, J., & van Meerkerk, I. (2019). Citizens in Action, What Do They Accomplish? A Systematic Literature Review of Citizen Initiatives, Their Main Characteristics, Outcomes, and Factors. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal Of Voluntary And Nonprofit Organizations*, *30*(5), 1176-1194. doi: 10.1007/s11266-019-00129-0

Igalla, M., Edelenbos, J. and van Meerkerk, I. (2020). What explains the performance of community-based initiatives? Testing the impact of leadership, social capital, organizational capacity, and government support. *Public Management Review*, *22*(4), 602-632.

Kenniswerkplaats Leefbare Wijken (2020). *De Bedreigde Stad: de Maatschappelijke Impact van COVID-19 op Rotterdam.* Retrieved from:

https://www.kenniswerkplaats-leefbarewijken.nl/publicaties/de-bedreigde-stad-de-maatschappelijke-impact-van-covid-19-op-rotterdam/

Newman, L., Waldron, L., Dale, A., & Carriere, K. (2008). Sustainable urban community development from the grassroots: Challenges and opportunities in a pedestrian street initiative. *Local Environment*, *13*(2), 129-139. doi: 10.1080/13549830701581879

Poortinga, W. (2012). Community resilience and health: The role of bonding, bridging, and linking aspects of social capital. *Health & Place*, *18*(2), 286-295.

Portes, A., & Landolt, P. (2000). Social Capital: Promise and Pitfalls of its Role in Development. *Journal Of Latin American Studies*, *32*(2), 529-547. doi: 10.1017/s0022216x00005836

Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster

Rippon, S., Bagnall, A., Gamsu, M., South, J., Trigwell, J., & Southby, K. … Woodward, J. (2020). Towards transformative resilience: community, neighbourhood and system responses during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Cities & Health*, 1-4. doi: 10.1080/23748834.2020.1788321

Rusinovic, K., Theisens, H., Engbersen, G., de Boom, J., & van Wensveen, P. (2020). *Berichten uit een Stille Stad. De maatschappelijke impact van COVID-19 in Den Haag*. Retrieved from: https://www.dehaagsehogeschool.nl/docs/default-source/documenten-onderzoek/expertisecentra/governance-of-urban-transitions/rapport-berichten-uit-een-stille-stad-def.pdf

Spaans, M., & Waterhout, B. (2017). Building up resilience in cities worldwide – Rotterdam as participant in the 100 Resilient Cities Programme. *Cities*, *61*, 109- 116. doi: 10.1016/j.cities.2016.05.011

Szreter, S. & Woolcock, M. (2004). Health by association? Social capital, social theory, and the political economy of public health. *International Journal of Epidemiology*, *33*(4), 650-667.

Uphoff, E., Pickett, K., Cabieses, B., Small, N., & Wright, J. (2013). A systematic review of the relationships between social capital and socioeconomic inequalities in health: a contribution to understanding the psychosocial pathway of health inequalities. *International Journal For Equity In Health*, *12*(1), 54. doi: 10.1186/1475-9276-12-54

Veldacademie (2020). *Veerkracht in Bospolder Tussendijken. Startfoto Monitor Maart 2020.* Retrieved from https://www.veldacademie.nl/

Woolcock, M. & Narayan, D. (2000). Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy. *The World Bank Research Observer*, *15*(2), 225-249. doi: 10.1093/wbro/15.2.225

Appendices

Appendix 1: Topic List and Interview Guide

Introduction
- Explain research and research goals
- Discuss anonymity and privacy
- Informed consent

Effects COVID-19
- What has changed in the initiative since last year, regarding relationships and activities of the initiative?

Relationships within initiative
- What kind of relationships do you have with each other within the initiative?
- How do these relationships help the initiative?

Relationships with other initiatives
- Does the initiative have relations with other neighbourhood initiatives?
- How do they help the initiative?

Relationships with residents
- For which target group is the initiative intended?
- How does the initiative find its volunteers?

Relationships with formal organizations
- Does the initiative have relationships with formal organizations, such as the municipality?
- How is the relationship with these organizations?
- How do these relationships help the initiative?

General Lessons and Learning Points
- What is generally going well?
- What is generally not going so well?
- Is there anything else you would like to add?

Appendix 2: Code Book

Codes	Frequency	Framework
Exclusion	3	Bonding social capital, exclusion
Cooperation within team	18	Bonding social capital
Connectedness	25	Bonding social capital, strong ties, safety and support base
Same cultural/ethnic background	5	Bonding social capital, shared identity
Thematic groups	9	Bonding social capital, thematic working groups
Shared vision	20	Bonding social capital, shared identity
Norms in group	3	Bonding social capital, restricting norms
Involved neighbours/residents	24	Bonding social capital, strong ties, safety and support base
Small/own initiative	38	Bonding social capital, safety and support base
Collective action capabilities	26	Bridging social capital, collective action capabilities
Supply of volunteers/manpower	27	Bridging social capital, access to resources of other networks
Knowledge/expertise	18	Bridging social capital, new ideas and information, access to resources of other networks
Lack of Knowledge/Expertise	8	Bridging social capital, new ideas and information, access to resources of other networks

Embeddedness in the community	13	Bridging social capital, reciprocity and trust
Cooperation initiatives	57	Bridging social capital, reciprocity and trust
Reach initiatives	41	Bridging social capital, links to other interest groups or communities
Diversity	27	Bridging social capital, links to other interest groups or communities
Trust Among Networks	6	Bridging social capital, reciprocity and trust
Access to external Resources	10	Linking social capital, access to external resources
Dominate Projects from the Outside	10	Linking social capital, domination
Joining of Formal Organizations	51	Linking social capital, reciprocity and trust among local actors and representatives from formal institutions
Financial Resources	42	Linking social capital, access to external resources
Financial Constraints	22	Linking social capital, access to external resources
Influence on Governors	23	Linking social capital, reciprocity and trust among local actors and representatives from formal institutions
More Governmental Support	18	Linking social capital, reciprocity and trust among local actors and

		representatives from formal institutions
Financial/SPI Codes	11	Linking social capital, access to external resources
Lack of reciprocity	7	Linking social capital, reciprocity and trust among local actors and representatives from formal institutions

Appendix 3: Ethical and Privacy Aspects of Research

ERASMUS UNIVERSITEIT ROTTERDAM

CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: *Bonding, bridging and linking social capital in neighbourhood initiatives in BoTu during COVID-19*

Name, email of student: *Isabel Prins, 578811ip@student.eur.nl*

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

Start date and duration: *21/03/2021 – 20/06/2021*

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)

PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

Does your research involve 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).

Does your research involve field observations without manipulations that
will not involve identification of participants.   ~~YES~~ - NO

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

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

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

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

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

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.

Since the interviews were about different responses to COVID-19, participants might sometimes bring up information about their ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, and mental or physical health when they considered this relevant. This information could however be helpful for answering my research question since it may contain information about bonding, bridging and linking social capital.

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

To ensure the safety of participants, they were informed that they did not have to answer questions if they felt uncomfortable and that they could withdraw from the research at any time.

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.

Asking participants about their experiences with COVID-19 might sometimes cause negative emotions. However, these should not go beyond emotions normally encountered by participants.

PART IV: SAMPLE

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

I will make use of formerly obtained interview data from participants that are active in neighbourhood initiatives in the neighbourhoods Bospolder and Tussendijken in Rotterdam. In addition, I will possibly collect new interview data from participants active in the same or other neighbourhood initiatives.

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

70

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

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

Bospolder and Tussendijken together have 14.500 residents.

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

Part V: Data storage and backup

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

The data is stored in a shared drive of the Veldacademie. New data will be stored in the same drive.

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?

I am responsible.

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

I will back up my data every time I make a change.

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

I will not use names of participants in my research.

Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then 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: Isabel Prins   Name (EUR) supervisor:

Date: 12-03-2021   Date: 15-03-2021
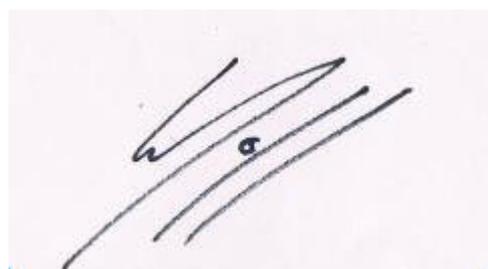
Appendix 4: Informed Consent Form

Respondent:

Naam:

Geboortedatum:

Woonplaats:

Nader te noemen de geïnterviewde verklaart als volgt:

De geïnterviewde verleent aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam (*Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences*) en de Veldacademie het recht om het op **[datum interview + eventueel nadere specificatie]** door Isabel Prins afgenomen interview in het kader van het project 'Afstudeerscriptie Sociologie' op te nemen, te bewaren in haar archieven en de archieven van de Veldacademie en te gebruiken voor het verrichten van wetenschappelijk onderzoek over gemeenschapsveerkracht binnen de monitor Veerkrachtig Bospolder-Tussendijken 2028 van de Veldacademie. De geïnterviewde verklaart dat het doel van dit onderzoek hem/haar volledig duidelijk is.

Geïnterviewde geeft hierbij uitdrukkelijk toestemming voor het gebruik van zijn/haar persoonsgegevens die in dit interview zijn vastgelegd voor het verrichten van wetenschappelijk onderzoek. Daarnaast geeft de geïnterviewde toestemming aan Isabel Prins om te vragen naar de etniciteit en de politieke en religieuze overtuigingen van de geïnterviewde en deze gegevens eveneens vast te leggen en te gebruiken voor het verrichten van wetenschappelijk onderzoek.

Isabel Prins, haar scriptiebegeleiders en de Veldacademie hebben toegang tot de data. De data zal gedurende de looptijd van de monitor Veerkrachtig Bospolder-Tussendijken (tot 1 januari 2029) worden bewaard. Daarna wordt de data vernietigd.

De Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam en de Veldacademie zullen dit interview uitsluitend ter beschikking stellen in het kader van wetenschappelijk onderzoek en daarbij als voorwaarde stellen dat er alleen in geanonimiseerde vorm over gepubliceerd mag worden.

Geïnterviewde heeft te allen tijde het recht toegang tot zijn of haar persoonsgegevens te verkrijgen en om de verwerking van zijn of haar persoonsgegevens te corrigeren, te laten verwijderen of te beperken. Geïnterviewde heeft te allen tijde ook het recht om het interview af te breken, zonder hiervoor een reden op te geven. Tot slot heeft geïnterviewde het recht om zowel bij de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam als de Veldacademie een klacht in te dienen over de interviewer.

Aldus opgemaakt in tweevoud, waarvan één exemplaar ter hand gesteld aan de geïnterviewde en één exemplaar aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam en de Veldacademie te **[plaatsnaam]** op **[datum]**.

Isabel Prins
Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam / Veldacademie
578811ip@student.eur.nl

Functionaris voor gegevensbescherming Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam: privacy@eur.nl