THE NEW DIVIDED CITY

CLASS TRANSFORMATION, CIVIC PARTICIPATION AND NEIGHBOURHOOD CONTEXT

ROTTERDAM

Gijs Custers

THE NEW DIVIDED CITY

Class transformation, civic participation and neighbourhood context

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DE NIEUW VERDEELDE STAD
Klassentransformatie, burgerparticipatie en buurtcontext

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
op gezag van de
rector magnificus

Prof.dr. F.A. van der Duijn Schouten

en volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties.
De openbare verdediging zal plaatsvinden op

donderdag 15 april 2021 om 10.30 uur

door

Gijs Jan Custers
geboren te Venlo.

Contents

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Contemporary social divisions in Rotterdam: an overview and discussion of the results
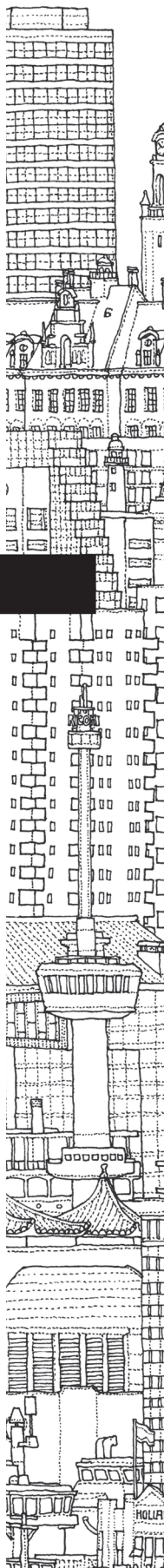
Introduction

The study of social inequality lies at the heart of sociological research, but also features prominently in other disciplines such as economics, anthropology, and human geography. Social inequality is generally understood as the unequal access to desired resources or social goods such as wealth, power and prestige, and the unequal distribution of opportunities linked to these in various domains such the labour market, politics or education. Broad consensus exists among academics from various disciplines about the rise in various forms of social inequality in the past decades and examples are thus numerous. Piketty (2014) documents the increasing gap in capital possession between the upper stratum and the rest of society. Especially the top one per cent in multiple Western societies has acquired enormous wealth since the 1980s, signalling how this group holds an increasingly dominant position. Savage et al. (2015a) explicate how this growing inequality is tied up with possession of social and cultural capital and why it affects opportunities of social mobility: "… those who start with no wealth now have a much larger hill to climb in order to reach the top, over even the middle-range of wealth-holders, compared to thirty years ago" (p. 74). Another example is by Sampson (2012), who shows that although a city like Chicago is subject to continuous change, the socioeconomic hierarchy of neighbourhoods is remarkably stable over a period of fifty years. While some neighbourhoods experience socioeconomic upgrading, most poor areas remain sites of concentrated disadvantage in the long run and some endure further deterioration.

Such inequalities become particularly manifest at the urban level as social inequalities materialise in urban space and contrasts between social groups are most stark in large cities. Cities have historically been sites where various groups agglomerate as a result of the process of urbanisation in capitalist economies (Harvey, 1978). The social composition of the urban population is characterised by the different stages and aspects of economic development, such as industrialisation, post-industrialisation, globalisation, and migration (Marcuse & van Kempen, 2000). This historical process has turned cities into a mosaic of socio-spatial configurations (Kesteloot, 2005). The socio-spatial structure of the city thus reflects the various stages of economic and urban development, but also the associated struggles over space and modes of organisation (Kesteloot, 2005; van Kempen & Murie, 2009). Cities are thus not the mere result of abstract structural forces. Citizens and local organisations also play an important role in shaping the urban environment (Marwell & McQuarrie, 2013). Their roles are structured by institutional settings that vary across time and place (Moulaert et al., 2010). As Mingione (2005) puts it: "Cities are windows on the transformation of social regimes" (p. 68).

In this dissertation I use the city of Rotterdam as a 'window' to study two broad developments. The first development concerns socioeconomic transformation in urban areas and the social inequalities that may result from this change. The second development involves how changes on the institutional level affect inequalities in civic

participation. Studying these developments led to the identification of four research themes that relate to these two developments in various ways. The four research themes are: social class in the city, neighbourhood effects, mixed neighbourhoods, and neighbourhood organisations. The combination of the two developments and four research themes gives this dissertation a multiplex character. The research goals of this dissertation are as follows:

1) To understand the nature of urban socioeconomic change from a multidimensional social class perspective;
2) To investigate possible consequences of socio-spatial inequality;
3) To study the influence of macro-level changes on civic participation and;
4) To analyse the role of local organisations in facilitating different forms of participation.

This dissertation thus scrutinises what contemporary social divisions can be found in the urban environment and thereby considers which divisions are 'new' and which are persistent (cf. van Kempen & Murie, 2009). In the upcoming sections I will first elaborate on the two developments and four research themes. I indicate how this dissertation aims to contribute to the current literature. Thereafter, the specific research questions are introduced, followed by the research context of this dissertation. Next, the most important findings are highlighted in summaries of the four empirical chapters. This synthesis chapter ends with a discussion of the implications for future research and social policy.

Socioeconomic transformation and its consequences

The socioeconomic structure of urban environments and its drivers of change have long concerned urban scholars.[1] In 1899, Du Bois produced an extensive account of the social conditions and spatial distribution of the black population in Philadelphia. Scholars from the Chicago School, such as Park and Burgess (1925), are perhaps best known for laying the groundwork for the study of urban development. Their studies documented the locations of various social groups in urban space and how their geographical position related to the social organisation of the city.[2]

Contemporary developments in the socioeconomic structure in North-American and European cities can be captured through a number of socio-spatial processes. A classic debate is whether cities have become more polarised or professionalised. Social polarisation refers to a process whereby the upper and lower strata of the socioeconomic distribution increase in size in comparison to the middle segment (Mollenkopf & Castells,

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1 By socioeconomic structure I refer to a hierarchical set of positions that is determined by stratification dimensions such as income, wealth, education or occupation (cf. Hammersley, 2020, p. 2).

2 The pioneering work of Chicago School scholars should not obscure that their models of urban processes were based on racist and social Darwinist assumptions (Morris, 2015).

1991; Sassen, 1991). This growing social polarisation results from a combination of technological, global and institutional factors such as computerisation, trade openness and de-unionisation, respectively (see Kristal & Cohen, 2017). Professionalisation, on the other hand, is a process in which the middle and upper strata of the socioeconomic structure grow relative to the lower stratum (Hamnett, 1994). This process does not necessarily entail greater inequality as it involves an upgrading of the socioeconomic structure and not a widening effect (cf. Hamnett & Butler, 2013).

Another marked socio-spatial process is gentrification, which generally includes the transformation of space for more affluent users at the cost of less affluent residents who are replaced or displaced (Clark, 2005). Gentrification started as a small-scale and mainly local phenomenon but is now recognised as a large-scale process occurring across a variety of urban contexts (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Lees et al., 2008; cf. Clark, 2005). It is typically viewed as the situation where middle-class households move into poor neighbourhoods, which not only changes the social composition of the neighbourhood but also its amenities – the symbolic arrival of numerous coffee shops. This view was later complemented by gentrification as a global urban strategy, resulting from systematic cooperation between public and private actors (Smith, 2002). Due to gentrification many inner cities have become more exclusive sites of production and consumption and in turn, peripheral areas have tended to decline in socioeconomic terms. Yet, gentrification comes in different forms and is therefore strongly contingent. Different conditions give rise to gentrification, which initially occurs due to a combination of middle-class housing preferences and capital investment seeking returns (Ley, 1981; Smith, 1979; see Hamnett, 1991). Institutional factors, such as housing market rules and policies, and demographic changes also influence whether and how gentrification occurs (Hochstenbach, 2017; Ley, 1986). Gentrification, with its fluid character, is thus seen as a process with large social and spatial impacts across various urban and national contexts.

Socio-spatial processes such as polarisation, professionalisation, and gentrification explain how socio-spatial inequalities come about. Socio-spatial inequalities seem to be rising in Europe and the US in the form of segregation (Bischoff & Reardon, 2013; Musterd et al., 2017), although this tendency is strongly contextual (cf. Maloutas, 2007). Socio-spatial inequalities can have adverse consequences when they reduce the life chances of individuals living in disadvantaged areas. These adverse consequences are known as 'neighbourhood effects' in the academic literature and thus convey the idea that living in deprived neighbourhoods has a negative effect on people's life chances over and above the effect of their individual characteristics (van Ham et al., 2012). Yet, socio-spatial processes do not always increase socio-spatial inequality. Under some conditions these processes create 'mixed neighbourhoods', for example when a poor neighbourhood experiences gradual socioeconomic upgrading. In contradiction to the presumed negative effects of living in poor neighbourhoods, mixed neighbourhoods are believed to have positive effects on its residents and the near environment and have therefore been embraced as a policy ideal (Kleinhans, 2004; Musterd & Ostendorf,

2008). The social consequences of socio-spatial inequality can thus be understood through both neighbourhood effects and mixed neighbourhoods.

Civic participation in a changing context

Cities are not only formed through socio-structural processes. City dwellers shape their social and physical environment as well, guided by the institutional settings in place. The involvement of citizens with local issues has been studied under various denominators, including labels such as 'neighbourhood participation', 'volunteering', 'community involvement', and 'civic engagement' (e.g. Putnam, 2000). These labels often indicate similar ways of participation, even though they may differ conceptually. Examples include being active in a neighbourhood organisation, assisting at a local soup kitchen, providing support at a local event or engaging in local politics. The modes of participation belong to the same sphere, commonly referred to as 'civil society'. Civil society is a sphere in which people take collective action around shared interests, purposes and values. It is thereby conceptually different from the family, state or market, but of course multiple links exist between these spheres (Corry, 2010). From here on, I refer to these related ways of participation as 'civic participation'.

The interest in forms of civic participation has substantially grown in recent decades due to a number of related developments in the labour market and the welfare state. Since the 1980s structural or long-term unemployment has become a more common phenomenon, signalling that a substantial part of the population faces difficulties obtaining secure employment (Aaronson et al., 2010; Engbersen et al., 2006). Concerns over the consequences of structural unemployment have continued to grow as some recent studies warn that automation will decrease the total amount of jobs available (cf. Arntz et al., 2016). In this context civic participation, or voluntary work, is proposed as an alternative form of 'work' (Beck, 1999, as cited in Strauß, 2008, p. 17) or as a steppingstone to obtain employment (see Baines & Hardill, 2008). Some have argued that people learn relevant labour market skills such as organising and administration when engaging in civic activities (e.g. Spera et al., 2015). As the labour market is increasingly difficult to enter for low-skilled people (Arntz et al., 2016), civil society thus offers an alternative or addition to the labour market as a sphere of social integration (cf. Engbersen, 2003).

Civic participation has perhaps been considered most in relation to the transformation of the welfare state. Roughly two streams of research and policy focus can be discerned in this respect. On the one hand, the welfare state has become more punitive in the past decades. From the 1970s onwards the welfare state has gone through several transitions that were aimed either at reform or at scaling down its size, in contrast to its expansion before this period (Oosterlynck et al., 2013). The reasoning underlying these transitions was that welfare state expansion was no longer viable in a context of deindustrialisation, globalisation, slow economic growth, and changing family demographics (Esping-Andersen, 1996). The result of these transitions (see Bosch,

2016 for an overview) is that the criteria for receiving welfare are stricter nowadays. The introduction of 'workfare' and active labour market policies, which aim to increase labour market participation among the unemployed, are a primary illustration of these reforms (Benda, 2019; Handler, 2003). Another, more recent aspect of these reforms is a move towards 'workfare volunteerism' (Kampen et al., 2013). In some countries, including the Netherlands, local authorities are authorised to demand unpaid work from welfare recipients in return for receiving welfare. Workfare volunteerism mainly targets welfare recipients with low employability. Their unpaid work, or mandatory civic contribution, is preferably carried out at local organisations. Rotterdam was one of the places where this policy was most strictly enforced (Kremer et al., 2017).

The other approach to civic participation in welfare state transformation has a more 'celebrative' character, at least from a state perspective. This line of work mainly centres on how citizens can 'self-organise' and thereby substitute public services delivery (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011; Nederhand et al., 2016; Veldheer et al., 2012). Self-organisation represents an ideal in which local communities are responsible for maintaining high standards of service delivery in domains such as health, welfare or public space. The government is either absent or has a facilitating role in these circumstances (cf. Nederhand et al., 2016). Self-organisation may, for instance, entail that residents maintain a local playground after the government has subsidised its construction. Self-organisation has become a popular concept as, in theory, it combines autonomy and self-determination in local communities with budget saves for the government (Bosch, 2016). It thereby has the potential to reinvigorate the democratic involvement of citizens (WRR, 2012). Self-organisation has attracted particular attention in the urban environment as citizen involvement is increasingly endorsed in spatial planning (Boonstra & Boelens, 2011).

Self-organisation, and 'active citizenship' in general, has been critically approached by scholars (e.g. Raco & Imrie, 2000; Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010; Uitermark, 2015). Following the 2008-2009 economic crisis, the ideal of 'citizens taking matters into their own hands' has been strongly advocated by governments, which aligns with the move towards workfare volunteerism. Policy concepts such as Big Society (United Kingdom) and the '*participatiesamenleving* (participation society)' (The Netherlands) are typical examples of governments pushing for both budget cuts in public services and the transfer of responsibility to citizens and local bodies (see Fenger & Broekema, 2019). Multiple authors have warned such changes might have an uneven impact on civil society (de Haan, 2014; Kisby, 2010; North, 2011; Uitermark, 2015). When local communities are increasingly responsible for organising public services, the wealthier ones with strong social capital are better equipped to deal with this situation than poor communities with low social capital. Recent changes in welfare policies – though depending on how they are implemented – might thus deepen inequalities in civic participation.

Research themes

Social class and the city

Socio-spatial processes such as polarisation, professionalisation, and gentrification are predominantly understood through the lens of social class. However, this lens is often applied in a rather narrow sense. Usually a general distinction between lower or working classes, middle classes, and elite or upper classes is made on the basis of single measures such as occupation or income. I will argue here that even though studies on social class in the urban environment are abundant, a multidimensional perspective that uncovers the contemporary urban class structure is lacking. The recent debate on the conceptualisation of social class may be fruitful in this regard (see Skeggs, 2015; Woodward et al., 2014) as it provides direction on how the study of social class in the urban environment may advance.

The recent social class debate is about how broadly 'class' should be conceptualised. Class is traditionally an approach to structure inequalities in access to economic resources, by looking at positions in the production process or the labour market and the corresponding power relations. This focus on economic position and power has been central to class analysis since Marx (1867) established the opposition between the capitalist and the working class based on relations in the production process. Weber (1978), on the other hand, viewed class as 'market position' that is determined by several factors such property, education, and skills. Weber also added his famous distinction between class, status, and power, where status refers to a stratification dimension of 'social honour' or 'prestige' that, although strongly related, can operate independently from class. 'Modern' applications of class analysis are strongly influenced by the works of Marx and Weber and are therefore labelled neo-Marxist (e.g. Wright, 1985) or neo-Weberian (e.g. Goldthorpe, 2000).

In the past decades an alternative to the influential accounts of Marx, Weber and their adherents has emerged that has been classified as 'cultural class analysis' (Atkinson, 2010; Devine & Savage, 2005; Flemmen, 2013). This strand of research relies primarily on the writings of Bourdieu and follows his 'endeavour to rethink' the opposition between class and status (Bourdieu, 1984: xii). The goal of analysts in this field has been to rework 'class' into a concept that captures multiple dimensions of inequality and thereby moves beyond the classical economic perspective. Their critique on earlier accounts of class is that they are 'minimalist', 'economistic' or 'reductionist', because these accounts do not sufficiently explain processes of stratification or how people gain advantage (Atkinson, 2010; Devine & Savage, 2005; Flemmen, 2013; Flemmen et al., 2018). One of the central premises of cultural class analysis is that people with similar economic positions can substantially differ in their identities or cultural practices (cf. Bottero, 2004). In the spirit of Bourdieu, cultural class analysts generally adopt a 'capitals' approach, showing how different forms of capital – economic, cultural, social, and symbolic – can be employed in different fields – e.g. politics, culture, and social – to gain advantage or assert dominance and what homologies are between fields (Bennett et al., 2009;

Flemmen, 2013; Savage, Warde & Devine, 2005). Cultural class analysis thus seeks to broaden the concept of class by including social and cultural elements as well.

A paper by Savage et al. (2013) sparked debate between the different approaches to class. Savage et al. (2013) introduced a model of social class based on Bourdieu's three forms of capital – economic, cultural, and social – that was intended to delineate contemporary class fragmentations in British society (Savage et al., 2015b). Their paper was part of a larger project, the Great British Class Survey (GBCS), which sought to understand the contemporary meaning and operation of social class in British society (Savage, 2020). It attracted considerable criticism (see Skeggs, 2015; Woodward et al., 2014), which was not only directed towards their model of social class but also addressed wider issues concerning class analysis, including *class formation and delineation*, *class relations*, and *explaining processes of stratification*. I will briefly discuss these issues, as they turn out to be relevant in analysing social class in the urban context.

First, Savage et al. (2013) distinguish seven classes with varying capital portfolios. Some classes are very low or high on overall capital volume (the elite and the precariat), whereas the classes in the middle have more differentiated capital portfolios.[3] Hence, the model particularly establishes the complex divisions in the middle segment of the class structure (Savage et al., 2015a). Multiple authors disagree with such a class categorisation because they believe that no clear class boundaries can be distinguished in social reality and therefore class is better conceptualised as a continuous hierarchy (Flemmen, 2013; Flemmen et al., 2018; Ganzeboom, 2015). This critique adopts Bourdieu's (1987) view that the 'social space' is continuous with no clear class boundaries and social classes only exist as 'real' or 'consciousness' classes (in Marxist terms: *Klasse für sich*), which are contingent on political labour (i.e., through mobilisation and representation).[4]

Second, how the seven classes in Savage et al. (2013) relate to each other is rather unclear (Bradley, 2014). This critique states that these classes are not specified based on their interdependencies. As Bradley (2014, p. 431) argues: "... classes are not defined by the nature of their economic links to each other (as in Marxist and Weberian traditions), but placed on a scale in terms of possession of less or more of various assets". Questions of power and exploitation are therefore stripped from class analysis, that is, how one class may dominate the other (May, 2015; Skeggs, 2015; Toscano & Woodcock, 2015). A key insight from Bourdieu (1984) is, however, that certain agents can exercise dominance depending on their location in the social space. When establishing social classes, one thus needs to explicate how classes may gain advantage vis-à-vis other classes through the composition of their capital portfolios.

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3   The other classes are the established middle class, technical middle class, new affluent workers, traditional working class, and emergent service workers.

4   Multiple authors note the seven-class model is ambiguous about where class boundaries are located and when one moves from one class to another (Ganzeboom, 2015; Lui, 2015; Mills, 2014, 2015; Silva, 2015).

Third, the 'reduction' of social classes into a discrete variable based on capital portfolios does not provide an explanatory framework for analysis (Elchardus, 2015; Flemmen et al., 2018; Ganzeboom, 2015; Lui, 2015; Mills, 2014; van der Waal & Koster, 2015). The argument here is that economic, social, and cultural capital are distinct dimensions that all relate to other sociological factors in their own way. Grouping these dimensions into one concept (or variable) means their unique relations to other stratification dimensions can no longer be investigated. The conversions between these capitals, for example how cultural capital produces economic capital, are also absent from the analysis (see Bourdieu, 1986).[5]

The question is what this debate entails for the study of social class in the urban environment. It is evident the cultural class perspective offers new insights in addition to the traditional Marxist and Weberian perspectives, but how this perspective can be applied needs substantiation (cf. Bridge, 1995). Studies on social class in the urban environment have been diverse. The 'back to the city' movement (see Ley, 1981) in the early 1970s has steered most attention to studying the position of the middle classes in the city[6], which is evidenced by the rapid growth of gentrification literature (cf. Slater, 2006). One strand of research has examined how middle classes strategically employ their cultural capital in different ways to secure and construct their place in the city (e.g. Bacqué et al., 2015; Ley, 2003; Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005). Such studies are frequently qualitative in nature and illustrate the diversity among the middle classes in how they navigate the city. What binds this research on middle classes in the city is an engagement with Bourdieu's concepts in order to understand how the behaviour of different class fractions in the middle relates to processes of class inequality.[7]

This preoccupation with the middle classes has, however, been criticised for neglecting class relations in the urban context. Some authors find that the perspective of the working class has been excluded as a result of the hegemonic position of the middle classes (May et al., 2007; Slater, 2006; Watt, 2008). The displacement of the working class through gentrification has been underestimated in their view and

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5   A related critique is that the Weberian distinction between class and status is blurred, because status indicators such as connections to others in the form of social capital (cf. Chan & Goldthorpe, 2004) and practices related to 'lifestyle' in the form of cultural capital (cf. Flemmen et al., 2019) are grouped with economic class indicators. This entanglement hinders an analysis in which class and status explain other forms of inequality (e.g. intergenerational reproduction) through distinct theoretical mechanisms (van der Waal & Koster, 2015).

6   Although it is debated to what extent middle classes actually 'left' the city (e.g. Marcuse, 1985).

7   Some examples include how middle classes with high educational credentials use their knowledge of the educational system to ensure their children are enrolled in schools of their choice (Ball, 2003), how moving to a socially diverse neighbourhood is an expression of cultural distinction (Blokland & van Eijk, 2010), or how middle classes use their social and cultural capital to lobby for improvements to the local physical environment (Butler & Robson, 2001). Middle classes thereby make strategic choices on how to employ their cultural capital (Bridge, 2006).

precarious working conditions among this class are insufficiently taken into account. On the other end of the class structure, more attention has been paid recently to elites (Butler & Lees, 2006; Cunningham & Savage 2015; van Heur & Bassens, 2019). In global cities, elites have very distinct geographies, meaning they often concentrate in specific neighbourhoods. Their growing dominance in space, through the acquirement of housing, can lead to the displacement of middle classes (Butler & Lees, 2006).

These calls to examine different classes and their interdependencies underline the importance of studying the complete urban class structure. Developments in the urban class structure have been extensively investigated, especially in the context of the professionalisation-polarisation debate (e.g. Butler et al., 2008). Yet, such studies, which mainly rely on register data, use occupation as an indicator of social class or use class 'proxies' such as education or income (Nørgaard, 2003). Occupation as an indicator of class can differentiate to some extent between the more 'cultural' and 'economic' middle and upper classes (Boterman et al., 2018; Ljunggren & Andersen, 2015), but occupation is also limited in this regard as the debate on the conceptualisation of class has shown.

In **Chapter 2** I will address some of the issues discussed here by developing a contemporary model of the class structure of Rotterdam. This model is used to understand several socio-spatial processes and moreover, class delineation and relations are analysed through this model. I follow a similar approach to Savage and colleagues who, despite the numerous criticisms of their work, have shown that there is a need for new perspectives on class structures as the traditional distinction between the lower or working class, middle class, and upper or elite class insufficiently captures the social diversity of contemporary urban environments (cf. Vertovec, 2007). Savage et al. (2015a) indicate the new fractures and ambivalences that exist today, including the elite class 'pulling away' from the rest and the differentiation in the middle segment.[8] Consequently, the traditional boundary between the middle class and working class is becoming less decisive (Savage, 2015). The issue of 'delineation' is dealt with by including direct measures of economic, cultural, and social capital in the analysis, which provides a detailed account of different class fractions. Moreover, class relations are studied by considering how classes struggle over space and which factors are responsible for changes in the class structure (Davidson & Wyly, 2012; Hamnett & Butler, 2013; Slater, 2009).

Neighbourhood effects
Neighbourhood effects convey the idea that neighbourhood context may affect life outcomes independently of individual or family characteristics. Research in this field has substantially grown in the past thirty years, and has examined the conditions under

8   Even though the literature centres on the heterogeneous middle class, variation in social and cultural capital also exists among the lower and elite classes (Flemmen et al., 2018; van Heur & Bassens, 2019; Wacquant & Wilson, 1989).

which these effects occur and to what extent (see Durlauf, 2004; Galster, 2008; Galster & Sharkey, 2017; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Petrović et al., 2020; Sampson et al., 2002; Sharkey & Faber, 2014; van Ham et al., 2012). I will investigate several issues that have been insufficiently addressed in previous research, including the specification of conditional effects and mechanisms in empirical models and the theoretical relevance of neighbourhood organisations.

The rise of the contemporary neighbourhood effects literature is in the first place ascribed to Wilson's (1987) seminal book *The Truly Disadvantaged*, in which he argues that structural changes in the US economy had led to high rates of unemployment and poverty in inner-city neighbourhoods.[9] Combined with the exodus of the black middle class due to lower barriers to residential mobility, 'concentration effects' occurred as a result of 'social isolation' – the lack of contact or sustained interaction with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society (Wilson, 1987, p. 60). The main idea behind a neighbourhood or concentration effect is thus that an individual growing up in an area of concentrated poverty has worse life outcomes (e.g. employment, health, education) than a comparable individual growing up in a non-poverty area, because the former has insufficient access to basic resources (e.g. schools, networks, role models). This idea later evolved into theories about how neighbourhood context in general affects individuals, but its origin explains why the literature tends to focus on the potentially negative effects of living in a disadvantaged area.

Since the 1990s, neighbourhood effects studies have mainly been concerned with three issues (see Small & Feldman, 2012). The first issue concerns *selection bias*. A major challenge in studying neighbourhood effects is to distinguish between the effect of a neighbourhood characteristic and selective migration into neighbourhoods (Cheshire, 2007; Galster, 2008; Jencks & Mayer, 1990). When a correlation exists between a neighbourhood characteristic and an individual outcome, one may presume this effect is caused by the neighbourhood in some way. However, the causal direction could also be reverse, for instance when poor people move into poor neighbourhoods because they cannot go anywhere else (Cheshire, 2007; cf. Slater, 2013). Hence, selection bias occurs when there are unobserved characteristics that affect both selection into neighbourhoods and individual outcomes. Many ways of dealing with this 'problem' have been suggested or researched, including the use of panel data (e.g. Galster et al., 2016), experimental settings (e.g. Clampet-Lundquist & Massey, 2008), and residential history interviews (e.g. Pinkster, 2009a). Some studies try to specifically model the influence of selection bias (e.g. van Ham et al., 2018), thereby estimating the 'true' effect of neighbourhood characteristics. Others have argued that selection processes should be studied as a social process separately, instead of being seen as a 'statistical

9   Ideas about how neighbourhood context influences individual behaviour predate Wilson's work and can be traced back to early scholarship such as the Chicago School that sought to understand how social processes link to geographic space (see Marwell, 2007; Sampson, 2012).

nuisance' (e.g. Hedman & van Ham, 2012; Sampson & Sharkey, 2008). Why people move to certain neighbourhoods might be as important as how neighbourhoods affect them.

The second issue concerns the *conditionality of neighbourhood effects*, meaning the neighbourhood context has varying effects on different groups. For example, neighbourhood stigma is experienced in different ways as lower-class people and people of colour frequently carry a heavier burden in this respect (e.g. Pinkster et al., 2020). Multiple authors believe that the field of neighbourhood effects studies lacks a systematic incorporation of the conditionality of effects (e.g. Briggs, 1997; Miltenburg, 2017; Pinkster, 2007; Small & Feldman, 2012). Previous studies often assumed that the neighbourhood context applies equally to all residents. This assumption has been questioned on various grounds. One reason is that people vary in their 'exposure' to neighbourhood context (Galster, 2008; Harding et al., 2010). Some people spend relatively little time in their neighbourhood, or the location of their homes shields them from events on the streets (e.g. violent crime). In addition, similar exposure to the neighbourhood does not imply that people will be affected in the same way. The impact of the neighbourhood also depends on other factors such as class, age, and ethnicity. Some people are better equipped to deal with negative influences from the neighbourhood than others. As Harding et al. (2010) illustrate:

"… consider the possible responses to neighborhood violence among parents of male adolescents. Some parents may require their sons to stay inside. For some this will mean more time studying; for others, more time watching TV. For the first individual, the effect of neighborhood violence will be to increase educational attainment; for the second, the effect will be neutral or to decrease educational attainment" (p. 4).

Thus, too often researchers still assume the neighbourhood context applies equally to all residents while studies should (theoretically) specify how neighbourhood context is expected to impact subgroups in the neighbourhood.

The third issue is to specify the *mechanisms* through which neighbourhood effects are produced. Neighbourhood effects are generally framed as the effects of living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood on a range of individual outcomes (e.g. health, education, income) (van Ham et al., 2012). However, much remains unknown about exactly what causes these effects (e.g. Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000), that is, the mechanisms (Hedström & Swedberg, 1998). In the past decades various mechanisms have been proposed to theoretically substantiate how neighbourhood context affects various groups of residents. Galster (2012) synthesises these theoretical explanations into four sets of mechanisms, which he labels as social-interactive, environmental, geographical, and institutional. This grouping shows the various ways in which neighbourhoods may be relevant. For instance, Galster (2012) identifies seven social-interactive mechanisms, which can range from negative peer influences (social contagion) to acquiring important resources through local connections (social networks).

However, when mechanisms operate and under which conditions largely remains a 'black box', as incorporating them in empirical models remains a challenge (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Miltenburg, 2017; van Ham et al., 2012). Addressing this issue requires very rich data that combines information on interactions, networks, time use and contextual factors across a range of neighbourhoods (Harding et al., 2010). The most used approaches, such as register or survey data, usually do not meet these requirements. Qualitative research is therefore pivotal to showing how mechanisms work at the neighbourhood level. It may provide answers to questions such as how neighbourhood networks are formed (Pinkster, 2009a; van Eijk, 2010c). In general, qualitative research can help to explain findings from prior studies and to generate hypotheses for future research (Small & Feldman, 2012). Although this kind of research helps us to open the 'black box' of mechanisms, it is often limited in assessing how mechanisms operate across neighbourhoods and what their structural components are – relating to social processes at the macro-level (cf. Marwell & McQuarrie, 2013).

Even though these three issues - selection bias, effect heterogeneity and mechanisms - dominate research on neighbourhood effects, the question of how important the neighbourhood level is as a unit of analysis is relevant as well (Sharkey & Faber, 2014). A focus on the neighbourhood may obscure that social processes at other levels are more decisive in explaining several outcomes. For example, Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn (2000) indicate that family-level characteristics have stronger explanatory power for a range of outcomes than neighbourhood-level characteristics. Sykes and Musterd (2011) demonstrate that although the neighbourhood and school level are closely related, ultimately the school context affects educational achievement and not the neighbourhood context per se. Such findings signal the importance of scale, meaning at which socio-spatial level certain effects might occur (Glas et al., 2019; Petrović et al., 2020). Macro-level processes also need consideration, which was already evident in the work of Wilson (1987) who argued that neighbourhood effects are shaped by structural changes in the economy. In understanding neighbourhood effects, it is therefore essential to study how individual and other contextual levels are intertwined (Entwisle, 2007; Marwell, 2007; Sharkey & Faber, 2014). This entails more than merely looking at which context has the largest 'effect'. Neighbourhood context and individual, family or macro-level factors influence each other in temporal and dynamic ways. For example, family characteristics can be determined by the neighbourhood context in which parents grew up (Sharkey & Elwert, 2011). Or the effectiveness of neighbourhood organisations depends on the resources they can secure from outer neighbourhood actors (Marwell, 2007; Small, 2009). A dynamic and multilevel perspective is thus necessary to fully grasp the scope of neighbourhood effects.

This dissertation contributes to the neighbourhood effects literature in three ways. First, **Chapter 3** investigates to what extent having local ties affects labour market outcomes for people in deprived neighbourhoods. Contradictory expectations exist about the extent to which neighbourhood networks either foster or impede job attainment among the low and middle educated. This chapter thus considers how

effects might be conditional for these groups. Moreover, it is possible to open the lid of the black box of mechanisms to some extent by incorporating measures of the social-interactive mechanisms in empirical models (cf. Miltenburg, 2015). Second, **Chapter 4** studies the role of neighbourhood context in affecting levels of civic participation. Earlier research indicates that neighbourhood socioeconomic status and the associated organisational infrastructure are key to stimulating civic participation (e.g. Stoll, 2001). Yet, as previously indicated, the 2008-2009 economic recession and changes in social policy might have an uneven impact on civic society, even though levels of volunteering and other forms of civic participation have been quite stable over a longer period (Rochester, 2018; van Houwelingen & Dekker, 2017). Further investigation is therefore needed to disentangle how neighbourhood and macro-level social processes conjointly affect civic participation. Finally, **Chapter 5** provides a more in-depth study of these themes in **Chapter 3 and 4** by examining how neighbourhood organisations can facilitate civic and labour market participation. It reports on a qualitative study of three neighbourhood organisations, in which neighbourhood organisations are theorised as a central mechanism for understanding how neighbourhood effects are transmitted. This argument is elaborated in the section *Neighbourhood Organisations*.

Mixed neighbourhoods

A debate that closely links with neighbourhood effects and social class is how 'mixed neighbourhoods' or 'social mix' might benefit residents. Mixed neighbourhoods are heterogeneous residential environments according to characteristics such as class, ethnicity, tenure, and age. Several theoretical arguments suggest the propinquity of different social groups has positive effects on social relations and other social aspects. Effects of mixed neighbourhoods are thus the 'flipside' of adverse neighbourhood effects that result from concentrated poverty[10], although the theoretical basis differs in some cases. The perks of mixed neighbourhoods have, however, been questioned and policies for creating mixed neighbourhoods have been criticised for a number of reasons (e.g. Bridge et al., 2011; Kleinhans, 2004). To show the wide range of this discussion, I will outline some arguments in favour of mixed neighbourhoods and some that question the necessity of mixed neighbourhoods. Thereafter, I will indicate how this dissertation addresses this literature.

In line with the neighbourhood effects literature, the advantages of mixed neighbourhoods are usually framed as benefitting a certain part of the neighbourhood population (conditionality) in a certain way (mechanisms). One of the most prominent arguments is that mixed neighbourhoods lead to mixed social networks between various social groups (see Joseph et al., 2007; van Kempen & Bolt, 2012). The idea is that physical proximity lowers barriers to engaging in sustained interactions. In turn, overlapping networks may develop between people from different socioeconomic

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10   The question whether mixed neighbourhoods might be preferred to neighbourhoods of concen-
     trated wealth is rarely asked (Lees, 2008).

or ethnic backgrounds. Overlapping networks can generate social capital, meaning groups can exchange resources such as information or referrals (see Field, 2008). This reasoning builds on Putnam's (2000) 'bridging' ties or Briggs' (1998) ties 'to get ahead', since these concepts describe how people profit from ties to resource-rich others. Especially lower-class residents are expected to benefit from access to social resources, as these resources provide opportunities for social mobility (cf. Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Gans, 1961b). In addition, the argument not only applies to social networks, but also to the more abstract concept of social cohesion (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). In mixed neighbourhoods, people may develop a common understanding of values, social order, and place identity that fosters a comfortable and sociable living environment.

Other arguments have also been developed in support of mixed neighbourhoods. First, adding more expensive and quality dwellings to a neighbourhood provides housing career opportunities for the socially mobile (Musterd & van Kempen, 2007; Priemus, 2004). For instance, when people grow up in poor neighbourhoods and become high-income earners in a later life stage, they might want to stay in their neighbourhood but cannot find an appropriate dwelling that meets their preferences. New housing stock could relieve this tension and, in addition, the socially mobile may act as role models for younger generations (see Joseph et al., 2007). Second, the influx of higher socioeconomic groups in poor neighbourhoods, leading to neighbourhood upgrading or 'mixing', is associated with a higher level of local amenities and services (although see Bailey et al., 2015; Small & McDermott, 2006). In the case of schools, lower-class families may benefit from better school quality and middle-class resources (cf. Nast & Blokland, 2014). Yet, in restructured areas there is often a discrepancy between the 'old' and 'new' residents with regard to the use of local facilities (see van Kempen & Bolt, 2012). Third, a neighbourhood's reputation might improve when it becomes more mixed, as it loses its stigma of poverty (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000; Permentier et al., 2011). Residents can experience feelings of loss when their neighbourhood gentrifies or is restructured (e.g. Pinkster, 2016), but in other cases they are quite satisfied with its improved reputation (Doucet & Koenders, 2018; Snel et al., 2011). Finally, combining the arguments above, mixed neighbourhoods are considered an antidote to the detrimental effects of segregation, which include discrimination, social exclusion, welfare dependency, and negative socialisation (Massey & Denton, 1993). When neighbourhoods decline, 'social mix' can thus be employed by governments in order to prevent any detrimental neighbourhood effects (Burgers, 2009).

Scholars are generally sceptical of the positive effects of mixed neighbourhoods (e.g. Arbaci & Rae, 2013; Lees, 2008; Tunstall, 2003). The arguments against mixed neighbourhoods have therefore been extensively documented (e.g. Bolt & van Kempen, 2013; Bridge et al., 2011; Kleinhans, 2004). In relation to the 'social networks' argument, it is argued that social mixing through restructuring or gentrification breaks up a neighbourhood's social fabric (Gans, 1991). Displacement makes it harder for residents - both movers and stayers - to maintain contact with others and to keep organisations running (Curley, 2010a; Kleit, 2001). On the other hand, homogeneous neighbourhoods

according to class and ethnicity can act as sources of social support to people as local networks are easier formed (Edin & Lein, 1997; Gans, 1961a; Young & Willmott, 1986). Social mix advocates might thus overestimate the bridging potential of mixed neighbourhoods and underestimate the supportive systems of (poor) homogeneous neighbourhoods (Cheshire, 2007). Moreover, neighbourhood change can lead to social tensions between the new and original residents (e.g. Uitermark et al., 2007) or tensions between movers and established residents in the arrival neighbourhood (e.g. Posthumus, 2013).

Mixed neighbourhoods are further criticised for serving as instruments for economic and political purposes. A critical economic perspective states that social mix is part of a wider strategy that has been described as 'urban revanchism' (Smith, 1996). In this view the city is 'reconquered' for capital and consumption by the middle classes while lower classes are marginalised within the neighbourhood or relegated to other areas. On the political side, social mix is interpreted as a device to manage urban marginality and the integration of ethnic minorities in particular (Uitermark, 2003). High neighbourhood concentrations of ethnic minorities are perceived as undesirable as it would hamper their ability to connect with the native Dutch (cf. van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007). Multiple authors point out how economic and political motives have become highly intertwined in promoting mixed neighbourhoods, whereby social mix has become an overarching strategy to counter societal 'problems' such as poverty, integration of ethnic minorities, neighbourhood safety, and crime (e.g. Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008; van Eijk, 2010b; van Kempen & Bolt, 2009).

The theoretical arguments that support or oppose mixed neighbourhoods have mainly been developed in the context of urban policy. Urban policies that aim to create mixed neighbourhoods come in many guises, with some adapting a more market-based approach while in other contexts the state has a dominant role (Atkinson, 2008). The Netherlands has a strong tradition in social mix policies that is characterised by many decades of interventions in the housing stock in urban areas (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008; Uyterlinde & van der Velden, 2017). Since the 1980s these policies have pursued restructuring of poor areas through demolishing a part of the housing stock and building more expensive dwellings instead (Musterd & Ostendorf, 2008). Another strategy has been to sell social dwellings on the housing market (Atkinson, 2008; Hochstenbach, 2017). A long-term aim of these policies has been to deconcentrate poverty and prevent negative effects of segregation (cf. Burgers, 2009), whereas they have become more intertwined with 'integration' policies since the 2000s (e.g. van Eijk, 2010b). A result of these policies has been a gradual decline in the share of social housing in urban areas and a steady increase in the share of owner-occupied dwellings (Hochstenbach, 2017; van Kempen & Priemus, 2002). Policy enthusiasm about social mixing has somewhat varied over the years (Uyterlinde & van der Velden, 2017), yet in Rotterdam policies of social mixing have been actively pursued in recent years by the municipality. These policies range from prohibiting unemployed residents to move into certain neighbourhoods (van Gent et al., 2018) to attracting more highly-educated people to

neighbourhoods close to the city centre (Doff & van der Sluis, 2017). Thus, social mix and its related policies remain a relevant study topic.

Chapter 3 advances the empirical research on mixed neighbourhoods by testing the common assumption that local ties enhance employment opportunities for the relatively disadvantaged groups (i.e. the low and middle educated) in mixed neighbourhoods. I will argue it is frequently assumed that these ties to resource-rich neighbours are either absent or lack effectiveness, but research that tests this assumption across a variety of neighbourhoods is scarce. In addition, **Chapter 2** adds an original perspective to how social mix can be conceived. Most studies on social mix rely on aspects such as ethnicity, tenure, income, and class to characterise the diversity of neighbourhoods. In line with the arguments made in the section *Social class and the city*, **Chapter 2** shows that neighbourhoods are often more 'mixed' in terms of class when a broader conception of class is adopted.

Neighbourhood organisations

Neighbourhood organisations are places where people meet each other. Organisations therefore structure social life in neighbourhoods to a large extent, especially for residents with limited mobility and a small social environment. Organisational perspectives on social processes in the neighbourhood have been present for a long time (e.g. Laumann et al., 1978), but such perspectives have been relatively absent in research in recent decades (Allard & Small, 2013). I will discuss why the organisational perspective remains relevant and show how I intend to enrich this literature.

The organisational perspective offers important insights into how social inequality between individuals can be mediated or increased. Many studies lack such a perspective because they start from the individual or neighbourhoods – or the combination of these two – as the unit of analysis. For instance, when studying inequality in social capital, studies report differences in social capital according to sociodemographic characteristics and how neighbourhood level factors affect access to social capital (e.g. Kleinhans et al., 2007; Letki, 2008). As Small (2009) argues, such studies reflect existing differences in social capital, but seldom explain how these differences *originate*. Even studies such as Pinkster (2009a) and van Eijk (2010c), who extensively analyse social networks of residents, are limited in this respect (cf. Bosch, 2016; Tersteeg, 2017). They conclude that neighbourhood settings such as community centres, schools and public spaces are important settings where people meet each other, form new ties or where resources are exchanged. However, little consideration is given to *how* these settings or organisations structure interactions between residents. The type of organisation and organisational activities and practices can influence to a large extent how people form ties (Small, 2009). Hence, the organisational perspective illuminates how institutional practices shape interaction between individuals and what inequalities may be produced in the process, depending on the access people have to certain organisations.

This perspective is not only relevant for explaining how differences in network inequality come about, but also pertains to life outcomes in general. A broader look

at neighbourhood organisations shows that their presence explains inequalities in outcomes between neighbourhoods and individuals. Neighbourhood organisations provide access to several services in domains such as health, finance, and education. Whether people have access to these organisations partly depends on their proximity to organisations, because participation is easier if they do not have to travel too far. In the US context, some areas in large cities are 'deinstitutionalised' due to the absence of important neighbourhood organisations that provide basic services (Wacquant, 2008; Wilson, 1987; cf. Small & McDermott, 2006). The social consequences are that people are more impoverished in neighbourhoods with low organisation density (cf. Klinenberg, 2015; Small, 2008). In the European context such situations generally do not occur due to the intervening welfare state (Bailey et al., 2015; Pinkster, 2009a; Wacquant, 2008). However, mismatches between people's needs and services of local organisations may still occur (e.g. Tersteeg & Pinkster, 2016). Organisational density is not necessarily synonymous with a higher quality of life for all residents. In sum, the presence of organisations in the neighbourhoods influences residents' life chances, contingent on the relevance, accessibility, quantity, and quality of these organisations.

Another argument why we should inquire into neighbourhood organisations, which has been advocated by Marwell in particular (Marwell, 2007; Marwell & McQuarrie, 2013; McQuarrie & Marwell, 2009), is that they are 'socially productive', meaning organisations have an independent role in the production, reproduction, and arrangement of urban social relations, neighbourhood conditions, and individual outcomes and identities (McQuarrie & Marwell, 2009, pp. 247-248). Neighbourhood organisations are meso-level institutions that mediate between individuals and macro-level processes or actors. For instance, during economic recessions organisations can reduce economic hardship by offering services at a reduced rate, thereby ameliorating the detrimental effects of the recession (Allard & Small, 2013). Neighbourhood organisations thus have agency to a certain extent concerning how those involved are affected by other social processes and institutions. This intermediary role constitutes a theoretical lens to analyse the ways in which the individual, the neighbourhood and the wider societal context relate to each other. This perspective is especially useful for assessing the impact of social policy changes in the past decades. In many instances governments rely on neighbourhood organisations to carry out their welfare policy (Smith & Lipsky, 1993), for instance when social assistance recipients must perform mandatory 'volunteer' work at these organisations (Kampen et al., 2019). Organisations determine to a large extent how this mandatory work is performed. Neighbourhood organisations thus deal with issues that extend beyond the scope of the neighbourhood (cf. Vermeulen et al., 2016).

The neighbourhood organisational perspective needs to be more integrated into the literature on neighbourhood effects and social mix. Neighbourhood organisations are an important mechanism through which neighbourhood effects are transmitted. A negative neighbourhood effect on individual poverty can occur when people have restricted access to basic institutions such as schools and stores (Wilson, 1987). Previous research has further theorised that especially the multiplicity of organisations in a neighbourhood,

the organisational infrastructure, can function as a neighbourhood effect, as these organisations together create an infrastructure that enables other residents to participate (Sampson et al., 2005; Stoll, 2001). The neighbourhood organisational infrastructure can thereby be viewed as more extensive when organisations in the neighbourhood have more ties to each other (cf. Lelieveldt et al., 2009; Marwell, 2007; Small, 2009). In addition, the general absence of overlapping networks in mixed neighbourhoods is likely a consequence of residents being active in different organisations that are closer to their own interest (cf. Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000). Even though overlapping networks seldom develop spontaneously in mixed neighbourhoods (van Eijk, 2010a), repeated encounters in certain settings or organisations can create 'public familiarity'; both recognising and being recognised in local spaces (Blokland, 2003). Hence, several theoretical possibilities exist about why organisations are central to neighbourhood processes.

In **Chapter 4** the neighbourhood organisational infrastructure serves as a theoretical explanation to hypothesise why civic participation would either increase or decline across neighbourhoods with a different socioeconomic status during the 2008-9 economic recession. **Chapter 5** examines the daily operations of different neighbourhood organisations and how members experience their participation. This more in-depth study was conducted to see how organisations can either stimulate labour market (**Chapter 3**) or civic participation (**Chapter 4**). Moreover, **Chapter 5** explores several themes that require more research, including organisational ties and the social policy context.

Research questions

This dissertation studies socioeconomic change from a class perspective, the possible consequences of socio-spatial inequality on the one hand, and citizens' involvement with their social environment and how this is shaped by institutional and contextual factors on the other hand. I have shown that several related themes underlie these issues. To combine the two developments and four research themes, I have formulated four specific research questions that establish the link between the developments and research themes.

The first research question addresses the nature of socioeconomic transformation from a social class perspective. The study combines insights into contemporary social-spatial processes with the debate on the conceptualisation of social class:

• How can Rotterdam's class structure be established from a cultural class perspective? And how can social and spatial changes in this class structure between 2008 and 2017 be explained? (**Chapter 2**)

The second research question examines the possible consequences of socio-spatial inequality. It focuses on the extent that neighbourhood socioeconomic status affects the relation between local networks and the job prospects of the less well-educated:

•   To which extent do neighbourhood networks and employment relate for the low and middle educated? And how does this relation vary across neighbourhoods with a different socioeconomic status? (**Chapter 3**)

The third research question is about the effects of macro-level changes on civic participation. In particular, the study investigates to what extent the 2008-9 economic recession and social policy have affected levels of civic participation:

•   How can trends in civic participation across neighbourhoods with a different socioeconomic status in Rotterdam between 2008 and 2013 be explained? (**Chapter 4**)

The fourth research question considers how organisations shape the participation of citizens. It investigates how organisational practices affect the lives of mainly lower-class residents, participants' experiences and the influence of social policy:

•   How do neighbourhood organisations structure the lives of residents in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and what is the role of social policy in this regard? (**Chapter 5**)

In the remainder of this synthesis, I explicate the research approach in this dissertation. Furthermore, I provide an overview of the most important findings and discuss the empirical and theoretical contributions. The final part of this synthesis includes a reflection on the findings and the research process.

Research context

Rotterdam

The city of Rotterdam constitutes the site of research for this dissertation. Rotterdam is the second most populous city of the Netherlands ($\pm$ 650,000 inhabitants) and is known for its seaport, architecture, local politics, and hosting the greatest football club on this planet. After receiving city rights in 1299, Rotterdam grew steadily as a global transhipment centre for trade. The introduction of the New Waterway in 1872, which connected Rotterdam directly to the North Sea, accelerated its growth as a major trade and transfer hub. A defining moment in Rotterdam's history was the Nazi bombing raid on 14 May 1940, which destroyed a large part of the historical centre. Although this tragedy severely impacted the city, the two decades following WWII are described as Rotterdam's 'finest hour'. Strong economic growth, the rebuilding of the city, and an

increase in port and industrial activity all contributed to Rotterdam's revival (Burgers, 2001). Due to the rebuilding efforts, Rotterdam – in contrast to many other Dutch cities – has a more 'modern' layout, including various post-WWII architecture and major roads running through the city centre.

This post-WWII period of growing affluence lasted until approximately the early 1970s. By that time a large suburbanisation movement had started, with the autochthonous middle classes moving to adjacent municipalities where better single-family dwellings were available. In the same period, selective in-migration from 'guest-worker' countries (e.g. Morocco and Turkey) and former colonies (e.g. Suriname and the Antilles) took place (Scholten et al., 2019). The outmigration was, however, much more substantial: between 1960 and 1985 Rotterdam depopulated by 22 per cent (Hochstenbach, 2017). The structure of the local economy further shifted from industrial to post-industrial or service-based. Rotterdam is frequently compared to Amsterdam in this respect, as the transition to a post-industrial economy was more rapid in Amsterdam (Burgers, 1996; Burgers & Musterd, 2002; Kloosterman, 1996; Steijn et al., 2000; van der Waal, 2009). In the 1980s and early 1990s, Rotterdam was thus somewhat 'lagging behind' in economic development. Although the educational level was rising, there was also polarisation in income distribution and relatively high unemployment – especially among ethnic minorities. Many high-end jobs in Rotterdam were filled by people from outside the city (Burgers, 2001), a situation that continues today (van der Aa et al., 2015). At the end of the 20th century Rotterdam was characterised as having a one-sided – overall poor – socioeconomic structure, which was also reflected in the large share of cheap dwellings in the housing stock (Burgers, 2001).

In the past two decades, several notable shifts have occurred. Whereas some are a continuation of previous developments (e.g. rising level of education), others signify a break (e.g. gentrification). The level of education and income have steadily increased in Rotterdam, thereby more resembling the national distributions (de Graaf, 2019a, 2019b). Concerning the job market, Rotterdam is 'catching up' with Amsterdam because the transformation to a post-industrial job structure has been more rapid, although Amsterdam's economy is still considered more post-industrial (van der Aa et al., 2015). Job polarisation is also occurring among Rotterdam's working population, meaning intermediate jobs (e.g. administrative work) are mostly disappearing while high-end jobs (e.g. engineers) are increasing (van der Aa et al., 2018). An important aspect is that virtually all job growth is characterised by flexibilisation, either through self-employment or temporal contracts. In addition, gentrification has become prominent in Rotterdam, which is indicated by increases in housing prices and the share of owner-occupied dwellings, and the gradual suburbanisation of poverty (Hochstenbach, 2017). The ethnic composition of Rotterdam has also become more diversified. Nowadays more than half of the population has a migration background, compared to 35 per cent in the mid-1990s (Scholten et al., 2019). A notable migration pattern has been the in-migration of Middle and Eastern Europeans (e.g. Poland, Bulgaria).

In sum, the rise of Rotterdam is strongly linked to the development of its port activities in the past. Since the mid-1960s the city declined economically, in part due to deindustrialisation and suburban sprawl. Nowadays the city has a diverse ethnic and socioeconomic population but remains relatively poor compared to other Dutch cities. Rotterdam may resemble cities like Liverpool, Manchester, Antwerp, or some cities in the German Ruhr area (see van der Waal, 2009). Yet, according to many studies Rotterdam is a 'unique' or 'extreme' case (e.g. Bosch, 2016; Ouwehand & Doff, 2013; Schinkel & van den Berg, 2011; Snel & Engbersen, 2009; Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008; van Eijk, 2010b). Several arguments can be put forward to support this contention, but I will not discuss all of them here. One of the most striking things about Rotterdam is that its ethnic diversity has been repeatedly problematised in the past (see Scholten et al., 2019). Rotterdam became a stronghold of the populist right in 2002 through the victory of a newly established party, Liveable Rotterdam, in the local elections, which put an end to the long-held hegemony of the Social Democrats (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). The party was led by Pim Fortuyn, who was later assassinated. Support for the populist right has remained high since, in both local and national elections (van Ostaaijen, 2019). The establishment of the populist right in Rotterdam has been accompanied by a 'revanchist' agenda that has been advocated by different coalitions – including subsequent coalitions where left-wing parties had more influence (Snel & Engbersen, 2009). This revanchist agenda constitutes a mix of policies that includes elements of exclusion, gentrification, liveability, and safety (van Eijk, 2010b). Both specific policies, such as the Rotterdam Act (e.g. van Gent et al., 2018), and the intertwinement of these policies have contributed to framing Rotterdam as a 'unique' case. In the subsequent chapters, I will address specific Rotterdam aspects and policies in more detail.

Dissertation background and data

This dissertation is part of a wider research project that was set up to generate insights about social developments in Rotterdam. The project was initiated by the Urban Knowledge Lab Liveable Neighbourhoods, a collaboration between the Erasmus University and the Rotterdam municipality. The main goal of the project was to optimally use the Neighbourhood Profile instrument (see below) to conduct scientific research and inform social policy. The research agenda included two main themes: questions relating to social inequality (this dissertation) and (ethnic) diversity (Glas, 2021). The project started in late 2015 and finished in the summer of 2020 with the near completion of two dissertations. During the project many meetings were organised between the university and municipality teams to discuss the policy relevance of the findings and presentations were given at multiple events. A selection of results is also available in Engbersen et al. (2019).[11]

The *Wijkprofiel* (Neighbourhood Profile) data provide the foundation for empirical research in this dissertation (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2020). The Neighbourhood

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11   In this publication the results are made more accessible for a non-academic audience.

Profile serves as an instrument to monitor social and physical developments in the city and the data have been used for over two decades in Rotterdam to inform local policies (see Engbersen et al., 2019). The origins of the Neighbourhood Profile are mainly political. During the municipal council period (1998-2002), safety became a salient issue in Rotterdam and a Safety Index was introduced in 2001 to monitor 'objective' and subjective dimensions of safety in different areas. The use of the Safety Index was popularised from 2002-2006 due to the increased emphasis on safety issues by Liveable Rotterdam (Noordegraaf, 2008). A few years after the introduction of the Safety Index, consensus arose that monitoring was too focused on safety issues while social issues such as cohesion and participation were being undervalued (Engbersen et al., 2019). The complementary Social Index was therefore launched in 2008. In 2014 these two indexes were combined with a new index, the Physical Index, to form the Neighbourhood Profile with the aim of creating an 'integral' approach to monitoring. Since 2014 the results of the Neighbourhood Profile monitoring instrument have been presented biannually, whereas before the results were published on an annual basis. The scores for several indicators at both the neighbourhood and city level are available online (see Municipality of Rotterdam, 2020).

The Neighbourhood Profile has two main data sources: register data and two large-scale surveys. Register data are used to construct 'objective' dimensions of the Neighbourhood Profile and the surveys are mainly used for 'subjective' dimensions that are based on respondents' attitudes and opinions. The register data come from different organisations and departments such as the police, Statistics Netherlands, municipal welfare services, and the municipal population register. Information about various domains, such as statistics about criminal records, residential stability, and healthcare provision is compiled in this way. The surveys predominantly collect data on safety issues (Safety Survey) and social issues (Social Survey). This dissertation uses data from the Social Survey combined with various register data. The most recent waves include about 15,000 respondents per survey, whereas before 2014 the sample sizes were closer to 10,000 respondents. As the Neighbourhood Profile aims to be representative at the neighbourhood level, a stratified sampling method is used. Random sampling is thus conducted at the neighbourhood level. The sampling framework is based on an address list from the municipal register from which potential respondents are randomly drawn. Letters are sent to the corresponding addresses and additional contact info, i.e. telephone numbers, is obtained from commercial parties. Response to the survey is generally low among ethnic minorities, young people, and those with low socioeconomic status. Certain groups with a migration background, such as Turks and Moroccans, are therefore oversampled to obtain a more balanced sample. The questionnaires are also available in English, Turkish, Arabic/Berber, and Portuguese/Cape Verdean, though this availability differs between waves. Nevertheless, the response rates are generally low, varying between 20 and 25 per cent per wave. Multiple data collection methods are used, including online questionnaires, telephone interviews, paper questionnaires (self-administrated), and face-to-face interviews. The

first two methods have been most prevalent (about 80 per cent per wave) (cf. Glas, 2021). The Social Survey includes various items and questions about topics such as neighbourhood cohesion, neighbourhood impressions, social networks, use of local facilities, and municipal services. Given its origins, the Social Survey mainly enquires about matters relating to policy. It further includes information about the respondent's background (e.g. education level, income, labour market status). The chapters in this dissertation describe in more detail which waves are used and how the variables are operationalised.

The Neighbourhood Profile alone did not suffice to answer some of the research questions in this dissertation. Qualitative data was therefore gathered in three neighbourhood organisations to gain a more in-depth understanding of how social processes work at the neighbourhood level. Semi-structured interviews and participant observation were conducted for this purpose. A detailed description of the data collection process can be found in **Chapter 5**.

Chapter summaries

The empirical chapters in this dissertation address the research questions formulated under *Research Questions*. Each chapter studies one of the previously mentioned developments and elaborates on multiple research themes. A summary of each chapter is provided below in which the contributions to literature are highlighted. In Table 1.1 an overview of all chapters is provided.

Table 1.1. Overview of empirical chapters

	Development	Research themes	Goals chapter	Data	Analysis
Chapter 2	Socioeconomic change and socio-spatial inequality	Social class; social mix	Develop model of urban class structure; explain (spatial) changes in class structure	Neighbourhood Profile, 2008 and 2017	Latent class analysis; GIS
Chapter 3	Socioeconomic change and socio-spatial inequality	Neighbourhood effects; social mix	Examine association between neighbourhood ties and employment; differences according to neighbourhood SES	Neighbourhood Profile, 2013 and 2015	Multilevel regression models
Chapter 4	Civic participation and institutional context	Neighbourhood effects; neighbourhood organisations	Investigate impact of economic recession on inequality in civic participation	Neighbourhood Profile, 2008-2013	Multilevel regression models
Chapter 5	Civic participation and institutional context	Neighbourhood effects; neighbourhood organisations	Show how organisations structure participation and deal with policy	Qualitative data on three organisations	Open and deductive coding; adaptive theory

Chapter 2 – The urban class structure: class change and spatial divisions from a multidimensional class perspective

In this chapter a model of Rotterdam's class structure is developed using Bourdieu's concepts of economic, social, and cultural capital as its theoretical basis. Both changes in class structure between 2008 and 2017 and the spatial distribution of different classes are examined. I argue that a multidimensional class perspective has been largely lacking in studies on socio-spatial processes. Previous research on processes of polarisation and professionalisation use several socioeconomic indicators, which creates ambiguity about how the class structure is transforming. Research on the relation between class and geography can also be advanced by considering different class fractions. The hypotheses include 1) an increase in the share of middle classes with high cultural capital 2) a growth of precariousness at the bottom of the class structure and 3) gentrification in the city centre and adjacent areas. A latent class analysis is performed using the Neighbourhood Profile data from 2008 and 2007.

The model shows that a comprehensive class structure consisting of seven classes can be discerned. The middle segment is particularly differentiated and includes a cultural middle class, a traditional middle class, a contact-poor middle class, and an emergent middle class. Substantial changes in the class structure can be found in the middle and lower segment. Middle classes with high cultural capital (cultural middle class and emergent middle class) are replacing a middle class with low cultural capital (traditional middle class) and the lower class. These changes can be interpreted as a professionalisation of the class structure, albeit in a specific way (i.e. mainly driven by changes in cultural capital). The spatial analyses reveal that classes with more cultural capital tend to live closer to the city centre and that gentrification of the central area is occurring as the established upper class is increasing here while the emergent middle class is moving towards the outer areas. The first and third hypotheses are thus confirmed. Possible explanations are provided by discussing the housing policies of the municipality and trends in the labour market. In the past decades the municipality has adopted various policies to attract upper and middle classes to the city. Simultaneously, the labour market has been characterised by educational upgrading. Considering class relations, these findings imply that as the share of the middle classes has grown, several parts of the city are increasingly difficult to access for lower classes. Finally, the comprehensive class model also has implications for social mix, as it shows that neighbourhoods are mixed in more complex ways than common class indicators can reveal.

Chapter 3 – Neighbourhood ties and employment: a test of different hypotheses across neighbourhoods

The goal of this chapter is to empirically test contradictory expectations about the usefulness of local networks for job attainment and whether this depends on the type of neighbourhood. The chapter thus deals with the consequences of socio-spatial inequality. The neighbourhood is generally assumed to be an important social

setting for the less well-educated. Having ties to and receiving help from neighbours may increase one's chances of finding a job as more resources are available through networks. On the other hand, neighbourhood connections can have a draining effect when they strain people's access to resources or when these connections put too much demand on individuals. Furthermore, social mix theory predicts that local ties in mixed neighbourhoods might be more beneficial for job attainment due to overlapping networks between resource-poor and resource-rich residents than ties in poor neighbourhoods. These different expectations are tested using the Neighbourhood Profile data from 2013 and 2015. Multilevel regression is performed with employment status as a dependent variable. The relevant independent variables are measures of contact frequency with neighbours, receiving help from neighbours, and neighbourhood socioeconomic status. The analyses are limited with regard to issues of selection bias and causality. These issues are discussed throughout the paper. Possible gender differences in outcomes are also considered.

The results indicate that neighbourhood ties are mainly negatively associated with employment and that the relationship is rather weak. Furthermore, this association does not vary across neighbourhoods with a different socioeconomic status. An exception is found for men who work part-time as opposed to unemployed men; having neighbourhood ties in neighbourhoods with higher socioeconomic status is associated with a more positive effect on having part-time work. I conclude from these findings that neighbourhood ties are marginally relevant in relation to employment. They are likely to be a source of draining ties or reflect that the unemployed and underemployed have more time to socialise with their neighbours. Although the strength of the explanations is limited by the cross-sectional design of the study, this chapter is an example of how insights from other qualitative studies can be used to formulate hypotheses for quantitative research.

Chapter 4 – The economic recession and civic participation: the curious case of Rotterdam's civil society, 2008–2013

Here the focus shifts to how contextual changes affect civic participation. This chapter integrates different perspectives on how people in civic society respond to economic hard times. Studies from the UK show that during the 2008-9 economic recession inequality in participation between richer and poorer communities is likely to have increased as the latter experienced a larger deprivation of organisational resources. It is frequently assumed that in the Dutch context similar effects have occurred. Yet, levels of civic participation have been quite stable over a longer period and moreover, contradictory social mechanisms could be at work that actually reduce inequality in participation. These mechanisms include the effects of policies at the local level and that social problems in poor neighbourhoods may spur civic action. Contradictory hypotheses are thus examined about how the recent economic recession affects participation in neighbourhoods with a different socioeconomic status. Social processes at the different levels – neighbourhood, city, and macro – are theorised to be relevant.

The waves between 2008 and 2013 from the Neighbourhood Profile data are used to test these hypotheses. Civic participation is operationalised as volunteering and neighbourhood involvement. Multilevel models are employed to estimate the effects of individual, neighbourhood, and time-related factors.

The results show, in contradiction to commonly held assumptions, that inequality in civic participation decreased between neighbourhoods with lower and higher socioeconomic status. The convergent trend was present for both volunteering and neighbourhood involvement. The degree of convergence was, however, small. The most notable result was a decline in volunteering by about five percentage points in the richest neighbourhoods. Several explanations are offered for these findings. Concerning the decline in civic participation in neighbourhoods with high socioeconomic status, it might be the case that people more quickly withdraw during an economic recession as they are more engaged in leisure organisations that do not serve essential social needs. The reverse could be true for people in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, where social problems increased and participation was thus more urgent. In addition, during the period of study the municipality introduced a social policy in disadvantaged neighbourhoods that required social assistance recipients to perform some form of voluntary work. Civic participation was therefore more likely to increase than decrease in these neighbourhoods. I further contend that the organisational infrastructure in disadvantaged neighbourhoods was largely maintained during the period of study, which enabled residents to stay involved in civic activities. This chapter shows that contextual explanations are essential to understanding why certain kinds of behaviour vary across different settings.

Chapter 5 – A place to go: how neighbourhood organisations structure the lives of the urban poor

The research in **Chapters 3 and 4** indicates that neighbourhood organisations are potentially important in stimulating the societal participation of lower-class people. **Chapter 5** therefore investigates the operations of three neighbourhood organisations by performing qualitative research. The study focuses on three aspects of neighbourhood organisations: in what ways they foster relations, provide daily structure to participants, and have ties to other organisations. The intermediary role of these organisations is further highlighted, that is, their influence on how social policies affect their participants. A link to the literature on neighbourhood effects is further made by arguing how the presence of local organisations may explain why certain outcomes differ between individuals living in different neighbourhoods. The variety in types of neighbourhood organisations is recognised by examining a faith-based organisation, a professional welfare organisation and a volunteer-based organisation. Interviews were held with leaders and participants of all organisations. Complementary participant observation was also conducted to some extent. A combination of open coding and deductive coding was used to analyse the data.

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The findings highlight the differences between organisations with regard to how they structure the lives of participants. The faith-based organisation is effective in countering social isolation and successful in building community across ethnic and religious differences. The professional welfare organisation enhances the employability of its participants and links them to local employers. The volunteer-based organisation helps residents to deal with municipal departments and facilitates voluntary work by non-working individuals. Furthermore, the organisations are affected by social policies in different ways. For example, the volunteers in the volunteer-based organisation experience some of the stigma of workfare policies, whereas the professional welfare organisation achieves social innovation with the help of a local subsidy. I conclude that although similarities can be observed between organisations, their goals and operations are specific. The 'effects' of the neighbourhood organisational infrastructure may thus be strongly contingent on the types of organisations that are present.

Conclusion and discussion

The goal of this dissertation was to study two developments. First, I investigated socioeconomic changes in Rotterdam and some of the possible consequences of socio-spatial inequality. Second, I looked at inequalities in civic participation and how these are affected by the institutional context. Four main research themes were identified that served as the theoretical basis for studying these developments. These themes were social class and the city, neighbourhood effects, mixed neighbourhoods, and neighbourhood organisations. The developments and research themes were combined in four separate research questions. The research design in the dissertation was based on administrative and survey data from the Rotterdam municipality and qualitative data were collected from three neighbourhood organisations. The studies in this dissertation produced a variety of empirical findings and thus contribute to several debates in the sociological and urban literature. Overall this dissertation shows what some of the contemporary social divisions are in the urban environment, thereby considering how these social divisions relate to more long-term changes. In the final section of this synthesis I would like to reflect on the research in this dissertation in light of some recent discussions about social research and theory, the influence of spatial context, and social policy.

On social research and theory

There has been a proliferation of quantitative studies in urban and sociological research due to increased availability of different kinds of data. Possibilities for quantitative research have rapidly grown in recent decades due to advancements in technology, ICT, and administration (Kitchin, 2014). Cities can therefore be studied in various ways, for example by using social media data to uncover 'new' social patterns (e.g. Boy & Uitermark, 2016; Wang et al., 2018). In the Netherlands, the availability of 'microdata' has

strengthened quantitative social research.[12] Urban research on socio-spatial processes is no exception in this regard. Recent dissertations such as Hochstenbach (2017), Miltenburg (2017), and Zwiers (2018) demonstrate how such data can advance empirical research and address research questions that were difficult to investigate before. The value of the traditional survey method, on the other hand, has been questioned by several academics (see Couper, 2013). Where the survey was once considered the core quantitative method of social science research, it is now being challenged by various other forms of data (Savage & Burrows, 2007). Surveys suffer from declining response rates, which affects their ability to make accurate predictions about their population of interest (Fowler, 2014). Whereas the usefulness of survey data is apparently in decline, the use of other types of quantitative data, such as register or social media data, seems to flourish.

I believe that the findings in this dissertation add nuance to this debate. Let me first emphasise that the Dutch microdata have proven their value in research on social class and socio-spatial processes. They enable empirical research on longstanding issues, such as whether urban class change is mainly driven by class displacement or replacement (cf. Hamnett, 2009; Slater, 2009). Hochstenbach and van Gent (2015) show that income change at the neighbourhood level – as an indication of class change – occurs through a combination of residential mobility, social mobility, and demographic effects. Being able to track individuals over time makes it possible to distinguish between different mechanisms. Moreover, Boterman and colleagues construct different class fractions using microdata, based on indicators such as occupation, income, and education (Boterman & Musterd, 2017; Boterman et al., 2018; Boterman et al., 2020). Yet, in comparison to my findings in **Chapter 2**, such class fractions by Boterman and colleagues are less detailed since the register data are limited when adopting a multidimensional class perspective (cf. Toft, 2019). Survey data have more options to measure cultural aspects (e.g. taste preferences) or social ties than register data. Thus, survey data are more fruitful in this respect.

This assertion may not be very original, but it becomes more interesting when the 'reach' of data is also considered. By 'reach' I refer to the extent that valid and empirical claims can be made about a socio-spatial context given the data. It is generally known that a certain trade-off exists between individual register data that are relatively 'variable poor' in number of variables but rich in number of cases and time and space coverage, and survey data that are 'variable rich' but more difficult to obtain with many cases across different spatial and temporal dimensions (cf. Couper, 2013). The GBCS project by Savage and colleagues is an interesting case in this discussion, since they acquired rich survey data with a huge number of respondents – although the sample was skewed

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12   Microdata are administrative data on the individual, family or other relevant level that are derived from various registers. These data are made accessible by Statistics Netherlands for social science research (Bakker et al., 2014). Such an infrastructure with detailed and extensive register data is present in a few other countries, including the Nordic countries and the US.

due to selective response (Savage et al., 2015a). Yet, their data was collected in a single cross-sectional survey, therefore restricting the opportunity to investigate social change over time. The Neighbourhood Profile data used in this dissertation take a somewhat unique position when comparing these different data structures. The Neighbourhood Profile consists of repeated cross-sectional surveys that enable comparisons between neighbourhoods at the city level. It is thus strong in assessing certain behaviours or attitudes across time and space. A drawback is that the Neighbourhood Profile was designed for policy monitoring, not scientific research. Broad concepts such as social or cultural capital can therefore only be partly operationalised. In addition, the cross-sectional nature of the Neighbourhood Profile limits the testing of *causal* mechanisms, that is, what factors drive change over time. This limitation is particularly visible in **Chapters 2** and **4**, where changes in either the class structure or civic participation are mainly addressed from a theoretical perspective. In my opinion, working with these data confirms the need for a strong integration of theory and research. Theorising should extend well beyond what can be empirically measured without losing sight of the possibilities to operationalise complex theoretical concepts.

This discussion on the relation between theory and research and the value of different kinds of data is also relevant for the literature on neighbourhood effects and mixed neighbourhoods. In academic circles there is a consensus that a more nuanced view is needed to understand under which conditions neighbourhood effects occur (e.g. Petrović et al., 2020; Sharkey & Faber, 2014; van Ham et al., 2012). What the implications are for policies on social mix remains, however, contested. In recent years many studies have used microdata and sophisticated techniques to study the effects of exposure to neighbourhood disadvantage and outcomes at a later life stage (e.g. Galster et al., 2016; Toft & Ljunggren, 2016; van Ham et al., 2018). Together these studies suggest that even in egalitarian countries such as the Netherlands, Norway or Sweden the socioeconomic status of the early neighbourhood affects adult life outcomes.[13] The results can be interpreted as favouring social mix or desegregation policies, as people who are longer exposed to disadvantaged neighbourhoods are likely to have less life chances. Moreover, it has been recognised that such effects work at different spatial scales (Petrović et al., 2020).

Although the application of temporal and spatial microdata has great value, my concern is that it distracts too much attention from the question *why* these effects happen. Hence, the mechanisms that underlie these effects still need more consideration. The social networks mechanism in particular is frequently theorised

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13   The publication of the '*kansenkaart* (opportunity map)' in the Netherlands is also noteworthy, as it generated considerable media attention (Lam et al., 2020). This opportunity map employs microdata to indicate the association between the level of neighbourhood income where people grew up and personal earned income in later life, independent of parental income in those formative years. The map reveals there is substantial variation between areas in the strength of this association, implying early neighbourhood and regional context affect earnings in adult life.

as being relevant, but rarely tested in empirical research. **Chapter 3** and Miltenburg (2015) signal that the roles of local networks and neighbourhood context are limited for socioeconomic outcomes. A more recent study, however, finds that people who live in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and depend on local networks have a lower chance of obtaining employment (Vandecasteele & Fasang, 2020). The question is how to reconcile such findings. I think it at least shows that different types of research, including survey research, remain pivotal in assessing the conditionality and mechanism of neighbourhood effects.[14]

Beyond the spatial level

Another point I would like to discuss is the recent call for neighbourhood effects research to consider how socio-spatial context is relevant at different spatial levels (Petrović et al., 2020; cf. Galster & Sharkey, 2017). I think this call underemphasises the important dimension of organisational context (Allard & Small, 2013; see also Sharkey & Faber, 2014). If socio-spatial context affects people at a certain scale throughout their lifetime, this likely happens in the settings or organisations in which people participate. In **Chapter 4** I argue how the socioeconomic status of the neighbourhood (socio-spatial context) frequently serves as a proxy for the local organisational infrastructure (organisational context). **Chapter 5** shows how neighbourhood organisations affect individual outcomes such as civic participation or employment. Following the arguments made in this dissertation, I would therefore suggest that neighbourhood research needs to more strongly adopt an *organisational* perspective next to the *spatial* perspective. By organisational perspective I refer to organisational norms, rules, and practices that guide the behaviour of participants and their access to resources (see Small, 2009). The type of organisations in which people participate and their particularities can shape social inequalities between individuals to a large extent. The organisational context of education, work, or leisure may therefore be theoretically more relevant than the social composition of one's surroundings. A focus on organisations also allows for a more relational approach in which people's involvements in different domains are linked to each other, as is their engagement with the wider city context (cf. Bridge, 1994). Of course, space and organisations are linked with each other, but the conceptual distinction remains important as access to organisations only partly depends on one's place of residence.

Coming back to the previous discussions on social mix policies and mechanisms, to explain why neighbourhood disadvantage affects life outcomes in a later life cycle, it would probably help to consider the different organisations in which people have participated over time because these organisations can provide the resources for better life outcomes. I thereby acknowledge that this dissertation applied such a relational and organisational perspective in a limited way. For instance, **Chapter 3** could have

14 See Harding et al. (2010) for some interesting suggestions on how mixed methods can be employed to address issues of selection bias, conditionality, and mechanisms.

focused more on how local organisations broker resources for jobseekers. **Chapter 5** could have examined people's involvement in other organisations to better understand the role of the studied organisations. Nevertheless, I raise this point of discussion here so that future research may incorporate such perspectives.

Social policy implications

I conclude with a brief discussion about social policy in Rotterdam, which is also relevant for other urban contexts. All chapters in this dissertation deal with policy aspects to a certain extent. **Chapter 2** links social class change in Rotterdam to the gentrification and exclusionary policies that have been pursued in the past decades. Rotterdam was previously characterised as a city with a one-sided – overall poor – social structure (Burgers, 2001). In line with other studies (e.g. Hochstenbach, 2017), our findings show that Rotterdam has become more middle class. The composition of the class structure is substantially shaped through housing policies, as the types of houses in the housing stock determine what kind of social classes can live in the city. In recent years much discontent has been expressed about the reduction of the social housing stock in Rotterdam (Doucet et al., 2016). Some argue that restructuring operations in Rotterdam negatively affect neighbourhood networks because social housing residents are being forced to move (Liukku, 2019). Although there is no direct link here, **Chapter 2** shows the lower class, which possesses a relatively large amount of social capital, is slowly declining in Rotterdam, while the precariat remains equal in size. This finding suggests that the changing housing conditions in Rotterdam are affecting the social capital and cohesion of lower-class residents and thereby underlines the importance of considering how restructuring policies affect the social capital of the lower class. Neighbourhood-based social ties are pivotal for the lower classes in getting by (Briggs, 1998). A first policy recommendation is therefore to seriously consider neighbourhood social capital when designing restructuring operations. In many cases, it appears that social capital is negatively affected once restructuring is in process, whereas such negative effects may be prevented with more careful planning (see Gans, 1991).

Although it can be said that Rotterdam now has a more 'balanced' class structure than before, recent signs indicate that Rotterdam might become a victim of its own success. Following the Real Estate Valuation estimations, housing prices in Rotterdam increased by 34 per cent between 2018 and 2020 (Statistics Netherlands, 2020). The steep increase in housing prices makes it more difficult for classes with low economic capital to access the housing market, which not only affects the lower classes but also the emergent middle class (**Chapter 2**). The increasing housing prices are perceived by some as a sign that the city is 'improving'. I would, however, be cautious with such an exultant interpretation. Considering the current price level, Rotterdam is on its way to becoming barely accessible for both the lower and middle classes – a situation already unfolding in Amsterdam. The municipality has several policy options to curb the neoliberalisation of the housing market (see Forrest & Hirayama, 2015; van Gent & Hochstenbach, 2020), such as obliging buyers to live in their new homes and

determining what types of houses will be built in new-build housing projects. A second policy recommendation is thus to establish policies that ensure affordable housing for both lower and middle classes.

A related issue is what should be expected from the municipality's 'Strong Shoulders' policy that has been prominent in the past years. The main goal of this policy has been to attract more highly-educated residents to the city, especially in and around the city centre (Doff & van der Sluis, 2017). Policy measures include interventions in the housing stock (building houses for middle and high incomes), establishing 'excellent' primary schools in certain neighbourhoods, and creating more green spaces. Some of the assumed positive effects are that Strong Shoulders will develop initiatives in the neighbourhood, help other neighbours, and act as role models (Doff & van der Sluis, 2017). An evaluation of this policy found mixed evidence that provides a nuanced picture (Permentier, 2018). Based on the findings in **Chapter 3**, I add that the potential for bridging contacts seems limited. In line with many other studies (e.g. Kleit, 2001; Miltenburg, 2015), it seems that mixed neighbourhoods will not help lower-educated residents obtain a job through mixed networks. A third policy recommendation is that the municipality should therefore be more explicit about the expected effects of certain interventions, especially because the municipality is committed to developing 'knowledge-driven' policies. For example, whereas creating green spaces is likely to benefit all residents in a neighbourhood, the in-movement of new middle-class residents will not directly affect the job opportunities of established residents.

A fourth recommendation is to adopt the organisational perspective advocated in **Chapter 5** when evaluating the impact of social mix policies. If overlapping networks develop between different residents, this most likely happens in local organisations. The faith-based organisation in **Chapter 5** provides an example of how ethnic and religious differences can be transcended in the organisational context. Yet, in terms of class there was little bridging contact because few middle-class individuals were active. Moreover, within organisations differences between people can be transcended, but they can also be places of exclusion and boundary work. Social mix policies should thus not only focus on the built environment, but also on the organisational context (Nast & Blokland, 2014). It is thereby important to consider how people are involved in organisations both inside and outside the neighbourhood.

Finally, this dissertation studied under which conditions civic participation increases or decreases (**Chapter 4**) and how it is conducted in organisations (**Chapter 5**). A general conclusion is that the organisational infrastructure in Rotterdam is central to enabling participation across the city (cf. Bosch, 2016; Bronsveld, 2016; Uitermark, 2012; Uitermark, 2015; van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013). **Chapter 4** argued that civic participation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods did not decrease because the municipality invests more in the organisational infrastructure in places where the civic base has less organisational capacity (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015). Such a form of *unequal* investment is thus desirable to maintain equal opportunities of participation, particularly because Bosch (2016) shows that initiatives in disadvantaged neighbourhoods strongly depend on such

support (cf. Clifford et al., 2013). Considering the current plans of the Rotterdam coalition to sell more public real estate (Karremans et al., 2018), the fifth policy recommendation is to maintain a certain form of unequal investment between neighbourhoods to ensure that disadvantaged areas are not disproportionally affected. After all, organising civic society is a challenge if few buildings are available.

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The urban class structure: class change and spatial divisions from a multidimensional class perspective

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as Custers, G., & Engbersen, G. (2021). The urban class structure: class change and spatial divisions from a multidimensional class perspective. Urban Geography. Advance online publication.
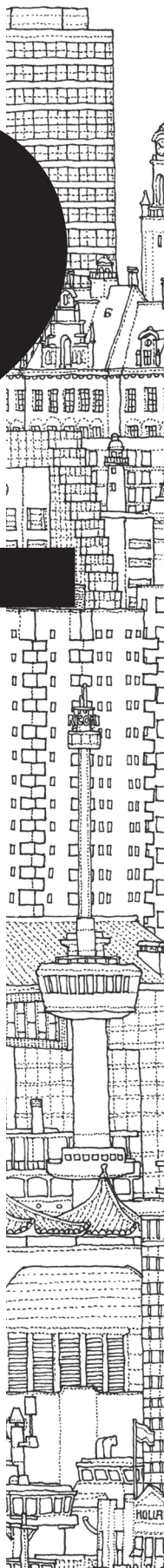
Abstract

Social class plays a central role in understanding the urban structure, yet its conceptualisation and operationalisation in urban studies are limited. We have used the Bourdieusian conception of social class, which conceives of class as the possession of economic, social and cultural capital, to establish the class structure of Rotterdam. We make a theoretical contribution to the literature by discussing how this conception of class provides new insights into the professionalisation-polarisation debate and social mix. Furthermore, we examine the spatial distributions of different class fractions, referred to as the geography of class. Based on two waves of a comprehensive city survey, we applied latent class analysis to develop an elaborate class typology consisting of seven social classes. We investigate how the class structure developed between 2008 and 2017 and analyse the changes in spatial class divisions. Our findings show that the transformation of the class structure is mainly driven by changes in cultural capital, that is, middle classes with high cultural capital replacing lower and middle classes with low cultural capital. Spatial analyses further reveal that classes are dispersed in specific ways and that these patterns of dispersion change over time. We link our findings to literature on socioeconomic change in urban areas and argue the professionalisation-polarisation debate can be advanced by considering the urban class structure. Finally, we reflect on the relevance of Bourdieu's work in studying the urban class structure.

Introduction

Research on the social structure of the city and its spatial divisions has a longstanding tradition in the social sciences. Classic examples are works by Du Bois (1899) and Warner and Lunt (1941), who conducted comprehensive studies that captured many social and spatial dimensions of race and class in American cities. Nowadays, with the abundant availability of different kinds of data, several ways of studying the urban structure have become possible (Parker et al., 2007). In this study we focus on social class as a central and multidimensional concept for understanding the urban structure, a sociological perspective that has been relatively absent in urban studies until now (Boterman et al., 2018; Cunningham, 2019; Ljunggren & Andersen, 2015).

Social class is understood here as the possession of economic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984, 1986), a conceptualisation that follows from the field of 'cultural class analysis' (see Devine & Savage, 2005; Flemmen, 2013; Savage, Warde & Devine, 2005). One powerful argument for bringing social class into research on urban structures is that 'traditional' measures such as income or employment provide a limited perspective on the urban structure and spatial divisions (Ljunggren & Andersen, 2015). Social class research shows that people with similar economic positions may widely differ in their social and cultural orientations (e.g. Bennett et al., 2009).

This heterogeneity in especially the middle class also has spatial manifestations as different middle-class fractions have diverging residential orientations (Bacqué et al., 2015; Boterman & Musterd, 2017; Boterman et al., 2018; Bridge, 2006; Butler & Robson, 2001; Savage, Bagnall & Longhurst, 2005). Lower classes, on the other hand, are usually more restricted in their residential options, which may result in spatial concentrations (cf. Slater, 2013). The links between class and geography have been investigated in multiple other studies (Cunningham, 2019; Cunningham & Savage, 2015; Cunningham & Savage, 2017; Hanquinet et al., 2012; Ljunggren & Andersen, 2015; Préteceille, 2007; Savage et al., 2015a; Savage et al., 2018). These studies used different conceptions and operationalisations of class (e.g. occupation or a multidimensional measure), whereby only some studies examine the complete urban structure (e.g. Savage et al., 2015a) while other studies focus on issues such as elite formation (e.g. Cunningham & Savage, 2015). Moreover, the role of cultural capital has been relatively neglected in research on class and the changing urban structure, an issue we will further address in this study.

A related aim of this study is to link social class research to literature on the socioeconomic structure of urban areas. The latter mainly centres on the debate whether cities have become more polarised (Sassen, 1991) or professionalised (Butler et al., 2008; Hamnett, 1994) and the spatial implications of this (Musterd et al., 2017). We seek to enrich this literature by showing that polarisation and professionalisation take on somewhat different meanings when social class is considered (cf. Pratschke & Morlicchio, 2012). Furthermore, we investigate the implications of a multidimensional class structure for discussions on social mix. The ways in which neighbourhoods are 'mixed' depends on many factors (Bolt & van Kempen, 2013) and a multidimensional

class perspective can provide a more detailed perspective in this respect (Custers & Engbersen, 2020).

One reason why few studies on urban structures have explored issues of social class is the lack of appropriate data. Occupation, the most common indicator of class, is limited in predicting cultural preferences (see Savage et al., 2013) and does not adequately capture precarious forms of employment, such as people working on part-time and zero hours contracts. Our dataset offers a unique opportunity to overcome some of these limitations. We use two waves, 2008 and 2017, from the Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile survey to examine the city's class structure and how it changed in this period. The survey contains 10,686 and 15,215 respondents per wave, respectively, and is representative at the neighbourhood level, thus making comparisons at this level feasible.

This study aims to address three questions concerning social class in Rotterdam. First, what does the class structure look like when we conceive of class as the possession of economic, social and cultural capital? Second, how did this class structure change between 2008 and 2017? And finally, what are the spatial manifestations of this class structure and how did they change during this period? In the theoretical framework we explicate Bourdieu's theory of social class and how it has been used to establish class structures. We argue that this conception of class may advance the professionalisation-polarisation debate. Next, we discuss developments in socio-spatial divisions and how they relate to the geography of class. These insights are then compared to our case in this study, i.e. Rotterdam. The subsequent section describes our data and method and thereafter, the results of the latent class analysis and spatial analysis are presented. In the final section, we provide explanations of our findings and discuss the implications and limitations of this study.

Theoretical framework

The relevance of a multidimensional conception of social class for the profession-alisation-polarisation debate

The definition and relevance of social class have been extensively debated throughout the history of sociology. Recent contributions argue that in the past twenty years social class analysis has experienced yet another revival (e.g. Savage et al., 2015a). This re-emergence of class analysis can largely be attributed to the development of cultural class analysis, a field of research that considers cultural aspects, such as identities and lifestyle practices, pivotal for class analysis – next to the traditional emphasis on the economic nature of social class (Devine & Savage, 2005; Flemmen, 2013; Savage, Warde & Devine, 2005). Cultural class analysis strongly relies on the writings of Pierre Bourdieu and adopts several of his key concepts such as 'capital', 'habitus', and 'field' (Bennett et al., 2009). This field of research deviates from traditional accounts of social class, which view employment relations (Goldthorpe, 2000) or the social relations of production (Wright, 1985) as being central to class analysis (see Crompton, 2008).

Bourdieu (1984, 1985, 1987) viewed social classes as positions that agents can occupy in the 'social space', where this position is determined by the *volume* and *composition* of capital. 'Capital' is accumulated labour in the widest sense and thus varies both in volume and composition. Volume refers to the possession of a certain amount of capital and composition concerns the different types of capital. Generally, three types of capital are distinguished: economic capital (wealth and income), social capital (contacts and connections which allow people to draw on their social networks), and cultural capital (the ability to appreciate and engage with cultural goods, and credentials institutionalised through educational success) (Savage et al., 2013, p. 223; see also Bourdieu, 1986).[15] Capital works in different ways in various fields and has varying potential for accumulation and convertibility (Savage, Warde & Devine, 2005, p. 40).

Bourdieu introduced the idea of 'social space' to locate agents in the class structure, which is heuristically presented by having capital volume on a vertical axis and capital composition on a horizontal axis (see Bourdieu, 1984, pp. 128-129). In this scheme economic and cultural capital are the main ordering principles of both capital composition and volume, as their relative weight and possession determine the potential for domination in certain fields. The kinds of capital, like the aces in a game of cards, are powers that define the chances of profit in a given field (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 724). An agent's position in the social space thus signifies to what extent one may dominate another agent who occupies an opposite position in this space, depending on how the capital properties can confer strength, power and profit on their holder. The social space should thereby be viewed as continuous without any clear-cut boundaries between class positions (Bourdieu, 1987).

Many researchers have used this model of the social space to study the class structure in different contexts (e.g. Flemmen et al., 2019). Others have diverged from Bourdieu's model of social space, which is methodologically based on multiple correspondence analysis, to determine the class structure (Custers & Engbersen, 2020; Savage et al., 2013; Waitkus & Groh-Samberg, 2019). Instead of mapping class positions onto a two-dimensional space, these studies developed class typologies to identify and accentuate certain divisions within the class hierarchy. In this way the volume and composition of capital – i.e. people's capital portfolios – can be more easily quantified, which potentially provides more insight into class-specific strategies (Waitkus & Groh-Samberg, 2019). Savage et al. (2013) exemplify how typologies can illuminate capital portfolios by showing that classes can strongly differ from each other – the elite versus the precariat – while also providing insight into class fragmentations in the middle segment. Typologies may therefore reveal certain 'ideal type' classes (in the Weberian sense) that would remain invisible when continuous scales of stratification are used (cf. Flemmen, 2013; Hagenaars & Halman, 1989).

These class typologies, which are constructed using latent class analysis, have been criticised in general for their limited predictive power (e.g. Mills, 2014) and for excluding

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15   Symbolic capital, a fourth type in Bourdieu's work, is not discussed here.

questions of 'power' and 'domination' in class analysis (e.g. Skeggs, 2015). Ideally, class typologies should therefore not only provide a model of the class structure that is theoretically plausible, but also clarify the nature of class *relations* (Bradley, 2014). In our analysis we therefore delineate how class relations become manifest through changing spatial divisions.

Bourdieu's view on social class adds a valuable perspective to the field of urban studies that generally relies on the notion of 'socioeconomic status'. Socioeconomic status tends to fuse economic, cultural, and social elements, and is frequently used in the form of some hierarchical scale that is insensitive to the multi-layered nature of stratification (Flemmen et al., 2019). Using social class as a multidimensional concept – i.e. capital portfolios – gives us a better grasp of the nature of stratification as economic, cultural and social aspects are treated as separate elements. Social class can therefore enhance the professionalisation-polarisation debate as studies in this field differ greatly in their indicators of socioeconomic status. When discussing processes of professionalisation or polarisation indicators such as income, employment and education are used interchangeably, which creates ambiguity as to how the urban structure is actually developing (Hamnett, 2001; Nørgaard, 2003; Pratschke & Morlicchio, 2012).

The topic of polarisation and professionalisation has been the subject of a longstanding debate in urban literature about whether large cities have become more polarised (Sassen, 1991) or professionalised (Butler et al., 2008; Hamnett, 1994). Polarisation refers to a process whereby global economic restructuring creates high-end jobs in business sectors such as finance, accountancy and ICT, which in turn leads to an increase in jobs at the lower end of the urban labour market (e.g. cleaning or food service industries) (Sassen, 1991). Accordingly, the number of jobs in the middle segment of the urban labour market declines at a relative rate, thus creating an overall polarised structure (cf. Goos et al., 2014). Professionalisation, on the other hand, entails the continuous upgrading of the labour market structure. Since the majority of jobs in post-industrial labour markets require a higher level of professional skills through education, lower-end jobs are gradually replaced by middle-class jobs. The implication is that the urban structure does not become polarised, but more middle class instead (Hamnett, 1994).

It is difficult to generalise about which of these processes is more dominant. As mentioned above, the choice of indicators matters. Although the professionalisation-polarisation debate initially revolved around the occupational structure, academics also started to use other social indicators such as income and education (Nørgaard, 2003; Pratschke & Morlicchio, 2012). The 2008-9 recession also drew attention to the growing wealth inequality in recent decades, as the relative share of wealth has grown among the upper classes (e.g. Piketty, 2014; Savage et al., 2015a). The urban literature shows how processes of socioeconomic transformation are contingent on several factors, such as welfare state arrangements, housing policies, variation in the structure of local economies, forms of gentrification, demographic changes, and migration (e.g. Burgers

& Musterd, 2002; Lees et al., 2008; van der Waal, 2010; van Kempen & Marcuse, 1997; van Kempen & Murie, 2009). Thus, the type of social indicator and local context are pivotal in assessing processes of polarisation and professionalisation.

The relationship between these two processes on the one hand and social class on the other is complicated because from a Bourdieusian perspective no clear hierarchy exists, especially in the middle segment of the class structure (Crompton, 2008; Savage et al., 2013, 2015a). Theoretically, if the share of classes with a very high capital volume (elite) and a very low capital volume (precariat) increase, we could speak of class polarisation. On the other hand, if classes with very low volumes of capital decline while the share of various middle classes simultaneously increases, then this change could be called professionalisation. Yet if we follow the model by Savage et al. (2013), some possible changes in the class structure might be difficult to characterise as either polarisation or professionalisation. For example, if the 'technical middle class', a middle class with relatively high economic capital but low social capital, were to increase at the expense of the 'new affluent workers', who are higher on social capital but lower on economic capital, we would have a class upgrade from an economic capital perspective but a downgrade in terms of social capital – assuming that other class shares remain equal.

Geographies of social class

The spatial consequences of socioeconomic transformation in urban areas have been extensively researched (e.g. Andersson & Hedman, 2016; Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2018; Hochstenbach & van Gent, 2015; Maloutas, 2007). What can generally be deduced from studies on socio-spatial divisions is that for the past two decades, socioeconomic segregation has been on the rise in both Europe and the US (Bischoff & Reardon, 2013; Musterd et al., 2017), although the local context remains decisive (Maloutas, 2007).[16] The 2008-9 recession is likely to have exacerbated economic inequalities and segregation within urban areas (Andersson & Hedman, 2016; Zwiers et al., 2016). Higher socioeconomic groups have become more concentrated in affluent neighbourhoods and vice versa. Empirically, segregation by affluence is a particularly prevailing process (see also Atkinson & Flint, 2004). That is, the rich are increasingly segregated compared to other socioeconomic groups.

Although related, research on the geography of class demonstrates how patterns of class residence do not necessarily follow established patterns of socioeconomic dispersion (e.g. based on income) (e.g. Hanquinet et al., 2012; van Gent et al., 2019). This literature mainly focuses on the different spatial orientations of middle-class fractions, whereby occupation is the most widely used indicator of social class. A general finding is that the 'cultural' middle class (e.g. journalists, academics, architects) tends to have a stronger urban orientation than other middle classes (Boterman & Musterd, 2017; Boterman et al., 2018; Ley, 2003; Ljunggren & Andersen, 2015; Préteceille, 2007).

16   Income and occupation are mostly used as socioeconomic indicators in these studies.

Cultural capital, particularly a preference for the urban aesthetic, serves as an important explanation for this pattern, as is the proximity to cultural amenities such as museums and theatres (Bridge, 2006; Butler & Robson, 2001; Savage et al., 2018). The role of cultural capital is further highlighted by Cunningham and Savage (2017), who show that occupational groups living further from the centre of London possess less cultural capital on average than their counterparts living closer to the centre. Geographies of social class can, however, strongly vary between urban contexts. As Bacqué et al. (2015) argue, the middle-class geographies of Paris and London are very distinct as a result of the infrastructure (public transport), physical aspects (historical development), symbolic places, and the role of the state in both cities. Furthermore, research on middle-class geographies is often closely linked to gentrification (see Lees et al., 2008).

Next to the focus on middle-class geographies, attention has also been paid to the relation between 'elites' and space (e.g. Burrows et al., 2017; Cunningham, 2019; Cunningham & Savage, 2017; Toft, 2018). This research generally shows that individuals who possess a high amount of capital – economic, cultural, and social – occupy exclusive spaces in global cities that segregate them from other classes. The process by which these elites create exclusive spaces is known as 'super-gentrification' (Butler & Lees, 2006). Middle and elite classes thus have distinct geographies, depending on the urban context and class fractions. The implication is that class segregation and geography, especially from a cultural perspective, are more complex than socioeconomic segregation, which underlines the need for more differentiated geographies that can shed light on contemporary urban inequalities (cf. Davidson & Wyly, 2012; Hamnett & Butler, 2013).

This research on different class geographies also pertains to the social mix. The ratio of different class fractions in a neighbourhood can be an indicator of neighbourhood status. A 'low-income neighbourhood' may still include a high share of the young and less affluent middle class, but their presence will not be detected when only indicators such as income are used (Custers & Engbersen, 2020). Neighbourhoods can thus be similar from an economic capital perspective, but different from a cultural capital perspective (cf. Ley, 2003). In addition, what kind of middle classes are present in a neighbourhood can have a large influence on the local social dynamics. Some middle classes are more inclined to engage with 'other' non-middle classes in the neighbourhood, depending on their degree of local orientation and life course stage (Blokland & van Eijk, 2010; Jackson & Butler, 2015). When the perceived social distance between different classes is large, social tensions are more likely to occur (e.g. Tersteeg & Pinkster, 2016). The type of social mix from a class perspective can thus affect social tensions and cohesion in the neighbourhood.

The case of Rotterdam
In this paper we investigate how these insights about the urban structure and spatial divisions apply to the Rotterdam context. The city is usually characterised as a port city that is struggling with its transition into a modern service economy (Burgers & Musterd,

2002) and coping with a negative reputation of being the poorest, most unsafe and most 'coloured' city (van Eijk, 2010c). Yet, we observe that this narrative about Rotterdam is changing. These days Rotterdam is generally considered as an attractive place to live and visit. A large increase in housing prices, particularly in and around the city centre, reflect the city's increasing popularity. Between 2015 and 2018 the average market price of owner-occupied houses in Rotterdam rose by 39 per cent, compared to the national average of 23 per cent (Statistics Netherlands, 2020).

Rotterdam has undergone several sociodemographic and labour market changes in the past few decades. Three structural trends characterise these changes: increasing flexibilisation, occupational polarisation, and a rising level of education (de Graaf, 2019b; van der Aa et al., 2018). Both temporal employment and self-employment increased by 15 per cent and 38 per cent respectively: combined they mainly account for the total growth in jobs between 2009 and 2016. Furthermore, the largest increase in jobs was on the highest level – professional occupations involving highly complex tasks – and a smaller increase was on the bottom level – elementary and routine occupations involving simple tasks. The number of jobs in the middle segment declined – semi-routine and intermediate occupations – indicating that the occupational structure polarised during the past decade (see van der Aa et al., 2018). The final trend, educational upgrading, is also marked: whereas in 2008 respectively 43 per cent was low educated and 21 per cent was highly educated, in 2017 34 per cent was low educated and 27 per cent was highly educated (de Graaf, 2019b). These trends reveal a peculiar pattern. Even though the population of Rotterdam has become more highly educated and has been upgraded in occupational terms, forms of precarious work are also on the rise (i.e., temporal employment and self-employment). Rotterdam has also become more ethnically diverse. The percentage of people with a migration background rose from 40 per cent in 2000 to more than 50 per cent in 2017 (Scholten et al., 2019). Among the new migrants arriving in Rotterdam, a substantial share can be classified as knowledge workers (see Engbersen et al., 2019).

The spatial layout of Rotterdam is in the first place characterised by the socio-spatial division between the 'poor' South part below the New Meuse river and the more affluent part above the river where the city centre lies. Adjacent to the city centre there are several traditional working-class neighbourhoods with a relatively large pre-war housing stock. These central neighbourhoods have undergone gentrification in the past decades (Hochstenbach & van Gent, 2015). The outer neighbourhoods of the city are generally residential areas that constitute a mix of lower and middle classes. Hochstenbach and Musterd (2019) show that between 2005 and 2015 the share of low-income households decreased in several central neighbourhoods and increased in the outer neighbourhoods, which signifies a gradual decentralisation of low-income households.

Rotterdam is further known as a 'unique' or 'extreme' case in urban research because during the past 20-30 years it has been a site of political contestation where policies on social exclusion, immigrant integration, safety, 'social mix' and gentrification

have become highly intertwined (Doucet et al., 2011; Scholten et al., 2019; Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008; Uitermark et al., 2007; van Eijk, 2010b; van Gent et al., 2018). This particular policy mix can mainly be traced back to the sudden rise of right-wing populist politics in Rotterdam in 2002, which preceded the establishment of right-wing populism at the national level (see Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). Since then the general tendency amongst different coalitions in Rotterdam has been that 'problem neighbourhoods' with 'opportunity-poor' residents need to be transformed into 'clean, safe, and whole' – i.e., liveable – neighbourhoods in which 'opportunity-rich' residents contribute to a better living environment. One of these policies is the Rotterdam Act (van der Laan Bouma-Doff, 2007; van Gent et al., 2018). This act prohibits unemployed households from moving into certain deprived areas that are mainly located on the south side of the New Meuse river. The policy theory is that liveability in these areas will increase when a further influx of unemployed and poor residents is prevented. Whereas the Rotterdam Act prevents certain groups from moving into designated areas, gentrification and social mixing are also actively promoted by the municipality (Doucet et al., 2011; Uitermark et al., 2007). Thus, the municipality clearly favours the residence of higher socioeconomic groups over that of lower socioeconomic groups.

In sum, the social and socio-spatial structure of Rotterdam have significantly changed over the past two decades. Combining the literature on social classes and spatial divisions with more specific insights about Rotterdam, we expect three changes to have occurred:

1) The share of middle classes increased between 2008 and 2017. Considering the substantial rise in educational level in Rotterdam, it is likely that the share of middle classes with high cultural capital in particular has increased.
2) The increases in forms of precarious employment might also lead to some growth at the bottom of the class structure.
3) Classes with higher economic capital increased in central neighbourhoods and classes with lower economic capital increased in outer neighbourhoods.

Data and method

We use two waves from the Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile survey to investigate the class structure and its change between 2008 and 2017. The response rates for 2008 and 2017 were 24 per cent and 21 per cent respectively.[17] Our analysis includes the adult population, i.e. people aged 18 and above. After data reduction, the 2008 sample

17 The target population consisted of people aged 15 years and older living in the Rotterdam munic-ipality. The municipality's population register was used as sampling framework (addresses), com-plemented with commercial data on telephone numbers. Questionnaires were available in Dutch, English, Arabic, and Turkish. In 2008, most questionnaires were conducted online (39%) or by phone (39%); in 2017, this was mainly online (59%) or by phone (26%).

included 10,686 respondents (2.2% missing values were deleted) and the 2017 sample included 15,215 respondents (3.4% missing values were deleted).

Owing to the sample's skewed distribution with respect to multiple sociodemographic characteristics, weights were developed based on population data obtained from the municipality's research department. The weights account for sample skews regarding age, gender, household type, education and ethnicity. The development of the weights is discussed in the appendix to this chapter. The weights are applied in both the latent class analysis and subsequent descriptive and spatial analyses.

Economic capital

Two measures reflect the economic capital of respondents. First, *household income* measures the self-reported monthly net income of a respondent's household, excluding any additional benefits such as healthcare, rent, or child and holiday allowances. Five answer categories were recoded to four levels: minimum (up to € 950 for single-adult households, up to € 1,300 for dual-adult households); minimum to modal (between € 950 - € 1,300 for single-adult households, between € 1,300 - € 1,700 for all households); modal to double modal (between € 1,700 - € 2,950); and more than double modal (€ 2,950 or higher). The categories correspond to the 2008 national income distribution from which the levels of minimum and modal income were derived. In the 2017 survey, the price levels were adjusted for inflation. Since many respondents did not provide a valid answer (23.1% in 2008 and 23.3% in 2017), we imputed their scores using regression analysis with an added random residual.[18] The following variables were used to predict household income: education level, hours worked, homeowner (yes/no), employed (yes/no), age, age squared, self-rated health, autochthonous (yes/no), couple with kids (yes/no), and respondents' ability to 'make ends meet'. The model predicted 57 per cent of the variance in household income. The imputed scores were recoded to correspond to the original answer categories.

Second, to include a measure of wealth we used a data file from the municipality with estimations from the Real Estate Valuation Act. These conservative estimations reflect market values of dwellings and are used to determine the property tax. We were able to link respondents with this file on the pc6-level, the smallest postcode area in the Netherlands. A pc6-area includes about 50 addresses on average. We took the median house price in these pc6-areas. We further distinguish between homeowners and renters, since homeowners at least partially possess the capital reflected in the house price whereas renters do not. The variable *property value* consists of four categories: renter <125k; renter >125k; homeowner <200k; homeowner >200k.

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18   This single imputation was performed in SPSS by the authors. Unfortunately, the preferable strategy of multiple imputation could not be combined with our latent class analysis. The results did, however, not substantially change when the analysis was repeated with different single imputations.

Social capital

We use two measures to assess to what extent people receive social support and have ties with their friends and acquaintances. *Social support* is a variable based on four 5-point Likert items that measure various forms and feelings of support (or the lack thereof). The four items include statements about having someone to talk to about important issues; whether respondents felt abandoned; whether somebody expressed interest in the respondent; and whether respondents had difficulties receiving help from people close to them. Respondents needed three valid scores on this scale (Cronbach's alpha 2008 = .829; Cronbach's alpha 2017 = .834), which was subsequently recoded into three categories: (totally) disagree; neutral; and (totally) agree.

Contact with friends was operationalised by asking respondents about their contact frequency with friends or well-known acquaintances. The question emphasised that it was about people from outside the respondents' homes. The answer categories were recoded into at least once a week; at least once a month; or less than once a month. These two measures only partially correspond to Bourdieu's notion of social capital. The theoretical and methodological implications are considered in the discussion section.

Cultural capital

We used two measures that account for distinct forms of cultural capital. First, *education level* is a common measure of cultural capital, reflecting its 'institutionalised' state (Bourdieu, 1986).[19] Respondents were asked about their obtained level of education, which was recoded into the following categories: primary or no education (low); junior secondary vocational up to senior general secondary (middle); and higher professional or university (high).

Second, *cultural visit* measures various forms of mostly highbrow cultural capital. Respondents were asked how often they went to a movie or theatre play, a concert, a cultural festival and/or a museum. The original six response categories were recoded into three categories: at least once a month; less than once a month; never. Although this measure covers a variety of practices, most of them include 'higher forms' of culture. Going to the movies or visiting a concert are obviously more mainstream forms of cultural participation. Still, 31.1% of the respondents never engage in any of these practices and 34.8% less than once a month. This measure reflects a quite distinct, more 'embodied' form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). It also captures the general divide between those who 'participate' and those who don't, which is marked as the most important axis in cultural capital research (Bennett et al., 2009). Yet, some studies reason that the highbrow distinction has become less relevant, especially among

19 Even though education is primarily a measure of the 'institutionalised' state of cultural capital, acting as a 'certificate of cultural competence' in society (Bourdieu, 1986), it also measures the potential to accumulate economic capital since education indicates a person's level of skills and training – their human capital (Becker, 1964). Education is thus a somewhat ambiguous variable in social class analysis (see Houtman, 2001).

younger cohorts, while other ways of distinction have gained prominence, such as 'omnivorousness' or 'emerging cultural capital' (see Friedman et al., 2015). A limitation is that our survey does not include measures on these other forms of cultural capital.

Descriptive information about the variables can be found in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Descriptive information on variables in the LCA (weighted proportions)

Variables	% 2008	% 2017	% total
Household income			
minimum or less	21.2	24.2	23.0
minimum to modal	33.0	32.0	32.4
modal to double modal	27.3	25.0	25.9
more than double modal	18.5	18.8	18.7
Property value			
renter <125k	30.1	32.9	31.7
renter >125k	29.4	22.9	25.7
homeowner <200k	23.8	30.5	27.7
homeowner >200k	16.7	13.7	15.0
Social support			
(totally) disagree	6.8	9.9	8.6
neutral	20.5	24.0	22.5
(totally) agree	72.8	66.2	68.9
Contact with friends			
less than once a month	5.4	8.2	7.1
at least once a month	16.5	17.0	16.8
at least once a week	78.1	74.7	76.1
Education level			
low	43.0	34.0	37.4
middle	36.0	39.0	37.7
high	21.0	27.0	24.8
Cultural visit			
never	42.0	23.8	31.3
less than once a month	31.1	37.4	34.8
at least once a month	26.9	38.8	33.9
_N_	10,686	15,215	25,901

Method and model selection

Latent class analysis (LCA) is a method to recover latent classes from observed categorical variables. The basic idea is that distributions on these variables differ between unobserved groups (i.e. latent classes) and that these groups explain the association between the manifest variables (Magidson & Vermunt, 2004; Oberski, 2016). LCA builds on the assumption of conditional independence, meaning the manifest variables are assumed to be mutually independent in each latent class. In other words, within a latent class the correlation between variables should be zero. LCA is further probabilistic in nature. Membership of a certain class increases the probability of having a particular

set of scores on the manifest variables, but this is not absolutely determined. In turn, the responses provided by respondents on the relevant variables determine their most likely class membership. LCA is an interesting method for social class analysis, because it can identify similar individuals who might possess much of a certain capital type but little of another (Waitkus & Groh-Samberg, 2019; cf. Hagenaars & Halman, 1989). This identification is especially useful in disentangling the middle classes, which are usually characterised by robust levels of economic capital but heterogeneous in terms of social and cultural capital (Savage et al., 2015a).

The LCA was performed in Stata 16.0 using a plug-in developed by Lanza et al. (2018). The parameters are estimated by maximum likelihood using the expectation-maximization (EM) algorithm. The iterative nature of the EM algorithm makes it possible to estimate models with missing values on the manifest variables (10.4% of total sample). The missing values are replaced by estimated values, which are subsequently used to estimate the parameters. Further, the model can fit categorical variables. In order to reach a global instead of local maximum, the models were estimated 25 times with different starting values. The LCA was performed on the pooled dataset, combining the cross-sectional surveys of 2008 and 2017. Respondents are assigned to their most likely class based on the highest posterior probability (Goodman, 2007).

As LCA is an exploratory method, choosing the best LCA model depends on several substantive and methodological choices. Different fit measures guide the decision on picking the best model, but there is no standard approach in this regard (Magidson & Vermunt, 2004; Nylund et al., 2007; Oberski, 2016; Tein et al., 2013). The Stata plug-in provides different information criteria (AIC, BIC, and adjusted BIC) and a classification criterion (entropy R^2) that serve as indications of model fit. Table 2.2 shows these fit measures with a different number of classes. LCA literature indicates that choosing the model with the lowest BIC is the most widely used procedure (Oberski, 2016; Tein et al., 2013), although with some categorical LCA models the adjusted BIC might be more appropriate (Nylund et al., 2007).[20] Table 2.2 indicates that a model with seven classes has the lowest BIC, whereas a model with nine classes has the lowest adjusted BIC. The entropy R^2, a measure of uncertainty classification (see Tein et al., 2013), is slightly higher for the seven-class model compared to the nine-class model. Based on the relevant statistical criteria, a seven-class or nine-class model might thus be preferred. Another relevant criterion, however, is substantive interpretation, i.e., which model makes sense from a theoretical perspective (Oberski, 2016). In our interpretation, the model with nine classes does not provide any additional insights with respect to the theoretical plausibility of the class structure while the seven-class model offers a more elegant and parsimonious solution. Hence, we present findings from the model with seven classes, also because these classes resonate with earlier studies on social class that examined different class fractions.

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20   The BIC is calculated as -2LL + m * ln(n), where -2LL is -2 times the log-likelihood of the model, m is the number of estimated parameters, and n is the number of observations.

Table 2.2. Fit measures of different LCA models (pooled dataset)

Model	resid. df	Entropy R^2	adjusted BIC	BIC	AIC	log-likelihood (pseudo)
4 classes	1,236	0.603	3,341.9	3,529.4	3,047.9	-152,406.3
5 classes	1,221	0.610	2,989.6	3,224.8	2,620.8	-152,177.8
6 classes	1,206	0.581	2,678.8	2,961.7	2,235.3	-151,970.0
7 classes	1,191	0.584	2,566.9	2,897.4	2,048.5	-151,861.6
8 classes	1,176	0.565	2,554.4	2,932.5	1,961.3	-151,803.0
9 classes	1,161	0.569	2,541.1	2,967.0	1,873.3	-151,744.0
10 classes	1,146	0.563	2,553.2	3,026.7	1,810.5	-151,697.6

Note: log-likelihood is a pseudo-function because weights were used

In addition, we performed several analyses to test the validity and robustness of our seven-class solution. These robustness checks included separate analyses on the 2008 and 2017 samples and analyses that examined potential biases in the results due to the missing values on the income variable. Overall, our seven-class solution seems robust. An elaboration of these robustness checks can be found in the appendix.

Results

A class typology

Table 2.3 indicates how each class scores on the variables used in the LCA. Thus, for each class this table presents the volume and composition of capital that they possess on average. In addition, Table 2.4 shows the sociodemographic profile of each class and Table 2.5 includes the weighted proportions of all classes in the sample. We use these tables to describe the seven classes. We labelled the classes according to the characteristics that best typify each class.

The class with the highest volume of capital is the *established upper class* (11.8% of the sample). Almost all respondents in this class have a double modal household income or more and the property value of their dwellings is almost twice the city's average. The established upper class also has very high levels of social and cultural capital. For instance, the average education level is a professional degree. Most respondents in this class work full-time (84%), live in a household with two adults (87%), and are autochthonous (72%). The established upper class clearly has an 'elite'-like status, especially due to its high level of economic capital, which sets it apart from the middle classes (cf. Piketty, 2014; Savage et al., 2015a).[21]

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21 We did not use the label 'elite' here to describe this class, because we think this label should be reserved for an even smaller and more privileged segment of society (cf. Savage et al., 2015b).

Table 2.3. Descriptive statistics for seven classes

Variables	Established upper class	Cultural middle class	Traditional middle class	Contact-poor middle class	Emergent middle class	Lower class	Precariat	Total
Household income (1-4)	3.9	3.1	2.9	2.9	1.6	1.7	1.4	2.4
Property value (in euros)	308,599	146,233	179,266	163,684	126,704	124,802	116,691	160,907
% homeowner	86	57	86	61	13	4	13	43
Friends contact (1-3)	2.8	3.0	2.9	1.7	2.9	2.7	2.2	2.7
Social support (1-3)	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.2	2.6	2.9	1.6	2.6
Education level (1-7) [1]	6.1	5.6	3.5	4.2	4.3	2.4	2.5	4.0
Cultural visit (1-3)	2.5	2.8	1.9	1.8	2.7	1.3	1.3	2.1

Note: all values indicate mean scores (except % homeowner). Range of variables is shown between brackets.
[1] The original variable is used here to better indicate the variation across classes.
N = 25,901

Table 2.4. Sociodemographic characteristics for seven classes

Variables	Established upper class	Cultural middle class	Traditional middle class	Contact-poor middle class	Emergent middle class	Lower class	Precariat	Total
Mean age	46	40	48	51	41	54	52	47
Median age	43	37	47	51	37	57	53	45
% female	44	48	50	40	55	57	54	51
% employed	84	82	64	62	49	30	23	56
% unemployed / welfare benefits	1	3	4	6	14	16	32	11
% retired	10	7	17	22	13	33	26	18
% dual-adult HH	87	59	75	71	39	53	45	59
% 1-adult / 1-parent HH	13	41	25	29	61	47	55	41
% migration background[1]	28	41	36	39	57	52	61	46

[1] Persons who are born abroad or have at least one parent born abroad.
N = 25,901

2

The *cultural middle class* (15.6%) is a relatively young class and has a high household income on average, but its property value is lower than the city's average (57% owns a house). Although its educational level is slightly lower, the cultural middle class has levels of social and cultural capital that are similar to the established upper class. Next to its young age (mean: 40), this class includes many employed respondents (82%) and relatively many one-adult households (41%) in comparison to the other middle classes with high economic capital. Taking things together, this class seems to mainly represent the more prosperous urban professionals who likely comprise a mix of occupational groupings – technical, public, and service sector – and household compositions (cf. Boterman & Musterd, 2017; Butler & Robson, 2001).

The *traditional middle class* (17.7%) has a household income and property value above the city's average, and 86% is homeowner. Its level of social capital is also above average, but its cultural capital is lower compared to the other middle classes. The average level of education is senior vocational and cultural visits are made less than once a month. In general, this class is in their late-forties and most members are either employed (64%) or retired (17%) and a majority of households include two adults (75%). Hence, people in this class are likely to be older workers with intermediate occupations. Some studies argue their position is increasingly vulnerable (see Engbersen et al., 2018; Goos et al., 2014), though their level of economic capital is rather high here.

The next middle class is the *contact-poor middle class* (5.3%). This class has a modal to double modal income on average and the majority owns a house (61%). As the name indicates, the contact-poor middle class is mainly characterised by its relatively low level of social capital. The level of social support is below average and the score on contact frequency indicates they only speak to friends and acquaintances a few times a month. Their level of education is slightly above average, but their cultural visit is just below average. Furthermore, this class reveals the gendered nature of class differences as 60% is male. In addition, most respondents are employed (62%) and live in a dual-adult household (71%). The contact-poor middle class shows that even middle classes who possess considerable economic capital can still lack a substantial amount of social capital. Due to its low level of social capital, this class resembles the technical middle class identified by Savage et al. (2013).

An interesting class that results from the LCA is the *emergent middle class* (19.3%). This young class is low on economic capital, but fairly high on social and cultural capital. It has a high contact frequency with friends and acquaintances and the level of social support is more or less average. In addition, it goes on a cultural visit multiple times per month and its education level is around senior general secondary. A large proportion of this class is around their thirties (median: 37) and many members are employed (49%) or a student (17%, not reported in Table 2.4). Furthermore, one-adult households are overrepresented (61%) as are respondents with a migration background (57%). These indicators suggest that we are dealing with a class in which many people are likely to be socially mobile later on in their life course, especially considering their combination of capital types. We therefore labelled this class both 'middle' and 'emergent', even though

in economic terms it is hardly a middle class. The emergent middle class is comparable to the 'emergent service worker' in Savage et al. (2013).

The *lower class* (17.2%) is clearly defined by its low level of economic capital. Its household income is close to the minimum and only four per cent owns a house. Yet, its social capital is high. The level of social support is high and the contact frequency with friends and acquaintances is almost on a weekly basis. The lower class possesses little cultural capital; its education level is around junior vocational. Again, the gendered nature of class is visible here, since 57% of this class is female. It is also older on average (54) and includes many retirees (33%), one-adult households (47%) and respondents with a migration background (52%). What is interesting about this class is that despite their low levels of economic and cultural capital, they still have considerable social capital to rely on. Similar profiles of this class can be found in studies on cohesive working-class (migrant) communities (e.g. Gans, 1982; Young & Willmott, 1986).

The final class is the *precariat* (13.1%). This class resembles the lower class in its low levels of economic and cultural capital, but has very little social capital as well. In general, it receives limited social support and the contact frequency with friends and acquaintances is around once a month or less. The precariat has a similar demographic profile as the lower class, though the share of unemployed is higher (32%). This class can thus be considered the most vulnerable class, since it has a very low volume of capital (cf. Standing, 2011; Wacquant & Wilson, 1989).

Table 2.5. Class change between 2008 and 2017

	2008		2017		
	Population (estimated)	%	Population (estimated)	%	% total
Established upper class	52,975	11.8	58,061	11.8	11.8
Cultural middle class	57,396	12.8	86,146	17.5	15.6
Traditional middle class	91,126	20.3	78,483	16.0	17.7
Contact-poor middle class	21,560	4.8	27,572	5.6	5.3
Emergent middle class	70,787	15.7	107,562	21.9	19.3
Lower class	103,044	22.9	65,403	13.3	17.2
Precariat	53,101	11.8	68,609	13.9	13.1
Total	449,989	100	491,835	100	100
N (survey)		10,686		15,215	25,901

Note: population numbers are based on percentage share in the sample and total population aged 18+

Changes in class structure and geography

One of the central questions in this paper is how this class structure changed between 2008 and 2017. Table 2.5 shows that some substantial changes occurred in this period. The cultural middle class and emergent middle class both increased in size by 4.7%

and 6.2% respectively. On the other hand, the traditional middle class and the lower

class both clearly diminished; the former by 4.3% and the latter by 9.6%. The shares of the other classes remained more or less stable, although the precariat grew by 2.1%.

These results demonstrate that class change is not simply a process whereby the middle class grows at the expense of the working class (professionalisation) or whereby the middle class slowly disappears (polarisation), since specific changes take place within the class structure. The main finding from our model is that two large classes with relatively little cultural capital, the traditional middle class and lower class, were replaced by two other classes with a high level of cultural capital, i.e. the cultural middle class and emergent middle class. Looking at economic and social capital, the cultural middle class resembles the traditional middle class – the wealth of the latter is somewhat higher – and the same applies to the emergent middle class and lower class. Hence, what our model principally shows is that cultural capital is the main driver underlying class change in Rotterdam between 2008 and 2017. In a way the class structure became more 'middle class' because the lower class in particular decreased in size. Therefore, professionalisation seems the dominant process, but at the same time our model shows that class change is more complex than can be captured by the concepts of professionalisation and polarisation (see also discussion). These findings are in line with our expectation that the middle classes with high cultural capital increased the most in Rotterdam. The expectation that there would also be growth at the bottom of the class structure does find some support here when we only consider the precariat.

Another central question is how this class structure relates to spatial divisions. That is, are spatial patterns distinct for every class and how have these changed during the economic recession? We focus on spatial changes in class concentrations rather than on segregation. Our main goal here is to examine class change from a spatial perspective. We selected three classes to illustrate that most classes exhibit a distinct spatial pattern. These include the established upper class, the traditional middle class and the emergent middle class. We demonstrate how these classes were dispersed across the city in 2008 and how this dispersion changed between 2008 and 2017.[22]

Figure 2.1a shows that in 2008 the established upper class was strongly concentrated in a few neighbourhoods in the east and northern part of the city. Since some of these neighbourhoods are known as 'traditional' elite neighbourhoods, it is no surprise that we find strong concentrations here of the established upper class. Figure 2.1b reveals that between 2008 and 2017 the share of established upper class mainly increased in the city centre and on the south banks of the New Meuse river. This shift is likely a result of how these areas have been transformed in the past decade. Multiple residential skyscrapers were built here in the past decade, aimed at attracting affluent groups like the established upper class (cf. Doucet et al., 2011).

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22 The categories are specified according to equal intervals, enabling comparison between different maps. Areas that have missing data are either non-residential neighbourhoods, newly built neighbourhoods or neighbourhoods that were not part of Rotterdam in 2008.

Figure 2.1a. Established upper class in Rotterdam, 2008

Legend

Established upper class %

- 0 - 11,1
- 11,1 - 22,6
- 22,6 - 33,4
- 33,4 - 44,5
- 44,5 - 55,6
- City centre
- Missing data

N

New Meuse river

0 0,5 1   2   3   4
Kilometers

Source: Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile, 2008

Figure 2.1b. Change in established upper class in Rotterdam, 2008-2017

Legend

Change established upper class %

- -15,0 - -8,2
- -8,2 - -1,4
- -1,4 - 5,4
- 5,4 - 12,2
- 12,2 - 19,0
- City centre
- Missing data

N

New Meuse river

0 0,5 1   2   3   4
Kilometers

Source: Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile, 2008 and 2017

The traditional middle class predominantly lives in the outer neighbourhoods of Rotterdam, which are mostly residential areas (Figure 2.2a). Their relatively low level of cultural capital might explain this pattern, since most provisions preferred by people with high cultural capital (e.g. museums and theatres) are located in and around the city centre. The traditional middle class might on the other hand prefer the space and residential atmosphere that is associated with the outer neighbourhoods of Rotterdam (cf. Boterman et al., 2018; Custers & Engbersen, 2020). Their concentration in the south-west part of the city might follow from the proximity to the harbour. The harbour provides many well-paid jobs for the low and middle educated because of the labour intensiveness of these jobs. The traditional middle class fits this profile quite well. Figure 2.2b confirms that the traditional middle class has decreased overall, since we observe a negative change in many neighbourhoods. The decline in the south-west is particularly substantial, indicating that this area has changed quite rapidly (cf. Uitermark et al., 2007).

Figure 2.2a. Traditional middle class in Rotterdam, 2008

Source: Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile, 2008

The emergent middle class predominantly lives in the city centre and the adjacent neighbourhoods in the west, north, and east (Figure 2.3a). As with the traditional middle class, their location might also be explained in terms of cultural capital. These areas are popular among adolescents since they are located close to cultural provisions and other amenities. However, Figure 2.3b shows that the emergent middle class has become more spread across the city. One possible explanation is that housing is generally more accessible in other parts of the city (cf. Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2019). The changing spatial patterns of the established upper class and emergent middle class partly confirm our expectation that classes with higher economic capital have become more dominant in the city centre. This spatial change is, however, equivocal to some extent.

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Figure 2.2b. Change in the traditional middle class in Rotterdam, 2008-2017

Source: Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile, 2008 and 2017

Figure 2.3a. Emergent middle class in Rotterdam, 2008

Source: Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile, 2008

Figure 2.3b. Change in the emergent middle class in Rotterdam, 2008-2017

Source: Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile, 2008 and 2017

Conclusion and discussion

This study set out to scrutinise three issues:

1) The class structure of Rotterdam when social class is conceptualised as the possession of economic, social, and cultural capital,
2) Changes in this class structure between 2008 and 2017, and
3) The spatial manifestations of this class structure and changes in spatial divisions during this period.

In addition, our goal was to link these issues to wider theoretical debates on the changing urban structure.

We established an elaborate class structure with one upper class, four middle classes, and two lower classes (cf. Savage et al., 2013; Waitkus & Groh-Samberg, 2019). Our class typology demonstrates the heterogeneous and fragmented nature of the class structure, in particular within the middle segment. In addition, we found that between 2008 and 2017 multiple changes took place within the class structure. The overall change is that the lower class and traditional middle class were partially replaced by the emergent middle class and cultural middle class. When we interpret these changes in the class structure in terms of polarisation and professionalisation, we assert that professionalisation seems to be the dominant process. However, this shift is understood in terms of cultural capital, because the middle classes with high cultural capital increased at the expense of the lower and middle classes with low cultural capital. This assertion illustrates that with our multidimensional class structure the concepts of polarisation and professionalisation become somewhat ambiguous since no clear class hierarchy exists. For instance, the traditional middle class has a better economic position than the emergent middle class, but the latter possesses more cultural capital. The way in which one class is more advantaged than the other depends on context, i.e. in which 'field' a certain capital offers advantage (Bourdieu, 1984). When one class is gradually replaced by another, one should therefore scrutinise what kind of professionalisation or polarisation this shift implies, not in the least because polarisation and professionalisation usually refer to change in one social dimension. A continued emphasis on precision is thus important in studying changes in urban structure (Hamnett, 2001; Nørgaard, 2003; Pratschke & Morlicchio, 2012).

Our spatial analysis further reveals that several classes are dispersed in specific ways and that spatial divisions changed between 2008 and 2017. We observe that the established upper class became more concentrated in and adjacent to the city centre, that the traditional middle class decreased in most neighbourhoods, and that the emergent middle class mainly increased in neighbourhoods outside the city centre. In general, we find that middle classes with more cultural capital tend to live closer to the city centre (e.g. Boterman et al., 2018; Cunningham & Savage, 2017; Hanquinet, et al., 2012).

We offer two explanations for these findings on the class structure and spatial divisions and discuss their social and political implications as well. One explanation is that we see the effects of Rotterdam's numerous policies aimed at attracting the middle and upper classes to the city. These policies are mainly related to housing, such as reducing the social housing stock (Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2018) and excluding unemployed households from certain areas (van Gent et al., 2018). The decline of the lower class can be understood through some of these policies, since this class predominantly lives in rental dwellings. On the other hand, the move of the established upper class to the city centre might be due to the transformation of the waterfront areas on the North and South side of the New Meuse river. In the past two decades these locations have evolved as residential areas including residential towers containing high-end apartments (cf. Doucet et al., 2011).[23] This development might reduce the emergent middle class's access to the inner city, as it has become too expensive to live here. Thus, the relations between classes are made manifest through these spatial changes as one class move is associated with another.

The findings implicate that issues of accessibility and affordability have become more pertinent since less living space remains for classes with low economic capital. Not only can rising housing prices push lower classes to the periphery or restrict access to the city (Hochstenbach & Musterd, 2018), they can also exacerbate existing inequalities within Rotterdam (Hochstenbach & van Gent, 2015). The 'poor' South part has relatively few houses that match the aesthetic preferences of the established upper class and cultural middle class (cf. Bridge, 2006; Ley, 2003) and in addition, the stigma of 'poverty' further lowers its attractiveness to the middle classes. Housing market pressure in the city centre and adjacent neighbourhoods is therefore likely to further increase, as space that is appealing to these classes, who are expected to become more dominant in the city, is limited (cf. Bacqué et al., 2015). Eventually this process could lead to a situation where some of these neighbourhoods develop into segregated higher-class areas, although such places are rare in the Netherlands (Boterman et al., 2020).

A second explanation relates to broader labour market trends. In Rotterdam both the number of flexible jobs (temporal employment and self-employment) and the education level have increased in the past decade. These trends might explain the rise of the emergent middle class, a class with rather low economic capital but relatively high cultural capital. Unfortunately, our data do not include detailed information about occupational status and employment contracts to further examine this association. It is thus difficult to assess whether or not the emergent middle class has good job prospects. This issue indicates a general limitation of our study. We have little insight into the mechanisms that drive changes in the urban class structure and spatial divisions

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23   This process bears some resemblance to 'super-gentrification' (see Butler & Lees, 2006), but differs in at least two ways. First, the established upper class possesses less capital than the elite 'super-gentrifiers' from New York or London and second, the Rotterdam waterfront areas were not middle-class enclaves but rather business districts or social housing areas.

(Hochstenbach & van Gent, 2015). We could not investigate to what extent social mobility, migration, gentrification, ageing, the economic recession or other possible mechanisms played a role.

Another issue our study addresses is how neighbourhoods can be considered 'mixed' from a social class perspective. Our model shows that the class structure is miscellaneous. Through this lens neighbourhoods are often more mixed than is generally assumed. In another study we argued that some neighbourhoods can be classified as in a state of 'early gentrification' due to the large presence of the emergent middle class (Custers & Engbersen, 2020). On the other hand, some neighbourhoods have a more 'polarised' character, referring to a relative absence of middle classes (Custers & Engbersen, 2020). Our model thus provides a new perspective on social mix. The different class compositions in neighbourhoods can also have implications for how different groups socialise in the neighbourhood (cf. Jackson & Butler, 2015).

We conclude with some theoretical and methodological reflections. First, our approach in this paper deviates from Bourdieu's heuristic scheme of the social space, since next to economic and cultural capital we included social capital in our analysis (cf. Savage et al., 2013). Including social capital does, however, not contradict Bourdieu's account of social class, as Bourdieu argued that classes are positions in the social space that is constructed by the distribution of different forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1987). When a capital form is a source of differentiation that can provide advantage in a certain field, it can be considered part of the social space. Social capital contains this property, because it enables its holder to derive resources from a network.[24]

That being said, our measures in this study only partly cover this notion of social capital. They do not measure the diversity of contacts or the status of connections in a network. Nor did we have a measure of whether people could mobilise their network to gain specific resources (Lin, 1999). Yet, by including contact with friends and acquaintances we tap into connections that may represent both strong and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) and moreover, our social support measure indicates the resources people may obtain through receiving help and being connected to others. Although this operationalisation might be closer to Putnam's communal understanding of social capital (Putnam, 2000), our analysis detects important differences between social classes. For instance, the possibilities for the lower class to obtain informal help are more various than those of the precariat. The decline of the lower class may further indicate that gentrification contributes to breaking up cohesive communities, which reduces the social capital of lower-class residents (Gans, 1982; Young & Willmott, 1986). These differences and processes would not have been observed if social capital had been omitted from the analysis. Still, we acknowledge that our analysis is limited in its ability to differentiate between classes regarding power in social relations.

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24 Without being very explicit on this issue, Bourdieu (1987) states that social capital is secondary to economic and cultural capital concerning class positions.

Finally, we reflect on our method. In LCA each respondent is assigned to a certain class based on probability (Goodman, 2007). For classes that are relatively similar these probabilities might be quite close. This implies that belonging to a certain class can be arbitrary to some extent, because a minor variation in a respondent's response on the variables might lead to a different classification. In addition, depending on the how the variables are coded and which samples are used, the outcomes of LCA might differ (cf. Mills, 2014). We applied weights to correct for sample skews and ran the analyses with different variable codings. Our main conclusions did not change when we performed a number of different analyses (see method section). It signifies, however, that our typology should be viewed as one of many perspectives on the urban class structure. We emphasise that our classes are 'ideal types', meaning that while they represent the typical features of a certain class, not every individual within that class needs to have exactly the same features (Hagenaars & Halman, 1989). In the end, a typology should be judged according to its analytical strength to provide (new) insights into the social structure of the city and its spatial divisions.

Appendix Chapter 2

Development of weights

The Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile survey aims to be representative at the neighbourhood level. Nevertheless, some bias in representativity may occur as a result of selective non-response. We therefore developed *poststratification weights* to correct for any sample skews to ensure these affect our findings as little as possible.

The weights were developed in two steps. First, the research department of the municipality provided access to the population register that contained information on the population's sex, age, ethnicity, and household type. We created subgroups by tabulating the distributions in the population according to these characteristics. The same table was created based on the sample dataset. Next, the adjustment factors, i.e. the weights, were calculated by dividing the population distribution by the sample distribution (Lee & Forthofer, 2006), a technique known as *cell-level weighting* (Kulas et al., 2018). Cells in the sample table that contained less than 10 respondents were collapsed beforehand. The second step involved a technique called *raking* (see Kulas et al., 2018), as information on education is not present in the population register. Raking is an iterative procedure in which weights are applied in each sequence until the weighted frequencies match the population frequencies. The population distribution of education was derived from de Graaf (2019b), who used microdata from Statistics Netherlands to obtain this distribution. The final weighting variable had a mean of 1 and a range between .24 and 5.26. Finally, the construction of the weights was carried out separately for the data from 2008 and 2017.

Table A2.1 shows the sample and population distributions for 2008 and 2017. Although in general the sample matches the population characteristics, there are considerable deviations regarding gender, age, ethnicity and education.

Table A2.1. Population and sample distributions

Characteristic	Categories	% 2008 sample	% 2008 population	% 2017 sample	% 2017 population
Sex	male	41.7	48.4	46.6	48.7
	female	58.3	51.6	53.4	51.3
Age	18-24	9.1	12.6	5.5	12.6
	25-44	38.3	39.5	31.4	37.8
	45-64	33.3	30.5	37.2	31.2
	65+	19.3	17.5	25.9	18.4
Ethnicity	Surinamese	8.7	8.5	8.5	8.5
	Antillean	2.9	2.8	2.3	3.5
	Cape Verdean	2.6	2.4	2.0	2.5
	Turkish	6.8	6.7	4.4	7.3
	Moroccan	4.8	4.8	2.2	5.6
	autochthonous	62.2	57.8	58.8	51.7
	other	11.9	17.0	21.8	20.9
HH type	1-person HH	28.8	30.2	32.4	30.4
	couple without kids	32.9	29.5	34.7	28.0
	couple with kids	30.5	30.2	25.9	30.7
	1-parent HH	7.8	10.2	7.0	10.9
Education	low	41.5	43.0	29.4	34.0
	middle	27.5	36.0	27.9	39.0
	high	31.0	21.0	42.7	27.0
N		10,686	449,989	15,215	491,835

Robustness checks

Two types of analyses were carried out to examine the influence of the high number of missings on the income variable. First, multiple LCAs were performed that only included respondents with a valid response on the income variable (N = 20,273). The model with seven classes had the lowest BIC in this case and the model with eight classes had the lowest adjusted BIC (Table A2.2). In another set of LCAs, we included all respondents but without imputing the scores ourselves, meaning the missings on income were imputed by the EM algorithm (see Lanza et al., 2018). Here the seven-class model also had the lowest BIC and the nine-class model had the lowest adjusted BIC (Table A2.3)

.**Table A2.2**. Fit measures of different LCA models with missing on income excluded

Model	resid. df	Entropy R^2	BIC adj.	BIC	AIC	log-likelihood (pseudo)
4 classes	1,236	0.631	3,049.3	3,236.8	2,769.7	-118,965.1
5 classes	1,221	0.598	2,693.5	2,928.7	2,342.8	-118,736.7
6 classes	1,206	0.595	2,482.2	2,765.0	2,060.4	-118,580.5
7 classes	1,191	0.602	2,415.3	2,745.8	1,922.4	-118,496.5
8 classes	1,176	0.583	2,414.7	2,792.9	1,850.7	-118,445.6
9 classes	1,161	0.618	2,417.9	2,843.7	1,782.9	-118,396.7
10 classes	1,146	0.592	2,440.1	2,913.6	1,733.9	-118,357.2

Note: log-likelihood is a pseudo-function because weights were used

Table A2.3. Fit measures of different LCA models with missing on income replaced by EM algorithm

Model	resid. df	Entropy R^2	BIC adj.	BIC	AIC	log-likelihood (pseudo)
4 classes	1,236	0.592	3,244.8	3,432.3	2,950.8	-145,035.3
5 classes	1,221	0.595	2,896.9	3,132.1	2,528.1	-144,,809.0
6 classes	1,206	0.561	2,592.0	2,874.8	2,148.4	-144,604.1
7 classes	1,191	0.571	2,485.1	2,815.6	1,966.8	-144,498.3
8 classes	1,176	0.555	2,478.8	2,857.0	1,885.7	-144,442.8
9 classes	1,161	0.574	2,473.7	2,899.6	1,805.9	-144,387.9
10 classes	1,146	0.558	2,492.8	2,966.3	1,750.1	-144,345.0

Note: log-likelihood is a pseudo-function because weights were used

Next, we carried out separate analyses on the 2008 and 2017 samples. The analysis on the 2008 sample showed the BIC was lowest for the five-class solution and the adjusted BIC was lowest for the seven-class solution (Table A2.4). The LCAs for the 2017 sample showed the lowest BIC for six classes and the lowest adjusted BIC for seven classes (Table A2.5). Taking all this together, the analyses on the pooled data favour a seven-class solution when we follow the BIC. The analyses on separate waves do not necessarily support a seven-class solution, although the adjusted BIC does indicate so (see Nylund et al., 2007). The different outcomes between the separate and pooled analyses might be a result of the differences in sample size. Furthermore, the seven-class models in the various analyses produced very similar results.

Table A2.4. Fit measures of different LCA models (2008 data)

Model	resid. df	Entropy R^2	BIC adj.	BIC	AIC	log-likelihood (pseudo)
4 classes	1,236	0.591	2,191.6	2,379.1	1,949.8	-62,229.7
5 classes	1,221	0.630	2,053.5	2,288.6	1,750.1	-62,114.9
6 classes	1,206	0.600	2,054.2	2,337.0	1,689.4	-62,069.5
7 classes	1,191	0.564	2,051.6	2,382.1	1,625.3	-62,022.5
8 classes	1,176	0.589	2,065.6	2,443.8	1,577.8	-61,983.8
9 classes	1,161	0.583	2,095.9	2,521.7	1,546.6	-61,953.2
10 classes	1,146	0.595	2,134.9	2,608.4	1,524.2	-61,926.9

Note: log-likelihood is a pseudo-function because weights were used

Table A2.5. Fit measures of different LCA models (2017 data)

Model	resid. df	Entropy R^2	BIC adj.	BIC	AIC	log-likelihood (pseudo)
4 classes	1,236	0.613	2,705.1	2,892.6	2,442.4	-89,014.8
5 classes	1,221	0.582	2,493.7	2,728.8	2,164.2	-88,860.7
6 classes	1,206	0.582	2,383.8	2,666.7	1,987.6	-88,757.4
7 classes	1,191	0.585	2,357.2	2,687.7	1,894.1	-88,695.6
8 classes	1,176	0.572	2,359.8	2,737.9	1,830.0	-88,648.6
9 classes	1,161	0.576	2,370.6	2,796.4	1,774.0	-88,605.6
10 classes	1,146	0.573	2,411.6	2,885.1	1,748.2	-88,577.7

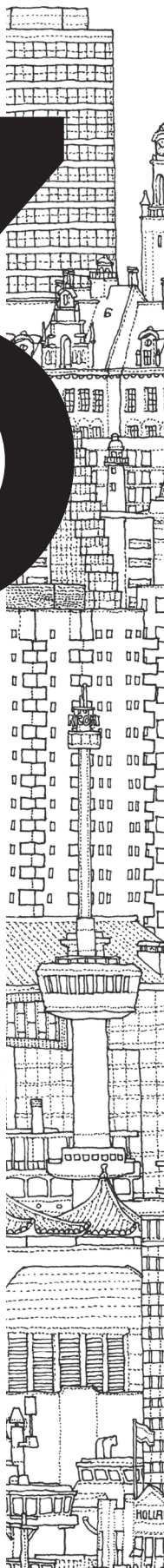Note: log-likelihood is a pseudo-function because weights were used

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3

Neighbourhood ties and employment: a test of different hypotheses across neighbourhoods

Abstract

This study examines the extent to which neighbourhood ties relate to employment status for the less well- educated inhabitants of 71 neighbourhoods. Previous research has produced different expectations as to whether having contact with neighbours is either positively or negatively related to being employed and how this relation differs across neighbourhoods. Two waves from the Neighbourhood Profile survey (N = 8,507) were used, which included measures of the contact frequency with neighbours and their willingness to help. We find that for the less well-educated, neighbourhood ties have a modest negative relation to employment. Moreover, this relation does not vary across neighbourhoods with different socioeconomic statuses, with the exception of men who work part-time. Our research implies that neighbourhood ties in mixed neighbourhoods do not positively relate to employment for the less well- educated, thereby questioning policy assumptions about 'social mix'. Contributions to the field of neighbourhood studies are made by employing measures of the social networks mechanism and taking into account the conditionality of effects across neighbourhoods.

Introduction

Labour markets play a key role in integrating people into society. Yet, participation among the low and middle educated is generally lower than among the highly educated due to several factors such as skills demand and technological innovation (Brynjolfsson & McAfee, 2014; David et al., 2006; Goos & Manning, 2007; Goos et al., 2014), discrimination (Andriessen et al., 2015; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), and a lack of social capital (Kanas et al., 2011). In the neighbourhood effects literature, 'social mix' theories suggest that mixed neighbourhoods can reduce these differences in employment because low and middle educated groups – hereafter referred to as less well-educated groups – may profit from the proximity of resourceful neighbours (see Bolt & van Kempen, 2013). Hence, ties with neighbours might provide access to the labour market. However, the role of neighbourhood ties in job attainment is empirically understudied, which is rather odd as people primarily find jobs through contacts (Granovetter, 1995) and for low-educated people – and middle-educated people to a lesser extent – the neighbourhood is usually an important social setting (Campbell & Lee, 1992; Fischer, 1982; van Kempen & Wissink, 2014). This study therefore focuses on the relation between neighbourhood ties and employment for less well- educated groups and investigates to what extent this relation varies across neighbourhoods with different socioeconomic statuses (SES).

A limited number of studies with diverging approaches have examined how both neighbourhood ties and neighbourhood SES relate to labour market outcomes (Damm, 2014; Elliott, 1999; Kasinitz & Rosenberg, 1996; Kleit, 2001; Miltenburg, 2015; Pinkster, 2007, 2009b, 2014; Reingold et al., 2001). Most of these studies were either qualitative in nature (e.g. Kasinitz & Rosenberg, 1996) or focused on earnings (e.g. Elliott, 1999) and not employment as an outcome. Little is therefore known about the relation between neighbourhood ties and labour market participation (cf. Aguilera, 2002). These studies have produced contradicting hypotheses about the strength and direction of these relations. On the one hand, it is believed that social contacts in low SES neighbourhoods are less effective in promoting employment opportunities than the more bridging contacts (cf. Putnam, 2000) in mixed or high SES neighbourhoods because low SES neighbourhoods lack the necessary job-related resources. In low SES neighbourhoods, neighbourhood ties are presumed to constrain employment as fellow residents also occupy a weak position in the labour market. However, more qualitative research shows that in low SES neighbourhoods residents can help each other to obtain a job through referrals or by giving advice (Pinkster, 2007, 2014; Tersteeg et al., 2015), indicating that having contacts in low SES neighbourhoods can actually be beneficial for labour market participation. Such ties seem especially helpful in obtaining flexible jobs at the lower end of the labour market. Based on a large dataset that includes 71 urban neighbourhoods, this study tests these different hypotheses in a systematic way. We investigate both the size and direction of the relationship between neighbourhood ties and employment and subsequently, we test whether this relation differs between lower and higher SES

neighbourhoods. Multilevel models estimate the extent to which neighbourhood ties relate to our dependent variable of labour market participation, which includes whether people are unemployed, work part-time, or full-time.

This study builds on previous research in two ways. First, we include multiple measures of neighbourhood social interactions in our empirical models. Neighbourhood effects studies examine relations between neighbourhood characteristics and individual outcomes, but rarely test the underlying mechanisms (see Galster, 2012) that are believed to transmit these effects (Sharkey & Faber, 2014). For example, while many studies estimate to what extent neighbourhood SES affects employment without including social-interactive measures, they assume social capital to be a transmitting mechanism of this neighbourhood effect (cf. Miltenburg, 2015). In this study we refrain from interpreting any neighbourhood effects, that is, the effect of neighbourhood SES on employment. Instead we investigate the association between neighbourhood ties and employment, and how this relation differs according to neighbourhood SES. In our models we include both measures of the frequency of contact with neighbours and an attitudinal component that signifies whether neighbours are willing to help each other.

Second, we take into account that associations are potentially conditional, and may therefore differ between groups and across neighbourhoods. Although this point is often emphasised in the literature, researchers fail to systematically take it into account (Miltenburg, 2015; Sharkey & Faber, 2014; Small & Feldman, 2012). We focus exclusively on less well-educated people because prior research has shown that, in terms of social networks and behaviour patterns, they tend to orientate more towards the neighbourhood than the highly educated (Campbell & Lee, 1992; Fischer, 1982; van Kempen & Wissink, 2014). The less well-educated are therefore more likely to employ local ties when searching for a job (van Eijk, 2010c). In addition, we split our analyses by gender to examine how the specified relations differ between men and women.

Since this study uses cross-sectional data, based on two waves (2013 and 2015) from the Neighbourhood Profile, it is – like other quantitative studies in the field of neighbourhood effects – prone to issues of causality and self-selection (see Galster, 2008). The main problem lies in the complexity of distinguishing whether a neighbourhood characteristic is the cause of an effect, or whether this effect is a result of peoples' selective migration into a neighbourhood (Cheshire, 2007). This issue is not directly evaded by our focus on mechanisms instead of neighbourhood effects because self-selection could also influence the formation of neighbourhood ties. We address this issue in a theoretical manner, rather than approaching it from a commonly-used methodological perspective (see Galster et al., 2016). We do so by theoretically discussing how neighbourhood ties and employment affect each other reciprocally, and we are cautious about any causal interpretations of our results.

We aim to address three questions in this study:

1) To what extent do neighbourhood ties and employment relate for the low and middle educated?

2) Do these associations vary across low, mixed and high SES neighbourhoods?
3) How do outcomes differ when we distinguish between men and women?

Theoretical framework

Neighbourhood effects studies

Neighbourhood effects studies in the US context have found strong correlations between neighbourhood SES and labour market outcomes (e.g. Vartanian, 1999), although depending on the research design the results are often debated (Briggs, 1997; Clampet-Lundquist & Massey, 2008; Jencks & Mayer, 1990). European studies have produced mixed results (Andersson, 2004; Musterd & Andersson, 2006; Musterd et al., 2003; Urban, 2009; van der Klaauw & van Ours, 2003; van Ham & Manley, 2010, 2015), which has led to further debate about the theoretical and methodological issues concerning neighbourhood effects.

These studies treat the neighbourhood SES effect as a proxy for the multiple ways in which a neighbourhood may influence an individual, while it remains unclear what is exactly conveyed by such an effect (Slater, 2013). Many of these studies assume that neighbourhood effects are transmitted through several mechanisms such as social-interactive ones (see Galster, 2012), but do not include any measures of these mechanisms in their models (Briggs, 1997; Sampson, 2008; Sharkey & Faber, 2014). A way to lift the lid of this 'black box' and to better understand neighbourhood effects is to focus on the contacts and interactions between residents in neighbourhoods (Miltenburg, 2015, p. 274). Hence, we elaborate on the *social networks mechanism*, one of the social-interactive mechanisms, which denotes that individuals in a neighbourhood can be influenced by their neighbours through the exchange of information, resources, and support (Galster, 2012, p. 25).

Contacts in low SES neighbourhoods

As neighbourhood ties are heterogeneous by nature, the social networks mechanism might operate in different ways in low SES neighbourhoods. The general view of low SES neighbourhoods is that neighbours can help each other 'get by' but not 'get ahead' since they lack the necessary resources (Briggs, 1998). Moreover, neighbours can inhibit each other from making meaningful contacts with more resourceful persons when they form closed, restrictive networks (cf. Portes, 1998). In addition, the intimacy of neighbourhood ties varies strongly, ranging from superficial, nodding relationships (Blokland & Nast, 2014) to supportive contacts (in line with a Dutch saying: 'A good neighbour is worth more than a distant friend'). The ways in which interaction with neighbours can relate to job attainment are thus versatile. Therefore, in order to theorise why having contacts with neighbours can either be beneficial or detrimental for labour market participation, we distinguish between a positive and a negative hypothesis about the role of neighbourhood ties.

The *positive hypothesis* holds that having contacts with neighbours is positively related to employment. In the Dutch context, having contacts with neighbours means having contacts with people who live close by who are not family or considered to be close friends. They are therefore seen as weak ties (Granovetter, 1973), which potentially serve as bridges to job information and opportunities. Although much research indicates that neighbours are generally not a prime source of job-related info and contacts (e.g. Mollenhorst, 2015), van Eijk (2010c, p. 81) shows that poor urban residents frequently mobilise neighbours when searching for a job. This latter observation corresponds with evidence that the personal networks of the less well-educated are more local. A larger part of their networks consists of local ties compared to the highly educated, who often have relatively more ties outside the neighbourhood (Fischer, 1982; van Eijk, 2010a).

Multiple qualitative neighbourhood studies further illustrate why being embedded in neighbourhood networks might form a direct or indirect link to the labour market (Kloosterman & van der Leun, 1999; Pinkster, 2007, 2009b, 2014; Tersteeg et al., 2015). These studies provide evidence that, contrary to common perceptions, the neighbourhood is a social context in which people search for jobs and exchange job-related information. Social life in many urban neighbourhoods is constituted by multiple communities, which are separated along socioeconomic, ethnic, religious or political lines (cf. Butler & Robson, 2001). Pinkster (2007, 2014) shows that such communities consist of close-knit relations that provide emotional and instrumental support. These communities possess informal job networks that contain available job positions and job-related resources such as information, contacts, and advice. Thus, being part of such a neighbourhood-based network could increase employment opportunities. Moreover, Tersteeg et al. (2015) indicate that job-related exchanges do not only take place *within* communities with particular ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics, but also *between* people from different backgrounds. Building on social network theory (Granovetter, 1995; Lin, 1999), this implies that job-related resources transfer across different neighbourhood networks, increasing employment opportunities for those who are part of a network. Even if neighbourhood ties are moderately resourceful, having these contacts is better than having no contacts at all.

An important note here is that although studies have shown that such theories of social networks are instrumental in explaining how labour markets operate, they often exclude the unemployed and underemployed (Aguilera, 2002, p. 871). In other words, most studies using social network theory focus on how people obtain a *good* job (cf. Granovetter, 1995), i.e. one with high earnings or status, and not on how people obtain employment. Yet, when we conceive of neighbourhood ties as a form of weak ties that can provide access to resources such as information or references, they can be seen as ties that provide leverage for job attainment. Such ties might help the unemployed to find their way back to the job market. The social mechanisms which help people obtain a good job are therefore expected to operate in a similar way for people who are seeking to become employed.

In contrast to the positive hypothesis about the effect of neighbourhood ties, the *negative hypothesis* presumes that neighbourhood ties constrain people, rather than fostering their labour market participation and therefore have a negative influence. Less well-educated people who socialise with poor neighbours can get 'trapped' in neighbourhood networks that block their potential social mobility. Such 'draining ties' exist when less well-educated people are asked to provide or reciprocate assistance, money, or time to others (Blokland & Noordhoff, 2008; Curley, 2008; Nguyen et al., 2016). These appeals can place a strain on their already scarce resources, which in turn affects their ability to work. Blokland and Noordhoff (2008) refer to this kind of social capital as 'the weakness of weak ties'.

Another negative link between neighbourhood ties and employment exists when the unemployed are analysed in terms of the time, money, and work available to them (Engbersen et al., 2006). Since they have too little of the latter two resources and too much of the former, the unemployed develop different strategies to cope with this situation. Although not the majority, some unemployed refrain from obtaining a job and choose to dedicate their time to socialising in the neighbourhood (Engbersen et al., 2006). Thus, this 'type' of unemployed can have many neighbourhood ties without having any job prospects. Moreover, if they socialise with other unemployed in the neighbourhood, having these contacts actually hinders their potential labour market participation because this network is poor in terms of job-related resources and hinders them from making connections to more resourceful persons (Field, 2008, pp. 86-87). This line of reasoning employs a reversed causal order, namely that labour market status determines the extent of engagement in neighbourhood ties (cf. Campbell & Lee, 1992). People who spend less time on work can spend more time on socialising with neighbours, as seen from a time-use perspective.[25]

Contacts in mixed and high SES neighbourhoods

Our contradicting hypotheses about the relation between neighbourhood ties and labour market participation are predominantly based on research in low SES neighbourhoods. For mixed and high SES neighbourhoods, it is assumed that contacts provide better access to the labour market (Wilson, 1987). In these neighbourhoods less well-educated groups have more opportunities to connect with resourceful, largely middle-class people who follow 'mainstream' norms of work and family and possess better job networks (Curley, 2010b; Harding & Blokland, 2014, p. 162). Indeed, Volker et al. (2014) indicate that the neighbourhood is one of the most important social settings where the lower and higher educated have overlapping networks. Assuming that these bridging networks exist in mixed and high SES neighbourhoods and that job-related resources such as information and recommendations are being exchanged, it is likely that neighbourhood ties increase employment chances for the less well-educated as these neighbourhoods are more resourceful than low SES neighbourhoods.

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25   People who work in their own neighbourhood might be an exception to this expectation.

Much research, however, has contested this theory about how mixed neighbourhoods operate. Residents with different characteristics in mixed neighbourhoods seldom have overlapping neighbourhood networks (Tersteeg & Pinkster, 2016; van Beckhoven & van Kempen, 2003; van Eijk, 2010c). When these networks do exist, the ties are not strong enough to transfer resources (Blokland, 2008; Kleit, 2001). Such mixed reciprocal networks only tend to develop in particular cases, depending, among other things, on urban design and the residents' length of residence in a community (see Bolt & van Kempen, 2013). In sum, resourceful neighbours in mixed and high SES neighbourhoods could provide better labour market access for their less well-educated neighbours, but this effect is unlikely to occur due to a lack of overlapping networks. Our analyses will test whether there is any support for this *social mix hypothesis*, which thus reads that the association between neighbourhood ties and employment becomes more positive when neighbourhood SES increases.

Data and measurements

In order to investigate the relations between neighbourhood ties, employment, and neighbourhood SES, data from two waves (2013 and 2015) of the Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile were merged and combined with administrative data provided by the research department of the Municipality of Rotterdam (Research and Business Intelligence; OBI). The respondents, approximately 15,000 per wave, resided in 71 neighbourhoods, which are defined by Statistics Netherlands as the spatial level between the municipality and lowest spatial neighbourhood level, and follow natural demarcation lines and homogeneous architecture styles. The net response rates in 2013 and 2015 were 23 per cent and 22 per cent, respectively. We selected respondents who belonged to the labour market population, i.e. who indicated that they were either employed or available for work. A further selection was made based on the achieved educational level; respondents with a high educational level were excluded from the analyses.[26] Missing values on variables were excluded through listwise deletion, which formed 9.0% of the target sample. After the data preparations, the final sample contained 8,507 respondents.

Individual level variables
The dependent variable *employment* consists of three categories, namely people who were unemployed and/or on welfare (0), and working either part-time (1) or full-time (2). Respondents had to indicate whether they had a paid job and if so, how many hours a week they worked on average. In accordance with Statistics Netherlands' definition, respondents were categorised as 'full-time' if they worked more than 35 hours a week and 'part-time' if they worked between 12 and 35 hours. Respondents without a job or who worked less than 12 hours were categorised as 'unemployed' if they stated that

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26   This included respondents who had a higher professional education (HBO) or university degree.

their current situation was either 'unemployed/looking for a job' or 'receiving social benefits'.[27]

Socialising with neighbours (*contact frequency with neighbours)* was operationalised by two items: how often respondents had personal, telephonic or written contact with direct neighbours (a) or other neighbours in the area (b). The response categories varied from never (0) to almost daily (5). A Spearman-Brown test (see Eisinga et al., 2013) indicated that the reliability of both items is sufficient (.77), thus a scale was constructed with their mean score. A limitation of this measure is that it does not account for the type of neighbourhood contacts (e.g. resource-rich or resource-poor) that respondents have. Nor does it indicate what is being exchanged: whether neighbours discuss their employment opportunities or merely make casual conversation. However, we can assume that more information and resources are exchanged when neighbours interact more frequently. We elaborate on this measurement issue in the discussion.

Perceptions of neighbours' preparedness to help (*willingness to help)* were measured by asking respondents to what extent they agreed with the statement 'people in this neighbourhood help each other when necessary'. The response categories were coded to (completely) disagree (0), neutral (1) and (completely) agree (2), and included as dummy variables in the analyses because of the high number of missing values (13 per cent).[28] Again, this measurement is not directly related to employment matters and therefore requires careful interpretation.

Education was measured as the highest level of achieved education. Levels of education ranged from 'none/elementary education' (0) to 'preparatory academic education' (5). Several control variables were included in our models to account to a certain degree for influences that may have been omitted and for neighbourhood self-selection. The personal characteristics of *gender*, *age*, *ethnicity*, *household status*, *health disabilities*, *language fluency* (based on three items), *tenure situation*, *length of residence* and *wave year* were added to the models.[29] In addition, other social network features involving *contact frequency with family* and *contact frequency with friends and close acquaintances* were controlled for. Including these network measures reduced the probability of our finding a spurious relation between neighbourhood ties and employment, for instance in the case that employment is mainly related to friendship ties (Aguilera, 2002). Descriptive statistics about these variables can be found in Table 3.1.

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27 In the Netherlands, people who receive social benefits ('*bijstand*') are legally obliged to search for a job.

28 An additional dummy variable was included in the analyses to account for the missing values.

29 Tenure situation and length of residence are based on personal administrative data that were linked to the survey data.

Neighbourhood level variables

One of the central variables of interest, *neighbourhood socioeconomic status (SES)*, was operationalised by combining different information from OBI on the neighbourhood level, namely the percentage of low incomes (a), the percentage of people on social benefits ('*bijstand*') (b) percentage of unemployed aged 23-64 (c) and the percentage of working people aged 23-64 (d).[30] A factor analysis showed that these items constitute one dimension (factor loadings > .83) and a reliability analysis confirms the reliability of this scale (Cronbach's alpha = .93). Hence, a standardised factor score was calculated to rank the 71 neighbourhoods according to their SES, corresponding to the Neighbourhood Profile year of data collection.

Other factors at the neighbourhood level could relate to a respondent's labour market position, such as the presence of residents with a higher level of education. Therefore, based on *inter alia* the System of Social Statistical Datasets (Statistics Netherlands), the *percentage of higher educated neighbours* was added as control variable at the neighbourhood level.[31] Moreover, in our models we also controlled for the influences of ethnic diversity (Herfindahl index) and residential turnover (percentage of moved households), but these neighbourhood effects were non-significant.[32] They are excluded from the analyses for reasons of parsimony. Information about neighbourhood SES and the percentage of higher educated neighbours is provided in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Descriptive statistics.

	Total sample			Women	Men
	Min.	Max.	Mean	Mean	Mean
Individual variables					
Employment					
Unemployed/welfare benefits (= ref.)	0	1	0.229	0.268	0.191
Part-time	0	1	0.309	0.481	0.138
Full-time	0	1	0.462	0.251	0.671
Contact frequency with neighbours	0	5	2.687	2.723	2.651
Willingness to help					
Not willing to help (= ref.)	0	1	0.118	0.120	0.116
Neutral	0	1	0.193	0.170	0.217
Willing to help	0	1	0.559	0.573	0.546
Contact frequency with family	0	5	4.117	4.299	3.937
Contact frequency with friends/acquaintances	0	5	3.934	4.011	3.858

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30 Low incomes are people in the bottom 40% of the national income distribution.

31 Neighbourhood SES and the percentage of higher educated neighbours have quite a strong correlation (*r* = .50).

32 The Herfindahl index measures the probability that two individuals who are randomly chosen from a closed population belong to the same group (see Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015).

Table 3.1. Continued.

	Total sample			Women	Men
	Min.	Max.	Mean	Mean	Mean
Education					
none/elementary education	0	1	0.113	0.122	0.105
low vocational (LBO)	0	1	0.113	0.095	0.130
middle vocational (MAVO/VMBO)	0	1	0.147	0.157	0.136
high vocational (MBO) (= ref.)	0	1	0.465	0.479	0.451
higher general secondary education (HAVO)	0	1	0.100	0.097	0.103
preparatory academic education (VWO et al.)	0	1	0.063	0.051	0.075
Gender (ref. = female)	0	1	0.502		
Age category					
15-24	0	1	0.058	0.060	0.056
25-34	0	1	0.151	0.154	0.148
35-44 (= ref.)	0	1	0.233	0.231	0.234
45-54	0	1	0.292	0.296	0.288
55+	0	1	0.267	0.260	0.274
Household status					
Couple with children (= ref.)	0	1	0.358	0.316	0.400
Couple without children	0	1	0.228	0.215	0.241
Single household	0	1	0.272	0.250	0.294
Single parent household	0	1	0.130	0.208	0.053
Other household	0	1	0.012	0.011	0.012
Ethnicity					
Dutch (= ref.)	0	1	0.458	0.440	0.476
Surinamese/Antillean	0	1	0.180	0.211	0.150
Turkish	0	1	0.086	0.064	0.108
Other non-Western	0	1	0.173	0.175	0.170
Other Western	0	1	0.103	0.110	0.096
Tenure situation					
Social renter (= ref.)	0	1	0.421	0.469	0.373
Private renter	0	1	0.087	0.087	0.088
Homeowner	0	1	0.477	0.430	0.522
Length of residence (months/10)	0	8.7	1.299	1.325	1.272
Health disabilities					
No disabilities (= ref.)	0	1	0.763	0.723	0.802
Moderate disabilities	0	1	0.150	0.174	0.127
Strong disabilities	0	1	0.087	0.103	0.071
Dutch language fluency	0	2	1.808	1.818	1.798
Year (ref. = 2013)	0	1	0.484	0.486	0.482
Neighbourhood variables					
Neighbourhood SES	-2.643	1.979	0	-0.008	0.004
% higher educated neighbours	0.060	0.610	0.212	0.211	0.213
N individuals	8,507			4,272	4,235

3

Analytical strategy

We are interested in finding what predictors are important for being employed compared to being unemployed. We therefore estimated random intercept logistic models, i.e. multilevel regression models (Snijders & Bosker, 2012), with the unemployed as the baseline category and part-timers and full-timers as the corresponding other categories to account for the complex nesting structure of our data.[33][34] Because our data do not only contain individuals nested within neighbourhoods but also in years, we needed a three-level structure that controls for all possible dependencies. Schmidt-Catran and Fairbrother (2016) demonstrate why an appropriate modelling structure is imperative for obtaining correct regression estimates. We adopted model F proposed by Schmidt-Catran and Fairbrother (2016), which treats neighbourhood-years as cross-classified within neighbourhoods and years, and individuals as strictly nested in neighbourhood-years (see Figure 3.1). Empty models with this nesting structure have better fits than non-hierarchical models or multilevel models with different nesting structures (as in Figure 3.1).[35] The empty models show considerable variance at the neighbourhood level for both the odds of working part-time or full-time; the respective intraclass correlations are .077 and .074.[36]

Figure 3.1. A typology of random effects structures for multilevel models of comparative longitudinal survey data (adopted from Schmidt-Catran & Fairbrother, 2016).
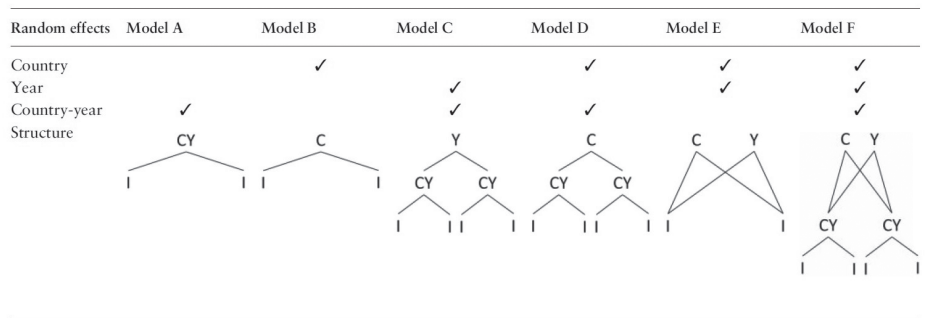
Note: C=country-level RE, Y = year-level RE, CY = country-year-level RE, I = individual level.

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33 Models were estimated in R using the 'lme4' package, which produces generalised linear mixed models with a maximum likelihood fit (Laplace Approximation).

34 We tested whether we needed to include random slopes for our variables contact frequency with neighbours and willingness to help, which were expected to vary across neighbourhoods. However, models including these random slopes did not have a significant better fit, based on -2Loglikelihood comparisons, than the models including fixed effects.

35 Based on AIC and BIC criteria. These results are available upon request.

36 These intraclass correlations were computed following the latent correlation application described by Rodrıguez and Elo (2003).

In our analyses we present three models for both employment states. The first model contains all individual and neighbourhood variables to assess how contact frequency with neighbours and their willingness to help relate to employment, controlled for possible other influences. In the second and third model interaction terms are added, namely the interaction between neighbourhood SES and contact frequency with neighbours (second model) and the interaction between neighbourhood SES and willingness to help (third model). The latter two models enable us to research how the effect of neighbourhood ties varies across low, mixed and high SES neighbourhoods. Furthermore, we estimate these six models for both men and women to investigate the extent to which gender differences exist. For reasons of parsimony we only present the coefficients of interest for the gender models, which are contact frequency with neighbours, willingness to help, neighbourhood SES, and the corresponding interaction terms. Finally, all continuous variables on the individual and neighbourhood level presented in Table 3.1 are mean-centred in the multilevel analyses, which was required for the models to converge.

Results

Table 3.2 reports the full multilevel models including all individual and neighbourhood variables. Model 1 shows that contact frequency with neighbours is negatively related to working part-time: the odds ratio (OR) is .938 and significant (α = .01). The effect is even more negative for full-timers (OR = .881, Model 4). These findings indicate that working more hours is inversely related to having contacts with neighbours. Conversely, for the willingness to help neighbours we find one positive effect: respondents with a neutral attitude had higher odds of being in full-time employment than respondents who indicated that their neighbours were not willing to help (OR = 1.285, Model 4). The effects of our social-interactive measures seem to mainly support our negative hypothesis, namely that neighbourhood ties are negatively associated with employment.

According to the social mix hypothesis, the effects of contact with neighbours and willingness to help are expected to be more positive when neighbourhood SES increases. Table 3.2 shows that all interaction terms (Models 2, 3, 5 and 6) are insignificant, meaning that the effects of contact frequency and willingness to help with regard to employment do not significantly vary across neighbourhoods. This observation implies that for the less well-educated it does not matter whether they live in a low, mixed or high SES neighbourhood with regard to obtaining employment through neighbours, because the association between neighbourhood ties and employment appears to be invariable.[37]

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37   We performed additional tests for our models to check for non-linear relations between our inde-
     pendent variables (contact frequency with neighbours, willingness to help, and neighbourhood
     SES) and our dependent variable by using dummy variables for the independent variables. These
     tests did not yield any different results, nor did they provide better model fits.

The models in Table 3.2 show a significant impact of several control variables on the odds of being in part-time or full-time employment compared to the odds of being unemployed. Contact frequency with family is positively related to both working part-time (OR = 1.158, Model 1) and full-time (OR = 1.188, Model 4), indicating that kin – regarded as strong ties – might play an important role concerning job attainment among less well-educated groups (cf. Blokland & Noordhoff, 2008). Other effects are in accordance with earlier research, such as the lower participation odds of the low educated, young and old respondents, non-Dutch respondents and respondents with disabilities.

Table 3.2. Random intercept logistic models with odds ratios for employment status (ref. = unemployed/welfare benefits).

	Part-time			Full-time		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Intercept (logit)	1.428***	1.414***	1.408***	0.677***	0.673***	0.671***
Individual level variables						
Contact frequency with neighbours	0.938***	0.945**	0.938***	0.881***	0.883***	0.881***
Willingness to help (ref. = not willing)						
Neutral	1.153	1.158	1.170	1.285**	1.288**	1.297**
Willing to help	1.072	1.075	1.096	1.149	1.150	1.156
Contact frequency with family	1.158***	1.159***	1.158***	1.188***	1.189***	1.188***
Contact frequency with friends/acquaintances	1.052	1.050	1.051	1.063**	1.063**	1.063**
Education (ref. = high vocational)						
None/elementary education	0.470***	0.471***	0.470***	0.540***	0.541***	0.541***
Low vocational	0.607***	0.609***	0.607***	0.638***	0.640***	0.638***
Middle vocational	0.780**	0.781**	0.782**	0.831*	0.830*	0.830*
Higher general secondary education	0.911	0.914	0.913	0.876	0.878	0.876
Preparatory academic education	1.100	1.110	1.101	1.033	1.036	1.032
Gender (ref. = female)	0.419***	0.419***	0.419***	3.329***	3.330***	3.328***
Age category (ref. = 35-44)						
15-24	0.906	0.909	0.909	0.202***	0.203***	0.203***
25-34	0.968	0.968	0.967	0.995	0.996	0.994
45-54	1.035	1.037	1.036	1.058	1.058	1.058
55+	0.756**	0.758**	0.757**	0.603***	0.603***	0.603***
Household status (ref. = couple with children)						
Couple without children	0.958	0.959	0.957	1.119	1.118	1.118
Single household	0.398***	0.400***	0.398***	0.630***	0.630***	0.630***

Table 3.2. Continued.

	Part-time			Full-time		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Single parent household	0.507***	0.507***	0.507***	0.541***	0.540***	0.541***
Other	0.402***	0.404***	0.400***	0.755	0.757	0.754
Ethnicity (ref. = Dutch)						
Surinamese/Antillean	0.705***	0.708***	0.706***	0.636***	0.637***	0.637***
Turkish	0.396***	0.401***	0.399***	0.427***	0.429***	0.427***
Other non-Western	0.545***	0.550***	0.546***	0.458***	0.460***	0.458***
Other Western	0.712***	0.716***	0.713***	0.721***	0.721***	0.721***
Tenure (ref. = social renter)						
Private renter	1.267*	1.270*	1.265*	1.868***	1.871***	1.868***
Homeowner	2.422***	2.417***	2.413***	3.633***	3.624***	3.631***
Length of residence	1.128***	1.129***	1.128***	1.092**	1.092**	1.092**
Health disabilities ref. = no disabilities)						
Moderate disabilities	0.488***	0.488***	0.488***	0.467***	0.466***	0.467***
Strong disabilities	0.318***	0.318***	0.319***	0.200***	0.201***	0.200***
Dutch language fluency	1.370***	1.378***	1.370***	1.527***	1.530***	1.528***
Year (ref. = 2013)	1.145*	1.145*	1.143*	0.951	0.953	0.952
Neighbourhood level variables						
Neighbourhood SES	1.041	1.041	0.989	1.018	1.020	1.001
per cent Higher educated neighbours	2.620***	2.634***	2.641***	1.328	1.334	1.327
Cross-level interaction terms						
Neighbourhood SES * contact neighbours		1.033			1.014	
Neighbourhood SES * neutral (willingness to help)			1.027			1.031
Neighbourhood SES * willing to help			1.087			1.021
-2Loglikelihood	4,808	4,806	4,807	5,275	5,275	5,275
N (individuals)	4,577	4,577	4,577	5,880	5,880	5,880
N (neighbourhood-years)	142	142	142	142	142	142
Variance components						
Year variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Neighbourhood variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.005	0.006	0.005
Neighbourhood-year variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.009	0.009	0.009

Significance levels: * p < .10 (two-tailed); ** p < .05 (two-tailed); *** p < .01 (two-tailed).

Previous neighbourhood research has demonstrated that effects for certain groups differ between neighbourhoods, whereby gender differences are often found to be profound (e.g. Kling et al., 2005). Looking at the distribution of employment, Table 3.1 indicates that the largest share of men worked full-time (67 per cent), whereas women

mostly worked part-time (48 per cent). In Table 3.3 and 3.4 the full models are split by gender. The analyses for women do not yield very different results compared to the ones discussed above; contact frequency with neighbours is negatively associated with working part-time (OR = .942, α = .05, Model 1a) and full-time (OR = .871, Model 4a). The effects of willingness to help are not significant and moreover, both relations do not vary across neighbourhoods since the interaction terms in Models 2a, 3a, 5a and 6a are insignificant.

Table 3.3. Random intercept logistic models with selected odds ratios for women's employment status (ref. = unemployed/welfare benefits).

	Part-time			Full-time		
	Model 1a	Model 2a	Model 3a	Model 4a	Model 5a	Model 6a
Intercept (logit)	1.596***	1.594***	1.605***	0.186	0.185	0.216
Individual level variables						
Contact frequency with neighbours	0.942**	0.943*	0.942**	0.871***	0.872***	0.871***
Willingness to help (ref. = not willing)						
Neutral	1.119	1.119	1.122	1.156	1.156	1.123
Willing to help	1.118	1.117	1.107	1.041	1.041	1.008
Neighbourhood level variables						
Neighbourhood SES	1.087	1.086	1.107	0.993	0.995	1.092
Cross-level interaction terms						
Neighbourhood SES * contact neighbours		1.006			1.006	
Neighbourhood SES * neutral (willingness to help)			1.043			0.906
Neighbourhood SES * willing to help			0.958			0.864
-2Loglikelihood	3,206	3,206	3,205	2,277	2,277	2,275
N (individuals)	3,171	3,171	3,171	2,199	2,199	2,199
N (neighbourhood-years)	141	141	141	139	139	139
Variance components						
Year variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Neighbourhood variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Neighbourhood-year variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Significance levels: * $p < .10$ (two-tailed); ** $p < .05$ (two-tailed); *** $p < .01$ (two-tailed).
Note: Models include all control variables presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3.4. Random intercept logistic models with selected odds ratios for men's employment status (ref. = unemployed/welfare benefits).

|	Part-time			Full-time		
	Model 1b	Model 2b	Model 3b	Model 4b	Model 5b	Model 6b
Intercept (logit)	0.229	0.190	0.165	2.178***	2.175***	2.131***
Individual level variables						
Contact frequency with neighbours	0.924*	0.937	0.924*	0.889***	0.893***	0.888***
Willingness to help (ref. = not willing)						
Neutral	1.222	1.268	1.279	1.413**	1.418**	1.478**
Willing to help	0.988	1.013	1.065	1.243	1.245	1.314*
Neighbourhood level variables						
Neighbourhood SES	0.946	0.949	0.785*	1.036	1.038	0.924
Cross-level interaction terms						
Neighbourhood SES * contact neighbours		1.075*			1.019	
Neighbourhood SES * neutral (willingness to help)			1.077			1.118
Neighbourhood SES * willing to help			1.390**			1.189
-2Loglikelihood	1,558	1,554	1,552	2,894	2,893	2,891
N (individuals)	1,406	1,406	1,406	3,681	3,681	3,681
N (neighbourhood-years)	142	142	142	142	142	142
Variance components						
Year variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Neighbourhood variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Neighbourhood-year variance	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Significance levels: * p < .10 (two-tailed); ** p < .05 (two-tailed); *** p < .01 (two-tailed).
Note: Models include all control variables presented in Table 3.1.

For men working full-time, we find that contact frequency with neighbours has a negative effect (OR = .889, Model 4b) and having a neutral attitude towards helping has a positive effect (OR = 1.413, α = .05). Once more, these effects do not vary across neighbourhoods with different SES (see Models 5b and 6b). On the other hand, the results for men working part-time compared to unemployed men show a different picture. In Model 1b none of the relevant effects are significant, but Model 2b demonstrates that the relation between contact frequency with neighbours and part-time employment significantly varies across neighbourhoods (OR = 1.075, α = .1). Hence, the association between contact with neighbours and part-time employment positively increases with neighbourhood SES. We particularly note that for a neighbourhood with average SES – the variables were mean-centred – the effect of contact with neighbours is negative and not significant (OR = .937, Model 2b). To better understand this interaction-effect,

we have depicted the effects for the minimum, average and maximum neighbourhood SES based on predicted probabilities (Figure 3.2). Figure 3.2 shows that the slope is most steep for the minimum neighbourhood SES (negative effect), whereas the slope is slightly positive for the maximum neighbourhood SES. In our interpretation, it is likely that mixed SES neighbourhoods prevent a negative association between contact with neighbours and part-time employment among men, rather than fostering a positive association.

Figure 3.2. Effect of contact frequency with neighbours on part-time employment for men (ref. = unemployed/welfare benefits), moderated by neighbourhood SES.
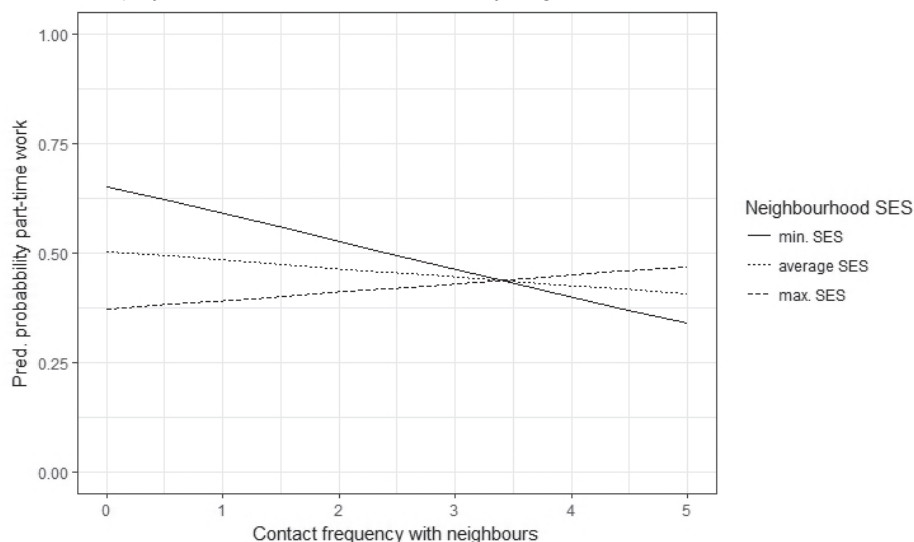
In Model 3b the interaction between neighbourhood SES and willingness to help is positive and significant (OR = 1.390, α = .05), signifying that neighbours' willingness to help has a stronger positive impact on part-time male employment when neighbourhood SES increases. Figure 3.3, which illustrates the interaction-effect using predicted probabilities, shows that the effect of willingness to help is positive for neighbourhoods with maximum SES, but turns negative for neighbourhoods with minimum SES. This plot suggests that for low SES neighbourhoods, the willingness of neighbours to help is associated with a reduced chance of part-time employment for men.

Figure 3.3. Effect of willingness to help on part-time employment for men (ref. = unemployed/ welfare benefits), moderated by neighbourhood SES.
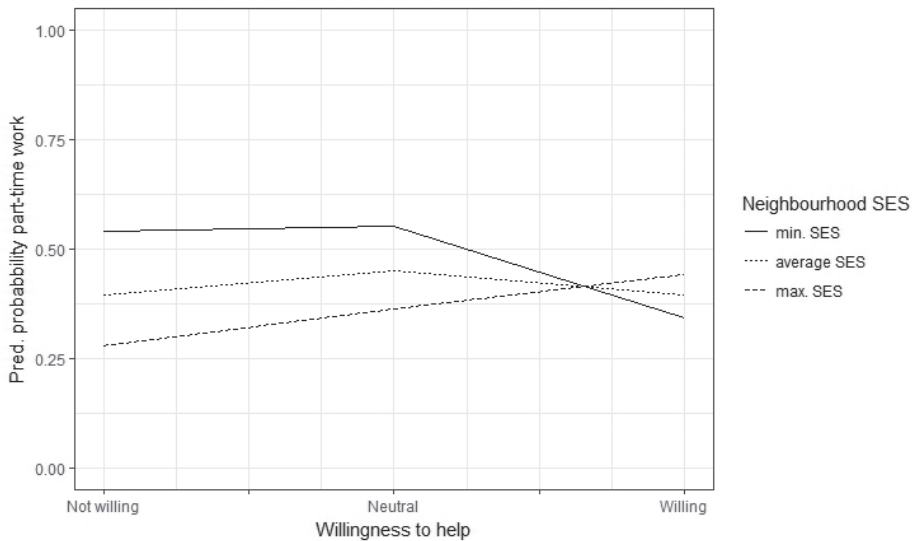
Conclusion and discussion

This study of less well-educated groups set out to answer three questions regarding the relations between neighbourhood ties, employment, and neighbourhood SES: to what extent do neighbourhood ties and employment associate for the low and middle educated? Do these associations vary across low, mixed and high SES neighbourhoods? And how do outcomes differ when we distinguish between men and women? Using two cross-sectional waves (2013 and 2015) from the Neighbourhood Profile survey, covering 71 neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, the Netherlands, multilevel models were estimated that included measures of contact frequency with neighbours and perceptions of neighbours' willingness to help. By employing these measures, this paper sheds more light on the mechanisms that underlie neighbourhood effects (cf. Miltenburg, 2015).

Concerning the first two questions, our main conclusion is that neighbourhood ties are predominantly negatively related to being employed – an association stronger for full-timers than for part-timers – and that this relation does not vary across neighbourhoods with a different SES. Based on our theoretical framework, we offer three possible explanations for these findings. First, neighbourhood ties amongst less well-educated groups operate as a 'dark side' of social capital with respect to labour market participation (cf. Portes, 1998). These contacts might offer support to help people 'get by' in other domains such as informal care or chores, but when it comes to obtaining a job their resources (e.g. references, advice, job information) are too limited to help people 'get ahead' (Briggs, 1998). Moreover, the negative association implies that neighbours may act as 'draining' ties, meaning that neighbours' appeals for help

put a strain on resources such as money, time, and energy, which in turn affects their ability to work consistently (Blokland & Noordhoff, 2008; Curley, 2008; Nguyen et al., 2016). We emphasise, however, that our measures did not include any potential negative aspects of neighbourhood ties. Whether or not neighbourhood ties really do have a draining effect requires further scrutiny (Blokland & Noordhoff, 2008).

Second, from a time-use perspective it is logical that people who work fewer hours can spend more time socialising in the neighbourhood. Having frequent contacts with neighbours might thus be a result of unemployment, but not necessarily one of its causes (Engbersen et al., 2006). We thereby note that we mainly found effects for our behavioural measure (contact frequency with neighbours) and not our attitudinal measure (willingness to help). This finding might indicate that neighbours help each other regardless of their labour market statuses, whereas their level of interaction is higher as people work fewer hours.

Third, in accordance with earlier research it is likely that mixed neighbourhoods are not synonymous with mixed or 'bridging' networks and even if these mixed networks do exist, they are not strong enough to transfer resources that can lead to employment for the less well-educated (Blokland, 2008; Kleit, 2001). Since our models did not include any measures of how mixed people's neighbourhood networks were, for instance in terms of bridging or resource-rich ties, we cannot empirically substantiate that the invariability of the relationship between neighbourhood ties and employment across neighbourhoods is due to a dearth of mixed networks.

Turning to our third research question, we found one exception to our main conclusion. When we compared men who were working part-time to unemployed men, we established a varying relationship between neighbourhood ties and employment across different neighbourhoods. Regarding neighbourhood contacts, this relation is negative in low SES neighbourhoods, more or less neutral in mixed SES neighbourhoods, and slightly positive in high SES neighbourhoods. Neighbours' willingness to help has a positive association with part-time employment in high SES neighbourhoods. These findings imply that neighbours do not form draining ties in mixed neighbourhoods and moreover, that in high SES neighbourhoods neighbours can actually help men to obtain part-time employment. A possible explanation is that there are resources (information, advice, references) available in high SES neighbourhoods which provide access to 'small' part-time jobs and that these resources are accessible to less well-educated men though informal neighbourhood channels (cf. Pinkster, 2009b).

As our empirical results provide tentative evidence that the employed have fewer neighbourhood ties, we can, given our explanations above, ponder the implications of our main conclusion. People who work more have less time to engage with their neighbours. Their contribution to local networks might therefore be rather low, along with their ability to help other neighbours obtain a job (cf. van Eijk, 2010c). Several studies further indicate that people prefer maintaining ties with similar others in their neighbourhood, i.e. based on homophily (see Bolt & van Kempen, 2013). In this respect the exchange of resources between the employed and unemployed is likely to be

restricted. Based on these propositions, i.e. limited participation in local networks by the employed and the tendency to form homogeneous networks, one could infer that neighbourhood ties have limited relevance for labour market participation.

This latter implication finds some support in our models, which indicate that other factors, such as education level and health disabilities, are more powerful predictors of employment status. Hence, we should not overemphasise the role of neighbourhood ties in relation to employment.

To conclude, we point out some limitations of our study and general points for discussion. We have already mentioned some of the deficits of our neighbourhood ties measures with regard to their limited coverage of aspects relevant to respondents' employment status. For instance, our measures did not include the kind of neighbours with whom respondents had contacts (resource-rich or resource-poor), what kind of information was exchanged between neighbours, nor the quality of ties. Other labour market research has already demonstrated how such tie characteristics relate to a higher job status or earnings (e.g. Granovetter, 1995). Yet, less is known about which relational factors relate to obtaining employment (see Aguilera, 2002) and which aspects of neighbouring relations might be important. Our study provides some preliminary insights into these issues.

Another limitation is that the cross-sectional design of our study does not enable us to further address issues of causality. Although we found associations between neighbourhood ties and employment, we cannot empirically establish the causes of these associations in this research. We have therefore tried to be cautious with our interpretations. If, however, we assume that our established negative associations between neighbourhood ties and employment are a result of draining ties, an elemental question remains: do less well-educated people become unemployed as a result of having draining ties in the neighbourhood, or did they develop resource-poor neighbourhood ties as a result of unemployment (cf. Cheshire, 2007)? We believe that one perspective is not antithetical to the other. Unemployment and resource-poor networks can mutually reinforce each other in the persistence of poverty; people move into poor areas and develop ties with neighbours, which in turn hinder their labour market opportunities. Understanding such processes is at the core of neighbourhood research and requires more in-depth examination of how moving behaviour and the development of neighbourhood ties are interrelated. Such research would, for example, require a combination of a) a social network analysis of neighbourhood networks, thus mapping residents' networks within a confined geographical area and b) a life history analysis of residents, which would uncover both their arrival and embeddedness in the neighbourhood. To be clear, we do not claim that our study provides any empirical evidence of draining ties; our intention here is to discuss the questions that our research raises.

A final remark is that we have tested different hypotheses in this study which were derived from multiple qualitative neighbourhood studies, thus employing ethnographies to generate specific hypotheses (Small & Feldman, 2012). Our quantitative results support

the view that neighbourhood ties are negatively related (e.g. Blokland & Noordhoff, 2008) rather than positively related (e.g. Tersteeg et al., 2015) to employment. By integrating insights from qualitative studies into our theoretical framework, we have contributed to obtaining a more coherent interpretation of how neighbourhoods matter (Small & Feldman, 2012). Future qualitative studies could further disentangle why such opposing hypotheses exist by investigating how different neighbourhood mechanisms operate and especially for whom (Small & Feldman, 2012). Moreover, findings from quantitative studies can fuel research agendas for neighbourhood ethnographies. For instance, field observations might reveal the ways in which men can obtain part-time jobs in high SES neighbourhoods with the help of their neighbours, or conversely, why this finding from our study might be spurious. Such observations might also explain why we found effects for men in this regard and not for women (cf. Hanson & Pratt, 1991). In turn, more specific hypotheses about neighbourhood mechanisms – and to whom they apply – can be formulated, which can be then tested across neighbourhood contexts by conducting quantitative research.
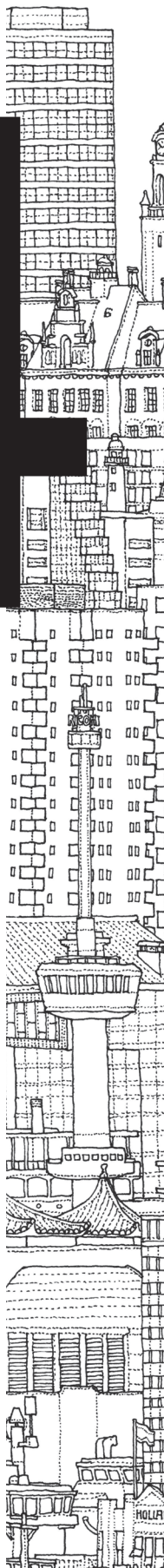
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The economic recession and civic participation: the curious case of Rotterdam's civil society, 2008-2013

Abstract

This paper investigates how the 2008-2009 recession affected civic participation in disadvantaged and affluent neighbourhoods in the city of Rotterdam. We hypothesise that levels of civic participation may either diverge or converge across neighbourhoods with a different socioeconomic status. We build upon a recent wave of studies examining how civil society has been affected by the 2008-2009 recession. Using five waves from the Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile survey (N = 63,134; 71 neighbourhoods), we find converging trends in civic participation. Between 2008 and 2013, civic participation declined in affluent neighbourhoods but increased slightly in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This convergence is partly due to the level of perceived problems in the neighbourhood and differences in the types of volunteering found in disadvantaged and affluent neighbourhoods. In addition, we argue that these converging trends can be better understood by considering the neighbourhood organisational infrastructure and local policy configurations. Next to examining the impact of the 2008-2009 recession on civic participation, we contribute to research on civil society by comparing the UK and Dutch context.

Introduction

How people and communities respond to economic hard times has long been of interest to sociologists (e.g. Bourdieu et al., 1999; Jahoda et al., 2017; Putnam, 2000; Wilson, 1996). A recent wave of studies has examined how civil society was affected by the 2008-2009 recession (Civil Exchange, 2015; Clifford, 2017; Jones et al., 2016; Lim & Laurence, 2015; Lim & Sander, 2013; Rotolo et al., 2015). An innovative study by Lim and Laurence (2015) shows that volunteering declined in the UK during the recession period and that this decline was steeper in disadvantaged communities. They suggest this varying effect of the recession across communities was a result of changes in organisational infrastructure and cultural norms. Their findings raise an important issue: do economic recessions unevenly affect civic involvement in different communities or areas and what mechanisms explain these differences?

Many scholars anticipated that the recession would have an uneven impact on civil society (Kisby, 2010; Lindsey, 2013; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; North, 2011; Uitermark, 2015). They argue that, in times of recession, with the corresponding austerity policies, affluent communities with strong social capital are better equipped to respond to changes in the civil domain than disadvantaged communities with less social capital. A possible consequence is that civic participation declines more in disadvantaged communities than in affluent communities. However, when comparing their UK findings to the US context, Lim and Laurence (2015) emphasise the importance of national institutions and cultural factors in understanding differences in volunteering behaviour, implying the 2008-2009 recession did not necessarily cause a divergence in volunteering or other forms of civic participation among more and less disadvantaged groups, neighbourhoods, or regions.

In this study we examine the impact of the economic recession in more detail by focusing on neighbourhoods. Specifically, we look at trends in civic participation across 71 neighbourhoods in the Dutch city of Rotterdam between 2008 and 2013 (N = 63,134; 5 waves). As far as we are aware this is the first time series analysis of rates of civic participation at the neighbourhood level.

A comparison between the UK and Dutch context is particularly interesting, because both countries faced austerity during the 2008-2009 recession and a similar discourse on civil society and the welfare state emerged. In the UK politicians referred to the 'Big Society' as a way of encouraging participation whereas the Dutch version is called '*participatiesamenleving* (participation society)'. They are very similar in the sense that they combine goals of promoting 'citizen involvement', 'localism', and 'responsibility' with a retrenchment of the state in the public domain (Kisby, 2010; Uitermark, 2015). While today both terms have lost their traction in public discourse on civil society, the underlying principles of both concepts remain present in public discourse and policy (Crisp, 2015). In terms of research these similarities in austerity and discourse between the UK and the Netherlands reaffirm the need for empirical investigation into

developments in civic behaviour, since similar conditions do not always result in similar behaviour.

Our research confirms this notion. In contrast to Lim and Laurence (2015), we find that rates of volunteering and neighbourhood involvement in different neighbourhoods in Rotterdam generally converged between 2008 and 2013. In affluent neighbourhoods civic participation declined (especially volunteering), in neighbourhoods with middle socioeconomic statuses (SES) civic participation remained more or less the same, and disadvantaged neighbourhoods saw a small increase in civic participation. In this light we can reformulate the issue we noted before: why does inequality in civic participation between neighbourhoods increase or decrease during an economic recession? In this paper we suggest several mechanisms that could explain variable trends in civic participation during an economic recession. These mechanisms include the need for local involvement in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, the uneven impact of austerity on civic organisations, and local social policies.

This study makes multiple contributions to the literature on civic participation. In addition to investigating the impact of the 2008-2009 recession on civic participation and comparing the UK and Dutch context, it also pays attention to the role of neighbourhood and policy factors. The analysis has a multilevel framework, since individual, neighbourhood, and time-related variables must be taken into account. Our central research question reads: How can trends in civic participation across neighbourhoods with a different SES in Rotterdam between 2008 and 2013 be explained?

Theoretical framework

Civic participation is a broad term referring to people's involvement in voluntary organisations and grassroots initiatives (Putnam, 2000). Civil society is a sphere that is separate from the family, state, and market, one in which people take collective action around shared interests, purposes, and values (Corry, 2010). In practice, multiple links exist between civil society and other spheres, something that is also theorised in this study. We are interested in two forms of civic participation, namely volunteering and neighbourhood involvement. We regard both volunteering and neighbourhood involvement as forms of collective action within the civil sphere.

Volunteering is frequently considered as an indicator of how 'healthy' civil society is. It refers to mutual aid, as when a group of people work together to achieve a common goal (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p. 11). Volunteering shows whether people display altruistic behaviour in general.

Neighbourhood involvement is conceptualised as being active for the neighbourhood in any organised form. This definition includes a range of activities, such as participating in a neighbourhood association or organising an event with a group of residents. Neighbourhood involvement differs here from the idea of 'neighbouring' in general (cf. Wilson & Son, 2018), since it focuses more on formal and organised

activities. In discussions about the 'participation society' the need for residents to engage with their local environment, both socially and physically, is consistently emphasised, underlining the importance of investigating neighbourhood involvement

Volunteering and neighbourhood involvement are distinct but similar forms of civic behaviour since both are predominantly local and people engage in both of them for similar reasons (Dekker & de Hart, 2009; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Our theoretical explanations of civic behaviour can therefore be applied to both forms.

The theoretical framework is outlined as follows. First, we present general theory of civic participation that helps explain trends in civic participation during the 2008-2009 recession. Second, we describe characteristics of the recession and argue why, in combination with theory about civic participation, inequality in civic participation could increase during the recession. We then develop an opposite hypothesis, namely that inequality in civic participation will decrease during the recession, by providing more details on Rotterdam and its local policies.

Individual employment and neighbourhood factors

Given that a recession causes widespread unemployment, we first review the influence of employment on civic participation. Mixed views exist about the relation between employment and civic participation (Lim & Sander, 2013; Strauß, 2008; Wilson, 2000), since some studies suggest that work integrates people into social networks that foster civic participation (Musick & Wilson, 2008; Rotolo & Wilson, 2003), whereas other studies indicate that people with no or limited working hours (the unemployed, part-time workers, retirees) devote more time to volunteering and similar activities (Dekker et al., 2008; Markham & Bonjean, 1996). In the Netherlands the latter view seems more valid, as people with more free time feel they have to 'contribute to society' and volunteering can provide access to the labour market (see Dekker & de Hart, 2009).

Whether people are likely to participate in the civil domain is further influenced by the area in which they live. In the neighbourhood effects literature, several neighbourhood characteristics have been identified as explanations for differences in civic participation between neighbourhoods; differences that cannot be attributed to the individual characteristics of residents (van Ham et al., 2012). Although many studies have focused on the role of ethnic diversity (see van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014), neighbourhood SES seems to be a more important contextual characteristic for explaining differences in social capital and civic behaviour (Bécares et al., 2011; Laurence, 2009; Letki, 2008; Tolsma et al., 2009). Neighbourhood SES has particular relevance for our theoretical framework, since we hypothesise that levels of civic participation will diverge or converge according to the available socioeconomic resources in neighbourhoods (cf. Snel et al., 2018).

Several scholars demonstrate that level of neighbourhood SES and the organisational infrastructure associated with it are key to explaining differences in levels of civic participation (Sampson, 2012; Sampson et al., 2005; Small, 2009; Wilson, 1987,

1996).[38] The resources available in higher SES neighbourhoods – particularly the type of resources possessed by educated, middle class residents – have positive effects on participation because a) residents can invest these resources (such as financial capital and knowledge) in the organisational infrastructure, e.g. churches, neighbourhood centres, neighbourhood watches, and other associations (Clifford, 2018), which in turn stimulates the participation of other residents; and b) higher educated neighbours potentially have positive peer influences (Stoll, 2001; see also Galster, 2012 on neighbourhood mechanisms). Organisations play a pivotal role because they enable participation; the formal character of civic participation is derived from its institutionalised form (Musick & Wilson, 2008). In this regard empirical studies show a positive relationship between SES and organisational involvement on the communal level (Sampson & Graif, 2009; Sampson & Groves, 1989).

Other studies provide a different perspective on the relation between neighbourhood SES and civic participation. A low level of neighbourhood SES can also spur civic participation, since the need for participation will be more urgent in low SES neighbourhoods (Gilster, 2014; Perkins et al., 1990; Snel et al., 2018; Swaroop & Morenoff, 2006). Poor neighbourhoods are associated with problems such as litter, feelings of unsafety, crime, and deterioration. Such problems can trigger social action by residents, leading to more participation in neighbourhood activities.

An example of this needs-perspective in Rotterdam is *Opzoomeren*. This community-development policy originated in the late 1980s in a street named *Opzoomerstraat* when residents became discontented with its deteriorated state and worked to improve the environment with the assistance of municipal funds (Uitermark, 2015). Nowadays about 1,700 street groups across Rotterdam apply for Opzoomer funds, their goals being not only the improvement of the physical environment but also community-orientated social events and language lessons (Opzoomer Mee, 2018). Moreover, social professionals frequently provide assistance during Opzoomeren, meaning the state not only provides funds but is also actively participating (cf. de Graaf et al., 2015). This example illustrates that in the Netherlands – as opposed to the US context – the organisational infrastructure is partly maintained by the welfare state, thereby enabling equal opportunities for participation across neighbourhoods with a different SES (cf. Wacquant, 2008).

Possible negative effects of the economic recession

The neighbourhood perspectives provide preliminary insights into how organisations, and civil society more general, might have responded to the 2008-2009 recession. After all, the recession has challenged the economic base of many organisations (Clifford, 2017, 2018; Jones et al., 2016) and also the demand for volunteers (Lim & Laurence,

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38 An important difference is, however, that Sampson et al. (2005) mainly focused on collective civic events and not on individual participation.

2015; Rotolo et al., 2015). The possible effects on civil society will become clearer after we discuss economic and public policy aspects of the recession.

In economic terms the recession led to high unemployment and austerity measures. Unemployment in Rotterdam rose from 5.8 per cent in 2008 to 12.6 per cent in 2014 (Table 4.1). The municipality initiated an austerity program in which roughly 150 million euros of policy budgets were cut for the period 2012–2015 (Rotterdam Court of Audit, 2011). This austerity program mainly targeted the departments of social welfare and care, which had an annual budget of approximately 420 million euros.

Table 4.1. Unemployment rate in Rotterdam, 2007-2016

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Unemployment rate %	6.6	5.8	6.7	8.0	8.2	10.5	12.3	12.6	12.0	11.3

Source: Statistics Netherlands

The recession is further associated with certain policy paradigms becoming more salient in public debate. The policy concepts Big Society and participation society are both characterised by a discursive emphasis on 'responsibilisation' and 'localism' or 'decentralisation' (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; North, 2011; Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). Responsibilisation means citizens are primarily held responsible for personal and communal issues instead of the state. 'Localism' or 'decentralisation' on the other hand signify that citizens and local communities should have more power and capability in organising their public services, which have traditionally been provided by the nation state. In other words, responsibility for public services is transferred from the state to local government, communities, and citizens.[39]

One possible consequence is that the amalgamation of austerity and discussions on policy led to a general decrease in civic participation during the 2008-2009 recession. During an economic downturn civic organisations have more difficulties obtaining the amount of resources they need, since people tend to donate less money and public funds are cut. In turn, their opportunities to facilitate civic participation diminish. In addition, widespread and prolonged unemployment might lower people's sense of collective efficacy (Lim & Sander, 2013, p. 16). Combined with political calls for 'taking responsibility', this may lead to widespread cynicism and thus dampen civic spirit and participation.

In line with the findings by Lim and Laurence (2015), many scholars have suggested that the likelihood of such detrimental effects on civil society might differ between communities (Civil Exchange, 2015; Crisp, 2015; Jones et al., 2016; Kisby, 2010; North,

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39   The policy shifts and associated discourses are of course more complex than we are able to discuss here. In general it can be said that trends towards 'responsibilisation' and 'localism' or 'decentral-ization' have been present for multiple decades (e.g. North, 2011). In this regard the economic recession likely served as a catalyst for popularizing these policy paradigms.

2011; Uitermark, 2015). Research from the UK shows that organisations experiencing the largest cutback in government resources were mainly located in deprived areas, where they serviced various disadvantaged groups (Civil Exchange, 2015; Clifford, 2017; Clifford et al., 2013; Jones et al., 2016). Given that local communities bear increased responsibility for continuing their civic organisations, these findings strengthen the expectation that organisations in affluent communities with strong social networks are more capable of dealing with the challenges of the 2008-2009 recession, whereas organisations in deprived communities with weak social networks were less capable of handling the cutback in resources (cf. Lindsey, 2013).

These discrepancies disproportionally affect levels of citizen participation, because organisations form the base of participation; they provide the opportunities for people to volunteer or to become involved in neighbourhood issues (Sampson, 2012; Small, 2009). Lim and Laurence (2015) show that the probability of volunteering in disadvantaged communities decreased more than in affluent communities after the onset of the 2008-2009 economic recession. This effect occurred at the communal level, meaning differences in volunteering could not be explained by people becoming unemployed or facing economic hardship on the individual level. They argue that this divergent effect is probably a result of changes in the organisational infrastructure, and not mere differences in individuals' characteristics. Following this line of reasoning, it can thus be hypothesised that *the 2008-2009 recession will have a stronger negative effect on civic participation when neighbourhood SES is lower (divergence hypothesis).*

Potentially equalising effects

The UK studies show that the 2008-2009 recession had a severe impact on civil society. However, an alternative theory predicts that civic participation would increase during an economic recession. In economic hard times people's needs are more difficult to meet through market or state mechanisms due to widespread unemployment or cutbacks in government services. More is expected from civic organisations who can mobilise volunteers and help those in need. Moreover, the recognition that people are struggling can heighten the sense of community and promote altruistic behaviour. The increased demand for help might thus lead to higher levels of civic participation in general (Lim & Laurence, 2015; Lim & Sander, 2013; Rotolo et al., 2015).

Building on this premise, we can further expect that during an economic recession levels of civic participation will converge between disadvantaged and affluent neighbourhoods. The needs-perspective we explicated before provides support for this hypothesis, since in disadvantaged neighbourhoods the need for participation is generally more urgent than in affluent neighbourhoods. A second argument relates to two Rotterdam policies, including the organisational infrastructure relating to civic participation and the Reciprocity Policy, which we will discuss in turn.

Rotterdam has a city-wide organisational infrastructure, meaning there is a more or less equal distribution of civic organisations across the city (Uitermark, 2012, 2015). According to Uitermark (2012), the municipality has from the 1980s onwards invested in

umbrella organisations and professional support for vulnerable residents, immigrants, women, and other groups in all parts of the city, a governance figuration he refers to as 'civil corporatism'. This figuration fits into a Dutch tradition of state involvement in the civil domain that highly values equal representation (cf. Salamon, 1987), whereby civic initiatives and organisations aim to foster the participation of vulnerable residents (e.g. the unemployed or people with disabilities), in particular in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (de Graaf et al., 2015).

The city-wide organisational infrastructure was not unaffected by the 2008-2009 recession. Multiple public provisions such as neighbourhood centres and public libraries were closed and funds for civic associations and activities reduced (Bronsveld, 2016; van der Zwaard & Specht, 2013). Yet, despite the recession the municipality still offers various funding possibilities for civic groups, for example through Opzoomeren or other resources that are allocated across low, mixed, and high SES neighbourhoods alike (Bronsveld, 2016; Opzoomer Mee, 2018). In line with the Dutch tradition of state involvement, the municipality's policy view is that neighbourhood organisations should be primarily run by local residents but that social professionals will help in those districts where residents are not sufficiently capable of managing themselves (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015). This policy view implicates that in districts with a less well-developed civic base the local state maintains an organisational infrastructure that enables participation (Kullberg et al., 2015; cf. Wacquant, 2008). Hence, neighbourhoods with a lower SES probably received more government support during the 2008-2009 recession. This would imply that levels of civic participation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods were less negatively affected by the 2008-2009 recession. Unfortunately, we are unable to incorporate the role of the organisational infrastructure in our analyses. Nevertheless, following Sampson (2011, 2012) we believe the presence of civic organisations has great theoretical relevance (see also discussion section).

The second policy to affect civic participation is known as the 'Rotterdam Reciprocity Policy'. It requires social assistance recipients with a so-called 'large distance to the labour market' – a Dutch expression to indicate persons who have little chance of obtaining formal employment – to do 'something in return' for the city, which frequently translates into performing 'mandatory' voluntary work (Bus et al., 2017).[40] The Reciprocity Policy was gradually implemented during the period covered by our study: in 2011 an act of reciprocity was made mandatory in 7 neighbourhoods, targeting about 12 per cent of all recipients and in 2013 the policy covered 14 neighbourhoods including about 21 per cent of all recipients (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2014). Although the Reciprocity Policy covers all neighbourhoods in Rotterdam in 2018, during its introduction in 2011-2013 the policy was targeted at low SES neighbourhoods that included large shares of the social assistance recipients in the city. During the economic recession civic participation by residents in low SES neighbourhoods may have increased at a higher

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40 Considering the participation society, this policy can be interpreted as making recipients more responsible for their own welfare (see also van Eijk, 2010b).

rate compared to residents in higher SES neighbourhoods as a result of the Reciprocity Policy.[41]

Summing up, based on explanations relating to the needs-perspective, the Rotterdam organisational infrastructure, and the Reciprocity Policy, we hypothesise that *the 2008-2009 recession will have a stronger positive effect on civic participation when neighbourhood SES is lower (convergence hypothesis).*

Analytical Strategy

The goal of our analysis is to test which hypothesis is most plausible, i.e. whether civic participation diverged or converged across neighbourhoods with a different SES during the 2008-2009 recession. In the next section we introduce the various data sources we used for our analyses and describe how our individual and neighbourhood factors are operationalised. Thereafter, we present a graph that shows the general trends in volunteering and neighbourhood involvement in Rotterdam between 2008 and 2013. We then test our interaction hypotheses by estimating multilevel regression models including individual, neighbourhood, and time-related variables. Our last step is to explore which factors explain our findings. We show how experiencing neighbourhood problems, associated with the needs-perspective, is related to changing levels of civic participation. The role of the Reciprocity Policy is also considered. In addition, we indicate how different kinds of volunteering are related to changes in civic participation. Our analytical choices are further clarified in the results section.

Data and measurements

We use five waves (2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2013) from the Rotterdam Neighbourhood Profile survey, which covers 71 administrative neighbourhoods per wave.[42] Unfortunately, no pre-recession data are available, an issue we address in the discussion section. The cross-sectional survey includes between 11,000 and 15,500 respondents depending on the wave.

The net response rates varied between 21 per cent and 23 per cent. The initial aggregated dataset included 65,486 respondents; after a listwise deletion of missing

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41 Due to the mandatory nature of the Reciprocity Policy the hypothesised increase cannot primarily be attributed to the intrinsic civic engagement of social assistance recipients. An evaluation of the Reciprocity Policy shows that about 75 per cent of the participants provide positive feedback on the scheme. The main reason for this positive feedback is that the scheme effectively counters social isolation (Bus et al., 2017).

42 Due to recent municipal expansion, the waves 2008 (69 neighbourhoods), 2009 (70 neighbourhoods) and 2010 (70 neighbourhoods) contain less than 71 neighbourhoods. An average neighbourhood has about 9,000 residents. The smallest neighbourhood contains 1,000 residents, whereas the largest neighbourhood contains 25,000 residents.

values (3.6 per cent of the sample), 63,134 respondents remain for analyses. For some categorical variables (i.e. education and employment status) an extra dummy was added for missing values instead of applying listwise deletion.

Measurements

Volunteering is measured by asking respondents whether they were active (unpaid) for one or more organisations as a volunteer. A note elucidated that 'unpaid' means they can receive a reimbursement, but not a wage. Response categories were either yes (1) or no (0). N*eighbourhood involvement* is measured by the following question: have you been actively engaged in your own neighbourhood in the past 12 months, and if yes, in what way? Respondents could indicate whether they had volunteered (1), had contributed to the liveability of the neighbourhood (2), had been involved in local politics, policy or governance (3), and/or had contributed in any other way (4). For each response category examples of organised activities were mentioned. Responses were coded into being active for the neighbourhood (1) or not (0).

Our time variable that covers the recession period is a continuous variable (*Recession period (2008-2013)*). The year 2008 was coded zero and for every year the variable increases by one, up to four for 2013. The variable *neighbourhood problems* measures to which extent respondents find that there are many problems in their neighbourhood. The response categories were a 5-point Likert scale that was coded 'totally disagree' (0) up to 'totally agree' (4). In addition, we include multiple independent variables such as education and self-rated health which, as demonstrated in previous research, explain variations in civic participation. Information about these variables can be found in Table 4.2.

Neighbourhood SES is a scale constructed from four indicators measured at the neighbourhood level: the percentage of people with a low income; the percentage receiving social assistance benefits; the unemployment rate; and the average level of disposable income. These data were provided by Research and Business Intelligence (OBI), the research department of the Rotterdam municipality, and are derived from Statistics Netherlands, Work and Income Rotterdam, and the Social Security Agency for Employee Insurance (UWV). A factor analysis with these four indicators indicated that one scale can be formed (loading scores >.84; Cronbach's alpha = .94), which was calculated based on standardised regression scores.

On the neighbourhood level we further control for the influences of ethnic diversity (see Savelkoul et al., 2015) and residential (in)stability (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). A Herfindahl Hirschman Index (HHI) measures the degree of *ethnic diversity* per neighbourhood. This index was calculated using data from the Municipal Personal Records Database, provided by OBI, which includes each share of nine ethnic groups per neighbourhood.[43] Residential stability is measured by the degree of *instability*, which

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43 The nine ethnic groups are: autochthons, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Cape Verdeans, Antilleans, other EU, other Western, and others.

is the sum of all moves within, to and out of a neighbourhood divided by the total number of residents. This measure is like the HHI based on records from the Municipal Personal Records Database. For all neighbourhood variables the contextual data were taken from the same year as the year of the Neighbourhood Profile survey.

Table 4.2. Descriptive statistics

Variables	Mean	St. Dev.	Minimum	Maximum
Volunteering	0.229		0	1
Neighbourhood involvement	0.234		0	1
Education (ref. = low)	0.135		0	1
Middle low	0.242		0	1
Middle	0.267		0	1
High	0.326		0	1
Missing	0.029		0	1
Employment status (ref. = works > 12h)	0.515		0	1
Economically inactive	0.380		0	1
Unemployed	0.091		0	1
Missing	0.014		0	1
Age	48.4	18.0	15	103
Age squared	2666.5	1843.1	225	10609
Gender (ref. = female)	0.428		0	1
Household status (ref. = single household)	0.358		0	1
Couple with no children	0.287		0	1
Couple with children	0.254		0	1
Single parent HH	0.083		0	1
Other	0.019		0	1
Ethnicity (ref. = autochthonous)	0.585		0	1
Turkish	0.067		0	1
Moroccan	0.042		0	1
Antillean	0.030		0	1
Surinamese	0.087		0	1
Cape Verdean	0.025		0	1
Other	0.164		0	1
Homeowner (ref. = renter)	0.561		0	1
Self-rated health	2.284	1.060	0	4
Dutch proficiency	1.845	0.429	0	2
Religious attendance	0.800	1.416	0	4
Neighbourhood problems[1]	1.420	1.031	0	4
Neighbourhood SES	0	1	-2.385	2.031
Ethnic diversity	0.635	0.174	0.166	0.859
Residential turnover	0.105	0.039	0.041	0.354
N individuals		63,134		
N neighbourhood-years		351		

Notes: The variables age and age squared were recoded for the regression analyses so that the multilevel models converged. Age was divided by 10 and age squared by 1000.
[1] *N* = 58,459

Results

Our data cover the period between 2008 and 2013, which more or less captures the start of the 2008-2009 recession and a large part of the economic downturn. Table 4.1 shows that the unemployment rate in Rotterdam gradually increased after 2008 and only slowly declined after its peak in 2014. These numbers indicate that the negative consequences of the recession increasingly manifested themselves during our period of study (cf. Lim & Laurence, 2015).

Looking at the general developments in civic participation during the 2008-2009 recession, we observe no substantial changes (Figure 4.1). Neighbourhood involvement remained stable between 2008 and 2013, whereas volunteering declined slightly between 2009 and 2013 (by 1.7%). Even though other studies have also reported stable rates of volunteering and other forms of civic engagement over a longer period (Rochester, 2018; van Houwelingen & Dekker, 2017), they typically do not consider that the while there was an overall lack of change, some groups might have increased their participation while others participated less.

Figure 4.1. Trends in civic participation, 2008-2013
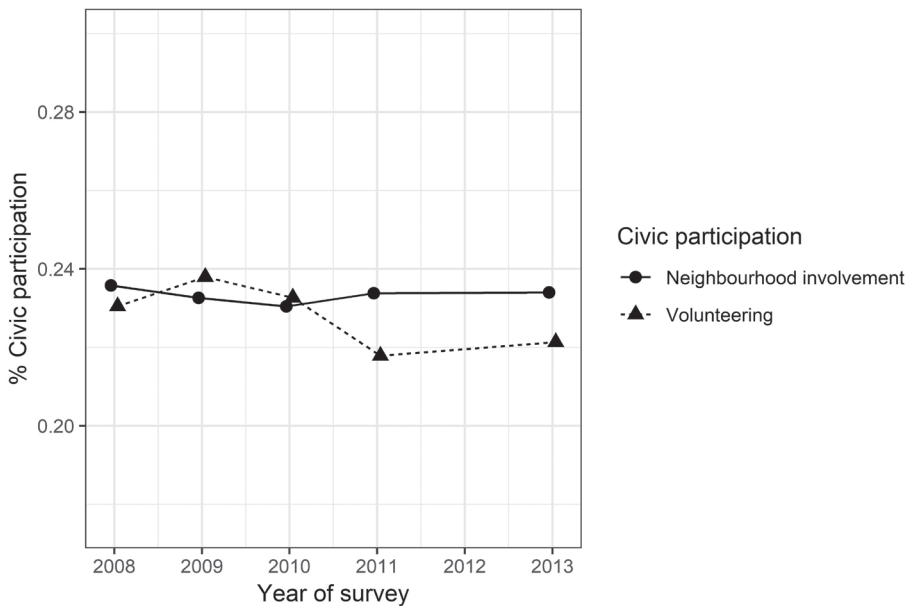
Results from regression analyses

We examine whether civic participation varies across neighbourhoods and time. Our dataset has a nested structure, since 'neighbourhood' and 'time' (year of survey) are both contextual levels. To obtain accurate standard errors, we estimate random slope

models that account for this complex nesting structure.[44] Following Schmidt-Catran and Fairbrother (2016) we apply three-level models that include years, neighbourhoods, and neighbourhood-years as contextual levels.[45]

To test our interaction hypotheses, we follow a similar strategy as Lim and Laurence (2015). They included spline variables in their models, which are essentially linear time variables used to estimate whether trends in civic participation can be attributed to the 2008-2009 recession itself and not to other factors such as random sampling variability or changes in demographic composition of neighbourhoods. Since we have no pre-recession data, we include just one time variable covering the recession period (2008-2013).[46] This time effect should vary between neighbourhoods with a different SES. Therefore, we estimate random slope models in which the slope of the time variable (i.e. recession period) is set random across neighbourhood SES.[47] By studying the interaction between the time variable and neighbourhood SES, we are able to test whether there was a decline or rise in civic participation across disadvantaged and affluent neighbourhoods. We present the full models for volunteering and neighbourhood involvement, including the interaction term. All mentioned effects are statistically significant (p < .001) unless indicated otherwise.

Models 1 and 3 show the effects for a selection of variables on volunteering and neighbourhood involvement (see Table 4.3). Many effects, of which some are omitted to save space, are very similar in both size and direction, which we believe confirms that volunteering and neighbourhood involvement are similar forms of civic participation. Furthermore, the Cramer's V correlation between the dependent variables is .368, indicating they are closely related but still distinct.

Being unemployed has a positive effect on volunteering (OR = 1.779) and neighbourhood involvement (OR = 1.377). The odds for the unemployed to volunteer, controlled for other characteristics, are 1.8 times higher than the odds for those working 12 hours or more per week. These findings confirm that in the Netherlands unemployment is positively related to civic participation.

Our main variable of interest is the interaction term between the recession period and neighbourhood SES. For volunteering the interaction term is negative (OR = .975; Model 1), indicating that the time effect is more negative in neighbourhoods with a higher SES. We find a similar, but slightly smaller effect for neighbourhood involvement (OR = .986, p < .05; Model 3). The significance levels of these interaction terms indicate

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44 For example, Lim and Laurence (2015) did not account for the multilevel structure of their data, which likely biased their estimates.

45 See Model F in Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3.

46 Spline variables are usually used to model a certain break in a longer trend (cf. Hout & Fischer, 2002), something we are unable to do due to lack of pre-recession data. We also estimated our models with 'time' as dummy variables instead of a linear variable and these models produced similar results.

47 The multilevel logit models were estimated in R, using the glmer function from the lme4 package (maximum likelihood fit).

that at least some variance in civic participation can be attributed to the effect of the recession itself and how it differs across neighbourhoods. Yet, given the size of our dataset, statistical significance may not be that meaningful here (see Wasserstein et al., 2019). Considering the size of the odds ratios we observe these are just below 1, as are the values within the confidence intervals. This indicates that very modest interaction effects are present. For example, the size of the main effect of recession period for volunteering is .976 ($p < .05$; Model 1), meaning that in an average SES neighbourhood for every year the odds to volunteer are .976 times higher than the odds of the year before. Moreover, for every unit increase in neighbourhood SES (i.e. one standard deviation, see Table 4.2), the effect of recession period multiplies by .975 (cf. Buis, 2010). Thus, in especially higher SES neighbourhoods the recession effect is more negative.

Table 4.3. The effects of individual, neighbourhood, and time variables on civic participation (odds ratio's and 95% confidence intervals)

Variables	Volunteering		Neighbourhood involvement	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Employment status (ref. = works > 12h)				
Economically inactive	1.918***	1.904***	1.336***	1.327***
	(1.860, 1.977)	(1.844, 1.965)	(1.278, 1.394)	(1.268, 1.387)
Unemployed	1.779***	1.797***	1.377***	1.409***
	(1.702, 1.856)	(1.717, 1.877)	(1.301, 1.452)	(1.331, 1.487)
Ethnic diversity	0.619**	0.613**	0.629**	0.570**
	(0.322, 0.916)	(0.306, 0.920)	(0.292, 0.967)	(0.217, 0.924)
Residential turnover	0.490	0.489	1.337	1.336
	(0.357, 1.337)	(0.385, 1.362)	(0.399, 2.275)	(0.361, 2.311)
Neighbourhood SES	1.028	1.031	0.912**	0.927*
	(0.968, 1.089)	(0.969, 1.093)	(0.846, 0.978)	(0.858, 0.996)
Recession period (2008-2013)	0.976*	0.978	0.987	0.985
	(0.954, 0.997)	(0.954, 1.001)	(0.962, 1.011)	(0.956, 1.013)
Neighbourhood SES*Recession period	0.975***	0.975***	0.986*	0.988
	(0.960, 0.989)	(0.960, 0.990)	(0.973, 1.000)	(0.974, 1.002)
Neighbourhood problems		1.032**		1.141***
		(1.010, 1.053)		(1.121, 1.162)
Constant	0.104***	0.100***	0.116***	0.101***
N (individuals)	63,134	58,459	63,134	58,459
N (neighbourhood-years)	346	346	346	346
Log-Likelihood	-30,960.2	-28,954.4	-32,109.2	-30,129.0
Variance components				
Year variance	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001
Neighbourhood variance	0.011	0.011	0.019	0.021
Neighbourhood-year variance	0.007	0.006	0.000	0.000

Notes: models include the individual variables education (4 dummy categories), age, age squared, gender, household status (5 dummy categories), ethnicity (7 dummy categories), homeowner, self-rated health, and religious attendance. Results are available upon request.
Significance levels: * $p < .05$ (two-tailed); ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed); *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed).

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Figure 4.2a. Predicted probabilities for volunteering split by neighbourhood SES, 2008-2013
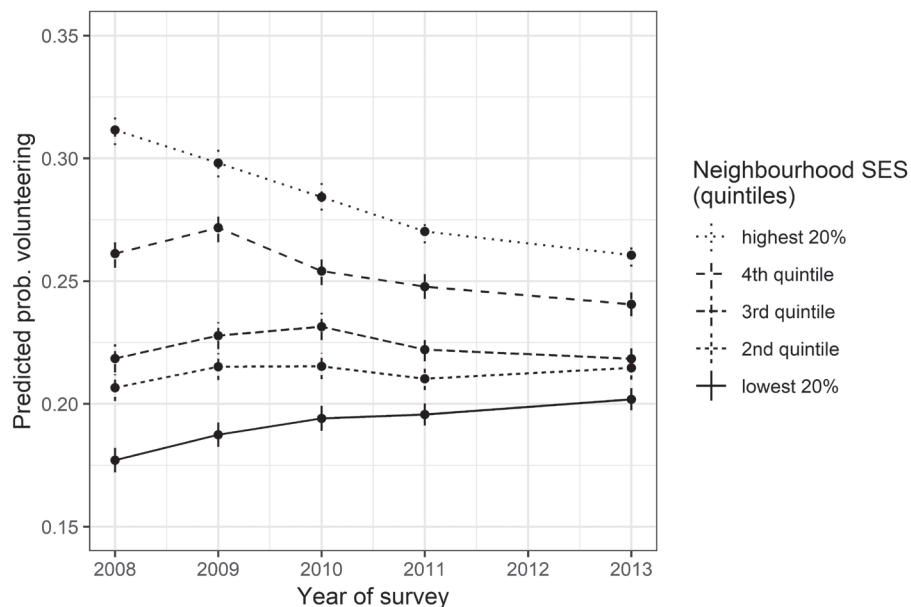
The magnitudes of the changes in civic participation across neighbourhoods are better understood when we depict the predicted probabilities, summarised for neighbourhood SES quintiles. For the lowest quintile the probability of volunteering increased by 2.6% between 2008 and 2013 (Figure 4.2a). For the second and third quintiles the probabilities remained stable, whereas the probabilities decreased for the highest two quintiles. Especially neighbourhoods in the highest 20 per cent of the socioeconomic strata (fifth quintile) show a large decline: the probability of volunteering decreased by 5.2% between 2008 and 2013. Figure 4.2b further illustrates that the probabilities of neighbourhood involvement also converged over time, albeit to a lesser extent than volunteering. The probability for neighbourhoods in the lowest quintile increased by 2.4%, whereas the probability decreased by 2.4% for the highest quintile.

Our key findings so far are the converging trends in civic participation between lower and higher SES neighbourhoods during the recession period. Although these changes are not dramatic, they are quite substantial given our relatively brief period of study. The changes in volunteering are larger than in neighbourhood involvement. The decline in volunteering in high SES neighbourhoods is especially noteworthy.

Based on Models 1 and 3 we assess that at least some of the observed changes can be attributed to the recession. We therefore conclude that the convergence hypothesis is more likely to be true than the divergence hypothesis. In the next sections we investigate how these findings can be explained given our theory and data.

Figure 4.2b. Predicted probabilities for neighbourhood involvement split by neighbourhood SES, 2008-2013
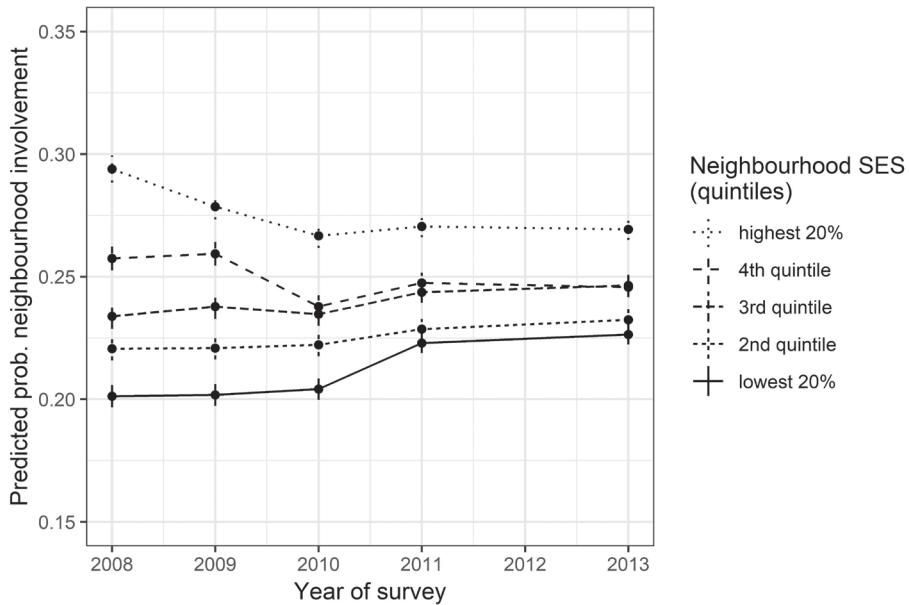
Changes in low SES neighbourhoods

The small increase in civic participation in low SES neighbourhoods requires more scrutiny, especially because it was logical to assume, based on several UK studies, that civic participation would decline in more disadvantaged areas. In our theoretical section we explained why deterioration in disadvantaged neighbourhoods would trigger civic action. When we add the variable 'neighbourhood problems' to our models (Table 4.3), we see that the more problems people perceive in their neighbourhood, the more likely they are to volunteer (OR = 1.032, p < .01; Model 2) or to be involved in the neighbourhood (OR = 1.131; Model 4). Moreover, Figure 4.3 shows that people in neighbourhoods with a lower SES perceive more problems on average. Neighbourhoods in the lowest three quintiles had an especially large increase in perceived neighbourhood problems since 2010. Together, these observations suggest that perceived problems in low and middle SES neighbourhoods partly explain why people became more civically active during the recession. This explanation seems particularly valid for neighbourhood involvement, because the odds ratio of neighbourhood problems is higher than for volunteering.

Figure 4.3. Trend in perceived neighbourhood problems (mean score) split by neighbourhood SES, 2008-2013
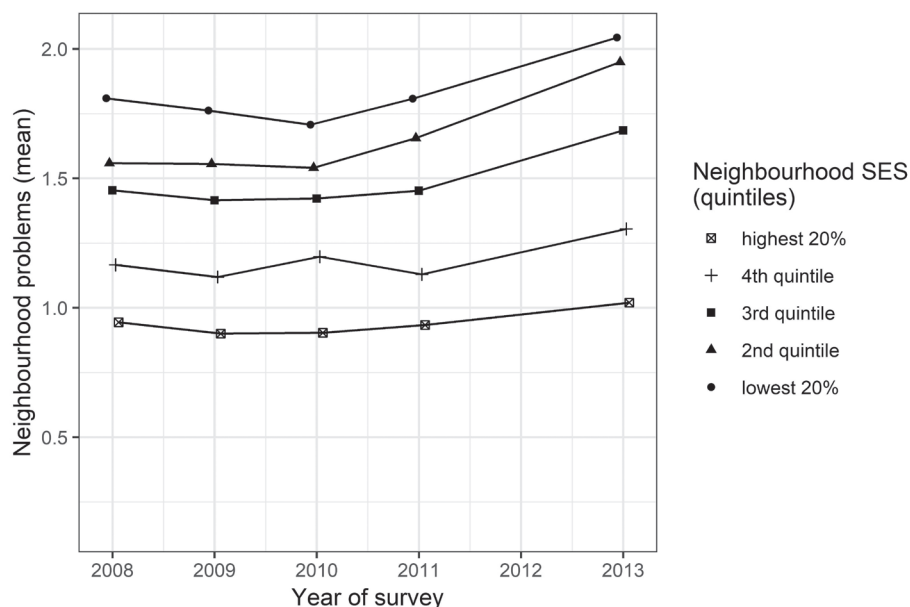
We also considered the Reciprocity Policy as a possible explanation for why civic participation could increase in low SES neighbourhoods. Since this policy's main goal is to increase volunteering among social assistance beneficiaries, we consider here whether volunteering rates rose among the unemployed.[48] Table 4.4 shows a steady increase in the city's average rate of volunteering among the unemployed during the recession period. Among the unemployed in the lowest neighbourhood quintile the increase was small until 2011, but thereafter increased rapidly from 17.1% in 2010 to 25.1% in 2013. Remember that the Reciprocity Policy was implemented in 2011. Hence, it is likely to have affected volunteering in low SES neighbourhoods to some extent. At the same time, Figure 4.2a indicates that volunteering also changed before 2011. Clearly, the Reciprocity Policy is not the only mechanism that explains changes in volunteering in low SES neighbourhoods.

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48   The policy aims to increase institutional participation among the unemployed, i.e. participation in formal and mainly larger organizations. Therefore, we particularly focus on volunteering here and not neighbourhood involvement.

Table 4.4: Average levels of volunteering for the unemployed in Rotterdam, 2008-2013

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2013
City mean %	18.6	19.1	22.5	23.9	25.6
Lowest quintile %	15.3	16.4	17.1	21.0	25.1

Changes in high SES neighbourhoods

We suspect that any decline in civic participation in high SES neighbourhoods could be the result of differences in types of civic participation, as Clifford (2017) for instance shows that the revenues of certain charity sectors (e.g. culture and recreation) were more affected by austerity policies than other charity sectors such as international development. In addition, people with different SES characteristics tend to engage in different types of associations and activities (van der Meer et al., 2009; van Ingen & van der Meer, 2011). Unfortunately, our data only contain information on what kind of volunteering respondents did in 2008, making it impossible to analyse changes in volunteer type during the recession. However, combined with our theoretical framework these figures may still provide insights into these changes.

Table 4.5 shows for which organisations people were active as a volunteer (multiple answers were possible). Some types of volunteering, such as those related to religion, hardly varied across neighbourhood SES, whereas neighbourhoods greatly differed on other types (cf. Clifford, 2012). Volunteering for sports associations is mostly carried out in higher SES neighbourhoods (fourth and fifth quintile; 28.3% and 28.6%) while the lowest SES neighbourhoods (first quintile) distinguish themselves by the large proportion of volunteers in neighbourhood organisations (19.3%). These differences in types of volunteering might explain the decline in higher SES neighbourhoods – and the converging trends in general – as follows. During an economic recession it might be more accepted to withdraw from civic life related to sports, since these associations serve leisure needs. People have other priorities, devoting their time to more pressing needs such as work or family care. On the other hand, neighbourhood organisations are more likely to serve local needs regarding liveability, which are probably more pressing during a recession (see also Figure 4.3). Thus, this type of volunteering might continue during a recession due to a greater sense of urgency. In the case of Rotterdam such organisations were also more likely to be supported by the municipality than leisure organisations (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015), although hard evidence is lacking here.

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Table 4.5. Types of volunteering for associations split by neighbourhood SES, 2008

Types of associations	Lowest quintile	2nd	3th	4th	Highest quintile	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sports association	14.9	19.7	18.6	28.3	28.6	23.0
Religious association	20.3	19.7	21.9	19.1	18.3	19.7
School or pre-school related	13.7	12.6	10.5	13.4	15.5	13.3
Organisations with societal goals	10.3	14.1	12.9	10.8	13.2	12.3
Neighbourhood centre or association	19.3	12.6	9.4	9.5	8.5	11.3
Elderly related	6.8	7.8	10.7	10.9	8.5	9.1
Music or theatre related	3.9	8.2	9.0	10.1	7.3	7.9
Hobby association	7.8	4.8	4.6	5.6	6.2	5.8
Youth related	4.6	5.2	4.2	4.3	3.8	4.4
Political organisation	4.6	4.5	4.4	3.6	4.4	4.3
Union or professional related	2.7	4.3	4.4	4.3	5.0	4.3
N individuals	409	462	456	576	682	2,585

Note: multiple answers were possible

Conclusion

This study shows that civic participation across disadvantaged and affluent neighbourhoods in Rotterdam was more likely to converge than diverge during the 2008-2009 recession, thereby providing different findings than previous studies on this topic (e.g. Lim & Laurence, 2015). We started by hypothesising why during the 2008-2009 recession civic participation could either diverge or converge across neighbourhoods with a different SES. Based on a large dataset we observed small increases in volunteering and neighbourhood involvement in disadvantaged neighbourhoods between 2008 and 2013 and a decline in affluent neighbourhoods, especially for volunteering. In this section we summarise our explanations for these findings that have empirical ground.

We should first recognise that our models indicated that some variation in civic participation during the recession could be attributed to effect of the recession itself and its variation across neighbourhood SES, but these effects were rather small. In other words, we should not overemphasise the magnitude of our findings. On that note, our empirical evidence offers several explanations.

Looking at why civic participation slightly increased in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, our analyses provide some support for the needs-perspective (e.g. Swaroop & Morenoff, 2006). Perceived problems in the neighbourhood were positively associated with civic participation, especially for neighbourhood involvement. During the recession period the amount of perceived problems increased in lower

SES neighbourhoods, indicating that an increase in problems probably stimulated involvement in these neighbourhoods.

Another explanation for the small increase in volunteering in lower SES neighbourhoods is related to the Reciprocity Policy. This policy has been gradually implemented since 2011, starting in low SES neighbourhoods (Bus et al., 2017). According to this policy, social assistance recipients are 'obligated' to perform voluntary work. Although the share of targeted people was relatively small, it probably had some effect on the observed trend in volunteering partly because unemployed people had a higher probability of volunteering compared to employed people.

A second outcome is the decline in civic participation in affluent neighbourhoods, particularly volunteering. We argued this decline might be related to the types of volunteering. Residents in higher SES neighbourhoods volunteer more often than those living in low SES neighbourhoods for sports associations (almost 30 per cent). During a recession it is perhaps more acceptable to withdraw from this kind of volunteering because people have other non-leisure priorities.

Discussion

Next to the empirical explanations, we propose additional mechanisms that may explain the observed trends in civic participation. One mechanism is the organisational infrastructure of Rotterdam. The small increase in civic participation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods is somewhat counterintuitive, especially given the findings from the UK where disadvantaged areas seem to be most severely impacted by the 2008-2009 recession (Civil Exchange, 2015; Clifford, 2017; Clifford et al., 2013; Jones et al., 2016; Lindsey, 2013). We proposed that the rate of participation in disadvantaged neighbourhoods is partly explained by the municipality's policy of supplying basic civic provisions in less advantaged neighbourhoods during times of austerity (Municipality of Rotterdam, 2015; cf. Salamon, 1987).

Another mechanism potentially explains why civic participation declined in affluent neighbourhoods. The argument here is that organisations in affluent neighbourhoods might experience more difficulties mobilising resources and volunteers in times of hardship. They depend more on private contributions than organisations in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (Clifford, 2012; Clifford et al., 2013). Clifford (2018, p. 1585) shows that disadvantaged neighbourhoods have a higher rate of charity dissolution than affluent neighbourhoods, but this difference was narrowed during the 2007-2011 period. Contributors to organisations in affluent neighbourhoods might have reduced their donations during the economic recession, limiting the daily operations of these organisations and increasing their risk of dissolution. As a result, there would have been fewer opportunities for civic participation in affluent neighbourhoods.

We conclude by mentioning two limitations to the study. First, we could not take pre-recession developments in civic participation into account. We cannot be certain that the observed trends are actually a result of the 2008-2009 recession. Trends in civic

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participation could have gone up or down before. Other Dutch studies have reported quite stable rates of volunteering during economic booms and downturn (e.g. van Houwelingen & Dekker, 2017), yet such studies have to our knowledge not investigated how underlying patterns of participation develop during economic recession – the general levels of civic participation were also stable in our study (Figure 4.1). Based on our theory, the empirical evidence, and the recession's severe impact, we are quite confident our results are related to the 2008-2009 recession.

We were further limited in assessing the impact of factors like the neighbourhood organisational infrastructure (cf. Sampson et al., 2005) or austerity policies directly, because they are difficult to operationalise and data are scarce. Instead we focused on how the effect of 'time' varied across neighbourhoods with a different SES, whereby neighbourhood SES served as proxy for the resources to which residents have access (cf. Sampson & Graif, 2009). Ideally, we would have investigated directly how the structure of the organisational infrastructure (e.g. funding for neighbourhood organisations) affects levels of civic participation in different areas. Nonetheless, such intricacies demonstrate the importance of sound theory that can explain complex processes. Perhaps the most important lesson from our study is that empirical scrutiny is needed to determine whether similar conditions – referring to the recession and the policy concepts Big Society and participation society – produce similar outcomes.
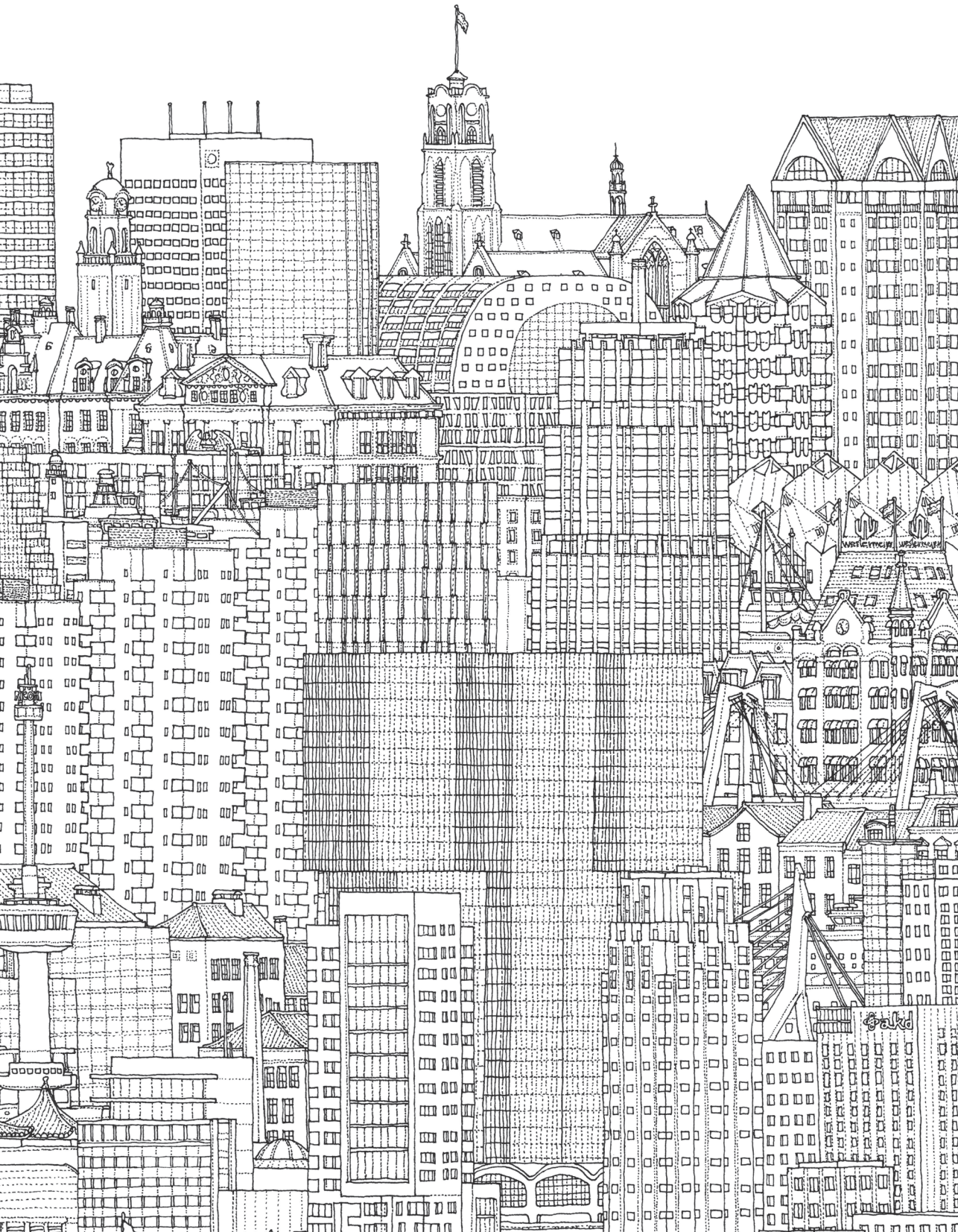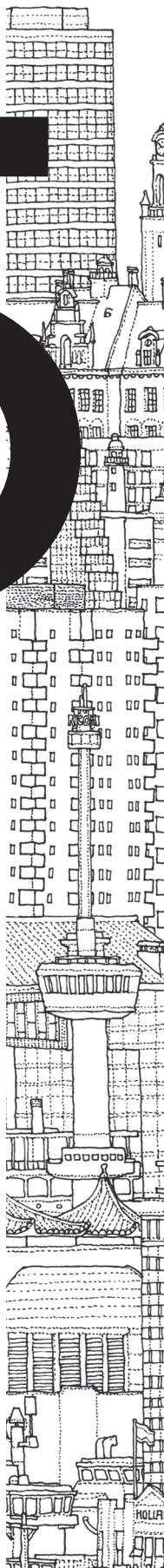
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A place to go: how neighbourhood organisations structure the lives of the urban poor

Abstract

Neighbourhood organisations are believed to be important in alleviating the plight of the urban poor. This study examines how different types of neighbourhood organisations affect the lives of various groups in low-income neighbourhoods in Rotterdam, a large city in the Netherlands. Qualitative field work was conducted in a faith-based organisation, a professional welfare organisation, and a volunteer-based organisation. Our findings indicate the ways in which these organisations foster social relations between participants, provide daily structure to non-working individuals, and connect people to other organisations and systemic bodies such as the labour market or local government. In addition, the relation between the neighbourhood organisations and social policy has been considered, paying close attention to policy processes of decentralisation, responsibilisation and social innovation. A central aim of this study is thus to analyse how neighbourhood organisations mediate between social processes at the micro level and macro-level systemic forces. Finally, this study discusses how considering the socially productive role of local organisations may advance neighbourhood effects studies.

Introduction

Even though the relevance of the 'neighbourhood' is continuously questioned in a globalising world (Sampson, 2012; van Kempen & Wissink, 2014), research shows that local organisations in the neighbourhood play an important role for the social capital, health, and wellbeing of residents (e.g. Bosch, 2016; Curley, 2010a; Klinenberg, 2015; Nast & Blokland, 2014; Pinkster, 2007). Neighbourhood organisations seem especially relevant to the urban poor as they may mitigate the disadvantaging effects of inequalities in the labour market, changing welfare policies and restricted access to housing (see Forrest & Hirayama, 2015; Musterd et al., 2017; Oosterlynck et al., 2013; Wacquant, 2008). Allard and Small (2013) therefore argue that research should focus more on (local) organisations that shape the lives of the urban poor, since they mediate people's living conditions in particular ways. The limited ability of neighbourhood effects studies to explain associations between neighbourhood indicators and individual outcomes strengthens this argument, as neighbourhood organisations may form a social mechanism that connects the neighbourhood and the individual level (cf. Galster, 2012; Sampson, 2012; Sharkey & Faber, 2014). Hence, neighbourhood organisations potentially explain why residents with similar characteristics (e.g. socioeconomic status) in comparable neighbourhoods differ considerably with regard to certain life chances (Klinenberg, 2015; Marwell, 2007; Small, 2009).

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Yet, studies that quantify the effect of neighbourhood organisations (e.g. Curley, 2010b; Gilster, 2017) produce little insight into *how* neighbourhood organisations create social capital, lead to employment or foster wellbeing amongst residents in low-income neighbourhoods (Bosch, 2016; Curley, 2010a; Nast & Blokland, 2014; Pinkster, 2007). Few studies examine the ways in which neighbourhood organisations advance the lives of the urban poor and thus more in-depth research is needed (Small, 2009; van Eijk, 2010a). In this study we therefore investigate how three neighbourhood organisations are affecting the lives of residents in low-income neighbourhoods in the Dutch city of Rotterdam. These organisations vary by type, as they have different structures, goals, and serve specific groups (cf. Anheier, 2005). We conducted qualitative research in a faith-based organisation, a professional welfare organisation and a volunteer-based organisation. Although these organisations differ from each other in type, they all aim to encourage 'societal participation', either by helping people to obtain employment, by facilitating volunteer work or by drawing people into the organisational sphere. Neighbourhood organisations have several functions in this respect, including fostering relations between residents (Bosch, 2016; van Eijk, 2010a), providing daily structure (Jahoda, 1982), and connecting residents to other organisations (Small, 2009; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Our aim is not to explain different outcomes between neighbourhoods. Rather, we study the *mechanisms* by which neighbourhood organisations influence their participants and how participants experience their involvement.

Neighbourhood organisations are generally conceptualised as meso-level institutions (Marwell & McQuarrie, 2013; McQuarrie & Marwell, 2009; Smith & Lipsky, 1993). They deal with higher-level actors such as the nation state, local government, and charities, from whom they often receive the funds needed to conduct their daily operations. In turn, organisations in low-income neighbourhoods structure the lives and social relations of underemployed or unemployed individuals (Marwell, 2007). These organisations therefore deal with policies related to work, welfare, and civil society. Over the past few decades, there have been substantial shifts in these policy fields. We have identified three central trends: decentralisation, responsibilisation, and social innovation (in general, see Andreotti et al., 2012). The consequences of these trends can be observed in policies at the local level in Rotterdam. Conditions for receiving social assistance have become stricter and recipients are nowadays obliged to 'do something useful in return' for society (Fenger & Broekema, 2019; Kampen et al., 2019; Veldboer et al., 2015; cf. Mead, 1986). At the same time, self-organisation and social innovation initiated by citizens are increasingly celebrated by government officials and encouraged through local subsidies (Uitermark, 2015). We investigate how such changes in local policy affect both neighbourhood organisations (meso level) and their participants (individual level).

Our central aim is to show how different neighbourhood organisations in low-income neighbourhoods affect and structure the lives of residents and how residents experience their involvement. Some organisations enable civic activities such as volunteering whereas others focus primarily on helping people regain employment. The variation in their main activities makes it possible to demonstrate how every type of organisation plays a distinct role in the neighbourhood, but also how each organisation has its limitations. In addition, we examine how neighbourhood organisations relate to extra-neighbourhood actors and how organisations and their participants are influenced by local policy.

The missing link in neighbourhood effects studies

The increasing interest in neighbourhood organisations can be partly understood as a response to the limited ability of neighbourhood effects studies to explain associations between population characteristics of neighbourhoods and individual outcomes (Gilster, 2017; Marwell, 2007; Pinkster, 2007; Sharkey & Faber, 2014; van Eijk, 2010a). For example, some studies suggest that living in mixed-income neighbourhoods, compared to living in low-income neighbourhoods, might be more beneficial for people's income trajectories (e.g. Galster et al., 2016). Such studies argue that people gain resources through several mechanisms related to social capital in the neighbourhood (see Galster, 2012). However, these social mechanisms are rarely directly tested in quantitative studies (although see Custers, 2019; Miltenburg, 2015) and quantitative neighbourhood effects studies are therefore criticised for providing little insight into neighbourhood processes (Darcy & Gwyther, 2012; Slater, 2013; Small & Feldman, 2012).

Other research focuses on factors that contribute to social capital in the neighbourhood. A clear link exists between neighbourhood socioeconomic status and social capital indicators such as social networks, trust and communal involvement (e.g. Custers et al., 2019; Laurence, 2009; Letki, 2008). Yet, some studies indicate that neighbourhood resources, such as recreation facilities, public spaces, grocery stores, and social services, mediate this relationship (Curley, 2010a, 2010b; Gilster, 2017; van Bergeijk et al., 2008). The relationship between neighbourhood socioeconomic status and social capital is thus – at least partly – explained by the presence of neighbourhood resources. These findings resonate with research on neighbourhood organisational infrastructures which shows that collective civic action is contingent upon organisational density (Sampson et al., 2005). Hence, neighbourhood organisations are perceived as the 'missing link' in neighbourhood research for understanding relations between the neighbourhood and the individual level (cf. Allard & Small, 2013).

To better understand why neighbourhood organisations form a missing link, it is necessary to examine *how* neighbourhood organisations create social capital, lead to employment or foster personal wellbeing for residents in low-income neighbourhoods (Bosch, 2016; Curley, 2010a; Nast & Blokland, 2014; Pinkster, 2007; Tran et al., 2013). McQuarrie and Marwell (2009, pp. 247-248) underline that neighbourhood organisations are 'socially productive', meaning organisations have an independent role in the production, reproduction, and arrangement of urban social relations, neighbourhood conditions and individual outcomes and identities. They are not mere aggregations of social interaction or derivates of extra-organisational social processes (see McQuarrie & Marwell, 2009). Moreover, neighbourhood organisations have different functions and produce social relations in distinct ways, which implies that organisations affect different subpopulations in the neighbourhood (cf. Small & Feldman, 2012).

Research on neighbourhood organisations

What exactly defines a neighbourhood organisation is up for debate (Allard & Small, 2013; McQuarrie & Marwell, 2009; Sampson et al., 2005). Neighbourhood organisations cover a broad range of local institutions that are often hybrid in character and have different organisational goals. Examples that are frequently mentioned include community centres, churches, childcare centres, libraries, sport associations, welfare offices, resident associations, and schools. We adopted the criteria of the structural-operational definition of non-profit organisations by Anheier (2005) to characterise neighbourhood organisations. According to these criteria, organisations must be: (1) institutionalised to some extent; (2) institutionally separate from government, and therefore not part of the government apparatus; (3) self-governing, i.e. in control of their own activities; (4) non-profit-distributing, meaning profits are not distributed to any stakeholders and (5) that their members should be involved on a voluntary basis to some degree. In addition, we assume that neighbourhood organisations have a physical

location in the neighbourhood, direct their services towards the neighbourhood, and that most people using an organisation's services are living in the near vicinity.

Most neighbourhood organisations stimulate some form of societal participation, which may vary from countering social isolation (e.g. Klinenberg, 2015) to helping people obtain employment (e.g. Pinkster, 2007). We focus on three aspects of neighbourhood organisations that are central to encouraging societal participation: fostering social relations, providing daily structure, and linking to other organisations. First, neighbourhood organisations play a key role in connecting residents to each other. As van Eijk (2010a) illustrates, relations between neighbours do not begin spontaneously on the street. These relations develop in settings that facilitate regular interaction between neighbours. How this interaction is structured depends on the type of neighbourhood organisation and the activities that are organised. Wessendorf (2014) shows that in a 'superdiverse' neighbourhood, weekly coffee mornings at a local primary school create opportunities for parents to meet and socialise. Even though the parents have very different backgrounds, during these meetings they connect with each other on several issues such as their children's upbringing, unemployment, and changes in the neighbourhood. In a similar vein, Small (2009) describes how childcare centres bring about brief and daily interactions between parents, because they have to pick-up and drop-off their children at certain times. Sometimes the interactions are prolonged, for instance during a PTA meeting. As a result, parents often develop 'compartmental ties' with others. Even though these ties develop and are maintained within a confined domain, parents share personal or important information with each other because trust has been built through repeated interactions. Tran et al. (2013) further indicate that local organisations are important in establishing neighbourhood-based relationships and that there is considerable variation between different types of organisations regarding the extent to which they broker new ties. For example, people are more likely to make new friends in schools and churches than in healthcare organisations.

Second, a very basic aspect of neighbourhood organisations is that they provide a daily structure for people who are economically inactive, such as the unemployed, social assistance recipients, retirees or caregivers. For these groups, neighbourhood organisations fulfil some of the 'latent' functions of employment, including the imposition of a time structure, the enlargement of the scope of social experience into areas less emotionally charged than family life, participation in a collective purpose or effort, the assignment of status and identity derived from work and participation, and required regular activity (Jahoda, 1982, p. 59).[49] In their study of voluntary organisations, Baines and Hardill (2008) point out how volunteers perceive their involvement as 'work' given the commitment it requires. Many volunteers structure their weekday routine around volunteering and for those unable to perform paid work – due to age,

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49 We do not claim that neighbourhood organisations only fulfil these functions for the economically inactive. Social professionals, who usually act as leaders of neighbourhood initiatives, can also be found as active members in many organisations (see Bosch, 2016).

disability or health issues – volunteering is an important source of personal identity. The neighbourhood organisations in Bosch (2016) perform similar functions. To many non-working volunteers, they provide a structure for meeting people or a way to pass time outside the house. Volunteers also feel more useful to society as a result of their organisational involvement.

Finally, neighbourhood organisations can connect their participants to other organisations so they may obtain resources such as information, services or material goods. Small (2009) calls these connections 'organisational ties', which are connections people make to other organisations that are brokered by the organisation in which they participate. For example, his study demonstrates how childcare centres help parents to acquire knowledge about child nutrition by putting them in touch with an external expert. A related concept is 'linking' social capital, which stands for the extent to which individuals build relationships with institutions and individuals who have relative power over them (Hawkins & Maurer, 2010, p. 1780; see also Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). Such hierarchical relationships are often established by practitioners in organisations that position themselves between citizens in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and local government (de Graaf et al., 2015).

The policy context

Many neighbourhood organisations receive some form of funding from the state, since the state supports volunteering groups (e.g. Bosch, 2016) or contracts neighbourhood organisations to provide welfare services to unemployed or low-income individuals (Smith & Lipsky, 1993). In recent decades, welfare state transformations have changed the mediating role of neighbourhood organisations. Three related trends indicate in what ways this role has been redefined. First, the aim of many welfare reforms is *decentralisation*, meaning public services provided by the nation state are delegated to local governments, communities, and civic organisations (Andreotti et al., 2012; Kazepov, 2008; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012; Moreno, 2003). These local bodies should have more capability to perform public tasks and therefore receive more financial resources, although the latter does not always occur since decentralisations of public tasks are frequently motivated by cutbacks (e.g. Fenger & Broekema, 2019; Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012). The underlying assumption of decentralisation is that local bodies are more effective in service delivery, have more democratic legitimacy, and are more financially sustainable (Andreotti et al., 2012). Second, decentralisation is accompanied by the *responsibilisation* of local bodies and citizens. Responsibilisation refers to a shift in responsibility for public tasks from the nation state to local bodies and citizens (see Garland, 2001; Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010). The implication is that the nation state is no longer primarily responsible for people's welfare. Instead, citizens are expected to bear responsibility for their personal welfare (e.g. employment, health, finances) and their environment, which is promoted as 'active citizenship' (Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2013). Third, *social innovation* has become a popular concept in response to the shortcomings

of the traditional welfare state (Voorberg et al., 2015). We follow Oosterlynck et al. (2013) in understanding social innovation as:

"... locally embedded practices, actions and policies that help socially excluded and impoverished individuals and social groups to satisfy basic needs for which they find no adequate solution in the private market or macro-level welfare policies. It does so through processes of social learning, collective action and mobilisation and awareness raising. Social innovation works towards the transformation of social relation [sic] on various spatial scales" (p. 3).

In the context of neighbourhood development, social innovation is mainly practiced by resident collectives that aim to meet the social needs of people in marginalised and diverse areas (Moulaert et al., 2010). Through cooperation with supra-local actors, networks, and institutions, these initiatives can be upscaled and transferred to other local contexts and thus structurally transform society (Oosterlynck et al. 2013, p. 3). All in all, neighbourhood organisations, as meso-level institutions, have thus become more important in recent decades as part of a governance structure (cf. McQuarrie & Marwell, 2009).

Two particular social policies, characterised by decentralisation, responsibilisation, and social innovation, affect the organisations and individuals in our study. The first policy results from a national law, the Participation Act, which was introduced in 2015. This law replaced three previous laws on social assistance, work disability and labour market re-entry. Under the Participation Act, social assistance recipients are required to do 'something useful for society' in return for receiving social benefits (Fenger & Broekema, 2019; cf. Mead, 1986). These reciprocal acts may include activities such as community work, volunteering, attending a language course or participating in a health program. Responsibility for policy implementation has been devolved to municipalities, who thus determine what social assistance recipients should do in return for their benefits. Recipients who do not comply run the risk of temporarily losing their benefits.

Rotterdam became known as one the strictest enforcers of the Participation Act due to a coalition between 2014 and 2018 in which the local right-wing party populist *Leefbaar Rotterdam* (Liveable Rotterdam) was the largest party (cf. Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2008). In public discourse a general distrust was displayed towards the unemployed and the necessity of having paid work was continuously emphasised (Rotterdam City Council, 2014). The local policy variant of the Participation Act is called the Reciprocity Policy. Social assistance recipients are primarily held responsible for finding a job and those unable to work must determine what their 'societal contribution' will be (cf. Veldboer et al., 2015). If their proposal is considered insufficient by the welfare department, a welfare officer determines an appropriate mandatory activity. Social assistance recipients are also monitored to ascertain whether they are fulfilling their tasks accordingly. Moreover, the municipality appeals to civic organisations, including many neighbourhood organisations, to help with 're-activating' social assistance

recipients who have been inactive for some time. Recipients who are already doing voluntary work are also re-evaluated to ascertain their ability to perform paid work. Thus, whereas the pressure on social assistance recipients to 'give back' is increasing, neighbourhood organisations are facing increased demands from the municipality to facilitate this group (Kampen et al., 2019).

Whereas the Reciprocity Policy clearly includes aspects of decentralisation and responsibilisation, another social policy in Rotterdam is related to social innovation. In 2015 the municipality founded *CityLab010*, a yearly subsidy of 3 million euros that is distributed between initiatives with innovative ideas for 'solving societal issues in Rotterdam' (CityLab010, 2020). Citizens or organisations can submit a project plan for tackling societal issues such as social cohesion, the energy transition or equal opportunities. After the submission deadline, a jury decides which citizens or organisations will receive a budget for developing their initiative. The philosophy behind this policy is that the 'city' has more innovative capability than the municipality to solve societal issues. The policy thus assumes that citizens or local organisations are better equipped and more creative than government to organise certain public services (cf. Custers et al., 2019; Oosterlynck et al., 2013; Uitermark, 2015).

Data and method

We use the COREQ checklist by Tong et al. (2007) to describe our data collection and analysis. This checklist was designed to promote explicit and comprehensive reporting of qualitative studies, which thus provides a more formal way to clarify how qualitative research was conducted.

Research team – the research team consisted of the two authors and three student assistants who used the collected data for writing their master thesis. The student assistants conducted interviews with participants in three neighbourhood organisations and when possible, additional participant observation was carried out. At a later stage in the research process, a second interview with the leader of every organisation was conducted by the first author. During data collection, the first author was employed as a PhD researcher and the second author was a full professor in Sociology. The two authors are both male and the three student assistants are all female. The student assistants received interview training from the authors. The general principles of interviewing were discussed and mock interviews were held on which the student assistants received feedback.

Study design – the theoretical framework and methodological orientation that underpin our study are based on the *adaptive theory* approach by Layder (1998). Adaptive theory endeavours to combine the use of pre-existing theory and theory generated from data analysis in the formulation and actual conduct of empirical research (Layder, 1998, p. 2). It can be seen as a middle position between deductive or theory-testing approaches on the one hand and inductive or theory-generating approaches on the other.

The initial research idea was to investigate how neighbourhood organisations help residents gain employment and how they provide daily structure for unemployed or economically non-active residents, for example through facilitating volunteer work. A main goal was to study the dynamics of different neighbourhood organisations, since organisations differ in their capability to address several social needs. Given the intensive field work that had to be carried out, student assistants were approached to help with data collection. We selected three neighbourhood organisations in low-income neighbourhoods in Rotterdam. The organisations were identified by the student assistants and their final selection was discussed with the authors. We therefore have a mix of organisations in our study, including a faith-based centre, a professional welfare organisation, and a volunteer-based organisation.

Access to the organisations was gained through establishing contact with key persons in the organisations, who also acted as key informants during the research. They were either the leader of the organisation or held important management positions (from here on: leaders). Contact was established through referrals or by directly addressing the leader. Snowball sampling was used to interview the most active or frequently visiting participants in every organisation. Most interview requests were made face-to-face when the student assistants were visiting the organisation. This process continued until theoretical saturation was reached. Only a few potential respondents declined interview requests because they were not interested, shy or lacked trust. In total, 34 interviews were conducted by student assistants, including with the leaders: 17 in the faith-based centre, 5 in the professional welfare organisation, and 12 in the volunteer-based organisation.[50] In addition, the first author held three follow-up interviews with the leaders to discuss issues that had emerged after initial analysis of the data. All interviews took place at the organisations, nearly always in a separate space where privacy was assured.[51] A list of respondents, including their age and gender, is provided in the appendix (Table A5.1).

The interviews were semi-structured to ensure the same topics were covered in every interview while allowing flexibility to follow up relevant themes that might emerge (Mason, 2004). An interview guide was developed with topics and questions of interest, including how respondents joined the organisation, their role in the organisation, what their participation meant to them, their relations with other active members, and the significance of the organisation for their daily life. Interviews with the leaders were set up differently. The student assistants mainly focused on the operation and goals

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50 We have two reasons why the number of interviews considerably differs between organisations. First, in the faith-based centre eight interviews were conducted with women who had limited mastery of the Dutch language. These interviews were therefore relatively short, about 20 minutes on average. Furthermore, the number of participants in the professional welfare organisation was small due to the structure of the program. Combined with multiple participatory sessions, five interviews were sufficient to reach theoretical saturation.

51 The data were collected between April and June in 2017.

of the organisation and the personal motivation of the leaders. Guided by theoretical interest and a discussion of the initial data, the follow-up interviews with the leaders also discussed policy and organisational ties. The student assistants were encouraged to make field notes, which were discussed during meetings. They also made observations during activities of the faith-based centre and the professional welfare organisation, since these organisations ran regular programs for their participants.

Data analysis - The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed by the student assistants. Field notes were also written in digital format. The transcripts were coded and analysed by the first author using ATLAS.ti software. In line with the adaptive theory approach we constructed several codes before analysing the data. Theoretical interest guided our main codes, which included 'entry organisation', 'ties in organisation', 'give or receive support', 'daily occupation', 'work aspiration', 'motivation participation', 'benefits participation', 'connection neighbourhood', 'Reciprocity Policy', and 'social benefits'. During the analysis, open coding was applied to identify any emerging themes. After initial coding, all codes were evaluated and merged with other codes when relevant. In this step, 'links to other organisations', 'problems municipality', 'mediate contact', 'funding', 'stay busy', 'routine', 'faith', 'community', 'increase network', 'gain confidence', 'personal growth', and 'multicultural' were identified as important codes. In the next step, the codes were ordered into the following theme groups: fostering relations, providing structure, ties to other organisations, and policy. Codes could be grouped under multiple themes. For example, 'funding' relates both to organisational ties and policy. In addition, some specific codes from the initial coding phase were retained when more insight into a theme was needed.

The results section starts with a brief description of the three organisations. Subsequently, we present the most important findings on every theme. In the results section these findings are supported by quotes from the interviews or field observations.

Results

Three neighbourhood organisations

The faith-based centre, which we call the *Faith Centre*, has a distinctive character, since it organises activities in which everybody from the neighbourhood may participate while also offering religious services to Christians from a Protestant denomination. The organisation was founded by the pastor (Dave) with the goal to 'give faith new meaning and connect it to Rotterdam's contemporary multicultural society'. Faith centre is located in a low-income, multicultural neighbourhood – about 80 per cent of the neighbourhood has a migration background. Three clusters make up the core of the organisation: Church, Help, and Together. Church consists of religious services on Sunday and mainly caters to young families and people from what Dave, a middle-aged white male, calls 'hot cultures', referring to people with a Surinamese, Antillean, and Cape Verdean background. About 50 people are active in this cluster. Help includes activities that help people to meet a range of social needs. During our

research period, programs such as language and swimming lessons were organised for a group of middle-aged Muslim women. Together tries to connect people from different backgrounds by organising events such as barbeques, neighbourhood parties or game sessions. Structural activities in the Together cluster are breakfasts and dinners that take place two or three times per week, which are visited by dozens of people. Through these three clusters, Faith Centre serves about 150 people in total. The organisation depends on several regular volunteers to run its daily operations.

Top Job is part of a larger professional welfare organisation in Rotterdam that receives funding from the municipality to provide several social services. Citylab010 awarded Top Job a grant to help people with a 'large distance to the labour market' to gain sustainable employment within a short period of time.[52] Although the program is targeted at a disadvantaged group, the initial selection is based on motivation. Only candidates that express strong motivation may participate in the program. Thus, the candidates with the best prospects are selected, a practice that is referred to as 'creaming' in the literature on active labour market policies (Benda, 2019). Flyers and local advertisements were used to recruit potential candidates. Eight people were selected for an intensive training program that included activities every weekday for five weeks. At the end of the program, the participants were expected to be 'job-ready'. The program included elements such as social media training, resume building, physical workouts, theatre lessons, stress management and attitude evaluation. Mark (late twenties, male), a welfare worker and program leader, was responsible for organising the program and guiding the participants. Training sessions took place at Top Job's building or at partner locations. The final gathering was a celebratory event during which the participants received their certificate and gave an elevator pitch to local employers, who were invited to meet the job-ready candidates.

The third organisation, *Neighbour Spot*, is completely run by volunteers. It is centrally located in the neighbourhood in a building owned by a social housing corporation, who thus facilitates Neighbour Spot. The organisation has its origins in a collective protest by a group of residents who successfully challenged restructuring plans for the neighbourhood. During this period, they established a committee to represent residents renting from the social housing corporation. Nowadays, Neighbour Spot also assists residents with several issues such as housing, debt, taxes, welfare applications and language problems. Volunteers help residents to fill in forms or provide referrals to other organisations such as professional welfare organisations or the municipality. The volunteers seem well-connected in the neighbourhood and many residents know where to go for help. For a couple of volunteers, their involvement constitutes a daily occupation (i.e., volunteer work). The head of volunteers is Laura (middle-aged, female), who oversees the daily operations of Neighbour Spot. Neighbour Spot has about fifteen active volunteers and serves many people from the neighbourhood.

Table 5.1 provides an overview of the distinctive characteristics of every organisation.

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52   The program was free to participants.

Table 5.1. Overview neighbourhood organisations

Name	Faith Centre	Top Job	Neighbour Spot
Type of organisation	Faith-based	Professional welfare	Volunteer-based
Type of societal participation	Countering social isolation, community building, volunteering	Labour market re-entry	Voluntary work
Number of active participants (estimated)	150	10	15
Idiosyncratic characteristics of participants	Ethnically diverse, low socioeconomic status, non-working	(Long-term) unemployed	Social assistance recipients, retirees

Fostering relations and providing structure

Following the adaptive theory approach (Layder, 1998), we analysed the data with a focus on how organisations foster social relations and provide a daily structure for their participants. By structuring we refer to how the participants were involved. For example, what routines did they develop as a result of the organisation's activities? How did they feel about their involvement and social relations in the organisation? We highlight that almost none of our respondents had a full-time job. They were either employed part-time or economically inactive (e.g. unemployed, on social assistance, household work, retired), which means they were able to spend a significant amount of time at the organisation. Through this analytic lens, we find that all organisations profoundly shape the lives of their participants while they also substantially differ in how this impact crystallises.

Faith Centre stands out for creating a strong sense of community amongst its members. The weekly activities (breakfasts, dinners, religious services, Help lessons) ensure that many people visit the organisation regularly, which creates opportunities for repeated interaction. New members mostly join through personal networks, but the pastor also encourage members to actively recruit strangers. This strategy helped counter social isolation amongst some respondents who joined the organisation. For instance, Rick, a retired male, met two members at a flea market and they invited him to a religious service:

"They said 'come with us, it is very nice' and all that. She picked me up and I was nervously shaking ... then I saw some familiar faces and ... I immediately felt I belonged here. ... They took care of me and I noticed that I belonged here, that I was no loner ..."

Active members keep an eye out for each other. Whenever a regular visitor is absent, others will inquire about his or her situation. This habit is appreciated amongst many members, as Nima (late twenties, female) illustrates: *"I was not there one Sunday ...*

everybody missed me, and I find that very important". Nima also exemplifies how Faith Centre provides a daily occupation for those unable to perform paid work:

"This is my daily life. I have no job, so if I did not have Faith Centre I would sit at home all day … This provides me with an occupation and structure that enable me to enjoy life."

In general, members frequently mention words such as 'family', 'warmth', 'love', and 'community' to describe their feelings about Faith Centre. Especially those who attend religious services express these feelings, which are often connected to their faith. Yet, the Muslim women from the Help cluster appreciate their participation as well. Most of them report an increased sense of wellbeing as a result of the language and swimming lessons. They undertake additional activities together, such as going for walks, and can better communicate with, for instance, their general practitioner or shopkeepers.

Two important goals of Faith Centre, as identified by the pastor, seem to be generally met. First, members increase their 'societal participation' by their involvement in Faith Centre. They become more active in the organisational sphere and broaden their social network. An unintended consequence, however, is the risk that talented individuals decrease their participation in Faith Centre because they find employment. Professional welfare organisations in particular are interested in people who are skilled in organising. Yet, the pastor notes that Faith Centre needs these people as role models and organisers. Second, Faith Centre connects people from different backgrounds, especially with regard to ethnicity and religion, as the Together activities usually have a low threshold. This fosters mutual understanding between different groups in the neighbourhood, although some struggles over multiculturalism remain. Rick exemplified this issue when he was asked about perceived differences in the organisation:

"Look I don't want to discriminate or anything, but … I think the darker women walk past me quicker, a white old male. … I think that is a bit unfortunate, since we come here with the same purpose [to eat together and chat with others]".

Top Job structures relations between participants and their lives in a different way. The program runs for a brief and intense period – each weekday deals with a different element (for five weeks in total). Mark explains that the program requires major adjustments in the daily lives of some participants, since some have been unemployed for many years. The lack of structure before Top Job is illustrated by Dirk (middle-aged, male): *"Normally you would get up around half past ten, make a cup of coffee and go sit in front of the television, and then wait until you can go to bed again".* Ronald (mid-twenties, male) further describes how the program activated the participants: *"The first week everybody was very tired and lazy, you had no rhythm basically. Gradually everybody became more fit and things went easier. You could see everybody flourished, which was a good thing for everybody".*

Even though the selected participants live in the same neighbourhood, they either did not know each other at all or were only vaguely acquainted (cf. van Eijk, 2010a). Some participants recognised each other from encounters in the neighbourhood. During the program, however, they developed a strong sense of 'us' because they were 'in it together'. Mark wants to achieve a balance between competition and cooperation among the participants as this gives them the right incentives to make a maximum effort. Participants perceived the group as cohesive, which Dirk describes as follows:

"... if somebody did not know something, then someone else would help you. That is nice about the group. I mean, having each other's back, the cooperation, leaving no person behind. This is what you learn when you work in a team and how to do it."

After the program, the participants stayed in touch, mainly through WhatsApp. The role of technology is important here because it enables the participants to exchange information about job positions. They sent job vacancies to each other if they knew that a fellow participant did not have a job yet. Participants also encountered each other in public settings like the supermarket or a neighbourhood fair, where they made small talk. Top Job thus transformed the relations between participants from being publicly familiar with each other (see Blokland, 2003) to being acquaintances. However, since no regular meetings were held after the program, the strong bond between the participants ceased after a while.

The support from fellow participants, the trust put in them by Mark and other trainers, and their newly established routine all contributed to an increase in self-confidence among the participants. All interviewees mentioned that they are more convinced of their own abilities thanks to the program. Consequently, Aycan (middle-aged, female) thinks she has better chances of obtaining a job: *"I used to think making a phone call was difficult but now I can do it. We got that energy. To persevere; being determined to find work. I actually have that feeling now"*.

Two groups of volunteers can be distinguished when we examine how Neighbour Spot provides its active members with structure. The first group mainly consists of women who 'work at the counter'. They receive residents who have a question or issue and subsequently help them in any way possible. Laura is the manager of this group. When other volunteers have questions, they usually turn to Laura. Most volunteers in this group work several days a week and view it as their main occupation. The second group mainly consists of retired men who take care of administrative tasks such as financial administration, subsidy applications, and chairing meetings. Their involvement is less time-consuming on average. Both groups, however, frame their engagement in a similar way. Many state they 'do not want to sit at home' and they 'want to be or stay busy', as Sanna (middle-aged, female) for example tells when asked why she became a volunteer: *"Just to get to work. I am really not that person to sit at home. I really could not do that."*

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In terms of social cohesion and relations, Neighbour Spot has a collegial atmosphere. Most volunteers know each other well and sometimes they meet up outside of the organisation. New volunteers are mostly recruited through personal networks. Many of the volunteers are also proud to work for their neighbourhood and its residents, even though some no longer live nearby. However, compared to Faith Centre, the sense of community is much lower. Most volunteers indicate that they also have a social life outside the organisation.

Ties to other organisations

An important theme that emerged during our fieldwork was that these organisations are well-connected to other organisations and their ties are beneficial to their participants. Faith Centre has many 'network partners', as the pastor calls them. These partners include schools, welfare organisations, the neighbourhood team[53], social housing corporations, and the municipality. Cooperation with these organisations takes different forms. In some cases, Faith Centre receives a discount in return for certain services. For example, Faith Centre rents space from a social housing corporation where the communal breakfasts and dinners take place. At the same time, a group of young people who belong to Faith Centre rent student dorms from this housing corporation. The youngsters receive a discount on their rent when they perform certain informal jobs, such as organising a block party or adopting a trash container.[54] This discount is used to pay the rent for the communal space, which all members of Faith Centre can use. Another example of cooperation are the language and swimming lessons for the group of Muslim women. These lessons are organised together with two welfare organisations, so that the responsibility and resources can be shared between the organisations.

Top Job has several ties with local entrepreneurs and businesses, which is quite unusual for a welfare organisation. These ties are maintained through a close relationship with The Company Centre, a local platform for employers. The neighbourhood where Top Job operates is near many businesses, since it lies adjacent to a large industrial area. However, as Mark explains, having connections alone is insufficient to help his clients obtain employment. Therefore, he developed the program together with Harry from The Company Centre to get his clients job-ready. Multiple training sessions, such as social media lessons or job interview instructions, are provided by local employers, often at a reduced rate. At the end of the program, the employers attend the event where the certificates are handed out and the elevator pitches are given, so they might recruit one of the candidates. Another advantage of Top Job is being part of a larger welfare organisation, which extends its network to employers in other parts of the city.

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53 These teams are an interdisciplinary mix of welfare professionals (e.g. nurses, general practitioners, neighbourhood managers, community workers).

54 Adopting a container means someone accepts responsibility to keep the area around this container clean and tidy.

Reputational management is a central aspect in dealing with local employers, as Mark points out:

"I visit a lot of companies. Just to check how that person is doing. Or I make a call. It is all very strategic of course, that is how it works. Look, if I send someone to a company who then completely screws up and then I would send another person ... my name and Top Job's is on the line. Therefore, I am always critical ... if I think, this is not going to work, then I wait and slow down the process."

Ties to other organisations are essential for Neighbour Spot as well. The volunteers particularly mention their 'short lines' to several organisations such as the social housing corporation, the municipality, and the neighbourhood team. Multiple examples were given during the interviews. One example includes elderly migrants who often lack certain language and digital skills that are needed to fill in forms. In these cases, a volunteer helps with these forms and sends them to the relevant organisation. Another example is 'taxes day'. Every year, Neighbour Spot organises an afternoon where people can get help with filing their taxes. Residents can therefore communicate more efficiently with the national tax department. Volunteers at Neighbour Spot are proud of their 'personal approach', which according to them works better than the 'impersonal' municipality helpline. As with Top Job, reputation plays an important role. When Laura calls the municipal welfare department, they often recognise her name and then 'things get done quicker'. Furthermore, the working-age volunteers at Neighbour Spot use the organisation's network to keep track of job vacancies, as some aspire to obtain a paid job. People at connected organisations may then vouch for one of the volunteers. Maria (mid-thirties, female) illustrates how this process works:

"If you go via via ... then it works. If you have somebody there [at another organisation] that you know and that person says 'she is very good in this and that' and then you apply, you are on top of the list because you are already introduced so to say. I went to many job interviews this way."

A general observation that can be made concerning organisational ties is that individual leadership seems crucial in forming and maintaining these ties. Dave, Mark, and Laura all devote a great deal of energy to managing the network and reputation of their organisation. As either the leader or operational manager, they are also the individuals with whom the organisation is associated – especially since all three organisations are rather small. Moreover, many participants in the organisations do not have the abilities required to provide leadership, which thus creates dependency on individuals such as Dave, Mark, and Laura.

Policy practices and effects

Local municipal policy has distinctive effects on the organisations and in some cases on their individual participants as well. In relation to the municipality, Faith Centre is a relatively autonomous organisation. It receives most funding from charities and other Protestant congregations, which requires it to maintain a high public profile. Its relative independence from the municipality does not mean that Faith Centre does not engage with local policy. One of its struggles is to be acknowledged as a 'mature' organisation that can provide social services of the same quality as professional welfare organisations. This issue was raised when the relation with the municipal welfare department was discussed with the pastor. Multiple participants in Faith Centre are obliged to 'make a societal contribution' due to the Reciprocity Policy, but Faith Centre is not always acknowledged as a legitimate organisation for fulfilling such obligations. Nevertheless, the pastor feels that Faith Centre has a responsibility to take care of those who have been neglected by the government. He sees that people are often treated as 'second class citizens' by social professionals and therefore he wants people to once more feel that they matter.

Top Job exemplifies how social innovation can be stimulated by government. The municipality provided Top Job with the funds it needed to design the program together with its business partners, without interfering in the process. The nature of the funding also made it possible to bridge the segmented worlds of 'work' and 'welfare', as these worlds frequently constitute different policy domains. Furthermore, if the program would have failed, there would have been few consequences for Top Job, save the damage to its reputation. A drawback, however, is that Citylab010 only provides a one-off contribution. Therefore, during the time of our research Mark still had to secure structural funds from a different source in order to continue the program.

In addition, individual participants in the Top Job program evidently benefited from the CityLab010 policy. According to Mark, most participants obtained a job with a permanent contract after the program. Since many participants had struggled with job security before the program, the municipality's innovation policy indirectly transformed their lives.

Like Faith Centre, Neighbour Spot receives no direct financial support from the municipality. The organisation deals with social policy in many ways because, next to representing residents on the social housing committee, the complexity and fragmentation of local social policy is its 'raison d'être'. But the fact that the effects of the Reciprocity Policy were mainly manifest at the individual level led to mixed feelings among the most active volunteers. On the one hand, they have extensive knowledge of how social policy works and they use this knowledge to help other residents navigate the system world of bureaucratic organisations (de Graaf et al., 2015). As mentioned before, they are proud to fulfil this 'linking' role. Most volunteers in this group emphasised that their volunteer work also counts as 'employment' (Baines & Hardill, 2008), thereby referring to the skills one needs to work at Neighbour Spot – e.g. knowledge of social policies, communication skills, and basic computer skills. They

feel that the outside world does not always take them seriously. Laura expresses this view as follows:

"I keep fighting against it. It is not only my environment; it is the whole world. A volunteer is not a professional and I fight the hardest against that. The only difference between me and a professional is that a professional gets good pay, I do it for my social benefits"

On the other hand, discussions about the Reciprocity Policy evoked strong responses among some of the volunteers in this group, who are personally affected by the policy. After meeting with their welfare officers, they feel their voluntary work is worth less since 'everybody has to do it now'. They also believe that the welfare department does not fully appreciate the work they are already doing. Some volunteers were criticised or questioned by their welfare officer whereas others experienced no problems. This contingency leads to feelings of unfairness among some of the volunteers. However, the need to 'do something in return' for receiving social assistance is endorsed by the volunteers, which is also accompanied by boundary work (Kampen et al., 2019). The volunteers made a distinction between 'active' types like themselves and 'non-active' people for whom some stimulus is needed to become an 'active citizen'.

Conclusion and discussion

This study has shown how different neighbourhood organisations shape the lives of various groups in low-income neighbourhoods. Our conclusion is divided into three parts. The first two parts discuss how our empirical findings relate to theory about organisational effects and policy effects, respectively. The last part provides a reflection on the significance of neighbourhood organisations in the urban environment and their relevance for neighbourhood effects studies.

First, the type of the neighbourhood organisation strongly affects how people develop relations. Faith Centre offers a low threshold for participation and encourages outsiders to join the organisation. By having three clusters of activity, the organisation serves groups who mainly differ in ethnicity and religiosity. These differences are transcended during communal activities (cf. Wessendorf, 2014), which is quite exceptional since many local organisations in Rotterdam are organised along ethnic lines (Bosch, 2016; cf. Pinkster, 2007). The relations between participants can be generally classified as 'bonding', since most participants have a similar socioeconomic status (Putnam, 2000). Top Job creates strong bonds between participants, but these are temporary because no regular meetings are organised after the program. Therefore, relations between participants eventually become 'weak ties' that can still be used for obtaining job information (Granovetter, 1973). Most ties between individuals in Neighbour Spot are supportive due to the collegial atmosphere. Yet, they do not fulfil the ambitions of some participants to obtain a job. Ties within Neighbour Spot thus serve to 'get by' but not to 'get ahead' (Briggs, 1998).

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Different elements of Jahoda's (1982) latent functions of employment can be recognised in the neighbourhood organisations. Participants in Faith Centre can broaden their small network and the communal meals provide some regular activity. The organisation also fulfils a sense of purpose for many by offering an opportunity to build an inclusive community within a multicultural context. Top Job stands out in imposing a rigid time structure on participants who had previously had little structure. The program also inspires the idea that participants are working together towards a common goal: increased employability. A key issue in Neighbour Spot is how the volunteer work is valued by the 'outside' world – relating to how employment is associated with status and identity. Some of the volunteers consider it as 'work' that does not differ from paid work, but they frequently notice that people outside the organisation hold different views (cf. Baines & Hardill, 2008).

In line with Small (2009), our findings provide insight into an issue that has received little attention in the urban studies literature: how organisational ties can benefit their participants. Faith Centre has several contacts with welfare organisations in the neighbourhood, which helps its participants to access welfare services. Young Christians in Faith Centre may also have access to cheap living space provided by the social housing corporation. Moreover, the pastor has invested in linking social capital that Faith Centre can use to acquire financial resources (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). This linking of social capital mainly concerns relations with wealthier congregations and charitable organisations. Being part of Top Job clearly gives participants the advantage of having access to multiple employers. A condition, however, for being introduced to employers is that a candidate must be job-ready. Neighbour Spot possesses linking social capital that can used to mediate between vulnerable residents and bureaucratic organisations such as the municipality or the social housing corporation (cf. Marwell, 2007). The volunteers at Neighbour Spot may also use the organisation's ties when looking for a job.

Second, our analysis reveals how trends towards decentralisation, responsibilisation, and social innovation crystallise in the practices of neighbourhood organisations. Decentralisation and responsibilisation are closely related trends that signify how welfare services are being increasingly provided by local bodies instead of central government and that responsibility for welfare is thereby being transferred to local bodies and individuals (see Andreotti et al., 2012; Schinkel & van Houdt, 2010; Smith & Lipsky, 1993; Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2013). Faith Centre is an organisation that claims responsibility for those who have been neglected by the welfare state. Even though churches have long been institutions that try to take care of their followers, Faith Centre attempts to involve *all* residents from the neighbourhood regardless of their social background. Interestingly, Faith Centre is willing to take on responsibility to help social assistance recipients with their mandatory societal contribution but is not always taken seriously by the welfare department. Top Job, on the other hand, demonstrates how the implementation of active labour market policy can be devolved to a local welfare organisation. Responsibility for completing the program and obtaining a job is strongly

framed in terms of individual achievement (Verhoeven & Tonkens, 2013). The candidates are expected to put in the effort in order to be successful. The program, however, offers diverse and intense training that is not available to most unemployed people. The success of the candidates might thus be the result of the program's structure rather than the candidates' motivation. Finally, while not receiving any direct financial compensation from the municipality, Neighbour Spot has taken over its responsibility to help residents obtain the appropriate welfare services – normally residents should use the municipal helpline. Our results indicate that the individual responsibilisation of welfare can also have harmful and unintended consequences as the self-image of some volunteers had been negatively affected by the Reciprocity Policy. They felt that their voluntary work was worth less following the introduction of this policy (Kampen et al., 2019; Veldboer et al., 2015).

Features of social innovation were clearly present in Faith Centre and Top Job. Through active recruitment and a focus on building an inclusive community, Faith Centre aims to transform relations between different groups by showing that 'faith' can be a binding force. This transformation is, however, not a result of social policy, but rather of actions taken by the pastor who receives support from other Protestant congregations. In contrast, Top Job's innovative program is driven by social policy. Yet, its location nearby industry, the local network of employers, Mark's networking skills, and the costs of the program are all factors that cannot easily be transferred to other contexts. The potential to upscale the program thus seems limited given the specific conditions that constitute its success (Moulaert et al., 2010; Oosterlynck et al., 2013).

Third, our analysis indicates that neighbourhood organisations take a central position in the urban environment. Neighbourhood organisations mediate between what Marwell and McQuarrie (2013) call the 'social integration' of individuals – face-to-face interactions in relatively small group settings – and 'systemic integration' – connections to macro-institutions such as bureaucracies and markets (see also Archer, 1996; McQuarrie & Marwell, 2009). The organisations in our study shape social interaction between individuals while also mediating their relation to larger structures, such as the labour market (e.g. Top Job) or the municipal welfare department (e.g. Neighbour Spot). Our findings support the idea that neighbourhood organisations are socially productive (McQuarrie & Marwell, 2009). Organisations do not only mediate between social and systemic integration, they shape this relationship as well. Neighbourhood organisations influence the ways in which systemic forces affect the individual and how individuals connect to these larger structures, which is further reflected in the role played by linking social capital (Allard & Small, 2013; Marwell, 2007; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). This perspective on the mediating role of organisations deserves more attention in the neighbourhood effects literature, as studies focus too often on spurious relations between neighbourhood population characteristics and individual outcomes.

Our research shows that different types of neighbourhood organisations foster social relations, provide daily structure for various categories of urban poor, and facilitate connections to other types of organisations. As a result, these organisations

contribute to reducing loneliness, increasing people's self-esteem, and bridging gaps to the regular labour market. These distinct contributions are frequently overlooked in neighbourhood effects studies that tend to generalise the influence of neighbourhood organisations, treating them as the sum of various elements (e.g. Curley, 2010b). As our study demonstrates, a closer look into the operations of different organisations uncovers their varying influences on individual outcomes and the environment (cf. Tran et al., 2013).

Given that contemporary urban environments are characterised by social and ethnic diversity, a diverse social infrastructure in neighbourhoods is needed to meet the various social needs. Our study also indicates that neighbourhood organisations are sustained by extra-neighbourhood actors from public (e.g. government), semi-public (e.g. social housing corporations) and private (e.g. religious congregations) spheres. We particularly emphasised the role that neighbourhood organisations play in creating bonding and linking social capital. We suggest that all neighbourhood organisations together are a form of 'public capital', namely the public resources available to the urban poor (Merton, 1994). This public capital includes the public resources made available by organisations such as schools, community centres, libraries, and cultural facilities. Recently, neighbourhood organisations have been subjected to major budget cuts, even as expectations regarding their social role have increased (Uitermark, 2015). Our research shows that maintaining such organisations is pivotal for the quality of life and the life chances of the urban poor.

Appendix Chapter 5

Table A5.1. List with interviewees

Name respondent (pseudonym)	Organisation	Sex (male/female)	Age
Tabatha	Faith Centre	female	33
Sofia	Faith Centre	female	61
Sarah	Faith Centre	female	54
Rima	Faith Centre	female	34
Nora	Faith Centre	female	40
Mila	Faith Centre	female	35
Loubna	Faith Centre	female	47
Gadisa	Faith Centre	female	55
Chadia	Faith Centre	female	38
Sannah	Faith Centre	female	49
Rick	Faith Centre	male	69
Dave (pastor)	Faith Centre	male	51
Nima	Faith Centre	female	29
Milou	Faith Centre	female	48
Hudson	Faith Centre	male	40
Harianne	Faith Centre	female	58
Brigitte	Faith Centre	female	50
Mark (program leader)	Top Job	male	29
Dirk	Top Job	male	43
Ronald	Top Job	male	24
Aycan	Top Job	female	45
Pieter	Top Job	male	45
Laura (manager)	Neighbour Spot	female	51
Dorien	Neighbour Spot	female	37
Marjorie	Neighbour Spot	female	35
Maria	Neighbour Spot	female	26
Sanna	Neighbour Spot	female	41
Xenia	Neighbour Spot	female	55
Casper	Neighbour Spot	male	69
Ferry	Neighbour Spot	male	70
Gerard	Neighbour Spot	male	66
Jan	Neighbour Spot	male	73
Kashia	Neighbour Spot	female	51
Laetitia	Neighbour Spot	female	45

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A

Appendix

Nederlandse samenvatting
Dankwoord
Curriculum Vitae

Nederlandse samenvatting

Steden zijn plekken waar diverse groepen samenkomen. Grote sociale ongelijkheden tussen groepen, bijvoorbeeld tussen arm en rijk, zijn daarom vaak in steden te vinden. De sociale compositie van de stad wordt gevormd door diverse structurele processen, zoals immigratie, globalisering en de ontwikkeling van de kapitalistische economie. Maar de stad wordt niet alleen gevormd door dergelijke macroprocessen. De inzet van burgers voor hun sociale en fysieke omgeving speelt ook een belangrijke rol. In dit proefschrift worden zowel structurele processen als de betrokkenheid van burgers onderzocht en de relaties hiertussen. Het onderzoek richt zich op de manier waarop ongelijkheden in steden tot stand komen en wat daarvan de sociaaleconomische en ruimtelijke gevolgen zijn. De centrale doelen van het proefschrift zijn om de volgende aspecten te bestuderen:

1) Hoe sociaaleconomische verandering begrepen kan worden vanuit een sociale klassenperspectief;
2) De gevolgen van sociaal-ruimtelijke ongelijkheid voor arbeidsmarktdeelname;
3) De invloed van verschillende macroprocessen op burgerparticipatie;
4) De verschillende manieren waarop buurtorganisaties participatie van burgers faciliteren.

Deze onderzoeksdoelen komen voort uit twee brede ontwikkelingen die zijn waar te nemen in steden. Ten eerste verandert de sociaaleconomische structuur van steden continu. De aard van deze veranderingen geeft aanleiding tot veel debat tussen sociale wetenschappers. Sommigen betogen dat het middensegment langzaam verdwijnt en hogere en lagere klassen in omvang toenemen (polarisatie), terwijl anderen erop wijzen dat het middensegment steeds groter wordt ten opzichte van het lage segment (upgrading/professionalisering). Gentrificatie, de sociaaleconomische opwaardering van buurten, heeft daarbij ook een grote invloed op hoe de stad verandert. Deze processen hebben op hun beurt invloed op sociaal-ruimtelijke ongelijkheden. Dat wil zeggen, in welke mate verschillende sociaaleconomische groepen door elkaar heen wonen.

De tweede ontwikkeling betreft de veranderde rol van burgerparticipatie en de *civic society*, ook wel bekend als maatschappelijk middenveld. Burgerparticipatie is de manier waarop mensen gezamenlijk actie ondernemen om gedeelde waarden en belangen te realiseren, vaak in georganiseerde vorm. In de afgelopen decennia zijn veranderingen in de arbeidsmarkt en de verzorgingsstaat van invloed geweest op de mate van burgerparticipatie en hoe dit vorm krijgt. Zo heeft de groei van langdurige werkloosheid ervoor gezorgd dat burgerparticipatie een steeds belangrijker alternatief is geworden voor arbeidsmarktdeelname. Ook is de verzorgingsstaat meer participatie gaan 'eisen' in ruil voor een sociale uitkering. Daarnaast worden nieuwe vormen van burgerparticipatie vaker bejubeld, bijvoorbeeld wanneer mensen een eigen initiatief starten om een maatschappelijk probleem te adresseren. De opkomst van deze

zelforganisatie staat in verband met de terugtrekkende overheid op het gebied van publieke voorzieningen zoals welzijn, zorg en onderhoud van de buitenruimte.

Het onderzoek richt zich op Rotterdam. Rotterdam is een van de meest diverse steden van Nederland op sociaaleconomisch en cultureel gebied. De stad kent een relatief arme bevolking en meer dan de helft van de bewoners heeft een migratieachtergrond. Daarnaast kent de stad een rijke traditie van burgerparticipatie. Er zijn verschillende databronnen gebruikt om het onderzoek uit voeren. Centraal staat het Wijkprofiel, een instrument van de gemeente om ontwikkelingen op sociaal terrein en veiligheid te monitoren. Het Wijkprofiel bestaat uit diverse administratieve data en twee grootschalige enquêtes (de Sociale en Veiligheidsindex) die om de twee jaar worden afgenomen. Verder is ook kwalitatieve data verzameld om bepaalde vragen in dit onderzoek verder uit te diepen.

In dit proefschrift worden de twee ontwikkelingen bestudeerd aan de hand van vier centrale thema's: sociale klasse, buurteffecten, sociale mix en buurtorganisaties. Dit proefschrift bestaat uit vier studies die elk één van de eerdergenoemde doelen behandelen. Op deze manier komen de twee ontwikkelingen en vier thema's op diverse wijzen aan bod, en wordt een meervoudige bijdrage geleverd aan de internationale theorievorming over stedelijke ontwikkelingen en sociale ongelijkheid.

Studie 1: Sociaaleconomische verandering vanuit sociale klassenperspectief

De eerste studie richt zich op de vraag hoe sociaaleconomische veranderingen in Rotterdam begrepen kunnen worden vanuit sociale klassenperspectief en wat de ruimtelijke gevolgen zijn van deze veranderingen. In de sociologische literatuur is al jaren een debat gaande over de betekenis van sociale klasse. Een relatief nieuwe stroming, bekend als 'culturele klassenanalyse', pleit ervoor om sociale klasse breed te conceptualiseren. Het gaat niet alleen om de economische positie van mensen (inkomen en vermogen), maar ook om de sociale connecties die ze hebben en de mate waarin ze cultuur kunnen beheersen die is verbonden met groepen met een hoge status (opleiding en cultuurparticipatie). De socioloog Pierre Bourdieu typeerde deze 'hulpbronnen' als economisch, sociaal en cultureel kapitaal. Het bezit van deze hulpbronnen biedt de eigenaar bepaalde voordelen en vormen van macht in domeinen zoals de arbeidsmarkt, politiek en cultuursector. Deze studie betoogt dat processen zoals polarisatie en professionalisering vanuit dit sociale klassenperspectief beter begrepen kunnen worden, omdat mensen verschillende kapitaalsoorten bezitten. Vooral in het midden van de klassenstructuur is de stratificatie diffuus, omdat een bepaalde klasse bijvoorbeeld over relatief weinig economisch maar veel cultureel kapitaal kan beschikken (denk aan artiesten) terwijl een andere klasse juist veel economisch maar minder cultureel kapitaal heeft (IT-professionals). Dit heeft gevolgen voor de manier waarop ongelijkheid toeneemt of afneemt in steden, omdat de hiërarchie in de klassenstructuur wordt bepaald door verschillende typen kapitaal die elk hun eigen rangschikking kennen. Dit klassenperspectief werpt tevens nieuw licht op hoe buurten gemengd zijn (sociale mix). Buurten kunnen eenzijdig zijn vanuit een economisch

perspectief, maar toch diverse klassen herbergen die verschillen met betrekking tot sociaal en cultureel kapitaal. Denk bijvoorbeeld aan een arme buurt waar ook veel studenten en jonge professionals wonen.

Aan de hand van het Wijkprofiel ontwikkelt deze studie een typologie van sociale klassen in Rotterdam en analyseert wat de veranderingen zijn in de periode tussen 2008 en 2017. Er worden twee lagere klassen onderscheiden (precariaat en lagere klasse), vier middenklassen (opkomende middenklasse, contactarme middenklasse, traditionele middenklasse en culturele middenklasse) en één hogere klasse (gevestigde bovenlaag). Uit de analyse blijkt dat met name de opkomende middenklasse en culturele middenklasse zijn gegroeid, terwijl de lagere klasse en traditionele middenklasse kleiner zijn geworden. Aangezien de eerste twee klassen veel cultureel kapitaal hebben en de laatste twee juist niet, concludeert deze studie dat er vooral professionalisering van de klassenstructuur heeft plaatsgevonden op het gebied van cultureel kapitaal. De ruimtelijke analyses tonen verder dat klassen met meer cultureel kapitaal dichter bij het centrum wonen en dat er gentrificatie plaatsvindt in en rondom het centrum. Deze resultaten worden theoretisch verklaard door het gemeentebeleid van de afgelopen decennia dat erop is gericht om meer middenklassen aan de stad te binden en door veranderingen in de arbeidsmarkt waar mensen steeds vaker hoger opgeleid zijn. Ten slotte illustreert de uitgebreide typologie dat buurten vaker op een meer diverse manier gemengd zijn dan doorgaans wordt aangenomen.

Studie 2: Buurtnetwerken, arbeidsmarktparticipatie en gemengde buurten

In deze studie wordt gekeken naar de gevolgen van sociaal-ruimtelijke ongelijkheid. In de literatuur staan deze gevolgen ook wel bekend als 'buurteffecten'. Buurteffecten omvatten het idee dat de buurtcontext een effect heeft op levenskansen van individuen, onafhankelijk van hun persoonlijke eigenschappen. Waar iemand woont in de stad, kan in theorie dus een groot verschil maken voor zijn of haar levensloop. Een belangrijke discussie binnen deze literatuur richt zich op de vraag of meer sociaaleconomisch gemengde wijken voor betere uitkomsten zorgen dan wijken waar bepaalde groepen zich concentreren. Een specifiek vraagstuk richt zich op de aanname dat met name lager opgeleiden meer profiteren van het wonen in gemengde wijken, omdat ze hier meer kansen hebben om sociale bindingen te vormen met mensen die beter toegang hebben tot de arbeidsmarkt (vooral hoger opgeleiden). Een beperking van veel onderzoek is echter dat studies deze aanname niet op grote schaal kunnen toetsen, omdat weinig surveydata beschikbaar is die enerzijds metingen van sociaal kapitaal bevat en anderzijds veel respondenten bevat die verdeeld zijn over verschillende typen buurten. Met behulp van de Wijkprofieldata van 2013 en 2015 is onderzocht wat de relatie is tussen het hebben van buurtcontacten (frequentie van contact en geholpen worden door buren) en het wel of niet hebben van werk (parttime of fulltime).

De resultaten laten zien dat er een vrij zwakke negatieve associatie bestaat tussen buurtcontacten en arbeidsmarktdeelname. Met andere woorden, werkende mensen hebben over het algemeen dus minder buurtcontacten. Buurtcontacten lijken niet direct

relevant te zijn voor het verkrijgen van een baan en kunnen zelfs een negatieve werking hebben. Bovendien varieert de sterkte van deze associatie niet tussen buurten met verschillende sociaaleconomisch niveaus, wat erop duidt dat voor het vinden van een baan het voor lager opgeleiden niet veel uitmaakt of ze in een buurt wonen met veel mensen met een hogere sociaaleconomische status. Mannen met een parttimebaan lijken hierop een uitzondering te vormen: het hebben van contacten in een buurt met hoge sociaaleconomische status heeft voor deze groep een kleine positieve relatie met arbeidsmarktdeelname. Dit bevestigt een algemene opvatting in de buurtliteratuur dat buurteffecten verschillend kunnen werken voor verschillende groepen. De resultaten in deze studie zijn op verschillende manieren te interpreteren. Buurtcontacten kunnen een lichte belemmering vormen voor arbeidsmarktdeelname (negatief sociaal kapitaal) of werklozen socialiseren juist meer in de buurt. De causale relatie van dit verband kan niet worden vastgesteld aan de hand van de data. De belangrijkste conclusie is echter dat buurtnetwerken een beperkte samenhang lijken te hebben met arbeidsmarktparticipatie en dat het type buurt (arm, gemend, rijk) hier over het algemeen geen invloed op heeft.

Studie 3: Het effect van de economische recessie op burgerparticipatie

In toenemende mate bestaat er belangstelling voor de vraag hoe de economische recessie die begon in 2008 van invloed is geweest op de betrokkenheid van burgers. Tijdens de economische recessie klonken er kritische geluiden zowel binnen als buiten de wetenschap over hoe de bezuinigingen in het sociaal domein de ongelijkheid in participatie tussen burgers zouden vergroten. Deze zorgen werden vergroot door de introductie van de 'participatiesamenleving', waarbij burgers werden opgeroepen het heft in eigen handen te nemen met betrekking tot het verzorgen van hun sociale en fysieke omgeving. Indien de overheid zicht terugtrekt, zijn het vooral burgers uit welvarende buurten die deze 'leegte' opvullen, zo luidde de redenering van critici. Dit zou resulteren in een grotere ongelijkheid in burgerparticipatie tussen arme en rijke buurten. Er bestaan echter ook andere hypotheses. In arme buurten spelen vaker sociale problemen, wat juist als een 'trigger' werkt om in actie te komen voor sommige bewoners. Bovendien slaan de bezuinigingen niet overal even hard neer, afhankelijk van het lokale sociale beleid. De verschillende verwachtingen over toenemende of afnemende ongelijkheid zijn echter nauwelijks empirisch getoetst. In deze studie is daarom onderzocht in welke mate verschillen tussen buurten in vrijwilligerswerk en buurtparticipatie groter of kleiner zijn geworden in de periode 2008-2013. De Wijkprofieldata is gebruikt om deze verwachtingen te toetsen.

De resultaten leveren een interessant beeld op. Tussen 2008 en 2013 werden verschillen in participatie tussen arme en rijke buurten juist kleiner, in tegenstelling tot de vele verwachtingen over toenemende ongelijkheid. Vooral in rijke buurten werd er minder geparticipeerd (zo'n 4-5 procentpunten in de onderzochte periode), terwijl in arme buurten de participatie licht toenam. Daarbij moet opgemerkt worden dat de veranderingen over het algemeen niet heel groot zijn. Meerdere verklaringen worden geopperd voor deze bevindingen. Ten eerste wordt theoretisch verondersteld dat

de arme buurten werden ontzien in bezuinigingen op de buurtinfrastructuur. Lokale organisaties konden daardoor doorgaan met het faciliteren van burgerparticipatie. Ook het 'Tegenprestatiebeleid' van de gemeente kan een rol gespeeld hebben. Bijstandsontvangers worden gevraagd in ruil voor hun uitkering een vorm van vrijwilligerswerk te verrichten en deze personen wonen hoofdzakelijk in arme buurten. Samen hebben deze zaken een negatief buurteffect voorkomen, waarmee arme buurten meer geraakt zouden worden door de recessie. De afname van participatie in rijke buurten kan een gevolg zijn van het feit dat men zich hier relatief veel inzet voor sportverenigingen. Tijdens de recessie voelde men wellicht minder noodzaak hun tijd daaraan te besteden. De resultaten in deze studie tonen aan dat lokale context een belangrijke factor kan zijn om verschillen tussen steden en landen te verklaren. Een soortgelijke studie in Engeland vond namelijk wel een toenemende ongelijkheid in participatie. De bezuinigingen hebben daar waarschijnlijk een ander effect gehad dan in Rotterdam.

Studie 4: De rol van buurtorganisaties in het faciliteren van participatie

Als laatste is onderzocht hoe de participatie van burgers vorm krijgt in arme buurten. Buurtorganisaties zijn relevant vanuit theoretisch perspectief omdat ze negatieve buurteffecten kunnen voorkomen. In een buurt met veel organisaties hebben bewoners meer toegang tot sociale netwerken en bepaalde hulpbronnen (bijvoorbeeld advies of ondersteuning) dan in een buurt zonder organisaties. Bovendien mediëren buurtorganisaties tussen overheid en individu. Ze kunnen immers beïnvloeden *hoe* sociaal beleid wordt uitgevoerd. In deze studie is onderzocht hoe buurtorganisaties contacten stimuleren, hoe ze structuur bieden aan niet-werkende individuen en welke connecties organisaties met andere organisaties hebben. Daarvoor is kwalitatief onderzoek (hoofdzakelijk interviews met deelnemers aan activiteiten) verricht in drie type organisaties: een religieuze organisatie, een welzijnsorganisatie en een vrijwilligersorganisatie.

De resultaten tonen de diversiteit van de functies die organisaties vervullen. De religieuze organisatie richt zich vooral op het tegengaan van eenzaamheid en het in contact brengen van mensen met verschillende achtergronden. Dit wordt bijvoorbeeld gedaan via het organiseren van gezamenlijke maaltijden. De welzijnsorganisatie vergroot via een trainingsprogramma de 'employability' van werklozen en brengt ze in contact met werkgevers. Via de vrijwilligersorganisatie hebben meerdere mensen een nuttige dagtaak en worden bewoners uit de buurt geholpen in hun soms moeilijke communicatie met de gemeente. De intermediaire rol van de organisaties komt ook naar voren in deze studie. Alle organisaties hebben met beleid van de gemeente te maken via subsidies, regelingen en hun cliënten. Ook bepalen zij in grote mate hoe de overheid haar burgers bereikt. Zo kan de welzijnsorganisatie bijvoorbeeld haar trainingsprogramma uitvoeren door een speciale subsidie van de gemeente Rotterdam. De contacten met andere organisaties zijn ten slotte ook belangrijk. Via deze contacten komen deelnemers vaak aan hulp van andere organisaties. Hiermee laat deze studie

zien hoe buurtorganisaties een pluriforme rol vervullen door tegemoet te komen aan verschillende typen behoeften van burgers.

Ter afsluiting

In dit proefschrift zijn verschillende bevindingen gepresenteerd over de sociaaleconomische structuur van steden en ontwikkelingen in burgerparticipatie. Daarbij staan vier thema's centraal, namelijk sociale klasse, buurteffecten, sociale mix en buurtorganisaties. Dit proefschrift heeft twee implicaties die van belang zijn voor toekomstig wetenschappelijk onderzoek in de stedelijke context. Ten eerste wordt tegenwoordig veel 'microdata' gebruikt om stedelijke processen te bestuderen. Hoewel deze toepassing van microdata vaak nuttige inzichten oplevert, laat dit proefschrift zien dat surveydata en kwalitatieve data essentieel blijven om te begrijpen *waarom* bepaalde sociale processen plaatsvinden. Deze inzichten zijn nodig om nuance te geven aan de verhitte discussies over buurteffecten en gemengde buurten, waarbij vaak de vraag wordt opgeworpen hoe bepaalde effecten tot stand komen. Ten tweede is er binnen de buurtliteratuur meer aandacht nodig voor de organisatorische context waarin mensen zich bewegen. Het type organisaties waarin men actief is en hoe organisaties hulpbronnen toegankelijk maken, kan van grote invloed zijn op hoe sociale ongelijkheden tot stand komen. De focus in de buurtliteratuur ligt in het algemeen op de vraag hoe ruimtelijke kenmerken het gedrag van mensen beïnvloeden. In dit proefschrift is betoogd dat de organisatorische context theoretisch net zo relevant is, omdat het leven van individuen wordt vormgegeven door de verschillende organisaties waarin ze actief zijn.

Dankwoord

Zoals met veel ondernemingen die net zijn afgerond, lijkt het achteraf altijd wel mee te vallen met de inspanning en moeite die ze hebben gekost. Hoewel dat gevoelsmatig misschien klopt, zullen de vele positieve en minder positieve herinneringen aan deze periode me nog lang bij blijven. De complexiteit van het schrijven van een proefschrift kun je alleen ervaren door het te doen, of zoals Cruijff zou zeggen: je gaat het pas zien als je het door hebt. Eén ding is zeker: zonder de steun van mijn naasten zou het nooit gelukt zijn.

Ten eerste wil ik Godfried bedanken voor zijn begeleiding bij het schrijven van het proefschrift. Je bent een van de weinigen die van elke aangelegenheid een bijzondere weet te maken. Jouw lijfspreuken en verhalen over de sociologie zijn altijd vermakelijk, maar nog belangrijker, dankzij jou heb ik geleerd wat sociologie behelst (voor zover men dat kan weten) en wat het betekent om socioloog te zijn. Daarnaast wil ik natuurlijk ook Erik bedanken voor zijn begeleiding. Dankzij jou voelde ik me meteen thuis op de EUR en je goede humeur werkt altijd aanstekelijk. Ik ben blij te hebben geleerd van jouw ervaring met de wetenschap en de gemeente Rotterdam. Verder wil ik ook de leden van de kleine commissie (Marjolijn Das, Justus Uitermark en Jeroen van der Waal) bedanken voor de tijd die ze hebben genomen om mijn proefschrift te lezen en te beoordelen. Als laatste wil ik het College van Bestuur van de Erasmus Universiteit, de gemeente Rotterdam en de Kenniswerkplaats Leefbare Wijken bedanken voor de financiële bijdrage aan dit project.

Binnen de EUR zijn er te veel mensen om op te noemen die ik wil bedanken voor de gedeelde ervaringen, gevoerde discussies en leuke uitstapjes. Voorop staat Iris, met wie ik het geluk heb gehad om deze reis te delen. Jouw nuchtere blik zorgde voor de nodige relativering binnen de soms opgepompte academie. Ook Joost en Willemijn wil ik bedanken voor hun stoïcijnse en relativerende houding. Joost, het delen van onze sportieve en intellectuele sores tijdens het wandelen brengt altijd de nodige verlichting. En Willemijn, ik ben blij dat je mijn klaagzang regelmatig met geduld wil aanhoren. Ik zou graag meer mensen persoonlijk bedanken, maar dat wordt een hele lang lijst. In het bijzonder wil ik graag Joris, Wouter, Jan-Willem, Ilona, Jannes, Nina, Talitha, Samira, Maja, Emiel en Lisa noemen. De broederlijke band die ik verder met Ali en Jules heb opgebouwd is me zeer waardevol. En tenslotte bedank ik Luc, omdat hij vaak mijn zorgen op methodologisch vlak heeft verlicht om me vervolgens de ochtend daarna andere kopzorgen te geven (middels iets te veel drank de avond daarvoor).

Een aantal andere mensen waarmee ik heb samengewerkt verdienen ook de nodige lof. Van de gemeente wil ik graag Wim van der Zanden bedanken die me vaak geholpen heeft met vragen rondom het Wijkprofiel. Daarnaast was mijn tijd in Rotterdam niet mogelijk geweest zonder het enthousiasme van Marco Bik en Bilal Taner. En op de EUR verdient Marjolein Kooistra een groot compliment voor alle (soms onzichtbare) werkzaamheden die ze verricht.

Promoveren is eind van de dag ook gewoon werk en werken doe je om te leven en niet andersom. Voor dergelijke wijsheid kan ik al mijn vrienden dankbaar zijn. Hoewel ze daar lang niet allemaal meer wonen, wil ik de Venlose boys (Leon, Jaer, Pieke, Rico, Guus) en Nijmeegse boys en girls (Lex, Dirk, Mark, Matthijs, Ted, Tom, Ashley, Sharina) bedanken dat ze altijd voor me klaar staan. Een gesprek over mijn proefschrift duurde meestal niet langer dan vijf minuten, maar over alles wat daarmee samenhangt kunnen we avonden vullen. Take verdient verder ook de nodige credits, niet alleen voor de stelling maar ook voor zijn immer vrolijke karakter. I also like to thank the Frenchies Laura and Eleneore for making me part of their Commune community in Rotterdam, your friendship cannot be put into words (monmonmon). Verder ben ik Guus Kunde dankbaar dat hij zelden vraagt hoe het met mijn scriptie staat. Elsemieke wil ik ook graag bedanken voor de steun die ze heeft gegeven tijdens het schrijven van het proefschrift.

In welke mate mensen een product zijn van hun genen of hun omgeving is de wetenschap het niet helemaal over eens, maar in beide gevallen kan ik mijn ouders in ieder geval eeuwig dankbaar zijn voor de persoon die ik nu ben. Mijn ontwikkeling als socioloog heeft me des te meer doen beseffen dat jullie veel van het harde werk al voor mij hadden gedaan voordat ik aan dit proefschrift begon. Ik had me geen beter thuis kunnen wensen. Mijn moeder wil ik graag bedanken voor de aandacht en interesse die ze me altijd schenkt en de troost in moeilijke tijden. Mijn vader wil ik bedanken voor de goede gesprekken over de maatschappij en zijn rust, wijsheid en gevoel voor humor dat ik dubieus genoeg nu ik bij mezelf begin te constateren. Anna is tijdens het schrijven van het proefschrift een belangrijke steun geweest om over de inhoud en het proces te praten. Ik vind het altijd fijn als je weer in Nederland bent zodat we naar het verre Zuuje kunnen reizen. Kees heeft ook een belangrijke bijdrage geleverd aan het feit dat ik me snel thuis voelde in Rotterdam. Je ben een groot voorbeeld voor mij met betrekking tot de belangrijke zaken in het leven. Tenslotte ben ik blij dat Casper en Ida de familie Custers+ compleet maken.

Als laatste richt ik me tot de belangrijkste persoon in mijn leven: Jasmijn. Ik heb het geluk gehad om jou hier in ons eigen buurtje te kunnen ontmoeten. Jouw ongetemde vrolijkheid en optimisme toveren dagelijks een lach op mijn gezicht. Ook op de moeilijke momenten sta je voor me klaar en luister je naar mijn persoonlijke en wereldse zorgen. Een ding waar ik me in ieder geval geen zorgen over maak is onze mooie toekomst samen.

Rotterdam, februari 2021

Curriculum Vitae

Gijs Custers (1990) holds a Bachelor's degree in Sociology and a Research Master's degree in Social and Cultural Science (Bene Meritum), both obtained from the Radboud University in Nijmegen. During his master, Gijs was an intern at the Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR). He started his PhD position at the Erasmus University in November 2015. Gijs is interested in a broad range of topics that concern social inequality. His academic work has been published in peer-reviewed journals, both in international journals such as *The British Journal of Sociology* and *Urban Geography* and Dutch journals such as *Sociologie*. Gijs has also written popular articles about basic income, urban change and poverty. He currently works as a Postdoc researcher at the same department where he performed his PhD research, the department of Public Administration and Sociology. His current position involves teaching a course on social inequality, supervising bachelor and master theses, providing advice to the Rotterdam municipality and investigating the effects of the National Program Rotterdam South (NPRZ) on class change and intergenerational educational mobility in Rotterdam.

Work experience

2020 –	Postdoc researcher, department of Public Administration and Sociology (Erasmus University Rotterdam)
2015 – 2020	PhD candidate, department of Public Administration and Sociology (Erasmus University Rotterdam)

Education

2012 – 2015	Research Master in Social and Cultural Science (Bene Meritum), Radboud University Nijmegen
2008 – 2011	Bachelor in Sociology, Radboud University Nijmegen

Selection of additional training

2019	Mathematical tools for social scientists, GESIS Cologne
2019	Introduction to Bayesian models for the social sciences, GESIS Cologne
2019	Large-scale register data for quantitative social research, Erasmus University Rotterdam
2018	Open interviewing, Erasmus University Rotterdam
2018	Introduction to coding with ATLAS.ti, Erasmus University Rotterdam
2017	Big data analysis and visualisation, Erasmus University Rotterdam
2017	Introduction to GIS and Advanced GIS, University of Amsterdam

Grants and awards

2020	ODISSEI Microdata Access Grant, € 7,500.
	Title of the project: Breaking the barrier? The effects of the National

	Program Rotterdam South on educational mobility
2019	The Erasmus Graduate School PhD Excellence Award, category: Best Article 2019.
	Custers, G., Engbersen, G., & Snel, E. (2019). The economic recession and civic participation: The curious case of Rotterdam's civil society. *Published in The British Journal of Sociology*

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