MAKING THE CITY; MOBILIZING SOCIAL CAPITAL

ENVIRONMENTAL PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTS FOR GOVERNING SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

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Summary

To revitalise Rotterdam South, the Municipality of Rotterdam heavily invests in urban development projects that aim to create qualitative good places that are nice to stay in and return to. Research shows that so called 'soft factors' of city-making need to be cherished when making qualitative good places. To this end, this study aims to explore the following concepts: sense of place (SoP) and social capital. In this context sense of place is defined as the meaning that is attached to a place – by (groups of) people and social capital is defined as the sum of the actual and potential resources within a network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network.

Based on a review of the literature on placemaking, sense of place, social capital and urban governance, in-depth semi structured interviews were conducted with both residents, entrepreneurs and professionals active in the research area. Analysis of the responses demonstrate that the perceived sense of place of both residents and entrepreneurs, results in a relatively weak and hyper local form of social capital. This finding indicates that people in the research locale have a very narrow perception of what their world consists of. People in the research locale act and react on that part of the world they can oversee, namely that part that directly affects their homes, building and or business. They don't experience a necessity to be connected to their neighbourhood community. On this basis, it is recommended that the municipality of Rotterdam tries to create instruments that inspire and empower people to broaden their horizon and partake in community life for the benefits of the neighbourhood well-being as a whole. This research shows that using concepts that derive from environmental psychology can be helpful for local governments in governing their local communities in a more efficient and socially sustainable way as it fosters a social connection bound to place instead of social connections into already existing social networks (elsewhere).

Keywords

Sense of place

- territorial identity
- place attachment
- place dependence
- place theory
- place identity
- environmental psychology
- social cohesion
- urban development
- economic geography
- social capital
- community development
- sense of place
- civic activity
- cultural capital
- neighborhood ties

Social Capital

- social capital
- mobilization of social capital
- social change
- participation
- social trust
- human capital
- civic society
- identity
- trust
- neighborhood ties
- civic activity
- community development

Governance

- collaborative governance
- governance networks
- network management
- smart city
- urban governance
- urbanization
- social change
- urban politics
- center-local relations
- urban governance
- good governance
- multi-level governance
- network management
- public value
- strategic triangle
- multi-actor
- placemaking

Abbreviations

CE/E	Collective Efficacy/Empowerment
CP	Contracting Party
HoS	Heart of South
N/CP	Neighbouring/Citizen Participation
PPS	Public Private Partnership
SC	Social Capital
SoC	Sense of community
SoP	Sense of Place
UB	Urban Governance

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background

Rotterdam's local government fully embraces the concept of resilient and smart cities as a model to improve infrastructure and living standards for its citizens (Binnenlands Bestuur, 2016), and thus making a qualitative better city in itself, one that is future-proof (New Economy, 2016).

Urban development, as a tool to safeguard a city or district for the future (by enhancing its economic and social potential), is a complex matter. According to Charles Landry, who is an international authority on city futures and the use of culture in city revitalisation, 'City-making is an art, not a formula. The skills required to re-enchant the city are far wider than the conventional ones like architecture, engineering and land-use planning' (Landry, The art of city making, 2006, p. 1). This shows in everyday reality of cities' urban development projects. The skills available in project-teams aren't the ones that show the much-needed deep understanding of people and social dynamics (Landry, The art of city making, 2006).

To make qualitative good places local governments and private parties need to cherish and foster emotions, environmental psychology and cultural literacy (Landry, The art of city making, 2006). Petríkova (2015) refers to the latter as so called 'soft factors' of city-making. She argues for a better implementation of environmental psychological concepts in citymaking as it could help further our understanding of the way in which social capital is influenced by the context and characteristics of neighbourhood environments (Giles-Corti, 2008; Petríková, 2015).

The last-mentioned is extremely relevant when we wish to develop resilient and future-proof places. Because if we only focus on what we build and how we build it, we end up with a painful clear distinction between the built environment and how people want to live and dwell in it (Sennett, 2018). As if we give our cities' urban body a snail shell that doesn't cover its social potential (Sennett, 2018).

1.2 Problem Statement

Overlooking the soft factors of citymaking is problematic as these factors turn space into place (Wyckoff, 2019). The process that is equipped to cherish and harbour the soft factors of city making are within literature referred to as placemaking (Wyckoff, 2019).

When going into the process of placemaking, thus making good quality places, it is inevitable that obstacles are encountered, because no one in either the public or private sectors has the job or responsibility to "create quality places" (Project for Public Spaces, 2019). Instead, members of urban development project teams have specific specialised tasks with a strong focus on a small part of making quality places, such as: urban planning, designing, engineering traffic, developing real-estate (Project for Public Spaces, 2019). And as previously mentioned one needs more than the technical skills and knowledge to turn space into place.

Good quality places are important because those places have a strong sense of place and therefore people want to live, work, play, encounter, return and stay in those places (Wyckoff, 2019). Sense of place, makes places reflect in social capital and that in itself improves quality of life (Wyckoff, 2019).

It is worrisome that Dutch urban development culture does not include concepts from environmental psychology (to their full potential) in its land-use planning (Rot, 2019). Moreover, other soft factors of city-making, such as place identity, place attachment, place dependence and social capital, seem similarly overlooked. Social capital is the fuel of today's societies, as it is 'important to the efficient functioning of modern economies, and is the 'sine qua non' of stable liberal democracy' (Fukuyama, 1999, p. 1).

Given that city-making aims to render a city or community resilient and future-proof, it could be interesting to apply a (social) sustainability point of view to research the interdependence between place and society. To this end, the present study more closely explores at the following concepts: sense of place (SoP) and social capital. The main goal is to determine if the governance of SoP could catalyse the mobilisation of social capital in a sustainable way and thereby render places more resilient and future-proof. Therefore, the main research inquiry is, *'Which elements of SoP can mobilise social capital in Rotterdam South?'*

The proposed area for the study is a small part of the project area of Heart of South (HoS) in Rotterdam South. HoS is developed in the Zuidplein area, which reports 1,224 inhabitants in 755 households (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018). Seventy per cent of the population is between 15 and 65 years of age. Twenty per cent is over 65 years old (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018), while 48% is native, 38% is nationals of non-Western countries and 12% is nationals of Western countries. In addition, 46% has a low income, 41% has an average income and 14% has a high income (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018). Forty-four per cent of the inhabitants' report caring about social connections, and their everyday life revolves around family. Eleven per cent is social but less open, so their social contacts remain within their own small circle of close friends and neighbours. Nine per cent self-identifies as career orientated and, accordingly, is not as socially involved, while 36% lives life as they see fit and is therefore relatively independent from social networks or careers (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018).

Zuidplein is surrounded by two neighbourhoods of the district Charlois, namely Tarwewijk and Carnisse. Together, they account for 23,495 inhabitants (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018). In addition, it is adjacent to one neighbourhood, Vreewijk, of the district Feijenoord. The latter reports 13,878 inhabitants. The demographics of these neighbourhoods differ significantly from those of Zuidplein. Table 1 provides a demographic overview.

	Zuidplein	Carnisse	Tarwewijk	Vreewijk
Inhabitants	1,224	11,295	12,200	13,878
Households	755	5,961	6,073	7,103
15-65 years	70%	75%	75%	65%
Over 65 years	20%	8%	7%	20%
Native	48%	35%	21%	56%
Non-Western	38%	40%	59%	34%
Other Western countries	12%	25%	20%	10%
Low income	46%	61%	69%	65%
Average income	41%	33%	26%	28%
High income	14%	6%	5%	7%
Caring about social connections	44%	29%	39%	48%
Social but less open	11%	36%	26%	35%
Career orientated	9%	17%	21%	9%
Lives life as seen fit	36%	18%	14%	8%

Table 1 Demographics of Rotterdam South

Within HoS one streets has similar demographics to its surrounding neighbourhoods. This is the Van Swietenlaan. This street is partially private owned and partially corporation owned (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019). It knows a broad mix of people regarding cultural inheritance and background. Social status is pretty much equal all over, people generate a low income (slightly above, on or under the poverty line) (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019). This is representative for most neighbourhoods in Rotterdam South.

Transformation
Heart of South consists of a set of real estate development projects to redesign public space as well as a social program. The project aims to render Rotterdam South future-proof. To this end, it seeks to reinforce the local economy by building six facilities (mostly oriented toward leisure and entertainment) – and, as a result, creating jobs – as well as enhance overall well-being by planting more greenery and redesigning the urban space. Moreover, through communications and marketing and a social program, the project intends to make citizens and visitors happy, healthy and involved.

Real Estate Development

A main focal point of HoS is to create more liveliness. Therefore, it has added functions to the area, concentrated pre-existing functions in a new city centre or both. The rationale is that people will perceive more reasons to visit the project area if it has a nice appearance and positive atmosphere. Consequently, they will come more often and stay for longer periods of time. On the other hand, adding functionalities implies job creation. The project of HoS foresees in an increase of 750 jobs within six years.

Importance of Functionality

At present, HoS targets numerous functions, including a swimming pool, theatre, shopping mall, concert hall and bus terminal. However, these functionalities are not well connected. Zuidplein is not user friendly, as it is designed as an arrival and departure hall rather than a place to stay (Veldacademie, 2017). This shows in its current dark, concrete design which is highly functional but uninviting to stay.

To enhance the attractiveness of the area, functions will be connected one to another via a city boulevard and two squares. Furthermore, added functions include an Olympic-size swimming pool, commercial spaces that are mostly for rental by the catering industry (e.g. restaurants, grab-and-go concepts, bars and cafés), a theatre, a library, an extension of the existing shopping mall, a cinema, a congress centre with concert stage and hotel, parking spaces for bikes and cars, and approximately 80 houses.
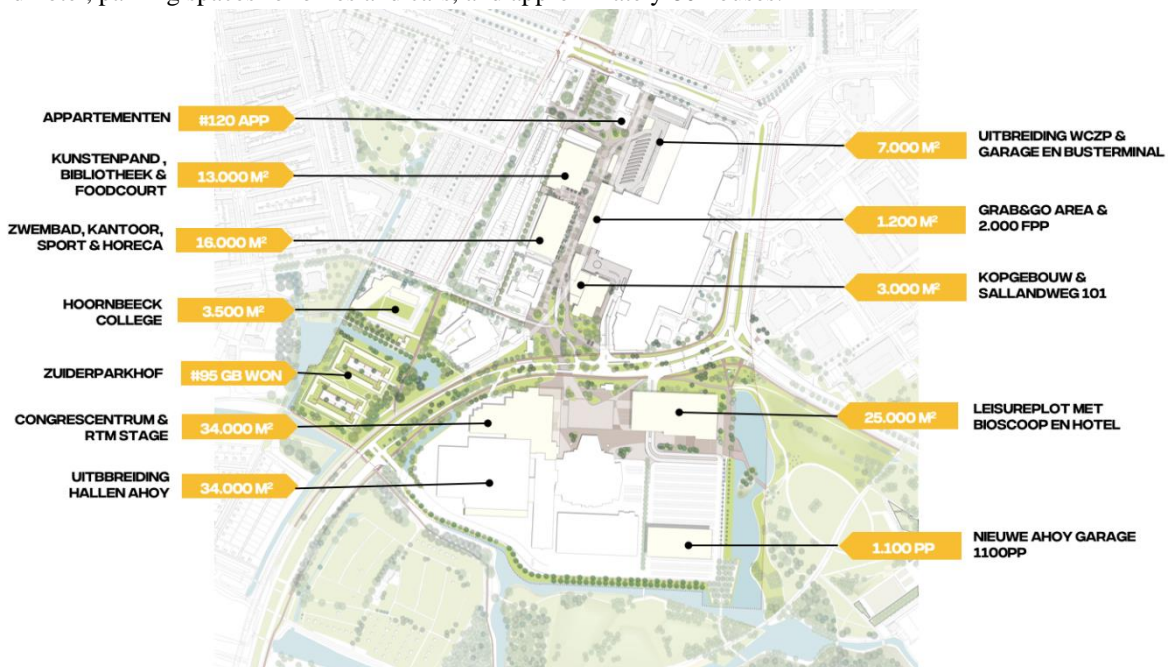
Figure 1 Project area HoS and (property) developments (2019)

Redesigning Public Space

Apart from these added functionalities, the bus terminal will be moved to a less central site within the project area to allow for the construction of a green city boulevard which interconnects all of the previously mentioned functionalities. Since the boulevard will become a shared public space, cars will be banned from the centre of the project area. The main motivation was to create a peaceful city centre in which people can enjoy a stroll, a bite to eat or a few drinks. To create a 'nice' public space that people can share, the area will receive a 60% increase in greenery. Furthermore, public benches and an outdoor stage will be installed.

Social Programme

Finally, the project invests time and money in a social programme with three objectives: to increase employment opportunities, stimulate talent development and create opportunities for people to participate in community life. Although the latter could be achieved in many ways, the present case pursues the objective of participation through the organisation of neighbourhood events (both small scale and large in scale).

The social programme was only recently introduced to the area and its surrounding neighbourhoods, and it was designed from the bottom up with the help of local initiatives that are often led by active citizens. Activities were anchored in the area's top organisations (i.e. management and administration of the government and network partners such as Ahoy, RET, Nuon and Theatre Zuidplein) just after the first year of the social programme.

In view of these three objectives, the social programme formed a social economical network to commit to the execution of a yearly programme for organising events and activities to facilitate citizen participation. Having united the entrepreneurs, organisations and local government officials of the area, efforts are also underway to involve them in talent development programmes and the goal of increasing employment opportunities for citizens of Rotterdam South. Apart from mobilising local entrepreneurs, the programme also strives to include the educational sector and connect it with the social economical network to generate a system that matches educational institutions and potential employees. Finally, the initiative can mobilise the local cultural sector through programming of an outdoor stage, which can in turn offer a blueprint for the later programming of the new theatre.

Process of placemaking
In 2015 the project-team Hearth of South started the design-phase of the area transformation. This was done through value engineering. Value engineering is a systematic method of improving facility planning. The process results in lower design costs and better construction sequencing of a project – while decreasing the overall expense (The egineering design, 2017). Within the value engineering process, numeral meetings were organised and citizens and other stakeholders were asked to help shape public space. This led to 150 ideas for the project-area. Of this list, almost everything was implemented in the final plans however the way of collaborating with citizens and other stakeholders changed drastically during the economic crisis in 2016 and the first part of 2017. The project stopped its community driven, dynamic, collaborative, inclusive way of working under the pressure of heavily cut budgets. Furthermore, the downside effect was that the method of value engineering wasn't performed in all phases of planning, design, and construction and therefore didn't reach optimal results regarding "getting the neighbourhood involved". The energy released at first, vanished as some people got disappointed in the abrupt ending of this participation trajectory. On top of that, expectations for the future weren't managed and therefore stakeholder engagement diminished and eventually the final design of the city-boulevard was made by architects and civil servants, not with stakeholders.

1.3   Research Objectives
This research analyses the role of SoP as an influencing factor in the mobilisation of social capital in Rotterdam South. The objectives are as follows:
 - ➤ to determine which elements of sense of place are present in Rotterdam South;
 - ➤ to determine if the present SoP elements catalyse elements of social capital in Rotterdam South;
 - ➤ to assess if governance of SoP is consciously employed as strategy for mobilising social capital; and, accordingly,
 - ➤ to enrich the empirical basis of future policy towards the mobilisation of social capital through the governance of SoP.

The main research objective is to link the idea of place to the mobilisation of social capital. Based on its investigation of the relationship between SoP and mobilisation of social capital within HoS, it proposes that policymakers use (environmental) psychological insights to encourage the desired behaviour and make their local communities socially sustainable and future-proof.

This is done as followed:
 - ➤ determining an explicit definition for relevant terms based on the scientific literature;
 - ➤ clarifying the relationship between such terms from the scientific literature;
 - ➤ operationalising the concepts based on theory;
 - ➤ assess whether theory matches empiricism based on in-debt interviews with citizens, entrepreneurs and professionals active in the area;
 - ➤ all data will be triangulated.

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The locus of choice is the area development project Heart of South, in Rotterdam South. The following reasons justify the selection of HoS as the research area:

➢ The area development project HoS is an impact investment and, as such, aims to mobilise social capital;
➢ The area is accessible for both preliminary and field research;
➢ The project is an area development project with a social programme that governs social capital;
➢ Therefore, it contains all of the necessary elements for testing whether SoP is effectively governed and its effect on the mobilisation of social capital.

1.4   Research Questions

Main research question:

'Which elements of SoP can lead to social capital in Rotterdam South?'

Sub questions:

- Out of which elements does SoP consist?
- Out of which elements does social capital exist?
- What is the relationship between the elements of SoP and social capital?
- How does SoP mobilise social capital in *HoS*?
- Which actors play a role in the governance of SoP in Rotterdam South?
- Which instruments do these actors use to govern SoP in Rotterdam South?
- Within the urban governance context, which recommendations follow from this research?

1.5   Significance of the Study

1.5.1   Societal Relevance

In 2016, an estimated 54.5% of the world's population lived in urban settlements. Predictions indicate that urban areas will house 60% of the global population by 2030 (United Nations, 2016). Since over 500,000 local governments worldwide currently have proximity and legitimacy, effective governance is extremely relevant for cities. The United Nations have supported this line of argument in stating that 'cities have emerged as key institutional drivers for development and levers of change in the promotion of inclusive growth' (United Nations Task Team on Habitat III, 2015), especially since cities are becoming a locus of both wealth and power and poverty and marginalisation (Majoor & Schwartz, Instruments of Urban Governance, 2015).

Over the past decades, local governments have changed their city-making processes. Today, such processes focus more on working integrally, combining various disciplines to address issues and participating with stakeholders. This shift has led to highly elaborate plans regarding, for example, the infrastructural, landscaping and architectural levels as well as the aesthetic quality of plans. However, 21st Century cities should seek to be cities for the world rather than in the world. 'This one change of word - from "in" to "for" - gives city-making an ethical foundation and value base. Which helps cities become places of solidarity where the relations between the individual, the group, outsiders to the city and the planet are in better alignment' (Landry, The art of city making, 2006, p. 1). To safeguard our communities for the future and manage them as efficiently as possible, it may be necessary to enact new measures, as 'social cohesion is based on the highly-profiled identification with the living space and deeply articulated place attachments are the fundamental preconditions of sustainability of any community or settlement structure' (Petríková, 2015, p. 722). Governing SoP, through a process of placemaking that entails more than proper land-use planning, might be an interesting, new way to foster, preserve and develop socially sustainable communities.

This research was performed to elucidate how municipalities can govern their urban areas by including (environmental) psychological concepts in their city-making approach to make their cities and communities socially sustainable. The findings can support the development of governmental practices that mobilise social capital and thereby render local communities more resilient places of solidarity that are (socially) future-proof.

The subtitle of this research is 'Environmental psychological concepts for governing social sustainability'. The purpose of the study is to address the link between space and the mobilisation of social capital for insight into how to govern or manage SoP to mobilise social capital.

This is relevant as all three concepts that form SoP (i.e. place identity, place dependence and place attachment) derive from the field of environmental psychology. However, unlike other fields of psychology, this discipline has rarely been addressed by public administration research. 'Advocacy for integrating public administration and psychology first emerged long ago in U.S. public administration research. Key figures in the field, such as Herbert Simon and Dwight Waldo, have often stressed the importance of psychological research for the study of public administration. Despite the numerous calls, there is widespread acknowledgement of the broader failure to integrate public administration and psychology. Waldo has noted how 'little touched' the discipline is compared to other ideas in psychology. Simon has also recognised the immense distance between public administration and psychology and noted, for the sake of both disciplines, that "a marking stone placed halfway between might help travellers from both directions to keep to their courses. More recently, Jones (2003) has argued that most people who study politics and government care little about the fine details of the specifics of human cognition"' (Asmus Leth Olsen L. T., 2016, p. 4).

Luckily, academic interest in social concepts in the city context, such as SoP and social capital, has expanded over the past decades (Albert Acedo, 2017). Nineteen years have passed since Robert Putnam (2000) pointed out the potential of understanding social capital as a geographical concept (Albert Acedo, 2017). This growth is positive since certain work must be completed in a community in order for people to attach and bond to a place (Petríková, 2015). So, following Landry's thought, I believe that using concepts that derive from environmental psychology might be helpful for local governments in governing their local communities in a more efficient and socially sustainable way as it could foster a social connection bound to place instead of social connections into already existing social networks (elsewhere).

In addition: the role of SoP as a catalyst for social capital can also be understood within the two-way context of a relationship between civil society and government (Gupta, Pfeffer, Verrest, & Ros-Tonen, 2015). Yet, there's little scientific literature to be found on the topic of governance of SoP in relation to the mobilisation of social capital in a (normal) urban area as much of the research on place tends to focus on special places such as National Parks (Gifford, 1998).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This investigation into the influence of SoP governance on the mobilisation of social capital in Rotterdam South is anchored in the concept of SoP, which this chapter dissects and synthesises.

To this end, it first conducts an exhaustive discussion of SoP and its major discourse and advancements before addressing its relationship with social capital theories. The chapter focuses on the significant research personalities that have advanced the central concepts of this research and whether they have reached consensus on the topics. It notes gaps in knowledge about the main topics as well as areas for further study that have been identified. The relevant literature is reviewed and applied to shape the theoretical framework and conceptual model. The findings of this literature review can assist others in interpreting this research.

2.1   Sense of Place

Over the past 50 years, the scientific field of environmental psychology has exclusively focused on the interplay between individuals and their surroundings (Landry, The art of city making, 2006). Outside of this field, interest in people-place relations has grown. Literature searches in the most popular electronic bases, such as Google Scholar and SocIndex, with entries such as SoP, place dependence, place attachment, and place identity, have resulted in roughly 1.170.000 publications within the last 50 years in hundreds of different journals. This research does not consider the full scope of environmental psychology. Rather, it engages solely with concepts of SoP in relation to the mobilisation of social capital.

It is likely that no urban planning strategy starts off stating a particular area needs to become a place of love, so that it can provide happiness and joy to its habitants. Such sentiment rarely appears in the context of the urban discourse (Landry, The art of city making, 2006). Yet, 'Emotions shape our possibilities and determine our outlook on the future' (Landry, The art of city making, 2006, p. 240). It is odd that in the discussion of city making those emotions are in the blind-spot (Landry, The art of city making, 2006). Emotions have mostly been analysed from a psychological point of view (Landry, The art of city making, 2006). In fact, cross-fertilisation between public administrations and psychology has been scarce (Asmus Leth Olsen L. T., 2016).

The SoP theory of Jorgenson & Stedman (2011) is founded in the attitude theory (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) related feelings and emotions toward a place with the affective perspective of the attitude theory (place attachment); the cognitive approach, thoughts and beliefs according to a place with (place identity) and behavioural attitude with acts and behaviours toward a place (place dependence) (Albert Acedo, 2017). The figure below illustrates the correlations:
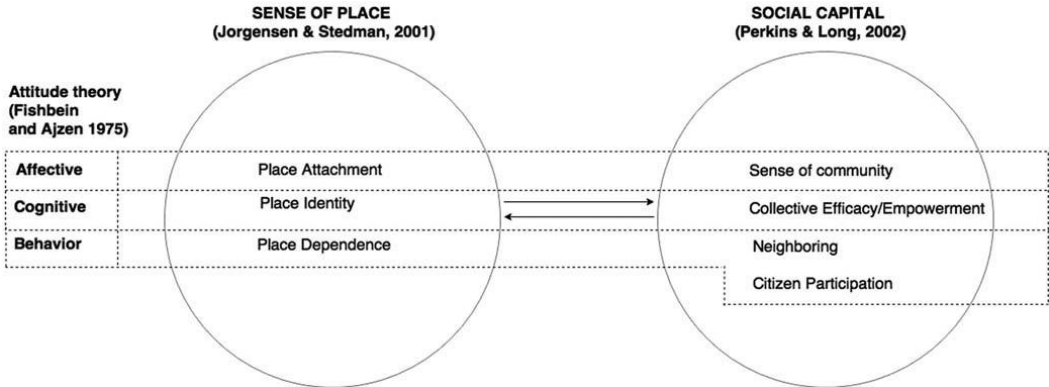

Figure 2 Correlation between SoP and social capital

SoP is a multi-dimensional construct that represents the human-place relationship. It represents a general attitude towards a spatial setting and reveals the complex relationships between the experience of a place and the attributes of that place (Jorgensen & Stedman, A comparative analysis of predictors of dimensions: Attachment to, dependence on, and identification with lakeshore properties, 2006). Thus, SoP is a 'complex psychosocial structure that organizes self-referent beliefs, emotions, and behavioural commitments' (Jorgensen & Stedman, A comparative analysis of predictors of sense of place dimensions: Attachment to, dependence on, and identification with lakeshore properties, 2006, p. 317). 'Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) have defined SoP as the meaning that is attached to a spatial environment – a place – by (groups of) people' (Mehnen, Mose, & Strijker, 2013, p. 50).

Empirical research has indicated that individuals in various settings, such as neighbourhoods and communities, heritage sites, parks, protected areas and recreational landscapes, who are emotionally, cognitively or functionally attached to a place will act or become more active to protect that place (Mehnen, Mose, & Strijker, 2013). Research has also indicated that SoP is subject to change depending on one's personal maturity (lifecycle) and of mature pair bonds (marriage cycle) (Hay, 1998).

SoP can enhance urban resilience by strengthening relations between people and their environment (Frantzeskaki, Steenbergen, & Stedman, 2018). 'Because of these relations, new place meanings, characteristics, and capacities, and attachment are regenerated. SoP is essential in areas that have suffered from long-term erosion and decline due to economic stagnation and the disintegration of meaningful social networks (Frantzeskaki, Steenbergen, & Stedman, 2018, p. 1047).

In 2001, Jorgenson and Stedman theorised that SoP can be measured when framed as a cognitive, affective or conative relationship between humans and their environment as the attitude theory incorporates cognitive, affective and conative responses to spatial settings (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001). An attitude can be defined as a reaction to an exogenic event, object or stimulus (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Spatial settings could act as an 'attitude object'. An attitude object is any distinct object that can be evaluated/judged (McCulloch & Albarracin, 2009). Jorgenson & Stedman (2011) have reasoned that affect, cognition and behaviour are 'three distinguishable components of response to an attitude object.
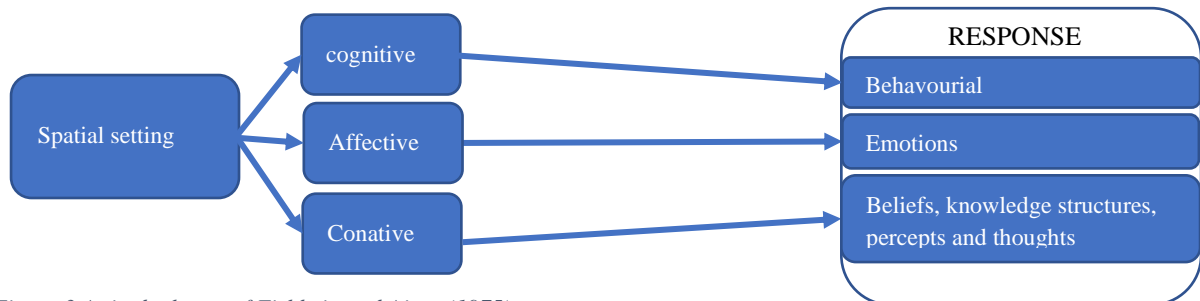
Figure 3 Attitude theory of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975)

Attitude theory provides multiple models to measure responses (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001). The difference between them concerns their approach to the various characteristics of attitude. Some theorists perceive attitude as one dimensional (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), while others have conceptualised it as a multidimensional construct expressed through beliefs, emotions and behavioural intentions (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001). Furthermore, some have suggested that attitude structures are hierarchical (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960). In line with claims in SoP literature, the human-place relationship attains different structures in different situations due to its multifaceted character (Jorgensen & Stedman, A comparative analysis of predictors of sense of place dimensions: Attachment to, dependence on, and identification with lakeshore properties, 2006) therefore in this research we use the multidimensional construct of Jorgenson & Stedman (2011).

Jorgenson and Stedman (2001) have claimed that SoP can be inferred on the basis of measured responses: 'When conceived as an individual's favourable or unfavourable attitude toward spatially demarcated object, SoP can be inferred from responses of a cognitive, affective or conative nature. When each of these classes of response is regarded as being mediated by a distinctive construct, the place concepts of Identity, Attachment and Dependence are evoked, respectively' (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001, p. 238). Therefore, when determining SoP,

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one must examine patterns of similarities and differences across relationships involving the three place dimensions (Jorgensen & Stedman, A comparative analysis of predictors of sense of place dimensions: Attachment to, dependence on, and identification with lakeshore properties, 2006). Jorgenson and Stedman (2001) have tested all four models and concluded that the single-factor model exhibited the poorest fit, while the multidimensional models resulted in comparably better matching explanations of the observed variance (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001).

Lewicka (2005) has demonstrated that a debate took place, especially during the 1980s and 1990s, regarding whether place attachment and place identity should be viewed separately, given that they both closely link to physical aspects of place, or whether both concepts should be included within the broader construct of social identity (L. Uzell, 1996). Current literature suggests that place attachment and place identity together with place dependence have a positive effect on social capital. On the other hand, some scientists still argue that place dependence and place identity determine place attachment. The literature has further implied that people's experiences of a place depend on their personal frames of reference. Moreover, their experiences are influenced by circumstances that heighten one's relationship with a place, such as other people's statements about the place, one's current life-cycle stage (Harold M.Proshansky, 1983), positive and negative experiences, and environmental change (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). As a result, SoP is constantly under the influence of change. For instance, publicity forms such as a campaign or event could reframe mindsets, influence perceptions and experiences and, in turn, affect SoP. The following paragraphs elaborate on the three dimensions of SoP.

2.1.1 Place Attachment

Place attachments are emotional bonds that form between people and their physical surroundings (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014). These connections are a compelling aspect of human life that inform our sense of identity, create meaning in our lives, facilitate community and influence action.

Place attachment is a multifaceted concept that characterises the bonding between individuals and places that are important to them. This bond is highly influenced by a person's personal experiences. Yet, it cannot be explained by a simple cause-and-effect relationship. Place attachment depends on a reciprocal relationship between behaviour and experiences. Place itself is a central issue in place attachment (Lewicka, Place attachment, 2011; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Lewicka has referred to Low and Altman, who wrote that 'place attachment may contribute to the formation, maintenance, and preservation of the identity of a person, group, or culture. And, it may also be that place attachment plays a role in fostering individual, group, and cultural self-esteem, self-worth, and self-pride' (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 10). Hay (1998) has suggested that place attachment is a defence against identity crises in periods of transition between successive developmental stages (Hay, 1998).

Place attachment is viewed as beneficial for urban communities because it facilitates involvement in local affairs. As such place attachment serves both the individual and larger community (Lewicka, Ways to make people active, 2005). This research adopts the following definition of place attachment: 'an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to place' (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 5).

Since 1974, when Kasarda and Janowitz discovered that residence time and neighbourhood ties were the most accurate predictors for place attachment, scientists have extensively discussed how to define the concept of place as well as the differences between indicators of attachment in villages and rural places versus urban spaces (Lewicka, Place attachment, 2011). Moreover, no consensus has been reached in regard to methodology. However, the overall conclusion is that neighbourhood relations and residence time are still the most accurate indicators of place attachment (Lewicka, Place attachment, 2011).

In response to the multitude of definitions in the literature, Gifford (2010) has proposed a three-dimensional framework of place attachment. This tripartite model (see Figure 10) proposes that place attachment is a multidimensional concept with person, psychological process, and place elements. This model facilitates analysis of the person-place bond, specifically the particular nature of individuals' attachments (Gifford, 2010). The present study employs Gifford's Triple P-model to assess the presence of place attachment in the research area. The first dimension in the triple P-model represents the person or actor and answers the question: who is attached, to what extend and is the attachment based on individually or collectively held meanings? The second dimension regards the psychological process: how are affect, cognition, and behaviour manifested in the attachment? The third dimension is the object of the attachment, including place characteristics: what is the attachment to, and what is the nature of, this place? (Gifford, 2010).
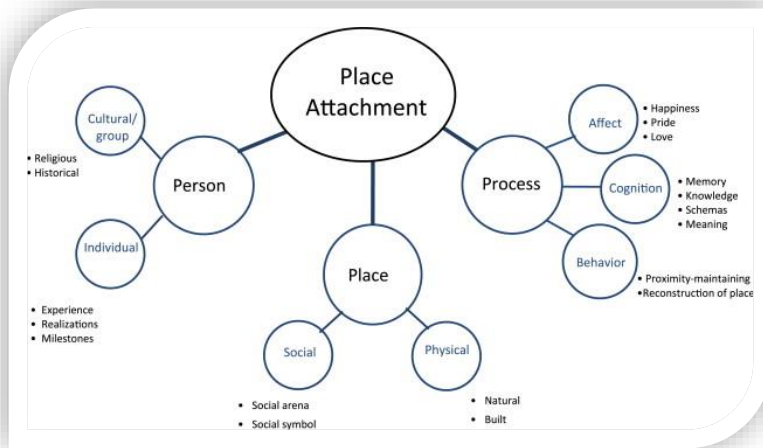
Figure 4 Tripartite model (Gifford, 2010)

2.1.2   Place Identity

In 1983, place identity emerged from theories of self-identity (Harold M.Proshansky, 1983). It was defined as a sub-structure that consists of 'broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience' (Harold M.Proshansky, 1983). This definition has not changed in over 20 years.

A person's experiences – both positive and negative – inform a person's values, morals, attitudes, feelings and beliefs about the physical world in which he or she lives. These cognitions define and integrate the place identity of the individual (Harold M.Proshansky, 1983). Notably, 'Other people are important in shaping the place-identity of the person' (Harold M.Proshansky, 1983). Thus, their actions, speech and thought regarding the physical life setting is significant.

In general, a person's experience of the physical world relates to his or her gender, age, social class, personality and other descriptors. Therefore, place identity is an 'enduring and a changing structure which will be modified over the course of the individual's lifecycle' (Harold M.Proshansky, 1983). In view of this, theorists have emphasised that place identity is 'characterized by growth and change in response to a changing physical and social world' (Harold M.Proshansky, 1983). Yet, a sense of place remains a core value and acts as a person's pivot point. This research defines place identity as one's cognitions (i.e. values, morals, attitudes, feelings and beliefs) and experiences (both good and bad) in the physical world in which he or she lives.

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Place dependence concerns the setting of a place and whether it meets one's needs in comparison to other places. It regards behavioural commitments in terms of 'the extent to which a place facilitates the achievement of important behavioural goals' (Jorgensen & Stedman, A comparative analysis of predictors of sense of place dimensions: Attachment to, dependence on, and identification with lakeshore properties, 2005, p. 317).

The perceived strength of association with place can vary. For instance, a person might feel highly dependent on his or her home but less dependent on the office building in which he or she works (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). Stokols and Schumaker (1981) have described two components of place dependence: 'the quality of the current place and the relative quality of comparable places' (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981, p. 458). Stokols and Schumaker (1981) have also noted that although inhabitants do not always consciously make choices to go to a certain place to do a particular activity, circumstances can occur that heighten a person's relationship to a place (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). One such circumstance might be exposure to highly publicized concerns regarding the economic viability of one's community (Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003) or the environmental change and pleasant or unpleasant experiences (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). In other words, 'place dependence describes an individual's internal representation of place in relation to his/her personal goal-oriented behaviours that are supported by the physical and social resources of the place, and his/her personal comparison of the quality of life in the community compared to other alternative communities' (Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003, p. 276).

2.2   Social Capital

Concerns with neighbourhood, community and social cohesion have a long history in social policy and sociology (Kearns, 2011). 'These issues were at the core of sociology in the 1st half of the 20th century. The rampant urbanisation of this period was seen to be producing a social order in which the traditional ties of community—shared space, close kinship links, shared religious and moral values—were being replaced by anonymity, individualism and competition' (Kearns, 2011). This section provides a short overview of literature on the topic of social capital.

Over the past decades, social capital has infiltrated scholarly literature in the social sciences; yet, it remains a concept that is not easily defined (Partha Dasgupta, 1999). Attempts to define social capital have been quickly confounded by its multifaceted character. Table 2 illustrates this. Sceptics have characterized the social capital concept as a wonderfully elastic term with circus-tent quality as it is seen as a notion that means many things to many people (Paul S. Adler, 2002).

External vs. Internal	Authors	Definitions of social capital
External	Baker	'A resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests; it is created by changes in the relationships among actors' (1990: 619)
	Belliveau, O'Reiley & Wade	'An individual's network and elite institutional affiliations' (1996: 1572)
		'The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possessions of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition' (1985: 248)
	Bourdieu & Wacquant	'The sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group, by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less

		institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (1992: 119)
	Boxman, De Graaf & Flap	'The number of people who can be expected to provide support and the resources those people have at their disposal' (1991: 52)
	Burt	'Friends, colleagues and more general contacts through whom you receive opportunities to use your financial and human capital' (1992: 9) 'The brokerage opportunities in a network' (1997b:355)
	Knoke	'The process by which social actors create and mobilize their network connections within and between organisations to gain access to other social actor's recourses' (1999: 18)
	Portes	'The ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures' (1998: 6)
Internal	Brehm & Rahn	'The web of cooperative relationships between citizens that facilitate solutions of collective action problems' (1997: 999)
	Coleman	'Social capital is designed by its function. It's not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the social structure' (1990: 302)
	Fukuyama	'The ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organisations' (1995: 10)
	Inglehart	'A culture of trust and tolerance, in which extensive networks of voluntary associations emerge' (1997: 188)
	Portes & Sensenbrenner	'Those expectations for action within a collective that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behaviour of its members, even if these expectations are not oriented towards the economic sphere' (1993: 1223)
	Putnam	'Social capital refers to features of social organization such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit.' (Putnam 1995b, p 67)'
	Thomas	'Those voluntary means and processes developed within civil society which promote development for the collective whole' (1996: 11)
Both	Loury	'Naturally occurring relationships among persons which promote or assist the acquisition of skills and traits valued in the marketplace…an asset which may be as significant as financial bequest in accounting for the maintenance of inequality of our society' (1992:100)
	Landry	'Social capital is the complex web of relationships between organizations, communities and interest groups which make up civil society' (Landry, The art of city making, 2006)
	Nahapiet & Goshal	'The sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network' (1998: 243)
	Pennar	'The web of social relationships that influences individual behaviour and thereby affects economic growth' (1997: 154)
	Schiff	'The set of elements of the social structure that affects relations among people and are inputs or arguments of the production and/or utility function' (1992: 150)
	Woolcock	'The information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inhering in one's social networks' (1998: 153)

Table 2 Definitions of social capital, Academy of Management Review January (Paul S. Adler, 2002)

According to the literature, social capital is built on trust, reciprocity, connectedness and networks (Putnam R. , 2017; Michael Woolcock, 2000; Landry, Imagination and regeneration: Cultural policy and the future of cities, 2004). This foundation seems to align with the definition of social capital by Perkins and Long (2002), who have stated that social capital emerges from a sense of community (connectedness), collective efficacy/ empowerment (trust), neighbouring (reciprocity) and participation in networks.

Social capital is usually measured by the amount of formal membership and participation in many various informal networks (Putnam R. , 2017; Michael Woolcock, 2000) and, as already stated, by surveying

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social trust (Putnam R. , 2017; Michael Woolcock, 2000; Landry, Imagination and regeneration: Cultural policy and the future of cities, 2004). Robert Putnam has in addition to the previous indicators proposed a new perspective of methodology in suggesting that data about organised altruism (i.e. performing good acts for other people) could serve as another indirect measure.

This research adopts the following definition: 'The sum of the actual and potential resources embedded within, available through, and derived from the network of relationships possessed by an individual or social unit. Social capital thus comprises both the network and the assets that may be mobilized through that network' (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). This definition was chosen for the purpose of this research as not only the network of social relationships is relevant but also the resource that utilise and facilitate collaborative activities that are embedded within these social networks. This is relevant as collaborative activities are at the core of the model of Jorgenson & Stedman (2011) as defined by Acedo et. Al. (2017) and Perkins & Long (2000):

Dimension Social Capital	Definition
Sense of Community	'the feeling of membership or belongingness to a group, containing possible emotional connection on a shared history, common interests, or concerns' (Perkins & Long, 2002)
Collective Efficacy/Empowerment	'Trust in the effectiveness of organized community action' (Perkins & Long, 2002, p. 295)
Neighbouring	'Neighbouring is the help we informally provide, and receive from, neighbours.' (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2013, p. 69) or ordinary social interactions with neighbours (Perkins et al., 2002)
Citizen Participation	'Individual and community participation in grassroots voluntary associations (e.g., civic and faith-based organizations, local environmental groups etc.) and other mediating structures and local institutions' capacity for involving citizens in making decisions' (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2013, p. 69)

Table 3: Definitions of the dimensions for social capital (Acedo, Painho, & Casteleyn, 2017, p. 506)

2.2.1   Mobilisation of social capital

Several scientists have underlined the importance of mobilising social capital in relation to urban governance. The concept of social capital is attractive because it links together a number of features of social life. It invites us to explore the infrastructure of civil society and suggests that within it we may find an explanation of why in some localities political activity (and more broadly social and economic activity) displays greater vitality and appears to be more effective (William Maloney, 2000). Dasgupta has further supported this perspective, noting, 'there seems to be widespread consensus on the plausibility of the hypothesis that social networks can affect economic performance' (Partha Dasgupta, 1999). However, the most prominent supporters are Robert David Putnam, a U.S. political scientist at Harvard University, and Michael Woolcock, the Lead Social Scientist of the World Bank's Development Research Group. Robert Putnam's "Making Democracy Work", have inspired other scientists to write about the concept of social capital (William Maloney, 2000). Putnam, in turn, has used many of Woolcock's findings. Based on the overall amount of citations, these three authors have pioneered the discourse on social capital. This research applies the model of Jorgensen & Stedman (2011) to operationalise the mobilisation of social capital (see ***Error! Reference source not found.***).

Social capital is increasingly viewed as a form of urban credit or asset as it increases happiness and overall feelings of well-being (Landry, The art of city making, 2006). This suggests that 'returns from social capital are far broader than whatever positive effects material standards of living may have' (Putnam R. , 2017, p. 13). Therefore, 'successful urban renewal builds wealth creation and social capital...A strong economy needs a strong society and vice versa so balancing economic and social change is key' (Landry, Imagination and regeneration: Cultural policy and the future of cities, 2004).

Overall, it is recognised that social capital has both positive and negative effects (Michael Woolcock, 2000; Putnam R. , 2017). The literature has also indicated that social capital can be both formal and informal and connected to individuals as well as groups (Putnam R. , 2017; Michael Woolcock, 2000). The principle of social capital is that it is held by a person, company or community. Social capital is inherent to relations between actors

and is a resource for facilitating collaborative activities (William Maloney, 2000). Social capital is directly linked to place attachment, place identity and place dependence (**see** Error! Reference source not found.**).**

2.3   Urban Governance (of placemaking)

Urbanity, as we understand it, first arose in the Italian city states, especially during the Renaissance. It then marked the movement towards meritocracy and freeing individuals from the yoke of feudalism (Landry, Civic Urbanity & Cities for People, 2014). The German phrase "Stadtluft macht frei" (city air makes you free) encapsulates this idea (Wyckoff, 2019). In time though, the notion of urbanity degraded ending with the idea of the flâneur, someone who watches urban life go by, but uncommitted to the needs of the collective whole (Landry, Civic Urbanity & Cities for People, 2014).

To get people involved in their localities, local governments can embrace the practice of placemaking. Placemaking aims to get city development and social development going, instead of getting things done (Hamdi, 2010) and the process supports a culture of leadership to emerge from all levels, inside and outside of government (Project for public spaces, 2013). Place making is the process of creating qualitative places that have a strong sense of place (Wyckoff, 2019).

Promoting a positive sense of place is critical for many aspects of local government as having an understanding about what people feel about where they live, offers an opportunity to discuss and negotiate priorities and arrive at consensus about local decision-making (LGiU - local democracy think tank, 2019). Placemaking promotes the involvement of residents as local governments do not just impose their plans. In addition to having a positive effect on the relationship between citizens and government, literature also argues that placemaking and SoP have a positive effect on the relationship between residents and therefore it burgeons social capital (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2011). Research has therefore identified the presence and preservation of social capital as an important factor for the success of urban programmes. This makes the placemaking process one of the tools local governments have at hand to shape and control both city development and social development (Kolodziejski, 2014; Majoor & Schwartz, 2015).

Urban governance
The term 'governance' is frequently used interchangeably with the word 'government' which is separate and distinct (Kolodziejski, 2014). Governance is not exclusively the realm of government (Kolodziejski, 2014). Governance systems are focussed upon the ways in which societies operate. Over the past decade, the academic attention to urban governance has led the research field of urban governance to mature into a legitimate academic field as cities become recognised as governance centres (Meijer, 2016). The term 'urban governance' has been widely adopted but has various connotations and is often associated with normative values, such as good governance (Devas, 2004).

Table 4 provides an anthology of definitions of urban governance.

Author	Definition
Halfani (1997, p147)	'Governance provides the institutional framework within which the civic public realm is managed'
(Stoker, 1998, p38)	'The action, manner or system of governing in which the boundary between organizations and public and private sectors has become permeable…The essence of governance is the interactive relationship between and within government and non-government forces'
(Devas, 2004)	'how local governments and stakeholders decide how to plan, finance and manage urban areas. It involves a continuous process of negotiation and contestation over the allocation of social and material resources and political power' (Devas, 2004)
Pierre (2005)	'the pursuit of collective goals through an inclusive strategy of resource mobilization'
(Côté, 2014)	'Governance refers to the process through which democratically elected local governments and the range of stakeholders in cities – such as business associations, unions, civil society, and citizens – make decisions about how to plan, finance, and manage the urban realm'
(Majoor & Schwartz, Instruments of Urban Governance, 2015, p. 4)	'We thereby understand urban governance as the multiple ways through which city governments, businesses and residents interact in managing their urban space and life, nested within the context of other government levels and actors who are managing their space, resulting in a variety of urban governance configurations (Peyroux et al. 2014)'

Table 4 Definitions of urban governance

The broad variety of definitions above reflect a few common principles:
- ➢ 'First, governance is not a synonym for government. These two concepts cannot be used interchangeably (Hoff, 2004; Kjaer, 2004; Rhodes, 1996; Kolodziejski, 2014)';
- ➢ 'Second, governance implies less government control and predictability, no self-evident leadership and no given hierarchy (Breda et al., 2006), although government may have the role of overseeing tasks that are to be completed (Kjaer, 2004; Newman, 2001; Mhone and Edigheji, 2003)';
- ➢ Third, Urban governance is the domain where the configurations of functions and requirements are directed and where conflicts and opportunities are managed (Majoor & Schwartz, Instruments of Urban Governance, 2015);
- ➢ 'Fourth, governance involves multiple stakeholders who have an interest in the specified task. Thus, governance includes an element of stakeholder relationship management' (Lisa Ruhanen, 2010; Kolodziejski, 2014);
- ➢ 'Fifth, local governance policy landscape is characterised by vertical linkages to central government and horizontal links to various public sector organisations' (Kolodziejski, 2014).

These definitions and principles indicate that urban governance focuses on the role of city governments and non-state actors in managing city life. This research defines urban governance as 'the multiple ways through which city governments, businesses and residents interact in managing their urban space and life, nested within the context of other government levels and actors who are managing their space, resulting in a variety of urban governance configurations' (Peyroux et al. 2014).

Tools of placemaking
The urban governance process of placemaking can help in building a system of values to identify, protect and develop local communities when such process 'encompasses a host of social forces, institutions and relationships. These include labour markets, goods and services; household, kin and social relationships; and basic infrastructure, land, services and public safety' (Devas, 2004).

In most countries of the world, local administrations use operational tools of public policy, to effectively manage, govern and lead the development of urban communities (Majoor & Schwartz, Instruments of Urban Governance, 2015). The choice of instrument by a local government strongly relates to the socio-political context of a place and reflects the relationship between the local government and their society (Majoor & Schwartz, 2015; Kolodziejski, 2014). Local governments tend to 'develop a preference for a particular mix of instruments' (Majoor & Schwartz, Instruments of Urban Governance, 2015, p. 511). According to Majoor & Schwartz (2015), the Netherlands prefers the following governance structure for place:
- • 'a long-term planning tradition;
- • a fine-grained administrative structure with multiple layers, jurisdictional boundaries and positions;
- • a pattern of formal-institutional conservatism and informal-institutional progressiveness;

•   a political culture stressing consensus, compromise and consultation'.

In the Netherlands, places are often made through planning, or specifically land-use planning which is the formal system for making decisions about where and how land can be utilized (Kolodziejski, 2014; Rot, 2019). Within this structure, placemaking is often used as a way to get people involved/participating in land use plans and urban development projects. 'Placemaking pays close attention to the myriad ways in which the physical, social, ecological, cultural, and even spiritual qualities of a place are intimately intertwined' (Project for Public Spaces, 2019). However, very often placemaking processes aren't used to their full potential (Rot, 2019).

        According to Project for Public Spaces (PPS), a world-leading non-profit organization based in New York that advises cities around the globe on how to create (socially) sustainable places, qualitative good places inhabit the following characteristics: sociability, uses & activities, access & linkages and comfort & image (see diagram below).
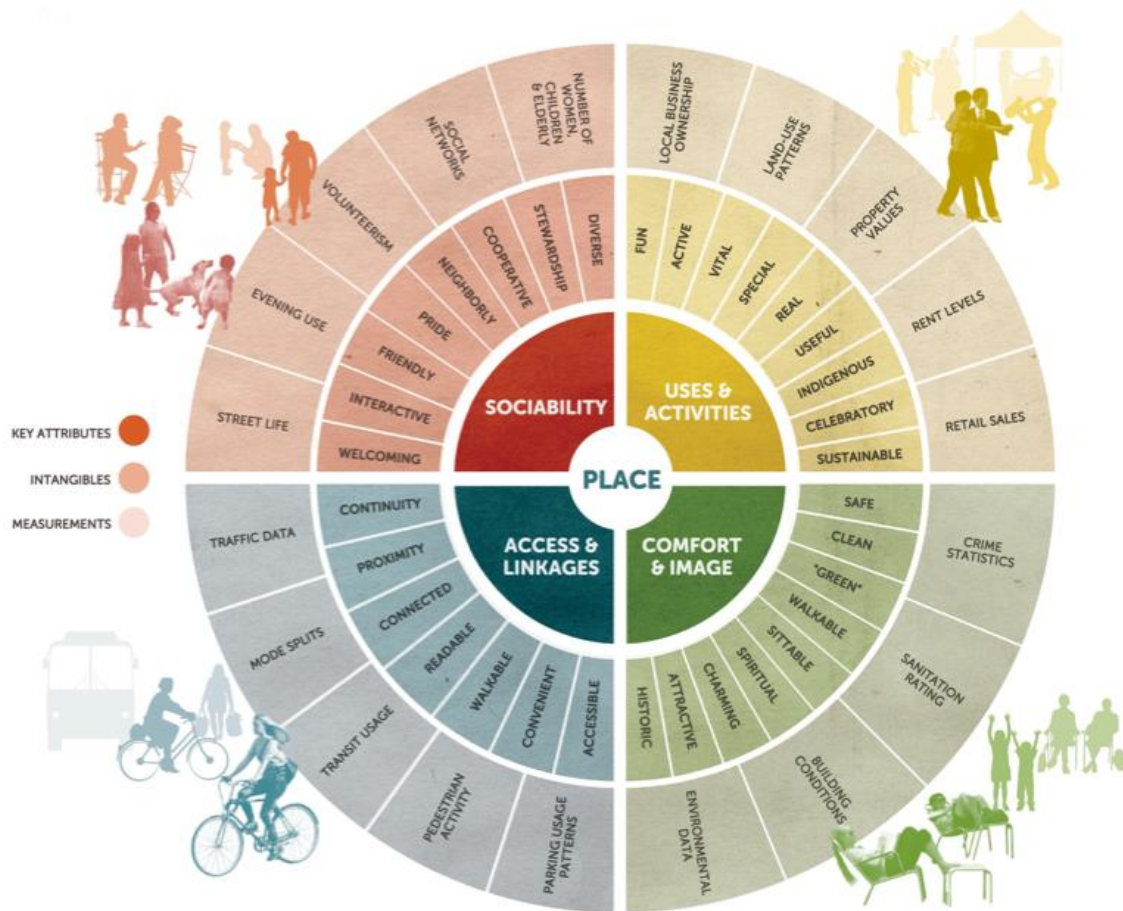

Figure 5 Placemaking diagram (PPS, 2019)

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And if governments or any other actor wants to make qualitative good places, the process should be:

- ➢ Community-driven
- ➢ Visionary
- ➢ Function before form
- ➢ Adaptable
- ➢ Inclusive
- ➢ Focused on creating destinations
- ➢ Context-specific

- ➢ Dynamic
- ➢ Trans-disciplinary
- ➢ Transformative
- ➢ Flexible
- ➢ Collaborative
- ➢ Sociable

2.4 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework in Figure 5 visualises the expected conceptual relationship between SoP and social capital.
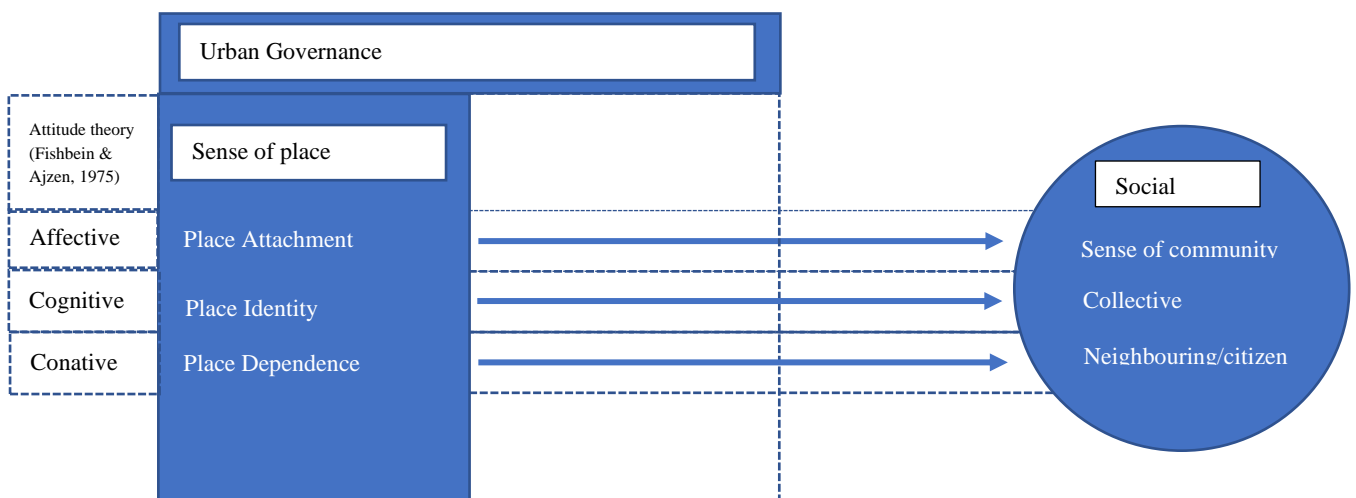
Figure 6 Conceptual model based on Jorgensen and Stedman (2001)

This research focuses on the attitudes, perceptions and behaviours of individuals in relation to a specific place and its social networks. To understand the relationship between SoP and social capital, it is crucial to first understand the underlying relationship of the dimensions that are considered for SoP and social capital (see Figure 4).

Sense of place clarifies the cognitive, conative and affective dimensions of the relationship that an individual can have with a specific geographical area (Acedo, Painho, & Casteleyn, 2017; Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001). The concept derives from the attitude theory of Fishbein & Azjen (1975). Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) have created an analogy to relate place attachment (i.e. feelings and emotions towards a place) with the effective perspective of the attitude theory, the cognitive approach with place identity (i.e. thoughts and beliefs according to place) and behavioural attitude with place dependence (i.e. actions and behaviours towards a place). Social capital, on the other hand, refers to the structures of social networks, the relationships between individuals and social networks, and the interactions that result from these connections (Acedo, Painho, & Casteleyn, 2017). Acedo, Painho and Casteleyn (2017) first noted the connection between SoP and social capital. They have also stated that the conceptual relationships of social capital can be connected to the attitude theory of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), as the dimensions of social capital can also be the target of feelings, beliefs and acts.

Relationship: SoP and Social Capital

The conceptual model above is based on the theory of Jorgensen and Stedman (2001), who have posited that SoP can be measured when it is perceived as a cognitive, affective or conative relationship between humans and their environment (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001). The attitude theory can also relate to social capital and its dimensions. Sense of community is viewed as an affective response, while collective efficacy/empowerment (CE/E) is cognitive, and citizen participation/neighbouring are conative.

Relationship: Place Attachment and SoC

Place attachment concerns the emotional bond between people and a place. It is based on a reciprocal relationship between a person's **behaviour** and **experiences** in that place. Sense of community refers to feelings of belonging to a community as a member (Perkins & Long, 2002) and that both individuals and the group as a whole are meaningful. Sense of community describes a distinct experience that is expressed through shared needs and the belief that community members will respect and honour each other's needs and act in the best interest of the larger community.

In summary, the emotional bond between people and place that appears in place attachment influences the behaviour of a person towards not only the place but also the people or groups of people who are present in that place. Thus, place attachment directly influences SoC, as people with place attachment experience shared beliefs and needs regarding their space (e.g. their neighbourhood). These shared 'feelings and beliefs' about their neighbourhood fosters a bond by which they experience SoC.

This is evident in many ways in everyday life, as an everyday example, a person goes to buy bread at the bakery on the corner of her street. While waiting to pay, he/she makes a remark about the disturbances that occurred the other night around a square nearby. This person feels compelled to share this information with the baker because he/she feels that he might share his/her concerns given that they both care about the state of their neighbourhood. This exchange forms a bond between them that surpasses the economical interaction of buying bread, and therefore the resulting place attachment leads to SoC. Thus, a person's feelings about his or her neighbourhood causes them to bond with the people or groups of people who inhabit it. A person's place attachment cultivates SoC (Lewicka, Ways to make people active, 2005) . Therefore, place attachment is beneficial for urban communities because it facilitates involvement in local affairs.

Relationship: Place Identity and CE/E

Place identity is formed by cognitions (i.e. values, morals, behaviours, feelings and beliefs) and experiences within the physical world that a person inhabits (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Anton & Lawrence, 2014). Place identity regards the value that places are assigned and how such value contributes to self-conceptualisations (Anton & Lawrence, 2014).

A person's experience of a place depends on his or her gender, age, social class, personality and other characteristics (Anton & Lawrence, 2014). Place identity changes throughout the lifecycle (Harold M.Proshansky, 1983). Despite continuously changing, place identity remains a pivotal point to which a person adapts his or her attitudes and behaviours (Anton & Lawrence, 2014).

Collective efficacy is a latent social construct that originates from social constructivism (Delea, et al., 2018). Social constructivism is a modern theory which assumes that people ascribe meaning to their environment, and this meaning is heavily influenced by social processes. Thus, every person creates knowledge in a unique way but is affected by reactions and opinions in his or her social surroundings (O'Connor, 1998).

Social processes within CE are influenced by socially structural factors (Delea, et al., 2018). A social structure contains three levels – macro, meso and micro – each with its own factors (Crossman, 2019). At the macro-level, a social structure is a system of social-economical stratification (based on social class), social institutions or other organised forms of relationships between groups of people. At the meso-level, social structures concern the connectedness between social networks and individuals or organisations. Finally, at the micro-level, social structure involves the way in which social standards influence the behaviour of individuals (Crossman, 2019). Within sociology, it is not typical to differentiate between those levels. Notably, the literature has claimed that the behaviour of individuals is influenced by social constructs, which are in turn affected by the behaviour of individuals (Delea, et al., 2018).

Like CE, experiences of place identity (i.e. caring about a place because it fosters feelings of self-worth) contribute to the meaning that a person assigns to a place. Both concepts are founded in social constructivism, which dictates that people give meaning to their surroundings, which is influenced by social processes. Therefore, place meaning involves not only the physical characteristics of a place but also the social constructs within and around it. Thus, theory states that place identity concerns granting meaning to a place, but it is strongly influenced by personal experiences. These experiences are usually based on social interactions (Anton & Lawrence, 2014). Place identity in turn influences behaviour and, as a result, the social constructs, which either leaves room for or excludes CE. Collective efficacy, or the belief in the power of the collective, is founded on shared values, social equity, community attachment, mutual engagement, common beliefs and expectations, and the awareness of the presence of these community foundations (Delea, et al., 2018) and therefore empowerment. It is plausible that place identity leads to common values, beliefs, engagement and expectations towards a place and that this can promote a belief in the power of the collective in a place (Delea, et al., 2018).

Relationship: Place Dependence and neighbouring/citizen participation (N/CP)
From the conative domain, place dependence reflects how a person's needs are met by his or her place and community (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001). Alternatively, it can be viewed as residents' perceptions of the functional and emotional value of a specific place, assuming that such place meets their (functional or emotional) needs more fully compared to other places (Junot, Paquet, & Fenouillet, 2017).
The functional properties of a place include accessible services, community gardens and activities (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001). According to Milligan (1998), the emotional value of place dependence can impart the feeling that a place is irreplaceable (Milligan, 1998). This feeling can cause people to think that they could never live anywhere else (Junot, Paquet, & Fenouillet, 2017). The longer a person remains in a place, the higher the chance that the place will become part of his or her identity, especially when a place gives an individual the feelings of being distinctive and that he or she can live there continuously to stimulate self-confidence and self-efficacy (Anton & Lawrence, 2014).

Neighbouring concerns the informal help that people accept or offer to their neighbours as well as other activities that are undertaken between neighbours. Citizen participation entails individual and community participation through bottom-up volunteer organisations, other mediating social structures, such as local organisations, or a combination of these that involve residents in decision-making processes.

Place dependence leads to neighbouring / citizen participation because place dependence, among other things, consists of an emotional bond that is based on the value of a place for an individual. This bond occurs when a place meets an individual's needs. Based on this emotional bond, the literature has considered it plausible that people with place dependence are more active in their community's citizen participation/ neighbouring (Lewicka, Place attachment, 2011; Anton & Lawrence, 2014) because they encounter people who also experience place dependence (Anton & Lawrence, 2014).
Junot, Paquet and Fenouillet (2017) have implied that people with place dependence have a certain sense of well-being depending on the characteristics of the place or community. Therefore, the researchers have posited that people with place dependence have a certain level of commitment to maintaining this well-being, which could cause people with place dependence to exhibit neighbouring/citizen participation.

Role of Urban Governance in SoP

Qualitative good places, are places with a strong sense of place (Wyckoff, 2019). Sense of place generates social capital (Jorgenson & Stedman, 2001). Both SoP and social capital are bound and embedded in social relationships, structures and the institutional organisations of a community in general. The chance of cultivating well-functioning networks, partnerships and joint activities is higher in places where actors are granted the opportunity to participate in governance structures (Mehnen, Mose, & Strijker, 2013). As the government potentially facilitates these social relationships through the distribution of resources and power, the setting of policy goals and top-down decision making it has a major influence on the behaviour of stakeholders of a community (Stokman, 2004; Mehnen, Mose, & Strijker, 2013). Therefore, Van Marissing et al. (2006) and Mehnen, Mose & Strijker (2013) have asserted that, in an urban context, networks and partnerships are the result of the organisation of governance.

In theory, it is easier to organise the governance of social capital in places where residents have SoP. In addition, the same logic applies in reverse; in places where governance is well organised, SoP is stronger (Mehnen, Mose, & Strijker, 2013). In this context, the influence of urban governance on both SoP and social capital is relevant. Thus, if a community wants to set and achieve goals together, people need to trust each other as well as the government agencies that facilitate these relationships. Through their distribution of power and resources, public authorities can ensure the necessary trust and co-operation.

Summary

Following the model of Jorgensen & Stedman (2011), we assume a correlation between SoP and social capital. The literature has evidenced that place attachment, or the people-place bond, has a direct relation to SOC, which embodies 'the feeling of membership or belongingness to a group, containing possible emotional connection on a shared history, common interests, or concerns' (Perkins & Long, 2002). We have also argued that SoP is one of the instruments that is used in urban governance. The literature has indicated that the connection of people-place bonds is influenced by the urban governance context.

Based on urban governance theories, we have noted that the institutional framework influences social capital but is not within the scope of this research. Nevertheless, we consider the effect of the physical aspects of place and the influence of non-state actors, as both can influence the ability of SoP to mobilise social capital.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

To examine its main questions, this study applies a methodology with the following characteristics:

- ➢ The research is theory driven;
- ➢ It is based on qualitative research;
- ➢ It focuses on a single case study, namely the HoS project in Rotterdam South. The in-depth interviews with stakeholders and an analysis of the projects and policy documents (including the municipality's query, the tender's bid, the project's scope card and other relevant documents) form the foundation of the empirical data analysis;
- ➢ Consistency of data was achieved, as raw data, data reduction products and process notes were kept.

In addition, data triangulation through the use of at least three types of methods or tools for data collection reinforces the validity and reliability of the research, evaluation and findings in order to control bias. It also supports the establishment of valid conclusions, as data triangulation ensures that multiple, diverse perceptions of a single concept are obtained.

This chapter defines variables as measurable factors to increase the quality of the research results.

3.1   Operationalisation

This section progresses into the empirical research phase following the conceptualisation of the three key concepts of this research. To this end, it elaborates on their nominal definitions as derived from the literature and in accordance with this study's specific context. The operationalisation table below (Table 4) summarises the breakdown of the key concepts into measurable elements.

Key - Concept		Operational definition	Variables	Indicator
Sense of Place	Place attachment	Place attachment is 'an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to place' (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 5).	Place rootedness, residence time, individually and collectively held meanings and place characteristics	• Residence time • History of residence/ancestral roots; • Neighbourhood ties; • Knowledge of a place; • Meaning of a place.
	Place Identity	Defined by one's cognitions (i.e. values, morals, attitudes, feelings and beliefs) and experiences, both good and bad, in the physical world in which he or she lives.	• Cognitions, meaning and value; • Experiences (related to gender, age, social class and personality); • Perception of other people's thoughts.	• Cognitions, meaning and value; • Experiences (both good and bad); • Perceptions of other people's thoughts.
	Place Dependence	The useful value (services, aesthetic) of a place in comparison to other places in terms of satisfying an individual's specific goals and desired activities (Stedman 2002).	• Personal goal-oriented behaviours that are supported by the physical and social resources of the place; • Personal comparison of the quality of life in the community compared to other alternative communities (Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003, p. 276).	• Utility satisfaction: of both the aesthetics and the services and facilities; • Social satisfaction.
Social Capital	Sense of Community (SOC)	'the feeling of membership or belongingness to a group, containing possible emotional connection on a shared history,	Sense of belonging within an informal construct and based on cognition and trust (Perkins & Long, 2002).	• Sense of belonging/organising an association with or without membership;

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	common interests, or concerns' (Perkins & Long, 2002).		• Working together to solve a common problem.
Collective Efficacy/ Empowerment (CE/E)	Collective Efficacy is a latent social construct that encompasses a combination of cognitive and socio-structural factors which facilitate people's shared beliefs in their collective power or ability to come together to execute actions related to a common goal (Delea, et al., 2018). CE/E is defined as 'trust in the effectiveness of organized community action, is closest to the concept of empowerment among all the social capital dimensions and their predictors' (Perkins & Long, 2002, p. 295).	• Amount of social trust (Putnam R. , 2017) (Michael Woolcock, 2000) (Landry, Imagination and regeneration: Cultural policy and the future of cities, 2004).	• Social response; • Common values; • Social equity; • Community attachment; • Mutual engagement, Shared beliefs and expectations and an awareness of these community foundations.
Neighbouring (N)	'the instrumental help we informally provide, or get from, other community members (e.g. watching after a neighbour's house or pet)' (Perkins & Long, 2002)	Informal neighbouring behaviour	• Willingness to help neighbours; • Willingness to receive help from neighbours; • Other social interactions with neighbours.
Citizen Participation (CP)	'Individual and community participation' (Mihaylov & Perkins, 2013, p. 69)	• Formal participation in community organisations; • Amount of participation in (informal) networks (Putnam R. , 2017; Michael Woolcock, 2000); • Amount of memberships in (informal) networks.	• Individual or community participation; • Involves those affected; • Responds to those affected.

Table 5 Operationalisation of the key-concepts

3.1.1 Measuring SoP

As mentioned, the level of SoP was explored through three dimensions: place identity, place dependence and place attachment (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2011).

Place identity is measured in three ways to determine the presence and level of 1) broadly conceived cognitions of the physical world (e.g. memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meaning, conception of behaviour and experience), 2) both positive and negative experiences and 3) perceptions of other people's thoughts about the place. Meanwhile, place dependence, which refers simply to the utility of place attraction (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981), was investigated within the socio-spatial features of the living environment.

The satisfaction of the place for people was determined by their level of satisfaction with the place in comparison to the quality of other places. Since this satisfaction might be influenced by publicity, environmental change and experiences, the latter three topics were also reviewed and analysed on the basis of the interviews, documents and media.

Place attachment was measured by examining citizen's residency time and neighbourhood ties. In view of the age differences among the population, we did not determine residence time from the actual number of years of residency alone. Rather, we derived it from three criteria: (1) the citizen was born elsewhere and migrated to Rotterdam South as an adult, (2) the citizen was born elsewhere but raised in Rotterdam South or (3) the citizen was born and raised in Rotterdam South. Furthermore, we considered the knowledge that people possess about a place and the meaning that they ascribe to the place.

3.1.2 Measuring social capital

The level of social capital was measured through its four components: citizen participation, neighbouring, CE/E and SoC.

Citizen participation was measured in three ways: 1) degree of individual and community participation, 2) capacity for responding to those affected and 3) involvement of those affected in decision-making. Neighbouring was also measured in three ways by considering the level of willingness to 1) informally help neighbours, 2) receive help from neighbours and 3) seek out other social interactions with neighbours. Collective efficacy/empowerment was determined by the level of trust in organised community actions. Finally, SoC was measured by the presence of the feeling that one belongs to a group (with or without membership).

3.1.3 Measuring Urban Governance

Feelings of place (i.e. SoP) generate social capital. Research has demonstrated the importance of the presence, preservation and development of social capital for the success of urban programmes (Devas, 2004). Therefore, governing SoP might be an interesting new way to sustain and advance social capital.

In the research locale, both government officials and other experts are facilitating community activation through hands-on facilitation of initiatives and projects. Thereby, they are enabling and collaborating with the community and turning community-level energy into an urban asset. The instruments that these professionals (both state and non-state) use, primarily enable social capital and could potentially increase SoP within the research locale. Thus, in this research, we measured governance by examining these instruments and the we take a closer look at whether and how placemaking was used as a process to increase SoP. This usage illustrates the multiple ways through which the local government, businesses and residents interact in managing their urban space and life (Peyroux et al. 2014).

To clarify who uses which instruments, we explored the involved actors. As with governance theories, we direct attention to their role in the research locale (Majoor & Schwartz, Instruments of Urban Governance, 2015). The actors comprise three categories: 1) promoters with power, 2) professionals and 3) experts or process promoters (Witte, 1973; Hauschildt and Keim 1997). We adopted this approach because promoters actively and intensively attend to social processes and are therefore are key figures in a community (Fürst et al., 2006; see also Diller, 2002). Mehnen et. Al (2013) have summarised the relationship between governance and SoP as follows:

Categories	Key elements	Criteria Indicators
Actors	Actor	• Involvement of actors from all three sectors (the state, civil society, the economy); • Missing or excluded actors.
	Sense of place	• Place attachment; • Place identity; • Place dependency.
	Other reasons for engagement	• Reasons/motivation, interests, resources.
Actor Constellation	Roles and goals of actors	• Promoters; • Power relations.
Modes of interaction	Co-operation and networking of actors	• Willingness of actors to co-operate and participate; • Co-operation intensity and climate.
	Learning processes	• Learning processes.

Table 6 Governance and SoP research criteria (Mehnen, Mose, & Strijker, 2013)

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The diagram in Table 7 illustrates the roles of actors in the research locale.

3.2   Research Strategy

Qualitative research uses a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context-specific settings. Such as: 'real world setting where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest' (Golafshani, 2003, p. 600) This research seeks to illuminate, understand and extrapolate the findings to similar situations (Hoepfl, 1997). It achieves this on the basis of a single case study. A single case study is an integral research through which the researcher tries to obtain a clear insight in one restricted spatiotemporal object or process (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2016). A single case study has the following characteristics:

- a small domain;
- an in-depth approach;
- foundation of a selective set of samples;
- open, non-constructed interviews, and
- data triangulation (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2016; Scholz & Tietje, 2013).

The research focuses on the case of HoS, in order to test whether the theoretical conceptual model works within the empirical context of Rotterdam South rather than to understand this particular case. The former inquiry justifies an instrumental case study (Scholz & Tietje, 2013).

3.2.1   Data Collection Methods (Details)

We based the case study on one-on-one interviews with open questions in a semi-structured format, as this approach allows for in-depth exploration (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2016). The data that were collected through the interviews were compared to data resulting from content analysis as well as CBS statistics Netherlands and the Rotterdam '*wijkmonitor*' (neighbourhood monitor). By combining these diverse methods and sources in data triangulation, we achieved a more thorough understanding of the topics (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2016).
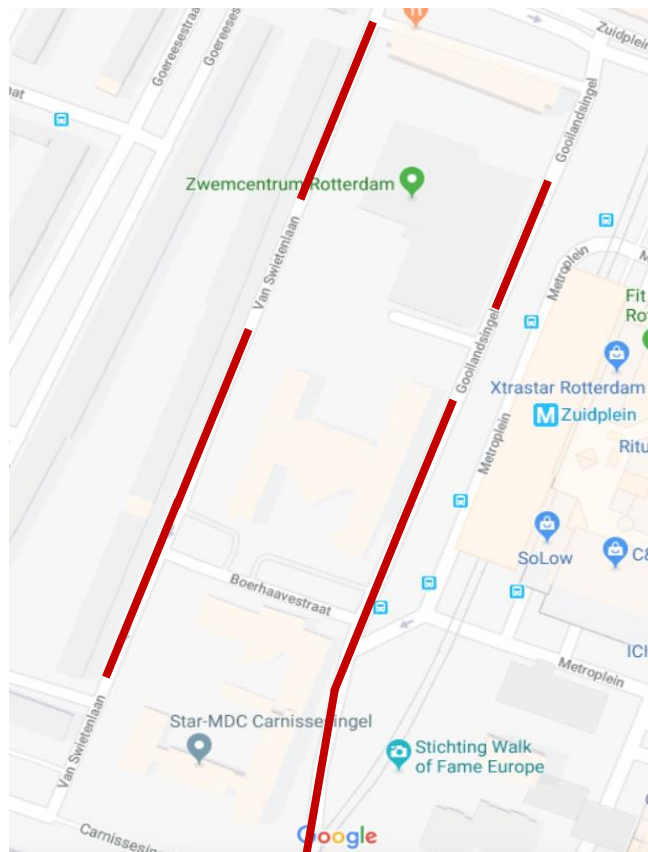
Since we consider more than one unit of analysis, we conducted an embedded case study. An embedded case study is a case study that contains more than one sub-unit (Scholz & Tietje, 2013). The units consist of citizens, entrepreneurs, civil servants and other professionals who are active in the research area, and we analysed content, statistics and other data. This multiplicity of evidence was investigated in subunits that concern different salient aspects of the case (Scholz & Tietje, 2013).

The exact locus of the research area for the open interviews with citizens was the Van Swietenlaan (203 households). This street was specifically chosen because its population is representative of many other streets in Rotterdam South (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2018).

The Gooilandsingel was selected as the site for conducting interviews with local entrepreneurs because it is one of the few streets in the Zuidplein area that houses small-scale businesses. I held interviews with small business owners as I supposed they'd be more attached to the place as they consciously choose it, whereas

store managers of big chains probably weren't
  involved in the choosing of the location.

This aspect is relevant since the study tests whether SoP can contribute to the mobilisation of social capital. Both streets were also selected on account of their scale, as, because of time limitations, a bigger research area (either population or size wise) would have exceeded the scope of this research.

3.2.2 Interview Data Collection

Twelve inhabitants of the Van Swietenlaan were interviewed, which translates to 6% of the total population of the research area (203 inhabitants). The interviews were held in the homes of the interviewees. In addition, four entrepreneurs were interviewed in their businesses. The third unit was composed of professionals; interviews were performed with two from the municipality and three who were active in the neighbourhood. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed.

3.2.3 Interview Protocol

The interview protocol for both citizens and entrepreneurs consisted of the collection of personal data to identify the lifecycle stage of interviewees.

Personal data
Gender
Age
Marital status
Children
Educational level
Job status
Description of personality
Residence time

The question about their personality had no scientific reason beyond testing their retrospective qualities.

The interviews were semi-structured. The initial plan was to conduct non-structured or open interviews, but after the first three interviews, I concluded that people needed more guidance to talk about their neighbourhood 'feelings'. After this change, the interview length increased from 15 minutes per interview to 50 minutes per session. I posed questions that relate to the indicators of the main concepts of SoP and social capital.

In addition to these units, we also interviewed 5 professionals who were active in the area. The main question for the units concerns if and how they try to mobilise social capital through SoP. The aim was to obtain the necessary depth of information and permit the cross-referencing of responses. I used the model below to choose my interviewees as it gives a good perspective of how places are governed.
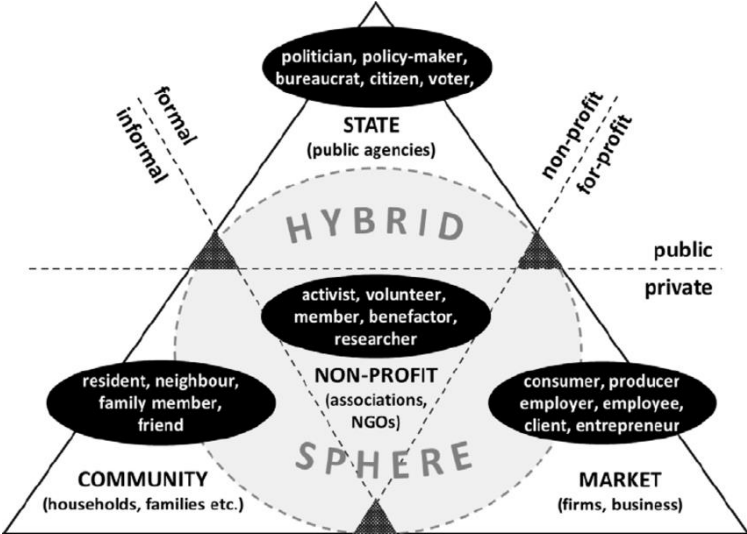

Figure 8 Flor Avelino, multi-actor perspective (Avelino & Wittmayer 2014, adapted from Pestoff 1992)

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Table 8 details the professionals who were interviewed.

Organisation	Job title	Reasons/motivation	Interests	Resources
Thuis op Straat	Director	Offer activities for youth to keep them off of the streets and out of trouble; fulfil tasks whilst staying within budget and reaching policy targets.	Fulfil contractual obligations whilst reaching as many young people (and their parents) as possible.	Budget form Municipality
Municipality of Rotterdam	Area networker Zuidplein	Activate and empower citizens by helping them to take initiative and participate; adopt initiatives that are feasible for the municipality.	Reach and empower citizens in collaboration with other organisations and municipality colleagues.	Municipality network
Municipality of Rotterdam	Area manager Charlois	Activate and empower citizens to take initiative and participate; adopt initiatives that the municipality can handle.	Maintain active neighbourhoods that are supported by other organisations or municipality colleagues.	Municipality network
Dock	Participation realtor Tarwewijk	Activate and empower citizens through activities; stay within the budget to strengthen their position for the next tender (every four years).	Fulfil their contractual obligations and reach as many citizens as possible with limited means.	Budget form Municipality
Culture scouts	Culture scout Charlois	Deliver culture to citizens; secure their position within the policymaking process so that means are still sufficiently directed to them.	Act as a partner for citizens and local artists as well as a strategic partner for policymakers to generate a higher budget for the cultural sector.	Budget form Municipality

Table 7 Actors to be interviewed

3.2.2 Data Analysis Methods

All transcriptions were inserted into the qualitative data analysis program Atlas.ti. With this programme, codes were used to categorise quotations and identify important concepts in the individual transcripts. Therefore, being able to compare the transcripts to each other to observe similarities and differences in answers. Such comparison revealed additional key themes.

Within Atlas.ti, document groups were created to analyse other documents (e.g. ...) as well. The results of all data collection and analyses were compared and integrated, and compelling and convincing research findings were derived from the result.

3.2.4 Reliability and Validity

Reliability and validity measures are integral to qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003). Reliability refers to the degree of consistency, stability and dependability in performing the same measurement repeatedly over time (Glasow 2005). Reliability and dependability can be assessed by an analysis of the research steps (Golafshani, 2003). Therefore, raw data, data reduction products and process notes were kept available. In addition, qualitative studies can achieve reliability and validity through data triangulation, which 'strengthens a study by combining methods or data' (Golafshani, 2003, p. 603).

To minimise inconsistencies, the interview questions were crafted carefully to avoid ambiguities, and prevent subject errors and biases.

3.2.5   Credibility

This research was conducted in accordance with normative research ethics. Appropriate information regarding the study's purpose, objectives and procedures was provided to all interviewees. In addition, their explicit consent as named interviewees was obtained. They were also promptly briefed with the limits of confidentiality and assured that sensitive disclosures would be prevented.

3.2.5   Limitations and Delimitations

As noted, the sample size was restricted by the factor of time. Since this study seeks to determine the potential of SoP to mobilise social capital in HoS, it only focuses on those who are involved in this particular area.

Other limitations are first, while the measurement of the key concepts purposely included perceptions, experiences and actions to substantiate the emotional, subjective feelings with actual behaviours, these three elements were also mined from the interview answers of interviewees regarding their own capacity for self-reflection; therefore, they are still inevitably subject to bias. Second, the limited range of this study in terms of the literature review and command of the subject permits only inferential analysis of the key concepts. Third, as the researcher, I work within the area. However, this research was conducted independently of the project HoS and the role I fulfil within this project. Fourth, the interviewees were not (all) aware of the fact I worked for the project and, in most cases, were only told after the interview. Fifth, interviewees were mostly of Dutch heritage (75%). Unfortunately, non-Western citizens were unwilling to participate in interviews. As a result, the sample of interviewees does not accurately reflect the society in Rotterdam South, the majority of whom are immigrants (+70%) (www.wijkprofiel.rotterdam.nl).

Chapter 4: Research Findings and Analysis

4.1   Urban governance of sense of place

As governance sets the framework for placemaking processes and thus the creation of a sense of place, we started the analysis by taking a closer look at the results from the professionals' interviews and the governance instruments they identified that could possibly foster SoP.

For this research the following interviews were conducted:

Organisation	Name	Job title
Thuis Op Straat	Peter Steenbergen	Director
Municipality of Rotterdam	Rob Luca	Area Networker Zuidplein
Municipality of Rotterdam	Maljaerd den Hollander	Area Manager Charlois
Dock	Anjana Koendan-Panday	Participation Realtor Tarwewijk
Culture scouts	Marieke Bongaards	Culture Scout Charlois

Table 8 Professionals who were interviewed

To examine the instruments used by the interviewees (both government and non-government officials), the documents listed in Table 35 were analysed.

City development	Social development
Heart of South integral plans	Nation Program Rotterdam South implementation programme 2019-2022
Land use plan 2015	Heart of South social program
NPRZ implementation programme 2019-2022	Website Opzoomer Mee
City vision 2030	Evaluation Opzoomer Mee 2015
	Wijkprofielen Rotterdam
	Thuis op Straat report
	Culture scout website
	Evaluation Culture scout 2016
	Peer reviewed article: the neighbourhood doesn't govern
	Internal paper by the social development municipality of Rotterdam
	Report by Drift on community-driven approach

Table 9 Overview of analysed documents

Based on the interviews, observations, and document analysis, a strength, weakness, opportunity, and threat (SWOT) analysis was performed. This method yields a concise overview of the functioning of the instruments: table 1 SWOT analysis instruments.

Instrument	Strength	Weakness	Opportunity	Threat
Land use plan	Improvement of functionality and expansion of functionality will attract more people to the area (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2015).	'Infrastructure instruments have the advantage that they are relatively direct in their functioning by physically generating certain behaviour. At the same time, the instrument is relatively inflexible and requires considerable knowledge about social and bio-physical processes' (Majoor & Schwartz, Instruments of	Incorporate placemaking methods to optimise the land use according to inhabitants' needs.	The land use plan HoS was developed by Ballast Nedam/Heijmans without the consultation of citizens—not because they did not want to but because this requirement within the tender process and applied to all tender participants.

		Urban Governance, 2015, p. 116).		
Area development plan HoS	The expanded programme of the area increases the number of things to do.	Also, in this part of the process of redeveloping HoS, building combination Ballast Nedam/Heijmans was not allowed to contact citizens or other parties. Plans were not checked or coproduced; therefore, the plans cater to visitors rather than inhabitants.	Currently, Zuidplein does not have a public space that stimulates social behaviour; on the contrary, it stimulates asocial behaviour, as it contains many dark corners, no sitting room, insufficient lighting, and no squares where people can meet outside.	To offer people room for development, the real estate needs to be programmed in a certain way. Friction might occur between a programme that is commercially interesting for the developers and one that citizens in the neighbourhood can afford.
Beterbuiten application	Citizens can file a complaint via an easy-to-use application (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019).	Requirements are a smartphone with an Internet connection and the ability to read and write Dutch.	Community centres could help people through the application.	Only Dutch speaking citizens will use the application and benefit by gaining trust in the government and feeling in charge of their living space. This excludes the 18% that has difficulties speaking Dutch.
Area committee's subsidy	Citizens with a large-scale initiative can apply for a subsidy of €10,000.	The application is only available in Dutch, and many citizens cannot speak or write Dutch properly (Koendan-Panday, 2019). Applications must be filed online or in writing (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019). Thirty-four percent of residents in Charlois are functionally illiterate (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019).	When budgets are not fully used in a certain neighbourhood, they are appointed to another neighbourhood.	'It's always the same faces applying' (Koendan-Panday, 2019; Luca, 2019). 'Money that isn't used in one neighbourhood goes to another' (Hollander, Area Manager, 2019).
Opzoomer Mee	The organisation is able to adapt to all 14 area committees' needs like a chameleon. They offer custom-fit solutions and are extremely flexible (Panteia, 2015).	Citizens get help from another organisation to apply for a subsidy at Opzoomer Mee (Panteia, 2015). Area committees would like greater diversity in the applications (Panteia, 2015).	'I think Opzoomer Mee could offer more. Currently, they subsidise four days per year where neighbours can do something together, like put up a Christmas tree, clean their street. But that's only four days a year' (Koendan-Panday, 2019).	'It's always the same faces applying for subsidies' (Koendan-Panday, 2019).
Thuis Op Straat activities	Offering children and young adults between 12 and 27 years of age (after-school) activities stimulates their psychological well-being	Eclectic usage of techniques interferes with the development of a clear new model which matches the target group to the means of the methodology (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012).	More effective when children participate more than once per week (Verwey-Jonker Instituut, 2015).	Because of the flow of people (25% move within one year), the activities of Thuis Op Straat cannot be considered interventions but rather single activities (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2012).

	(Verwey-Jonker Instituut, 2015).			
Community centre activities	Community centres reach a decent range of people, most of whom are women (Koendan-Panday, 2019). 'We collaborate with other organisations active in the area. For example, when Thuis Op Straat organises a day for children, we try to get to the parents' (Koendan-Panday, 2019).	'What we would like to change is that we want to reach more people. Right now, it's always the same faces that come in here and or organise neighbourhood activities' (Koendan-Panday, 2019).	'Communication in different languages could help in reaching out to communities we cannot reach simply because of the language barrier' (Koendan-Panday, 2019).	'We also see that different cultures don't really mix. Turks organise things for the Turkish, Antilleans for Antilleans, etc.' (Koendan-Panday, 2019).
Culture scouts	'People know us, local artists and some citizens find us' (Bongaards, 2019).	The majority of the initiatives are carried out by artists rather than citizens (Bongaards, 2019).	Walk-in hours at community centres can reach more citizens (Bongaards, 2019).	'Because I'm so busy with all applications of the artist community, I don't have enough time for walk-in hours. Therefore, I still don't reach enough community potential' (Bongaards, 2019). 'There's a shift in focus of the culture scouts. They go from community workers to strategic partners in the cultural sector—which means they have less time for the people' (Rotterdamse Raad voor Kunst en Cultuur, 2018).
Social programme HoS	Participation through events makes it possible for people to meet and have positive experiences in their neighbourhood. Also, talent development and matchmaking efforts establish contact with inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhoods more extensively compared to a regular building project.	More effort is expended on the talent development programme and matchmaking efforts in the labour market, so participation through events remains small in scale. In regard to SoP, having only a few events is a weakness as events create positive experiences.	Working together with culture scouts and the local theatre increases the number of events in the research locale	No framework or project within the social programme focuses on empowering people to organise events.

Table 10 SWOT-analysis

Findings: Instruments

This section details the consequences of the threats and weaknesses of SoP in the specific research area.

Land Use Plan

The HoS land use plan logically orders functionalities by making them more accessible. The main goal is to retain visitors in the area for a longer period of time. Because of this aim, the area does not cater to the needs of the area inhabitants, which might have a negative impact on SoP—specifically in terms of place dependence and place identity—both now and in the future. A connection to the neighbourhood was made in 2015 through the application of value engineering methods and the principles of placemaking, but this connection was later lost as the contracters did not apply this method through the whole process of redeveloping Heart of South.

Area Development Plan HoS

Heart of South is designed to attract visitors. To this end, it adds restaurants, bars, and a swimming pool for professional swimming. In addition, it includes plans for a cinema, hotel, congress centre, pop stage, theatre, and library. Many of the facilities enhance the appearance and atmosphere of the neighbourhood and project a certain allure. For the public facilities, such as the swimming pool, theatre, and library, this might have the consequence that people do not feel at home in these new and shiny environments and therefore avoid them. Notably, the bars and restaurants have already proven to be too expensive for local citizens, which amplifies the gap between visitors and inhabitants. This discrepancy is further emphasised by the design of the public space. For example, there is a clear difference between the appearance of the terraces versus that of the public seating. This difference in seating might have a negative effect on sense of belonging (place attachment), emotions towards a place (place attachment) and experiences in a place (place identity).

Beterbuiten Application

The Beterbuiten application is designed to empower people to take control of their public space, which then enhances collective efficacy and empowerment—though only for those who speak Dutch. Because of the language barrier, the group of non-Dutch speakers that causes annoyance is neither reached nor empowered, which creates distance between citizens who are active and empowered and those who are not. Consequently, many people in the research area develop the feeling that they are the only persons taking care of their neighbourhood, which suppresses SoC.

Area Committee Subsidy and Opzoomer Mee (Same Characteristics)

Because the application process requires people to read and write Dutch, those who do not are excluded. As a consequence, those groups who are already at a disadvantage are not empowered and cannot take advantage of the opportunities to participate. A further result may be an increase in segregation, as those who participate and already think that others do not care then perceive the absence of those others as confirmation of such thoughts.

Another consequence is that the same people are always applying and those people by nature tend to participate already. Moreover, those people tend to participate within their own circle, which rarely include multiple ethnicities. The reason for this dynamic might be that the instruments aim to strengthen social capital, which is linked to social networks that are not specifically place bound.

This is in fact also the case in the research locale where the neighbourhood garden, run by 20 volunteers, is not able to connect to the neighbours down the street. They are well subsidised with the help of the area networker and budget from the area committee, but they organise activities that do not resonate with the majority of their neighbours. This means they attract people for a specific activity (for example, the pumpkin market). Consequently, the activity does not foster a sense of place and fosters social capital only in the group of volunteers that organises the activities. Because the activities do not represent the majority of the neighbourhood, many neighbours see their feelings of 'I don't have anything in common with them' confirmed. It is a downward spiral.

Thuis Op Straat Activities

Thuis Op Straat is not actually active in the research locale, as the youth live in the surrounding neighbourhoods. However, they could have a role in the disturbances caused by young people loitering in the research locale, littering with gum and cigarettes, whistling at women, intimidating people, and calling people names. Thuis op Straat's activities could positively affect place identity by decreasing the negative experiences that citizens have with youths.

Community Centre Activities

The research locale contains no community centre. To access one, the residents need to cross the street and enter a different neighbourhood, which the interviewees did not do. The community centre over there stated that they had no immigrant clients from the research locale.

Culture Scouts

Since the culture scout did not have time to enter the area and engage with its residents, the culture scout has no connection with the people who live in the research area. Only the community garden volunteers, with the help of the area networker, know how to apply for subsidies. As a result, the culture scout is not aware of what people lack in their neighbourhood, and she cannot cater to their wishes. This inability has a negative effect on place identity (positive experiences because of cultural events) and place dependence (dissatisfaction with available activities), as the art community apparently cannot reach out to these citizens.

Social Programme HoS

The social programme focuses on the labour market and talent development. Participation in events has not yet been fully established, which has negatively affected place attachment (positive experiences because of cultural events) and place dependence (dissatisfaction with things to do) and place attachment (an event could instil feelings of connectedness between neighbours).

General Instrumental Issues

Apart from instruments not actively fostering a sense of place, professionals state that the instruments only partially foster social capital. The instruments at hand could be sufficient but are brought to the public in the wrong way. The main issue is language. Because all instruments are in Dutch, a large group of citizens cannot participate even if they wanted to. The choice to offer instruments in Dutch was made by the municipality's administration (and depends on the political preference). So even when professionals are 100% convinced it would be better to offer help and support in different languages, it is out of their hands. As a consequence, the policy instruments are only used by a small group of citizens, namely those who can navigate the system. This causes groups who are standing on the side lines to remain at the side lines. And therefore, social capital is strengthened only in those groups who are familiar with the system.

Another problem is that the people who are familiar with the system draw a certain authority from applying for subsidies and organising activities; they are considered by both their neighbours and professionals as institutionalised volunteers who do not truly represent the neighbourhood anymore. But again, professionals do not stand up to those institutionalised volunteers (as they are happy somebody is participating). In addition, there is no strategy in deciding who gets what subsidy and why. Amounts below €10.000 euros are relatively easily granted in order to keep administration costs low.

Organisational Issues

In 2017, Drift (research facility) evaluated the functioning of municipalities in regard to their newly adopted, neighbourhood-oriented way of working. On that basis, Drift has suggested the following points of improvement:
- The organisation needs to be **reflective;**
- The organisation must be **adaptive** to effectively act in the changing daily context of the neighbourhood;
- Neighbourhood-oriented working requires a dynamic that offers room for **flexibility and spontaneity**. Accordingly, rigid structures will not achieve success;

➢ Government officials need to have **sensitivity** in addressing neighbourhood problems and issues at the political, policy, and societal levels to develop a solution that is strategic, tactical, operational, or a mix of the three (Drift, 2017).

The interviews also addressed these topics. For example, the director of Thuis Op Straat highlighted 'reflectiveness':

> 'Professionals should reflect on what they do. They should always ask themselves, "Is this still the best thing to do? Do we still do it the right way? Are we achieving our goals?" Because communities in Rotterdam South change quickly, what was successful last year might not work this year because the composition of the street changed. A lot of organisations are mistaken there; they just doing what they always do. Another mistake is using plan A for street A in street B. Street B might be completely different…if it is, plan A won't work. Professionals really ought to know the composition of their street/neighbourhood and use tailor-made approaches'.

According to Steenbergen, this lack of reflectiveness explains why a considerable number of projects fail. Also, 'adaptiveness' seemed to be an issue in regard to the four-year tender cycle of the municipality. In this cycle, the municipality can decide who has the strongest offer for care provision in a neighbourhood every four years. Consequently, carefully constructed relations between professionals (both state and non-state) and citizens are broken up, and professionals do not have sufficient time to become familiar with the area for which they are responsible. Furthermore, methods and projects do not have time to mature and adapt to a neighbourhood. Steenbergen explained, 'If a neighbourhood degenerates over a period of 40 years, why on Earth do we only get four years to implement the solution? To truly make a change, you need to guide and coach a complete generation'. Area Manager den Hollander added, 'We threw away one of the best instruments we had: community work. That really worked. You need to get to know people in order to be able to say something about their attitude, to get them to take a seat at the table… especially with those people who now remain invisible' (Hollander, Area Manager, 2019). Steenbergen, the director of Thuis Op Straat, offered the following comments:

> 'Community workers were people with a background in social work. Not to say anything bad about the area networkers now—but they're just civil servants working a network. They don't have that specialised background. They basically help the already active people getting subsidies from Opzoomeren. That's the world upside down. Opzoomeren should be accessible; area networkers shouldn't be occupied with this' (Steenbergen, 2019).

Another issue is the one of collaboration to work effectively. According to former area networker Rob Luca, 'collaborating is essential when tailoring to a neighbourhood's needs'. He states: 'Another problem is that citizens often have questions regarding their ideas that involve several departments, but those departments don't collaborate, so getting them to answer those multifaceted questions can be extremely tricky. Between the department of city development and the department of social development, there's no constant exchange' (Luca, 2019). Anjana Koendan-Panday, a participation realtor, described a similar situation: 'In Rotterdam, there are a lot of community organisations active, such as House of Hope, Cultuur Werkplaats, Thuis Op Straat, but they don't always collaborate. We experience some inconvenience from that. The municipality has given us a certain task, but, very often, these organisations already fulfil a part. So, sometimes, I feel we could have spent the money better. I mean, it makes no sense if we all do the same thing' (Koendan-Panday, 2019).

4.2   Results and analysis for place attachment and SoC

'Place attachment is an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to place' (Low & Altman, 1992, p. 5). Sense of community (SoC) is about sense of belonging and whether the individuals' attitudes towards a place leads to behaviour that guards and defends local well-being. The theory states place attachments lead to a sense of community; see Figure X.
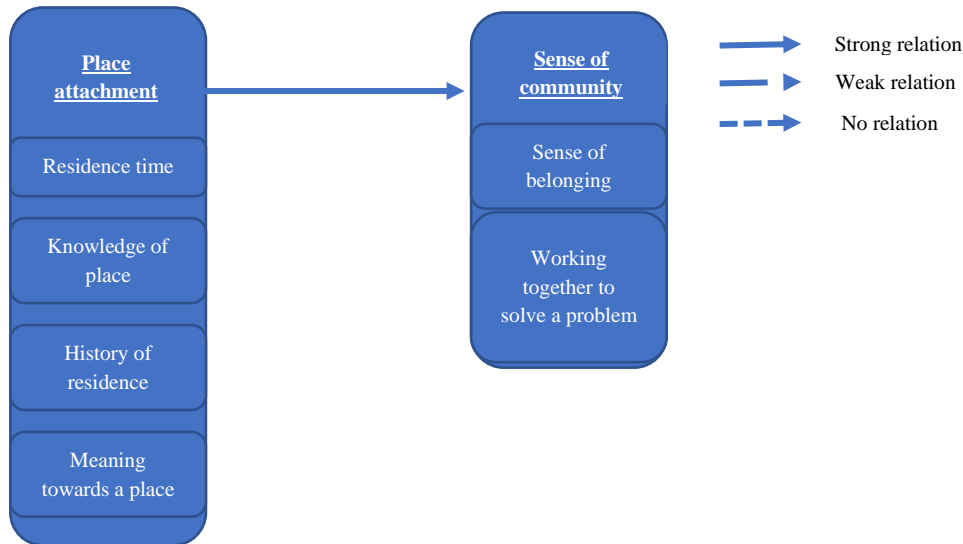

Figure 9 Theoretical relation Place attachment & sense of community

Central questions to answer are whether the personal bond with a place has a positive effect on the sense of belonging and attitude towards the community of a place and which theoretical relations can be derived from the research results.

In the research locale, both citizens and entrepreneurs show signs of hyperlocal social and sustainable behaviour (either towards their business or home) based on positive experiences in that same hyperlocal social circle. The positive experiences are all related to the people living or working in their own direct environment. This indicates that the people in the research area do respect and honour each other's needs and act on what is best for their hyperlocal community. The emotional people-place bond of both citizens and entrepreneurs shows in small ways like saying hello, borrowing items, or changing a light bulb. Their sustainable behaviour also shows in similar ways such as picking up trash on the way to the bin or speaking up to passengers who throw garbage out of their cars. In other words, all interviewees show great care for their own well-being and the people directly surrounding them.

This shows a hyperlocal form of place attachment. Yet, the interviewees do not show great care for the neighbourhood as a whole. This absence of place attachment towards the neighbourhood as a whole might also be caused by the fact that the interviewees have social networks that are not place bound:

➢ Citizen: 'I don't really need my neighbours, I have my son and his wife.'
➢ Citizen: 'I'm not home that often, I work, and I spend a lot of time with my family and friends.'
➢ Citizen: 'I don't connect to people who don't speak Dutch'

Another reason for not bonding with the neighbourhood as a whole is that this hyperlocal social network alone is sufficient.

➢ Citizen: 'Sometimes my neighbour changes a lamp for me.'
➢ Citizen: 'When I'm sick, I know I can ask my neighbours in this building for help.' This behaviour is also seen with the entrepreneurs. They don't rely on each other to function, yet when there is a need, they help each other out: 'Sometimes we borrow stuff from each other.'

It makes deeper bonding unnecessary. Because of this, both citizens and entrepreneurs only connect to the people who are directly influencing their quality of life or business.

> ➢ Citizen: 'I have no contact outside the building, only a casual hello. Apart from my direct neighbours, I actually don't talk to anybody.'
> ➢ Entrepreneur: 'I'm only in touch with my guests.'
> ➢ Entrepreneur: 'I'm in touch with the other entrepreneurs, but not with citizens. At least not when they're not customers.'

Regardless of the superficial contact with neighbours and some bad experiences, all interviewees gave great meaning to their place. Citizen: 'Whenever I come from the city back here, then I say, "Oh great, I'm home again."' Citizen: 'I've lived everywhere: Beverwaard, Barendrecht, Spijkenisse, IJsselmonde. But this is really my neighbourhood. I wouldn't leave this place easily.' As predicted by theory, place attachment is influenced by residence time. Seventy-five percent of the interviewees have resided in their neighbourhood for at least five years, and the average residence time was over ten years.

Residence time per interviewee											
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
5mnd	10 years	25 years	20 years	5 years	2 years	9 years	4 months	6 years	10 years	14 years	7 years

Table 11 Residence time

This connection between place attachment and residence time shows in statements like: 'This place is nostalgia for me', 'I've lived here so long, this is my neighbourhood'. However, it did not result in a shared history and therefore seemed to have little or no influence on sense of community. The entrepreneurs who were interviewed had all recently started their businesses in the research area. Their residence time varied from six months to two years. These residence times seem to be too short to be able to say what kind of effect it has on their place attachment and sense of community.

There was only one citizen interviewee who showed no place meaning. It has to be mentioned that this interviewee had an exceptionally bad view of the neighbourhood. This was partially due to her line of work (debt counselling) and one very bad experience: 'There was a child crossing right in front of the car. So, I got out and said to the mother "Can you please keep an eye on your child?!" And she just started hitting me. I ended up with bruised ribs and my hair torn off my scalp. She also spit on me.'

The entrepreneurs derived their place meaning predominantly from their inclusion in the area development in HoS and their pioneering role in making the change: 'I think it's fantastic, everybody is so positive about what's happening around here' or 'This place has meaning to me because my business is here and I like being a part of the bigger change'. Just like the citizens, the entrepreneurs give place meaning to their own businesses but not the neighbourhood: 'This place to me means a new chapter, but this feeling goes towards my business. Not so much the rest of the neighbourhood.' That said, the designing phase of Heart of South could have engaged citizens in a more inclusive way if it would have consequently and consistently fostered the process of placemaking as proposed by the Project for Public Spaces (PPS). Heart of South only initially followed the [1]11 principles proposed by PPS by using the method of value engineering. It therefore did not generate extended place meaning for its neighbourhood residents.

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[1] *The eleven principles are created by the Project of Public Spaces: community is expert; create a place, not a design; look for partners; observe; have a vision; start with light, quick and easy projects; triangulate; always say: 'it can be done'; form support functions; money is not the issue.*

Knowledge of place was limited to the functionality of the research locale. Everybody knew where the supermarket was, for example. Only two of the 16 interviewees had some knowledge of the history. All of them stated that knowledge of place had no influence on their place attachment and/or sense of community. However, they all were very much aware they live in a multi-cultural part of Rotterdam where many people live at or beneath the poverty line, which made them specifically point out the following: they all experienced difficulties connecting to people who speak Dutch poorly. In relation to this, it is relevant to mention that 63% of the interviewees (citizens and entrepreneurs) were Dutch. Citizen: 'Especially the Polish. They work three to four months and then they move on. You can't really get in touch with them. An acquaintance of mine calls this neighbourhood Charloiswski.' And: 'I feel more comfortable when there's a mix. Say, 60% Dutch and the rest foreigners. It makes up for more quietness and peace.' Entrepreneur: 'Rotterdam South is changing. The Polish and Hungarian cause a lot of trouble as they tend to drink too much and then be too noisy.' Citizen: 'There are big differences. The people who live here and speak Dutch, of course you can have a nice chat with them. But the rest… well they're very to themselves as they don't understand you so… in those cases I don't feel like saying hi.' Professionals confirmed that it is difficult involving non-Dutch speaking citizens in community life. They also stated that the instruments they have to encourage people to participate are only available in Dutch. According to den Hollander:

> 'Sixteen percent of the inhabitants come from Eastern Europe. None of them truly speaks Dutch. And we just keep on offering these participation instruments in Dutch… That will never work of course! And, in the meantime, we have our opinions about them: They drink too much, they drink in the wrong places, and they don't clean up their mess. All of this would probably happen much less if we would make the first approach in their language and establish true contact. Language is definitely a reason why we don't get to certain people, and that's our bad luck'.

Koendan-Panday agrees that participation instruments are not used to their full potential.

> 'If the municipality would change the way in which people can apply, they might increase their amount of applications. More applications would be good. Right now, it's always the same people applying. And activation has to start somewhere. Even if this means allowing applications not written in Dutch. Not that they don't need to learn Dutch—but, first, they need to be inspired, activated, and then they could take Dutch lessons.'

Another main problem that the interviewees mentioned is the way in which the instruments are presented to the public. 'Personal contact is extremely important. It's your ticket in. I would advise anyone to go door to door. Our people have to get to know you if you want to grasp their attention. You can't go around it; you have to forge a connection' (Koendan-Panday, 2019). Koendan-Panday further stated that trust must be created before people would be willing to act and participate. She explained, 'That connection is relevant because many groups have been disappointed in the past—by organisations active in the area, I mean. It happened quite a lot that plans were made and then not executed because the money didn't come through. So, they're very distrusting. News about stuff not happening travels fast in those communities.'

Another issue regarding the instruments is that they are designed to facilitate, not to inspire or empower. For example, the BeterBuiten app facilitates citizens who want to defend and guard their community well-being by enabling them to make calls for getting their street cleaned up or fixed. The app does not inspire or empower people who are not aware they could take responsibility in the first place. The role of inspirer or advocate could be fulfilled by the area networkers, yet this happens very little as they are mainly focused on the flats surrounding the research locale.

This general focus on their direct surroundings causes the research area to consist of many hyperlocal social networks that do not intertwine. This segregation causes people not to really know who lives a few doors down,

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which in turn, leads to people thinking they are the only one behaving the way they do, and therefore that they do not have that much in common with their neighbours. In other words: they do not experience things in common, like shared beliefs or concerns. This causes for a strong sense of belonging regarding their own building, and (for the majority of the interviewees) a weak sense of belonging towards the rest of the neighbourhood. It also makes them believe that the neighbourhood as a whole cannot work together to solve problems that might jeopardise their community well-being. This goes for both the entrepreneurs as well as the citizens.

Another result of this hyperlocal place meaning is that citizens, entrepreneurs, and professionals do not seek contact with others outside of their comfort zone (meaning home, business, or organisation) and unfortunately the instruments available do not achieve this either. This hyperlocal focus seems to block a strong relationship between place meaning and sense of belonging.

This shows as the interviewees stated feeling alone in certain beliefs and concerns like the need to keep the neighbourhood clean and safe or in case of the entrepreneurs, to act together when there was a case of water damage or a dispute about the look and feel of the terraces. It seems this lack of trust in each other's potential creates a vicious circle that results in people not experiencing the need to further connect and not showing behaviour that invites others to connect to them. This is why and how the superficial emotional bond between place and people is maintained in the research area. Respondents are unaware of their similar ideas, beliefs, and concerns. Having that said, the interviewees claimed they do feel part of a community fostered by the local culture of greeting each other on the streets but they do not work together to solve problems.

This absence of a strong sense of community has as a side effect that people are not really interested in local affairs, as they think they have nothing in common with their neighbours. This shows in the respondents' most common answers as to why they do not participate in neighbourhood activities: activities are not suited their likings or they are too busy. The current instruments are insufficient as they are designed to facilitate and not to empower citizens. In addition, potential inspirers or advocates do not fulfil that role.
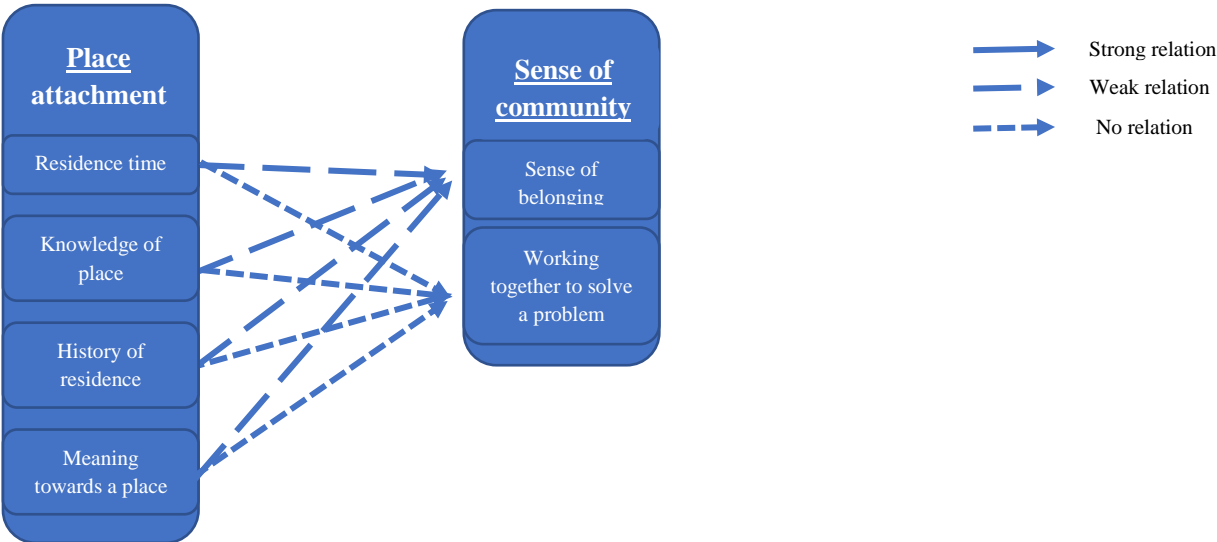

Figure 10 Results theoretical relationship place attachment & sense of community in research locale

4.3   Results and analysis for place identity and collective efficacy/empowerment

Place identity is defined by one's cognitions (values, morals, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs) and experiences in the physical world. Collective efficacy and empowerment are a latent social construct that encompasses a combination of cognitive and socio-structural factors that facilitate people's shared beliefs in their collective power or the ability to come together to execute actions related to a common goal (Delea et al., 2018). Theory

suggests there is a strong relation between place identity and collective efficacy, as both are two latent social constructs.
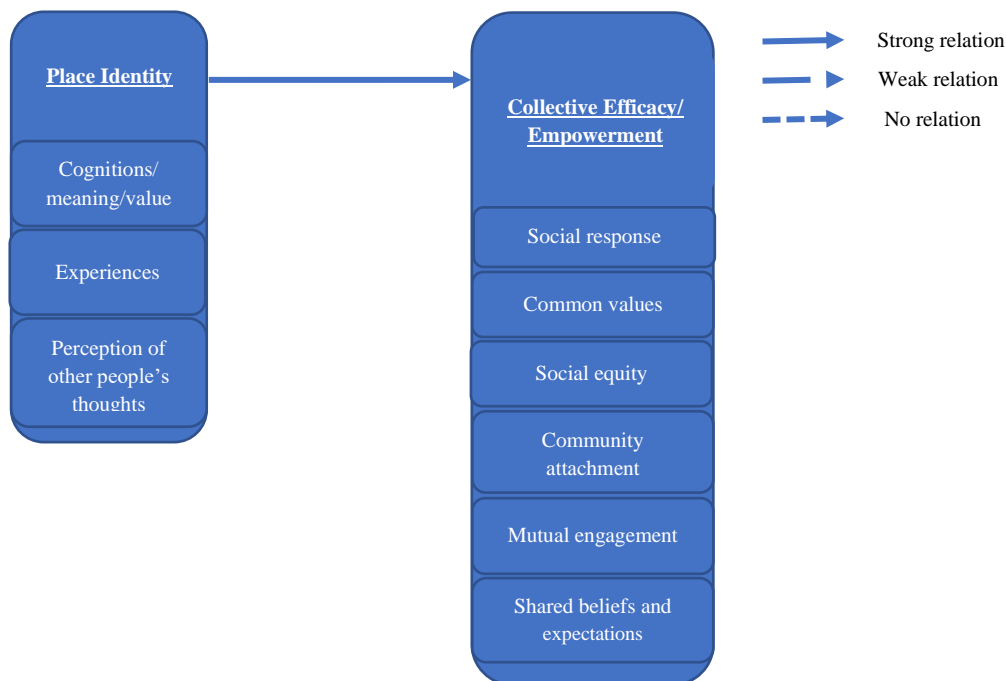

Figure 11 Theoretical relationship place identity & collective efficacy/ empowerment

Cognition concerns the awareness as to why people like or dislike their neighbours, whether they find them to be good neighbours, and why a place has meaning for them. The majority of the respondents (83.3%) demonstrated awareness, such as in the following quotes: 'I'm a good neighbour because when I see somebody having difficulties carrying their groceries, I step in to help. But I only help when I feel like it.' And, 'I watch out for others. When I see garbage on the street, I pick it up. I like to keep this place clean. And at night, when I see something strange, I do keep an eye on things.' And, 'We have a family business; the atmosphere is rather informal around here. We try to show that to our neighbours as well.'

Experiences
All respondents reported experiences, both good and bad, in regard to their neighbourhood. Experiences were mostly positive (83.3%) and varied from successfully asking for help to receiving an offer of help at an unexpected moment or in an unexpected way. All positive experiences related to neighbours assisting neighbours (both citizens and entrepreneurs) or taking each other's well-being into consideration (e.g., 'I just had a bypass, and then I received very sweet cards from my neighbours' and 'When I was moving in, I had to drag up a refrigerator. Before I knew it, a neighbour stepped in and brought it two floors up'.) However, 75% also reported negative experiences, such as being robbed on their street, suffering from noise and garbage from visitors after a concert, or experiencing intimidation by the clients of the psychiatric institute across the street or clients of the Salvation Army. 'At the end of the street, they fight a lot. It's usually people who are going to the Salvation Army. Most of the time, they're under influence of drugs.' 'There have been fights here with guns, knives, and hatchets.'

Perception of Other People's Thoughts

A total of 83.3% of the citizen interviewees possessed knowledge of other people's perspectives of the neighbourhood. Of these interviewees, only 16.7% seemed to be affected by negative responses to their neighbourhood (and the negative image they imply), while 83.3% were not. The affected stated:

- 'I didn't have the money to buy a home somewhere else. I really didn't want to come here. Too many aggressive youngsters. So, I think people are right when they think negatively about this neighbourhood.'
- 'I've had so many bad experiences here. So, yes, people are right when they think badly about this place. In fact, I'm looking to move myself.'

The non-affected stated:

- 'I can imagine people are intimidated when they see people in tracksuits hanging outside drinking Red Bull or beer. But I actually dare them to go and have a chat with these folks. They're not bad at all!'
- 'My friends make fun of me for living in Rotterdam South and say that it's a miracle my car still has its wheels. But that doesn't irritate me. I just think, "You should just visit us, then you'll see it's not that bad at all."'
- 'I think journalists who write negatively about Rotterdam South do not live here. That's why they focus only on the negative stuff. I have a different point of view. My neighbours have all lived here for a very long time, so I think that would not happen if it was all that bad.'

The entrepreneurs were not affected by negative experiences and also seemed to be more optimistic and less influenced by other people's thoughts about the area. 'Rotterdam South is always so badly portrayed. That's why people often ask me why I live close by, why I raise my child here, why I don't go and move to Oud-Bijerland. I think those people are so stupid.' And, 'A lot of people are starting to notice the potential this place has. I find that supportive.' Or, 'The majority of the people just doesn't know the place. They have no idea what we're doing here. To those people, I'd like to say, "Just get over here, and you'll see it's not bad at all."'

Social Response

Social response entails acting when the common good is threatened. Ninety-one percent of all respondents stated that they would act in such case. 'I once went outside with a baseball bat. The youngsters causing inconvenience ran away very quickly.' 'My husband always cleans up after other people. We find it important that it stays neat around here.' 'It kind of depends on the situation, but I'd like to think that I will always call the police.'

Common Values

All people exhibit highly social behaviour towards each other and therefore create mutual positive experiences. These efforts also lead to positive social behaviour by individuals towards their surroundings (e.g., by picking up trash or the tendency among the majority to respond to threats to the common good). Interestingly, these shared beliefs were not known by the respondents, who seemed to believe that they were the only person with such perspectives despite their positive experiences, this illustrates unawareness of common community foundations. Only one person believed that the neighbours had common values. Citizen**,** 'I think we all want it to be clean and safe around here. We're working on that with the local police officer.'

Social Equity

All interviewees perceived major differences in social equity in the neighbourhood.
'We have people from all over the world here. Some speak Dutch. Some people earn good money—you can tell by their car. Some people are jobless. Some people are educated. Some are not.'

Community Attachment

One respondent reported an attachment to the community within her own building. She recently moved from Cambodia to the Van Swietenlaan and was the only interviewee who recalled intense contact with her neighbours: 'We're like family. We celebrate life, eat, and drink together.' Others stated that they were not attached or even that no community was present.

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Mutual Engagement

Only one person perceived mutual engagement, while the others believed there was none. Citizen: 'My husband is the only one who cleans up after others.' Citizen: 'In my building, I'm the only one taking care of the communal space.' Citizen: 'My husband and his neighbour friend were called the mayors of the Van Swietenlaan. Unfortunately, my husband died, and his friend moved. Now, nobody is truly engaged anymore.'

Shared Beliefs and Expectations

None of the interviewees seemed to think that they shared beliefs and expectations beyond common interests, such as soccer or cats: 'Quite a few neighbours have cats or other pet animals. That's one thing we have in common.'

Awareness

There was no obvious awareness of community foundations, which might be due to the superficial nature of their interactions. However, the interviews clearly reveal that they had the same beliefs and points of view. This might be caused by the lack of SoC among citizens and entrepreneurs. It seems to be correlated to the scores of collective efficacy/empowerment. With little SoC, it is understandable that they would not experience common values, equity, attachment, mutual engagement, or shared beliefs and expectations. Like the citizens, the entrepreneurs seemed unaware of their commonalities.

General conclusions:

Upon closer examination, the social processes reveal the following notable aspects:

- At the macro-level, there is seemingly a social differentiation between citizens in terms of language barriers, educational level, and income. This differentiation is likely caused by differences in the knowledge and skills of foreigners who live in the neighbourhood in comparison to the Dutch residents. At the macro-level, there is no social stratification between the entrepreneurs, as they all have similar backgrounds.
- On a meso-level there seems to be a complete absence of a social network between individuals (both citizens and entrepreneurs) and any form of organised social gathering. Some respondents mentioned that there is a community garden run by 20 volunteers. However, all respondents stated they were not in touch with this group. One interviewee mentioned being in contact with the local police officer, and that they are 'working together' to improve safety. However, it seems it was only that one interviewee and a few of her direct neighbours were involved. The entrepreneurs on their turn experience a lack of a solid social network.
- At the micro-level, there was a common interest in a clean and safe place, which promoted common behaviour. However, since people were rarely aware of shared common beliefs, it is unclear if this social construct leads to certain behaviour. Such unawareness of common community foundations is likely to lead to superficial CE/E.
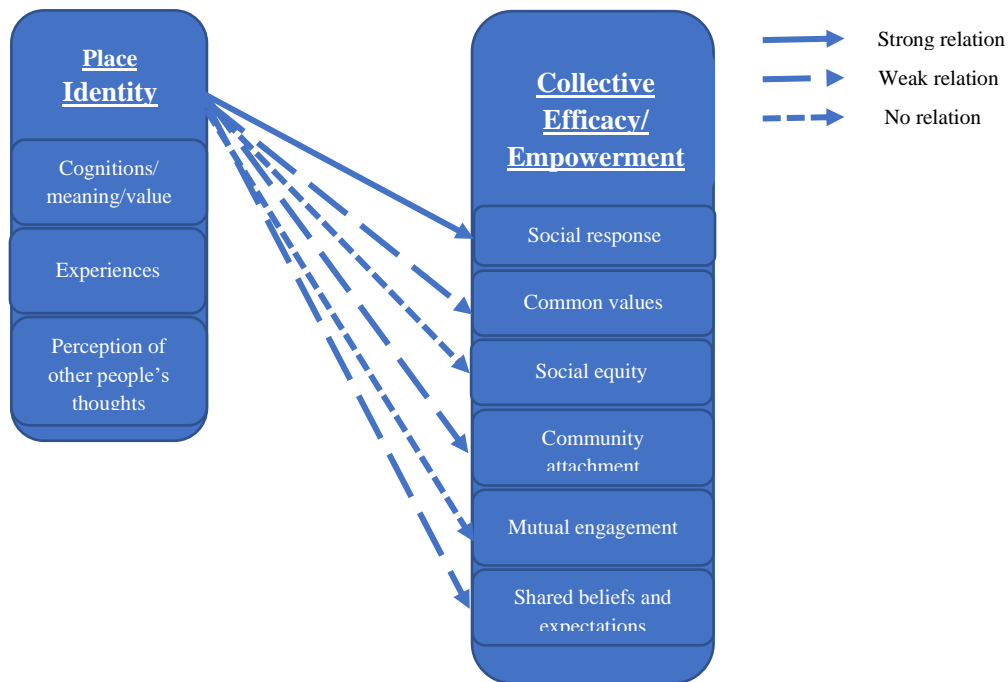
Figure 12 Results theoretical relationship place identity & collective efficacy/empowerment in research locale

4.4   Results and analysis of place dependence and neighbouring/citizen participation

Place dependence describes an individual's internal representation of place in relation to his/her personal goal-oriented behaviours that are supported by the physical and social resources of the place and his/her personal comparison of the quality of life in the community compared to other alternative communities.
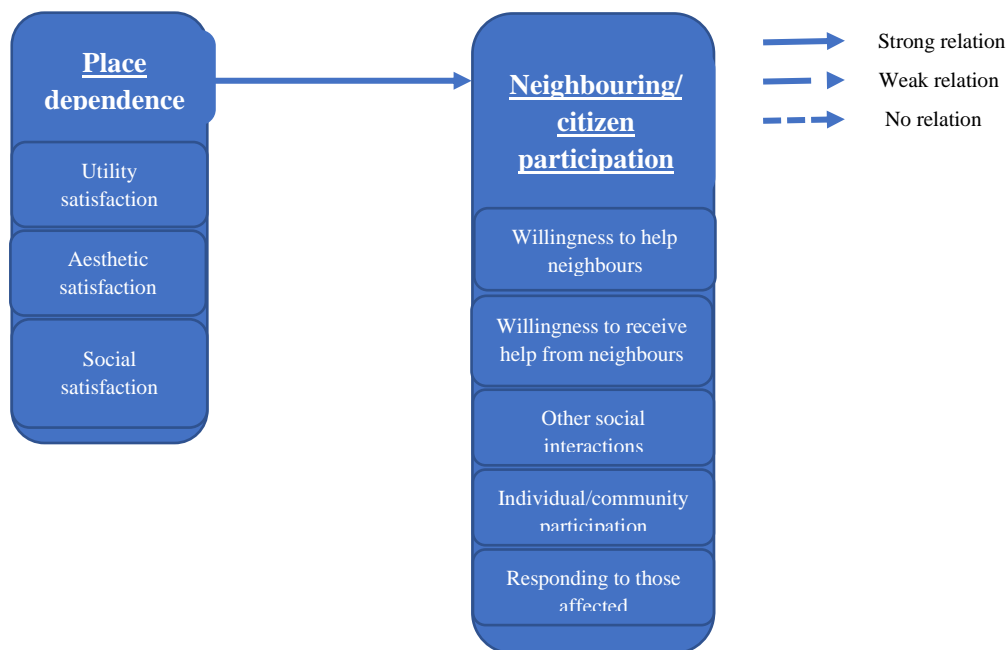

Figure 13 Theoretical relationship place dependence & citizen participation/ neighbouring

All respondents stated the neighbourhood meets their needs. They are very satisfied with the facilities and services present, though the aesthetics have room for improvement. The majority of the respondents were dissatisfied with the passers-by and the clients of the Salvation Army and psychiatric institute. Regardless of the few bad experiences, both citizens and entrepreneurs were excited to have their home or business in the research locale.

Citizens mentioned they were content with some parts of the aesthetics, stating, for example, 'I really like this part of Rotterdam South, I think it's prettier than other parts' and 'I like the diversity of the buildings here'. However, people also noted that most buildings deserved a touch up: 'If they would just paint the window frames, it would look so much nicer' and 'At a certain point, things need to be fixed. That doesn't happen enough—mostly when buildings are privately owned, although I don't really have the feeling that the municipality takes care of their real estate either'. The entrepreneurs considered the aesthetics to be poor but expressed hope that they would improve soon as a result of the area development project HoS, which is due in 2022.

Citizens approved of the facilities in their neighbourhood (75% approval rating). 'I'm happy with the bus and subway stations.' And: 'There's a park for my dog around the corner.' And: 'I hardly ever shop on the other side of the river. I have everything here.' They also expressed some criticisim: 'I miss bars and late-night restaurants around here.' And: 'I don't like the shops in the shopping mall. It's too much of the same.' And: 'We don't have a hardware store anymore.' Seventy-five percent of the entrepreneurs were content with services in their neighbourhood.

The majority of the interviewees were happy with the services in the area, noting, 'public transport is awesome around here', 'not long ago we went to Zeeland—that's just one bus ride away' and 'I think the neighbourhood is well taken care of in terms of lighting'. However, of the same group, 41.7% reported elements that could be improved, such as the number of parking spaces, a dangerous intersection at the Gooilandsingel, and the inadequate number of garbage bins, which are also not emptied often enough.

Eighty-eight percent of the citizens mentioned social satisfaction. However, most mentions were negative in nature: 'I just accepted how things go around here, so it's fine.' And: 'People who come and eat at the take away places throw out their trash from the car window. I once went to the restaurant to say something about it. They stated they're not responsible for their clients' behaviour outside the restaurant.' And: 'Very often, people just come here to work. Often that's the Polish. So, they move in for a few months and move out again. They don't connect to the place or to us. They usually make the biggest mess.' And: 'We live in the middle between the Polish supermarket where you can get hard alcohol at a very low price and the Salvation Army. They drink out on the street, just rip the packaging apart and throw it on the sidewalk. That feels pretty intimidating.' And: 'If it was a healthy mix of people—50% Dutch, 50% foreign—it would be better. Now, the few of us can't make a difference anymore.' The entrepreneurs also mentioned suffering inconveniences, not from their clients but from passers-by. Supposedly, those instances were caused by clients from the Salvation Army or the psychiatric institute. 'A man walked by bare chested, I asked him to put his shirt back on. He did.' 'I once had to call the police to get somebody removed from the terrace.'

None of the respondents met with fellow neighbours or entrepreneurs outside of the home or work environment. But all respondents exhibited a willingness to help their neighbours. 'I keep the keys for five neighbours. Whenever they need help, I step in.' 'When one of my neighbours fell, I helped her out for several weeks.' Among the entrepreneurs, the situation is a bit different. All the entrepreneurs cited a willingness to help their neighbouring entrepreneurs. However, because of negative experiences between them, there was a limit to the type of help. Thus, they were willing to receive help but only to a limited degree, as they did not want to be indebted to each other. Citizens do not have problems receiving help from neighbours, and 83.3% mentioned happily receiving help from neighbours. 'Sometimes my upstairs neighbour runs out, even on his socks, when he sees me carrying heavy groceries.' 'Whenever I go on a holiday, my neighbours water my plants.'

A grand majority of the respondents (75% of the entrepreneurs and 100% of the citizens) stated a willingness to participate in neighbourhood activities. But none actually did. Their reasons varied from not having time to the available activities being 'not for them' or 'not of their liking' or not wanting 'to be forced'. 'I don't mind doing

groceries for my neighbour, but they can't force me to partake in neighbourhood activities.' 'I'm not really into these themed markets organised by the neighbourhood garden. I don't like pumpkins or geraniums.' The entrepreneurs made it clear they were only interested in participating as businesses not as individuals. The majority cited limited time as a reason for refraining from organising activities in the neighbourhood. All of the interviewees mentioned that a neighbourhood barbecue or food festival might be appealing to them. None of the respondents (both citizens and entrepreneurs) met each other in other social circles, such as a sports club or other organised form of participation.
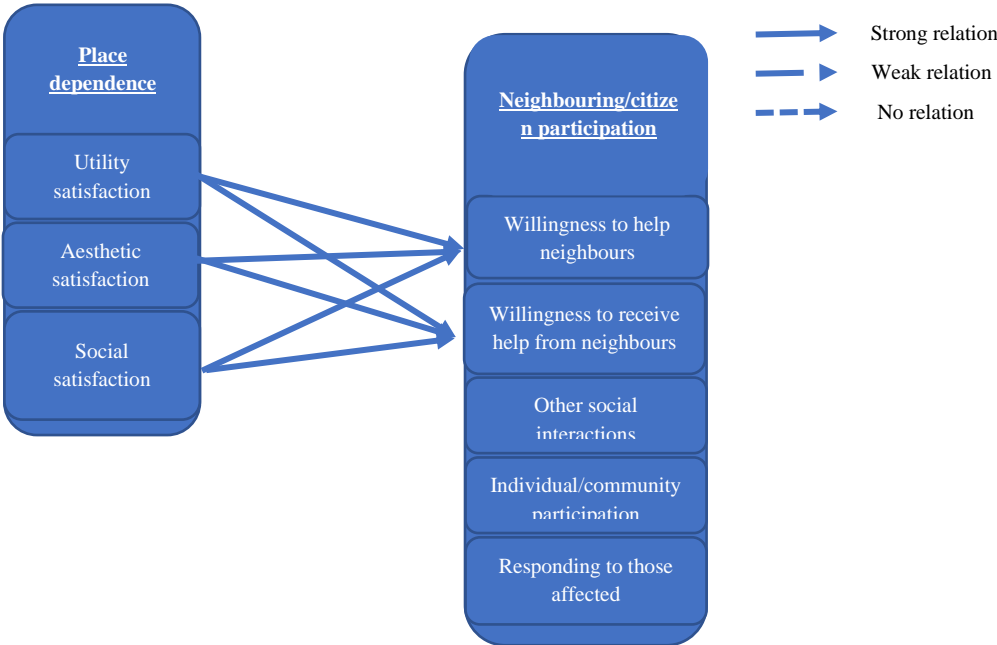

Figure 14 Results theoretical relationship place dependence & citizen participation/neighbouring in research locale

Chapter 5: Conclusion

By analysing the perceived sense of place of both residents and entrepreneurs, this thesis has shown that in Rotterdam South the presence of elements of sense of place result in a relatively weak and hyper local form of social capital. The next passage will illustrate these findings.

Theory states place attachment is based upon residence time or history of place and knowledge of place. Place attachments are ought to awaken sense of community. Analysis of the interviews shows that the components of place attachment result in sense of belonging towards people's own space such as their home, building or business in Rotterdam South. However, the majority of the interviewees, both residents and entrepreneurs, have little or no faith in working together to solve a problem. Therefore, this research concludes that place attachment results in a hyper local (and micro scaled) sense of belonging towards a place rather than sense of community within that place.

Place identity is formed by experiences and one's behaviour. According to literature place identity is supposed to harvest collective efficacy/empowerment. Within the research locale place identity results in: social response (strong relation), common values (weak relation), community attachment (weak relation), shared beliefs and expectations (weak relation). It doesn't result in social equity (no relation) and or mutual engagement (no relation). For this reason, this research states that place identity reflects in social response and that for very few it results in (experiencing) common values, community attachment and shared beliefs and expectations.

According to theory place dependence results in citizen participation and neighbouring when people are satisfied by a place its utilities, aesthetics and community. Respondents answers show presence of utility & services satisfaction, little satisfaction regarding the aesthetics although there's hope for the future and no satisfaction regarding the community. Within the research locale this results in a hyper local form of neighbouring, thus the willingness to help and receive help from direct neighbours. It doesn't result in citizen participation.

Furthermore, within the research locale there are no professionals actively trying to foster sense of place. The instruments that could (in and outside the research area), are only used by a very small group, namely the neighbourhood garden volunteers. This group of volunteers does not organise activities that are attracting the neighbourhood community, only a small group visits the pumpkin and or geranium market. In other words, for the residents and entrepreneurs of the research locale there are no opportunities to get inspired to get in touch with each other. In addition, the instruments meant to foster social capital and that could foster sense of place are only available to Dutch speaking citizens and citizens who are able to both read and write and apply online for funding for neighbourhood activities.

The conclusions of this research show that a hyper local form of sense of place results in an equally hyper local and weak form of social capital. This could indicate that people have a very narrow perception of what their world consists of. This narrow perception of one's world could also explain why people are hardly connecting one to another and why people, if they connect, only connect to those in their direct surroundings. People in the research locale act and react on that part of the world they can oversee, namely that part that affects their homes, building and or business. This narrow perception might also be the cause of why social behaviours remain 'superficial': 'my world is my home and maybe a radius of 10 metres around it, within this space I don't need anybody or anything as I can handle it on my own or with my family and friends'. They don't experience a necessity to be connected to their neighbourhood community. In effect, the results tell us we need instruments that broaden people's world and this means we might need to inspire and empower them before we start facilitating them. This has implications for the role of professionals that operate within a neighbourhood: instead of facilitating and administrating applications they would need to inspire and empower locals.

Chapter 6: Discussions

These conclusions are drawn upon the results of 16 interviews with respectively 12 citizens (6% of the research locale) and 4 entrepreneurs. The majority of the interviewees was Dutch, those were the people willing to be interviewed by the researcher. While the demographics of the interviewees limit the generalizability of the results, this approach provides new insight on what scale sense of place effects peoples social behaviour, namely on a micro scale (hyper locally, only their direct surroundings).

To analyse the research findings the interviews were coded (by open coding) and then compared to one another (axial coding). This is how patterns were discovered, such as people having a relatively small world and therefore not feeling the need to connect to their neighbourhood community. This (and other) findings of this research are somewhat surprising as they show that the respondents have a relatively strong sense of place (regarding their own home, building or business) resulting in a similarly hyper local yet weak form of social capital. Theory suggests a strong sense of place results in an equally strong form of social capital as people want to maintain their own wellbeing and that of their surroundings.

What this study isn't telling us, is how people will get inspired and or empowered. Nor is it telling us what specific requirements professionals need to have. It also doesn't proof the efficacy of the application of placemaking methods regarding plans that encompass both an urban- as well as a social development.

Chapter 7: Recommendations

7.1   Further research

There has been some research on the topic of governing sense of place, mostly in regards to special places like nature parks or holiday residences. So far, research that shines a light on the benefits of governing SoP in relatively normal areas like an urban area is lacking. Therefore, the first recommendation would be to conduct further research regarding the benefits of governing SoP in urban areas like Rotterdam South for comparability and generalizability of the research findings. The main aim would be to gain better understanding of the role of SoP in the creation of place-bound, macro level social networks which lead to socially sustainable communities, and how these elements can be governed (both from an instrumental perspective as well as professional conduct) so that policy goals are effectively met. I recommend this research to be based on multiple case studies in several challenged urban areas to see which patterns and themes arise in order to develop general policy guidelines.

In addition, further research is needed to determine what people need for a broader form of sense of place, one that regards the neighbourhood as a whole. That way, sense of place will harvest social capital that benefits a complete community.

7.2   Recommendations for research locale

In the research locale both residents and entrepreneurs exhibit a hyper local form of sense of place and an equally hyper local and weak form of social capital. As previously mentioned, this indicates that people have a very narrow perception of what their world consists of. Therefore, based on this research, I recommend that an effort is made to create instruments that inspire and empower people to broaden their horizon and partake in community life for the benefits of the neighbourhood as a whole. In order to do so, professionals need to be able to understand and connect to the people which requires a specific skillset and current instruments need to be altered. In addition, attention needs to be directed to shared ownership of community well-being. It's not just a governmental 'thing', nor is it just for citizens or entrepreneurs – in fact, every actor has to take his/hers responsibility. These recommendations are further explained in the next passage:

Professionals & instruments
In order to connect, one must speak another one's language, understand cultures, differences between cultures and things in common between cultures. It requires knowledge of how to deal with people's troubles in order to empower them before thinking of getting them to participate in a neighbourhood barbeque.

This has consequences for the way instruments are presented to the public regarding both language and (media)outlet. I therefore recommend that these instruments will be made accessible in multiple languages and via multiple outlets (not only online). In addition, professionals need to a) get in touch with people and b) need to be able to 'speak' to the people. I therefore, recommend that professionals go door to door to get in touch with citizens. It might also help to organise walk-in hours in places where people already meet, identify neighbourhood key players (potential ambassadors) that can act as an interpreter of both language and culture, employ social workers with the same ethnic background and use the snowballing method to mobilise these neighbourhood 'ambassadors'. Reason for taking the first step being, that citizens need to get inspired and empowered to partake in community life. In doing so, professionals could build up trust. And, as trust requires professionals to be active for a long(er) period of time in a neighbourhood, I recommend that professionals are given time (more than the 4-year tender cycle allows them) to build up trust so that they can focus on developing relationships and trust between residents and build on the social fabric of the city.

Moreover, professionals in charge of neighbourhood networks should be trained to recognise and be able to deal with people's troubles. Only then, they might be able to identify who or what is needed to empower and inspire people or groups of people to partake in community life. In other words, area networkers should have a similar educational background as the former community workers the municipality of Rotterdam employed before budget cuts.

They would also need an entrepreneurial mindset that enables them to connect and lobby for shared ownership of community well-being. Therefore, they would need to reflect more on the work they do (and the way they do it). This reflectiveness is necessary when one wants to tailor approaches to a neighbourhood. I recommend training in level sensitivity, where professionals learn to identify what type of problem they are dealing with, whether the solution is tactical, operational, or strategic, and therefore what they need to do to solve it. This way, they are able to act as the bridge between citizens, other relevant neighbourhood actors and policymakers. Because, when an area networker has analysed on which level an issue can be solved, it is also possible to organise the solution based on expertise and shared responsibility. This means that professionals need to collaborate, not only within their own organisation but with professional and citizen networks in a neighbourhood.

When these basic requirements are met (language, outlet, trust and ownership) attention needs to be directed to the deeper purpose of instruments such as creating common values, beliefs & expectations, community attachment, social equity and mutual engagement. Moreover, instruments should facilitate long term connections. Currently most instruments can be looked at as facilitators of short-term interventions. Establishing long term connections can be accomplished by instilling community foundations such as neighbourhood ethics (like TOS does). This way, a sense of community can be instilled. This is necessary in order to establish place bound social capital. An example of such an instrument is the Dreamstreet initiative, where citizens together, identify short-term solutions to make their streets better that are then implemented on a trial and error basis. This process of collaboration in improving the street often leads to discussions about community foundations ('What is important to us?'), which leads to discovery of commonalities and therefore to connections with one another that exceed the Dreamstreet project-time. This might merge the many hyperlocal micro-social networks.

As within the research locale, placemaking methods are often implemented on a temporal basis -civil servants use them as a way to get through a part of the process of redeveloping a neighbourhood instead of a continuous way of working- I recommend that both placemaking methods and principles are implemented in the neighbourhood-oriented approach that the municipality of Rotterdam has already embraced. Therefore, civil servants of the department of social development should get a seat within urban development project-teams. This way, a more integral strategy can be created to create public spaces that facilitate, inspire and empower local communities to act together to create a better place for all. Moreover, by applying the 11 principles of placemaking and/or the method of value engineering, neighbourhood residents (citizens, entrepreneurs, and professionals) can regain common ground on the principle of working together to make the area better. In conjunction, neighbourhood residents may be inspired to participate in neighbourhood activities and thus broaden their (sense of place) horizon. In other words: when we want people within a neighbourhood to act as a community we need to find better ways to instil sense of place and thus mobilise place bound social capital. If

we don't, people will continue to further their lives in their very small worlds and or social networks elsewhere. This behaviour might contribute to an exclusive city instead of an inclusive city, segregation instead of integration and a weak community versus a resilient and strong community.

Commentary

I started randomly ringing doorbells (random sampling) and using the open unstructured interviewing method. After three interviews I changed to more structured interviewing as the conversations ended within 12 to 15 minutes and data was of low quality. People aren't used to reflect on how they feel about their neighbourhood and why they feel what they feel, let alone give words to it that go beyond: fine, nice, great or the opposite: not good, bad or no. When I changed to more structured interviewing techniques interviews lasted from 45 minutes up to an hour and the quality of the data became much better. Also, unplanned my random sampling got spoiled by the snowball-effect. At the second day I went into the neighbourhood to interview, people knew who I was and why I wanted to speak to people so they referred me to befriended neighbours. When that happened, I happily took on the offer. It was extremely hard to convince people to participate. First reactions were always suspicious and rather negative than positive. However, once inside the homes – all guards came down and I met some very friendly people that share a love for their neighbourhood (10 out of 12).

What also helped is that I went interviewing wearing sneakers, jeans, no make-up, no jewellery and a backpack. This made me look younger and more approachable then in office attire. I've been told more than once that if I would have been a boy (both by males and females) that they wouldn't have talked to me.

Whether people show SoP and to which level is highly depending on their personality. I've noticed more than once a correlation between behaviour and body language and the presence or absence of elements of SoP that influenced their social behaviour. For an example, one interviewee let me into his extremely clean home. Insisting on continuing doing the dishes while I was interviewing him. His obsession with cleaning showed even more when the dishes were done and he continued cleaning the rest of the kitchen, tiles, stove, sink, cabinets. This person stated to not feel at home because the neighbours were so unorganised and dirty. And he was the only one bothering to clean up or fix stuff in the building. He therefore, felt he had no connection to his neighbours and didn't seek contact with them. Which led to him not having a positive SoP and therefore little or no social behaviour. In another case I met a woman whom stated to be open and social but eye-balled me for the first (awkward) 20 seconds before letting me in stating: "I had to look you in the eye before deciding whether I liked you or not. I don't talk to people if I don't like their faces". This behaviour made she had little or no contact with neighbours and this was enforced by the fact her son lived a few doors down, she also didn't need neighbours to help her. She showed great positive SoP and little or no social capital.

Secondly, I noticed people miss a certain reflective capacity. I've asked all interviewees to describe their personality, all of them considered themselves to be social. 11 out of 12 never went to the neighbourhood garden to participate in one of the many activities. Stating the activities weren't of their liking and that even though they were social that was just not something for them.

Thirdly, I noticed that when asked 10 out of 12 interviewees stated to be willing to help in neighbourhood activities when asked by another neighbour, but none of them ever considered organising one themselves. There's a certain passiveness in their attitude, i.e. lack of ownership.

And last but not least, all of the interviewees showed signs of social behaviour but only in their direct circle, most likely to a few neighbours in the same building and in a few cases also towards neighbours a few doors down the street. This makes their social circle extremely small and they seemed to all live lives very closed off of outside influences (other than work and family). This made them very unaware of services and facilities the government offers to facilitate neighbourhood initiatives or even the activities (everybody knew the pumpkin and geranium market, none of them was aware of all the other activities in their neighbourhood garden).

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Annex 1: Data dump

Key-concept	Independent variables/root codes	Indicators/child codes	Presence in citizen-interviews												Total
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Sense of Place	PA	• Residence time • History of residence/ancestral roots • Neighbourhood ties • Knowledge of a place • Meanings towards a place	4	9	15	12	7	18	13	6	20	21	20	11	156
	PI	• Cognitions/meaning/value • Experiences (good and bad) • Perceptions of other people's thoughts	0	4	4	17	3	9	1	9	9	8	3	2	69
	PD	• Utility satisfaction (aesthetics, services, facilities) • Social satisfaction	3	3	5	6	4	10	7	10	8	9	8	2	75
Key-concept	Independent variables/root codes	Indicators/child codes	Presence in citizen-interviews												Total
Social Capital	Sense of Community (SOC)	• Sense of belonging • Working together to solve a common problem	5	9	3	1	1	9	2	4	4	4	1	0	43
	Collective Efficacy/ Empowerment (CE/E)	• Social response; • Common values; • Social equity; • Community attachment; • Mutual engagement, • Shared beliefs and expectations, • Awareness of these community foundations	1	1	4	11	5	6	2	4	4	7	4	3	51
	Neighbouring (N)/ Citizen Participation (CP)	• Willingness to help neighbours • Willingness to receive help from neighbours • Other social interactions with neighbours • Individual/community participation • Involving those affected • Responding to those affected	4	5	6	3	5	7	5	4	6	9	4	3	45

Table 12 Overview presence SoP and SC in interviews

Nationality	Gender	Age	Education	Job	Personality	Marital/Relationship status	Children
Cambodian	Female	37	University	Factory worker	Happy, open, funny, serious	Relationship	None
Turkish	Male	59	High School	Production worker	Friendly, respectful, open, easy going	Single	None
Dutch	Female	71	Domestic science school	Pension	Fun, open	Relationship	2 children
Dutch	Male	49	Primary education	Declared unfit	Open, spontaneous, easy going	Married	None
Dutch	Female	37	Secondary education	Debt Counsellor	Straight forward, open, honest, fair, helpful	Single	None
Surinamese	Female	27	University	Recruitment manager	Hones, responsible, dedicated, helpful, humorous	Relationship	None
Dutch	Male	48	Secondary education	Social worker	Calm, patient, sportive, introvert, go-getter	Single	None
Dutch	Male	31	Higher professional education	International logistic coordinator	Introvert, social, analytic	Single	None
Dutch	Male	27	Higher professional education	Web developer	Spontaneous, impulsive, trustworthy, fun	Relationship	None
Dutch	Female	32	Secondary education	Day-care worker	Extravert, positive, open and honest	Relationship	1 child
Dutch	Female	69	Elementary school	Pension	Honest, straight forward, open, social	Widow	none
Dutch	Male	40	Secondary education	House painter	Honest, spontaneous, humorous, easy	Single	None

Table 13 Background citizen interviewees

Key-concept	Independent variables/root codes	Indicators/child codes	Entrepreneur-Interviews				Total
			1	2	3	4	
Sense of Place	PA	• Residence time • History of residence/ancestral roots • Neighbourhood ties • Knowledge of a place	8	17	6	8	39

		• Meanings towards a place					
	PI	• Cognitions/meaning/value • Experiences (good and bad) • Perceptions of other people's thoughts	4	13	4	5	26
	PD	• Utility satisfaction (aesthetics, services, facilities) • Social satisfaction	2	5	1	3	11
Key-concept	Independent variables/root codes	Indicators/child codes					Total
Social Capital	Sense of Community (SOC)	• Sense of belonging • Working together to solve a common problem	3	4	0	2	9
	Collective Efficacy/ Empowerment (CE/E)	• Social response; • Common values; • Social equity; • Community attachment; • Mutual engagement, • Shared beliefs and expectations, • Awareness of these community foundations	2	3	2	3	10
	Neighbouring (N)/ Citizen Participation (CP)	• Willingness to help neighbours • Willingness to receive help from neighbours • Other social interactions with neighbours • Individual/community participation • Involving those affected • Responding to those affected	3	6	2	3	14

Table 14 Presence SoP and SC in entrepreneur interviews

Actor	Roll	Goal
Thuis op Straat	Professional/expert Promotor	Getting youngsters activated and keeping them out of trouble through participation.
Area Networker	Process Promotor	Empowering people by providing them with necessary answers and helping them to activate themselves and their neighbourhood. They operate as connectors.
Area Manager	Process Promotor	Empowering people and organisations by providing them with necessary answers and helping them to activate themselves and their neighbourhood. They operate is connectors.
Dock	Professional/expert Promotor	Getting people to participate either because they have to as a form of compensation for welfare or as a form of integration and good citizenship.
Culture scouts	Professional/expert Promotor	Get culture integrated in life citizens.

Table 15 Actor constellation

*Promoters are actors who actively and intensively foster a process: they are key persons (Fürst et al., 2006). Promoters can be differentiated into power promoters, professional or expert promoters and process promoters (Hauschildt and Keim 1997).

Actor	Cooperation	Learning process
Thuis op Straat	Works together with the community centre (Dock) and the area networker.	Very much aware of need of reflectiveness and adaptiveness. Open to collaboration and very flexible.
Area Networker	Work together with all the other actors.	Very much aware of level sensitivity.
Area Manager		Very much aware of level sensitivity.

Dock	Works together with Thuis op Straat and the area networker.	Very much aware of need of reflectiveness and adaptiveness. Open to collaboration. Less flexible because of the assignment (linked to their contract) they have from the municipality.
Culture scouts	Work mainly on their own directed by their caseload and year-plan. They both enable citizens as well as they have a strategic role to fulfil for other (municipality) organisations.	Very much aware of the fact there's not enough time for a more neighbourhood-oriented approach. Less flexible because of the fact they're also there to support local artists. The artist are better equipped to seek help, therefor citizens are less served.

Table 16 Modes of interaction actors

The instruments are used to induce socially desired behaviour. We divide the instruments in four categories: physical, carrot, stick and sermon:

		Physical	**Carrot**	**Stick**	**Sermon**
City develop-ment	Land use planning	◼			
	Area development plans Heart of South	◼			
	Buitenbeter-app		◼	◼	
	Area committee subsidies		◼		
	Opzoomer Mee		◼		
Societal development	Thuis Op Straat activities		◼		
	Community centre activities		◼		◼
	Heart of South social program		◼		◼
	Culture scouts		◼		
	Area networkers		◼		

Table 17 Instruments linked to SoP

"Governance instruments are the operational tools of public policy" (Majoor & Schwartz, Instruments of Urban Governance, 2015, p. 109). The table below lists in short who uses or puts to use which instruments in the research locale:

Who	Instrument	What
Pps Heart of South	Land use plan	A land use plan is adopted by the city council. It determines where one can build and how buildings and grounds can be used (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019).
Pps Heart of South	Social Program	Program that facilitates and or stimulates talent development, participation through events and matchmaking with jobseekers and jobs on offer in the project area.
Area networkers, participation realtors	Buitenbeter-app	It's a mobile application that citizens can use to file complaints about their public space. Following subjects are included: wrongly disposed garbage, damage to trees and other greens, damage to paving (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019).
PPS Heart of South	Area development plans	Every area development project has its own plan. Development plans are more detailed than land use plans. They show where lighting goes, trees, parking spaces etc.
Culture Scouts, participation realtors and area networkers	Area committee subsidy	Members are chosen by their locals. They advise city council. Their main task is to get their local communities involved in local politics and to stimulate citizen initiatives. For the latter they can appoint subsidies up to €10.000,-. (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019).
Participation realtors and area networkers	Opzoomer Mee	Opzoomer Mee stimulates citizens of Rotterdam to join forces and keep their street/block/neighbourhood cleaner, safer and more social. They also facilitate citizen initiatives (Opzoomer Mee, 2019) . Core tasks of Opzoomer Mee are:

			- Dealing with applications citizen initiatives below €10.000, - in 14 areas - Supporting & advising area committee and guarding progress applications citizen initiatives - Develop methodologies to improve diversity in applications - Campaign to get more notoriety of Opzommer Mee and possibilities for citizens to apply for subsidy with initiative (Panteia, 2015)
Thuis Op Straat workers	Thuis Op Straat activities		Thuis Op Straat (at home on the streets) organises activities for children and actively tries to involve community members whilst doing so. They strive for safer and more liveable environments in neighbourhoods (Thuis Op Straat, 2019).
Participation realtors	Community centre activities		"We offer activities that empower people such as language courses, sewing class, physical education, bicycle courses etc. It might also be that people are obligated to attend to these activities as a compensation for the welfare they receive. We also help citizens to take initiative and come up with plans beneficial for their neighbourhood. We mostly advise them to apply at 'Opzoomer Mee' or get subsidy through the neighbourhood comity" (Koendan-Panday, 2019).

Table 18 Overview instruments

	YES	NO
SOC	• Working together to solve a common problem (Opzoomer Mee, cleaning up the streets and the area networker that facilitates contact with for an example the police) • Sense of belonging/organizing an association with or without membership (the neighbourhood garden via subsidies, TOS)	/
CE/E	• Social response (Beterbuiten-app) • Community attachment (all instruments) • Mutual engagement (Opzoomer Mee)	• Common values • Social Equity • Shared beliefs, concerns, expectations • Awareness of community foundations
N/CP	• Other social interactions (all instruments) • Individual/community participation (all instruments)	• Involving those affected • Responding to those affected

Table 19 Overview of SoP elements governed

Key - Concept		Indicator	Open code	Axial code
Sense of Place	Place attachment	• Residence time • History of residence/ancestral roots • Neighbourhood ties • Knowledge of a place • Meaning of a place	Hyper local sustainable behaviour based on positive experiences in that same hyperlocal circle. These experiences are based on: saying hello, borrowing items and receiving help like changing a lamp. It also shows in picking up trash and or speaking up to passengers who throw out trash of their car window. Little or no connection to other neighbourhood residents as it	Caused by social networks elsewhere, stating that contact with direct neighbours is 'enough' to have a pleasant life in and around their home, business and or building. Feeling responsible for public space directly in front of their home. Specifically, for the entrepreneurs' place meaning: they have a connection to the area development as they feel part of something bigger.

			is not needed and or because they don't speak Dutch.	Little or no contact with other neighbours (partially because they don't speak Dutch). Many micro-levelled social networks that don't intertwine which causes people not to know and trust each other and therefore experiencing nothing in common. It's a vicious circle.

	Place Identity	• Cognitions, meaning and value
		• Experiences (both good and bad)
		• Perceptions of other people's thoughts
			People have an idea of why they themselves are good neighbours and why they like or dislike their neighbours and why a place has meaning to them. Reasons being:
			  - Neighbouring
			  - Social response
			
			However, there's no awareness of shared beliefs and expectations like:
			  - Keeping the area clean
			  - Keeping the area safe
			
			Thus, people don't see a reason to connect to one another, not seeing they have nothing in common.
				They like themselves and their neighbours due to positive experiences based on neighbouring.
				
				The majority of the interviewees is not influenced by other people's thoughts as they feel those people don't really know their neighbourhood – thus, they deem those perspectives as invalid.
				
				Community foundations are present but not experienced as such as people are unaware of shared beliefs and expectations.

	Place Dependence	• Utility satisfaction: of both the aesthetics and the services and facilities • Social satisfaction	Great utility satisfaction and satisfaction about services. Little or no social satisfaction.	Little or no social satisfaction due to nuisance of clients of army of salvation and psychiatric institute and non-Dutch speaking citizens as well as passers-by who go or return from a concert. In addition, interviewees mentioned that people who come and live there only to work for a few months and then leave show anti-social behaviour (such as throwing out garbage, drinking in public, making obscene remarks).
Social Capital	Sense of Community (SOC)	• Sense of belonging/organising an association with or without membership • Working together to solve a common problem	Most interviewees feel they belong to their home and building/business. They don't experience a sense of belonging towards the complete neighbourhood. Respondents have no trust in working together to solve a problem.	The belief in working together to solve a problem is not present as people don't trust each other and are not (enough) in contact with each other to know that they have shared values and beliefs. Therefore it is impossible for them to believe in working together with neighbours

			other than their direct neighbours.
Collective Efficacy/ Empowerment (CE/E)	• Social trust; • Social response; • Common values; • Social equity; • Community attachment; • Mutual engagement, • Shared beliefs and expectations and an awareness of these community foundations	Social response is met by all interviewees. The rest is negatively mentioned.	There's little social trust as people don't really know each other (other than direct neighbours). As they don't know each other they don't experience common values; social equity; community attachment; mutual engagement and shared beliefs and expectations.
Neighbouring (N)	• Willingness to help neighbours • Willingness to receive help from neighbours • Other social interactions with neighbours	All interviewees appreciate neighbouring and act accordingly.	Neighbouring only happens in direct surroundings.
Citizen Participation (CP)	• Individual or community participation • Involves those affected • Responds to those affected	There's no citizen participation but the majority state to be willing to participate when being asked to help.	People state not to be interested in the organised activities by the neighbourhood garden and or state just not to be the type.

Table 20 Overview of results open coding and axial coding