ERASMUS UNIVERSITY ROTTERDAM

Policy implementation in Diversity Governance. Do We Underestimate City Enforcement Officers?

MSC GOVERNANCE OF MIGRATION AND DIVERSITY

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Summary

In the last two years, the municipality of Rotterdam published two policy documents on diversity governance aimed at fighting racism and discrimination and creating an equal and livable city. The municipality discusses different policy objectives in these documents and mentions the role of city enforcement officers (*handhavers)* (CEOs) in the implementation of the policies. However, CEOs do not directly engage with the policy objectives, which could be explained by the degree of policy alienation experienced. This research uses the literature on policy implementation and policy alienation. Since the policy implementation literature does not elaborate on the different consequences certain factors have on the outcomes and the policy alienation literature lacks to explain what factors influence the degree of alienation among implementers, this research tries to fill the gaps by connecting the frameworks. This is done by researching if and how the factors of the policy implementation process influence the degree of alienation experienced by CEOs, with the following research question: 'How are the diversity policies of Rotterdam implemented by city enforcement officers, and how can the role of policy alienation in the implementation process be explained?'

This single case study was conducted within cluster city enforcement Rotterdam Noord. This department of the organization employs 75 CEOs and 16 of them participated in the study through interviews. During the interviews, sensitivity for diversity, prejudices and vulnerable groups were discussed. The findings show that the objectives are implemented in different ways. The CEOs implement the objectives either according to their own ideas or they do not implement the objectives in their daily operations because they do not know how. In this implementation, CEOs demonstrated to experience two types of policy alienation. Most of them feel like they do not have the information and knowledge to implement the objectives and create value in the fight against racism and discrimination and they tend to simplify the policy issues to make sense of it. The research demonstrates that the degree of alienation is mainly influenced by the individual norms and attitudes of the CEOs.

Having answered the key question, this research provides recommendations for cluster city enforcement to improve the implementation process, which will add to generating more equality and less discrimination in Rotterdam. The creation of a platform to share diversity related work stories and discuss values, norms, attitudes, and perceptions with a kick-off workshop guided by an expert for all CEOs is recommend. Also, it is recommended to organize information sessions about diversity related topics, such as a non-Dutch cultural holiday, a session about labor migrants in Rotterdam, or about refugees and housing in the city.

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Table of Contents

List of abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning of abbreviation
RDIR	*Relax Dit is Rotterdam*
RTR	*Rotterdam tegen Racisme*
CE	City enforcement
CEO	City enforcement officer
RQ	Research question
SQ	Sub-question
O	Objective
I	Interview

List of figures and tables

1.   Introduction

Over the last decades, migration-related diversity grows and manifests itself in the big cities. Many cities experience large inflows of migration and perceive the resulting diversity as part of the city's identity (van de Laar et al., 2019). In most of these cities, one talks about a relatively new term, superdiversity, which rejects the traditional focus of diversity in country of origin and highlights the importance of a multitude of differentiating factors that are inherent to an individual (Vertovec, 2007). This so-called superdiversity also lives in Rotterdam. Rotterdam occupies a significant position in global networks of exchange, including migration. But at the same time, the city and its citizens have experienced instances of friction and conflict, regardless of the positive responses (van de Laar et al., 2019).

In 2019, the municipality of Rotterdam published a policy document *Relax dit is Rotterdam* (RDIR), which focuses on living together in a superdiverse city by three pillars: equality, connection and enforcement (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019). Following the Black Lives Matter protests in June 2020, more attention was given to discrimination and racism all over the world. Also in Rotterdam this sparked debate, which resulted in a new policy document, an extension of RDIR*,* namely *Rotterdam tegen Racisme* (RTR). This policy document focuses on the fight against and the prevention of racism and discrimination in the city by initiating change on municipal-, micro-, meso-, and macro-level (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020).

Importantly, both policy documents argue that Rotterdam should have a safe and equal society for all (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, 2020). But the municipality recognizes that the challenges to diversity are systematically part of Rotterdam's society. Some of the problems identified in Rotterdam are exclusion in the political and public spheres, the problematization of diversity, and manifestations of inequality, prejudices, discrimination and racism (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020; Schiller, 2017; van de Laar et al., 2019). The two policy documents described above aim to fight these challenges. More importantly, to create an equal and livable city for all Rotterdam citizens.

A department within the municipality that contributes to creating a safe and livable environment is cluster city enforcement (CE). The city enforcement officers (CEOs) enforce the rules and laws focused on the city's livability, which is different from the police who focus on the security in the city. This research focuses on neighborhood CEOs, who address and penalize the everyday annoyances like infringements regarding waste, parking, street drinking etc. Also part of their tasks are preventing, addressing and penalizing anti-social and intrusive behavior of

Rotterdam citizens (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019). (An extensive overview of the tasks and activities of all CEOs in Rotterdam is found in appendix II) In these daily operations, CEOs must implement the policies of the municipality. In RDIR and RTR, different policy objectives regarding diversity governance are formulated for all employees of the municipality, thus also for CEOs.

However, it seems that CE does not directly engage with the policy objectives defined in the policy documents. There are no protocols in cluster CE that deal with the challenges of diversity. In other words, CEOs do not enforce on manifestations of inequality, discrimination, racism and exclusion (anonymous, personal communication, May 4, 2021). In exploratory dialogues, several municipal actors came to the conclusion that it is expected of CEOs to implement three objectives: sensitivity for diversity, prejudices and vulnerable groups (Policy advisor Handhaving, personal communication, May 12, 2021; Policy Advisor 'Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling', personal communication, May 17, 2021). (This is elaborated on in chapter four)

A possible explanation for the lack of engagement would be the degree of policy alienation experienced among CEOs. Policy alienation is the estrangement from the objectives due to its complexity (Scholten, 2020). In other words, CEOs might not understand or disconnect from the policy objectives, which results in disengagement. Furthermore, policy alienation presents itself in the policy implementation process, and therefore it should be explored whether certain factors that influence the implementation process also influence the degree of alienation.

1.1   Aim of the study

This thesis explores whether CEOs experience feelings of alienation from the objectives identified in the policy documents. Moreover, it aims to research how the degree of alienation is influenced by the policy implementation process. Therefore, this study tries to establish a relationship between, on the one hand, the factors of the implementation process (political control, organizational control and individual norms and attitudes) and, on the other hand, the degree of policy alienation CEOs experience. Since the documents aim for attentiveness and awareness of diversity and discrimination in all layers of the municipality and aim for equality and inclusion as the norm, it is expected of CEOs to implement sensitivity for diversity and its challenges (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, 2020). This research takes the shape of a single case study of cluster CE in Rotterdam. To explore the correlation between the implementation process and alienation, this research aims to answer how these diversity policies are

implemented by conducting interviews with a sample of CEOs working for the municipality of Rotterdam. Moreover, how policy alienation can be explained in the implementation process. As such, the main question of this research is 'How are the diversity policies of Rotterdam implemented by city enforcement officers, and how can the role of policy alienation in the implementation process be explained?'

1.2   Relevance of the study

1.2.1   Social relevance

Diversity policies have gained increasingly more attention in society. Especially regarding discrimination, racism, and exclusion. This research explores how diversity policies are implemented by Rotterdam's CEOs. Since equality and inclusion are the city's goals, it is important to evaluate the outcomes of implementation. This research investigates the degree of policy alienation among the CEOs that have contact with the diverse citizens of Rotterdam. By exploring whether and why CEOs become alienated from the objectives, this research enables cluster CE to reflect on how certain factors hamper or facilitate the implementation of the policy objectives.

Moreover, this research provides recommendations, for cluster CE, to improve the implementation process to have less alienated employees and a more effective implementation of the policy objectives. These recommendations can be translated to other departments in the municipality and add to generating more equality and less discrimination in Rotterdam.

1.2.2   Academic relevance

Policy implementation studies go back to the 1970s. For a long time, policy implementation was seen as a rational process. But from the mid-1970s, more scholars acknowledged that policy implementation was influenced by certain internal and external factors (May, 2012; Montjoy & O'Toole, 1979; van Meter & van Horn, 1975). Combined with more recent perspectives on implementation studies, this research develops a framework that refers to the most influential factors in the implementation process (Bekkers et al., 2017; Lahav & Guiraudon, 2006; May, 2012; Meyers & Nielsen, 2012). Accordingly, this research analyzes the identified factors in policy implementation process and connects these to the literature on policy alienation. Especially since real-life cases of implementation are more complex than on paper, it is important to explore the effect of these factors on the actual implementation.

The literature on policy alienation stems for workers alienation, where the focus lies on individual alienation from work activities (Tummers et al., 2009). In later research, the elements of worker alienation were translated to the alienation of policy implementers, who could not identify with the policy objectives. Moreover, other scholars have broadened this scope of individual policy alienation to general dimensions of policy alienation (Scholten, 2020). In this research, these different perspectives on policy alienation are combined in one framework. Specifically, the individual feelings of alienation are connected to the broader dimensions of policy alienation.

Most important to this research, the policy implementation literature does not elaborate on the different consequences certain factors have on the outcomes of implementation and the policy alienation literature lacks to explain what factors influence the degree of alienation among implementers, Thus, this research bridges implementation studies with policy alienation and evaluates how one could influence the other and expects to find a correlation between the factors of implementation and the level of alienation.

1.3   Outline of the study

This research is structured as follows:

- Chapter two: a presentation of the relevant literature on policy implementation and policy alienation, the theoretical framework used in this research will be explained and research expectations will be introduced.
- Chapter three delineates the design of the research, introducing the questions, the methodology and the operationalization of the variables.
- Chapter four includes a description of the context of the study, where the policy objectives for cluster CE are introduced.
- Chapter five presents the findings on the implementation of the objectives.
- Chapter six and seven: an analysis of the independent and dependent variables experienced by the CEOs
- Chapter eight concludes with a discussion of the research expectations, the contributions and limitations of the research and the recommendations for cluster CE.

2.   Theoretical framework

This chapter builds on the afore-discussed implementation angle used to analyze the behavior of CEOs. This is important because the behavior of implementers is influenced by different external factors. Therefore, this chapter will review, first in section 2.1 and 2.2, the literature on implementation studies. Then, because implementers might disconnect from the policy objectives, the literature on policy alienation is reviewed in section 2.3. Moreover, this chapter reveals the connection made between the two frameworks. Finally, section 2.4 explains the connection between the two frameworks and presents the research expectations.

2.1   Policy implementation

Policies created in the formulation process need to be implemented by professionals, bureaucrats, or other frontline workers. Especially under complex circumstances with many external factors, straightforward implementation of policies is challenging. Since in real-life cases the circumstances are complex, the process of policy implementation and the influential factors are important to research.

In general, policies contain a set of intentions or objectives plus a set of resources and instruments for accomplishing these goals. Therefore, the choices that are made by policy formulators about the instruments, resources and actions provide the basis for policy implementation (May, 2012). But what does policy implementation entail? Different authors have had different explanations over the years. In early implementation studies, the process was seen as the execution of basic policy decisions or as the process that develops between the intentions of the government and the ultimate impact on society (deLeon & deLeon, 2002). This is a rational perspective on policy implementation, as if it is based on only knowledge and rational decisions.

However, policy implementation cannot be a static and one-way process. Since it is a societal process exercised by people, multiple factors are influential to this process (Bekkers et al., 2017). When little research about policy implementation was available, Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) defined policy implementation as follows *"policy implementation encompasses those actions by public and private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions"*(p.447). They argue that policy implementation seems simple and the challenges to policy outcomes are often solved in the process before policy implementation. However, the opposite is reality, policy implementation is about the

factors that influence the realization of the policy objectives (deLeon & deLeon, 2002). According to these different ideas, in this thesis, policy implementation will be understood as:

> A process of realization of the policy objectives shaped and influenced by different political, societal, and individual factors

This definition might not encompass all dimensions and conditions that are influential to the human process of policy implementation, but it is more realistic than believing policy implementation is a straightforward process.

2.2   *Factors that influence the policy implementation process*

There are various studies that identify factors that influence policy implementation. Traditional and more recent scholars demonstrate overlap on three dimensions. The first dimension would come from organization studies as discussed by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), Montjoy and O'Toole (1979), and May (2012). This explains that the implementation process is influenced by the managerial power and control from above and by the constraints due to rules and lack of resources and knowledge. Van Meter and Van Horn argue that policy implementers are influenced by instances of organizational communication and enforcement activities. This includes the organizational rules, resources, and managerial power. Montjoy and O'Toole identify that there is not always place for agency in implementation. Such agency might be constrained by the power from above, existing routines, resources, and knowledge available for implementation. May argues that one of the influential factors in implementation is the accessibility to training and education for implementers.

The second dimension as explained by several scholars derives from a political perspective. May (2012) addresses political support, while Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) address political power over the process. Specifically, May argues that policy implementation is affected by unclarity of the policy objectives, direct and indirect control, and other factors such as unsupportive political environments. Similarly, according to Van Meter and Van Horn, the economic, social, and political conditions existing to tackle a societal issue influence implementation, such as political and social agendas.

In the third dimension, Montjoy and O'Toole (1979) mention the agency of implementers themselves. They say that their interests and norms influence the process. Specifically, they argue that the employees are individuals with their own interests and norms, which influences the implementation of the goals. But at the same time, they also identify that there is not always place for agency in implementation. Something similar is discussed by May (2012), who

addresses the importance of incentives and the importance of the attitudes regarding the policy objectives.

Although these different scholars have different ideas of what exactly influences the policy implementation process, three important themes have been identified. These dimensions have also been highlighted and elaborated on in more recent research, which discuss all three dimensions. This research will distinguish between political control, organizational control and the importance of individual norms and attitudes (Bekkers et al., 2017; Lahav & Guiraudon, 2006; May & Winter, 2009; Meyers & Nielsen, 2012).

2.2.1 *Political control*

In this thesis, the political control in the implementation process will be distinguished by two factors. One factor is the proximity of political officials, policy makers and administrative superiors. This differs from what May (2012) and Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) argue. Instead of managerial or administrative control being part of organizational control, this will be part of political control, because political control will be focused on hierarchical power structures. For this case study, it does not make sense to separate control by the alderman and control by managerial superiors. Therefore, political control includes control by all superiors. If these actors are powerful, they can exert greater influence over the policy implementation process. This means that the autonomy and freedom of implementers varies. The more influence a political actor or superior has over the implementation process, the less decision-making power implementers have in policy implementation (Lahav & Guiraudon, 2006; May & Winter, 2009; Meyers & Nielsen, 2012).

This freedom and autonomy can be linked to the concept of policy discretion. Policy discretion is viewed as the freedom implementers experience in the decision-making process over the sort, the quantity and the quality of actions during policy implementation (Tummers & Bekkers, 2012). Moreover, policy discretion is seen as making individual decisions about a policy action based on judgement instead of on formal rules or legislation (Hupe & Keiser, 2019).

The second factor is the clarity and consistency of the objectives in the policy documents. The clearer and more consistent the policy objectives are defined, the less influence implementers will have over the exact implementation of the objectives (Lahav & Guiraudon, 2006; Lipsky, 1980; May & Winter, 2009; Meyers & Nielsen, 2012). Thus, the degree of political control influences how much freedom implementers have over interpretation of the objectives and their decisions made in the implementation process.

2.2.2 Organizational control

Similarly to Montjoy and O'Toole (1979) and May (2012), in this thesis, the organizational control over the implementation process includes resource and knowledge constraints. Resource constraints are identified as influential to the policy implementation process because implementers often do what they can, but due to limited information, time and resources, policies cannot be implemented consistently. According to Lipsky (1980), these limitations in resources and time are influenced by the complexity of reality. Furthermore, the lack of experience or knowledge, due to limited access to training and education, about the policy issues hampers the implementation. In other words, resource and knowledge constraints will influence what is understood and what can or cannot be implemented in reality (Lahav & Guiraudon, 2006; May & Winter, 2009; Meyers & Nielsen, 2012).

2.2.3 Individual norms and attitudes

In contrast to the preceding dimensions, some scholars have argued that implementers are relatively immune for external factors such as power from above and organizational constraints. Specifically, implementers are driven by their individual interests, norms and attitudes (Lahav & Guiraudon, 2006; Lipsky, 1980; May & Winter, 2009; Meyers & Nielsen, 2012). These factors could be influenced by the personal or the professional environment. Brehm and Gates (1997) argue that implementers function well because they embrace their personal and professional norms. Moreover, Sandfort (2000) argues that implementers are significantly guided by workers' beliefs and shared knowledge among implementers. In other words, individual norms and attitudes are important influential factors because the work and operations of the implementers during the implementation process is guided by what they think is important and how they think it should be implemented. Some would even argue that these norms and attitudes are even more influential to the implementation process than political and organizational control (May & Winter, 2009; Montjoy & O'Toole, 1979).

2.3 Policy alienation

In complex circumstances, the implementation of policies is challenging and the implementation could derail from its intended policy plans. In cluster CE, CEOs must deal with personal and external factors that influence how they perceive a policy objective and whether they disconnect from the respective objectives or not. Especially since the objectives involve complex issues like diversity and discrimination, CEOs might be more inclined to disconnect from the objectives due to simplification or denial of complexity. This process of denying or simplifying complexity by policy implementers is called alienation (Scholten, 2020). Other

scholars define policy alienation as *"the general cognitive state of a psychological disconnection from the policy program being implemented, here by public professionals who regularly interact with clients"* (Tummers et al., 2009, p. 686). Given these explanations, alienation means that the CEOs experience disconnection from the policy objectives because they cannot understand the complexity of it. This section, first, elaborates on the dimensions of alienation that implementers might experience. To concretize, this will be followed with the types of feelings the implementers will experience in case of alienation in one of the four dimensions.

2.3.1   Dimensions of policy alienation

There are four dimensions of alienation that policy implementers can experience. This is largely caused by the complexity of social issues. The complexity of the objectives could therefore result in degrees of institutional, political, problem, or social alienation. First, institutional alienation refers to estrangement of the issue due to the inability of institutional and organizational structures to respond and adapt to complex circumstances. Institutions follow internal dynamics which make it difficult for implementers to be agile. Second, political alienation is the estrangement of policy issues that involves the reproduction of power structures that deny or reduce complexity due to certain interests. Third, problem alienation is the estrangement of the policy issue because the knowledge, information and expertise of implementers do not enable them to cope with the complexity of the issue. Finally, social alienation refers to the estrangement of complexity due to certain policy discourses, driven by social categorizations, that deprive implementers from a relevant framework to understand complexity and social structures (Scholten, 2020).

2.3.2   Policy powerlessness

In general policy implementers can experience three different reactions that cause the disconnection elaborated above. The first is policy powerlessness, which can be divided in three aspects. When implementers experience feelings of strategic powerlessness, new policies are often created without the input of the individuals that implement the policy. So often they do not know the policy objectives, nor they influenced the formulation of the objectives.

Powerlessness at the tactical level refers to the level of influence implementers experience concerning how a policy is implemented in their organization. More specifically, how policy objectives are translated into actions or how the objectives are allocated among the workforce (Tummers et al., 2009). Thus, the workforce might not be able to deal with the policy objectives due to political and organizational structures.

These two types of powerlessness determine the degree of institutional alienation. This is because institutional alienation is driven by the lack of coordination between processes in the organization, thus referring to implementers not being able to influence the institutional process of policy creation and implementation in the department (Scholten, 2020).

Third, operational powerlessness is the lack of control over the operational working process. In practice, this would mean that supervisors might decide how to deal with a situation or policy problem and implementers have little discretionary power over the actual decision making (Lipsky, 1980; Tummers et al., 2009). The experience of operational powerlessness determines the degree of political alienation. This is because political alienation involves the reproduction of power structures and other structures of social stratification which can result in interest-driven conflict (Scholten, 2020).

2.3.3 *Policy meaninglessness*

Meaninglessness is defined as an implementer's perception of the contribution the policy has for a greater purpose and can be experienced in two ways. Societal meaninglessness deals with the implementers' perceptions that a policy is dealing or not dealing with societal problems. Furthermore, at the client level, meaninglessness refers to implementers' perceptions of whether their activities contribute to individual cases that are part of bigger social issues (Tummers et al., 2009). The degree of problem alienation is determined by the experience of meaninglessness because problem alienation refers to the role of knowledge, expertise, and information in policy implementation. A lack of this will influence whether the implementers are able to deal with the policy issue and whether implementers are able to create value for society and citizens (Scholten, 2020).

2.3.4 *Social isolation*

Policy implementers can experience something called social isolation, which basically refers to the incompatibility of different logics and perspectives (Tummers, 2012). This incompatibility between different actors is driven by different policy discourses and simplification of policy issues that deprive implementers of a framework to understand the complexity of the policy issue. In other words, social isolation prevents implementers from understanding the policy issue. And thus, determines the degree of social alienation. Because social alienation refers to the estrangement of the policy issue due to social categorization that are a result of simplification and logic incompatibilities.(Scholten, 2020).

2.4   *Research expectations*

Based on the theory of policy implementation and policy alienation, this research bridges the gap between the factors that influence policy implementation and the dimensions of policy alienation. In this section is explained how the implementation factors might influence the dimensions of policy alienation. Following the literature on these theories, certain research expectations have been developed for this thesis. These expectations are not yet substantiated by other scholar or researchers. The expectations developed for this research are visually depicted in figure 1.

The first expectations involve the level of political control and the degree of institutional and political alienation. Political control consists of (i) the direct influence of the superiors in the implementation process of the policy objectives and (ii) the clarity of the objectives for the CEOs. The level of political control can be considered high when the direct influence of the superiors on the implementation process is extensive and the policy objectives are so clear that there is little room for interpretation. This level of direction by other actors or factors results into lesser individual influence or power over the implementation process, and as such strengthen the feeling of powerlessness.

More specifically for this case study, it is expected that due to protocols, direction by the alderman or managers, or clear objectives for diversity governance, CEOs might experience strong feelings of not having power over the implementation process. First, this high level of control from a political perspective might result into not having influence over the formulation of the objectives in RDIR and RTR, which is strategic powerlessness. Second, the high level of control might result into not having influence over the implementation in cluster CE due to organizational structures, which is tactical powerlessness. Finally, the control might result into the feeling that CEOs cannot exert influence over the implementation in their daily operations. It is not expected that low levels of control result in powerlessness, because CEOs will in this case experience more individual influence and power over the implementation.

These three types of powerlessness determine the level of institutional alienation and political alienation as described in the section 2.4. Therefore, this research's first and second expectations are:

> E1:   Greater political control in cluster CE results into a higher degree of institutional alienation

E2:   Greater political control in cluster CE results into a higher degree of political alienation

The third expectation involves the level of organizational control and the degree of problem alienation. Organizational control includes the allocation of resources, information, and knowledge, which can be considered high if the CEOs lack resources and knowledge to implement the policy objectives on diversity governance and thus, cannot add value to individual and societal issues. This lack of resources and knowledge might result in not having the tools to deal with issues or implement the objectives.

Specifically for this case study, high organizational control includes not having access to education and training on diversity and its challenges, which might result into not having the tools to deal with the policy objectives in Rotterdam. As such, CEOs cannot be meaningful for society nor for citizens. Also, constraints over resources, such as information and time, with which CEOs must implement the objectives, might result into not being able to provide meaning or value for the society nor citizens. Both indicators of organizational control affect the degree of meaninglessness experienced by CEOs. It is not expected that organizational control results in meaninglessness because in this case CEOs will have access to training and education and time and resources to create meaning for citizens and society.

These feelings of meaninglessness determine the level of problem alienation because CEOs do not understand and cannot implement the policy objective due to lacking knowledge or resources. Therefore, this research's third expectation is:

E3:   Greater organizational control in cluster CE results into a higher degree of problem alienation

The fourth expectation involves the level of importance of individual norms and attitudes and the degree of social alienation. The importance of individual norms and attitudes includes the degree of influence this has over the implementation process. Thus, when the importance of individual norms and attitudes is high, the implementers will follow their individual attitudes about a policy issue over colleagues' or professional norms and attitudes.

For this case study specifically, this means that when CEOs' norms and attitudes are considered important, this might result in the simplification of diversity and its challenges. Furthermore, high importance of norms and attitudes might result into regular incompatibilities of logics between CEOs. To emphasize, people's brains in general tend to simplify and categorize

complex issues rather than see its entire complexity, thus if individual norms and attitudes are to be found important, CEOs will simplify. Also, the diverse workforce in cluster CE will have different norms and attitudes due to different social and cultural backgrounds, thus high importance will rather result in incompatibility between logics than compatibility.

This simplification and incompatibility, also introduced as social isolation, will deprive the CEOs of understanding the policy objectives. Therefore, it determines the degree of social alienation. The fourth expectation in this research is:

E4:   Greater importance of individual norms and attitudes in cluster CE results into a higher degree of social alienation
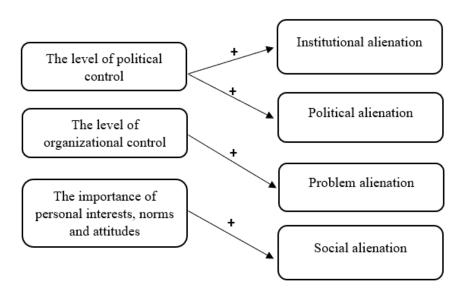

Figure 1: Research expectations

3. Research design

In this chapter, first, the research question (RQ) and sub-questions (SQs) are discussed. Second, section 3.2 elaborates on the design of this research. The next sections discuss the methods for data collection and data analysis per research phase. Since there are two phases, section 3.3 discusses SQ one and section 3.4 discusses SQ two, three, and four. Finally, section 3.5 elaborates on the operationalization of the variables and the indicators of measurement.

3.1 Research question and sub-questions

This thesis aims to answer the following research question:

> How are diversity policies of Rotterdam implemented by city enforcement officers, and how can the role of policy alienation in the implementation process be explained?

To answer this question, this research will be divided into four parts that answer the following sub-questions:

1. What are the policy objectives identified in the policy documents RDIR and RTR and what role should CEOs play in the implementation?
2. How do CEOs implement the identified policy objectives in their daily operations?
3. In what ways do CEOs experience the level of political control, the level of organizational control and the importance of individual norms and attitudes?
4. What feelings of alienation from the policy can be identified among CEOs while implementing the policy objectives identified in RDIR and RTR?

3.2 Research method: A case study

To answer the research question and provide possible explanations for the different experiences with policy implementation in cluster CE, this thesis uses qualitative research methods. This research aims to estimate whether there is a relationship between the three independent variables and the degree of alienation as dependent variable. A qualitative research design fits this research because feelings, experiences and individual's actions cannot be completely captured and understood through quantitative measures. Qualitative research enables this thesis to analyze and to understand how the CEOs implement the policy objectives and experience the implementation process.

Moreover, this research takes shape of a case study design. A case study focuses on a single instance of a social phenomenon in its real world context, in this case CE and how they deal with diversity in Rotterdam (Babbie, 2013). This thesis uses a case study approach because the implementation of diversity policies is a complex phenomenon where the contextual conditions in the municipality and society are relevant to the actual study. Also, this case study enables to understand the experiences of CEOs from their viewpoint and to interpret the observations that will be made throughout this research (Andrade, 2014).

The use of multiple data sources is another characteristic of case study research (Baxter & Jack, 2015). For this research, various sources of data are used, which included qualitative data collection techniques. In this research, documents are analyzed, interviews are conducted, and direct observations are considered when answering the RQ.

3.2.1 Case selection

As previously motivated, this thesis explores policy implementation in cluster CE of the municipality of Rotterdam. Since the policy objectives aim for attentiveness and responsiveness of diversity and discrimination in all layers of the municipality, it is expected of CEOs to be sensitive to diversity and its challenges (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, 2020). Especially since it seems that cluster CE is not directly engaged in the anti-discrimination debate in Rotterdam but still interacts with the citizens daily, this case is very relevant to research.

Specifically, the case study will be conducted in subcluster CE Rotterdam Noord. This subcluster is used as the case for this research because the citizens in this area are very diverse. The workforce of cluster Rotterdam Noord includes 75 CEOs who are active in Alexanderpolder, Kralingen, Crooswijk, Rotterdam Noord, Hillegersberg, Schiebroek, and Overschie.

3.3 Sub-question one

3.3.1 Data collection

The first phase of this research answers SQ one. The data collection includes desk research and exploratory interviews. To find an answer SQ one, the two policy documents RDIR and RTR are used as secondary sources. After identifying the policy objectives for the municipality, exploratory dialogues are conducted with one manager within cluster CE and two policy advisors, who advise on CE policies and social development. In these dialogues, the individuals are asked to elaborate on the objectives identified and verify which are the most important policy objectives for CEOs.

3.3.2 Data analysis

This research starts with the content analysis of RDIR and RTR. As such, the objectives of these policy documents are identified. Since these policy objectives are part of the contextual factors, a brief explanation of the content was sufficient. To verify the identified policy objectives as the context in which CE operates, the exploratory dialogues with policy advisors are analyzed through close reading. These dialogues focus on several themes that refer to the sensitivity of CEOs for the diversity policies. The most often recurring themes in these dialogues are used to determine and verify the policy objectives for CEOs.

3.4 Sub-questions two, three and four

3.4.1 Data collection

The second phase of this research collects data through qualitative interviews. In order to answer these SQs, this thesis conducts 16 semi-structured interviews with a sample of neighborhood CEOs in cluster CE Rotterdam Noord, who were purposively sampled (Babbie, 2013). Rotterdam Noord has four basis teams and from each team four neighborhood CEOs are asked to participate. All participants are promised to remain completely anonymous in this thesis, so no further details are provided (see appendix III). The sample includes 16 CEOs, parted into three groups. In each group (A, B or C) another policy objective was discussed, and the research's expectations are tested regarding this objective. The interview guide can be found in appendix I.

3.4.2 Data analysis

The second part of the analysis includes a content analysis of the interviews conducted. Before the analysis could be conducted, the interviews are loosely transcribed. Since this research is a deductive research, this thesis conducts a variable-oriented analysis focused on the variables defined in the operationalization in section 3.5 (Babbie, 2013). For the transcribing, this entails that only the important information discussed in the interviews is transcribed.

This is followed by coding the interviews in Atlas.ti, which is done inductively. This means the interview data is classified and categorized in individual pieces to convert it into relevant and usable data. The coding process includes two steps. The analysis starts with open coding, which is the initial classification of data and labeling of concepts suggested by the researcher. This is followed by axial coding, in which the core concepts and categories are identified. This means that the codes identified during open coding are analyzed and translated into more general classifications (Babbie, 2013). In other words, the analysis develops an open code book, first

by in-vivo coding and from there developing categories of codes, which are linked to the variables identified in the operationalization. In the data analysis, this research returns to the theoretical expectations to focus the analysis rather than analyze data outside of the scope of the research to accept or reject the given expectations.

3.5 *Operationalization of the variables*

This research analyzes, first, the level of political control, the level of organizational control and the importance of individual norms and attitudes. Next, the dimensions of policy alienation are dealt with in combination with the individual feelings of alienation CEOs experience during policy implementation. This section elaborates on the concepts and indicators of measurement by providing an overview of the operationalization in table 1.

Key concept	Definition	Attributes	Indicators
Political control	The influence from CE's superiors on the implementation process	The influence of the alderman, the supervisors or team captains on the implementation	➢ The presence of protocols and rules regarding the policy objectives ➢ Superiors who instruct CEOs how to deal with the policy objectives
		The clarity and consistency of the policy objectives	➢ It is clear what is meant by the policy objectives for CEOs ➢ There is little room for interpretation on how to implement the policy objectives
Organizational control	The influence of organizational constraints over the implementation process	The dependence on resources and knowledge constraints	➢ CEOs have access to the resources and time to deal with the policy objectives ➢ CEOs have access to education and knowledge to deal with the policy objectives
Individual norms and attitudes	The influence of the individual norms and attitudes on the implementation process	The importance of individual's interests, norms, and attitudes	➢ CEOs feel like their norms and attitudes matter in the organization ➢ CEOs feel like their attitudes influence their daily operations
Institutional alienation	The estrangement from the policy	Strategic powerlessness	➢ CEOs do not know the policy documents and were not engaged in the formulation

		Tactical powerlessness	➢ CEOs cannot deal with the policy objectives due to the political and organizational structures that make it difficult to respond or adapt to diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups in the organization
	objectives because cluster CE cannot not respond nor adapt to the policy objectives due to institutional structures		
Political alienation	The estrangement from the policy objectives because existing power structures deny or reduce the complexity of the policy objectives	Operational powerlessness	➢ CEOs cannot deal with the policy objectives due to the power structures within CE that tell them how to deal with diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups in their daily operations ➢ CEOs do not cannot use discretionary power in their daily operations
Problem alienation	The estrangement from the policy objectives because due to the lack of knowledge, information, and expertise to make operations valuable	Societal meaninglessness	➢ CEOs do not have sufficient knowledge or information about the policy objectives to deal with diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups ➢ CEOs perceive that their operations are not valuable to implementing the policy objectives
		Client meaninglessness	➢ CEOs do not have sufficient knowledge or information about the policy objectives to address it with individuals ➢ CEOs perceive that their operations are not valuable to all Rotterdam citizens
Social alienation	The estrangement from the policy objectives due to different policy discourses and simplification of the issues	Social isolation	➢ CEOs experience conflicting interests, norms, and attitudes about how to deal with diversity between them and their colleagues or supervisors ➢ CEOs cannot deal with diversity due to simplification that deprive them to understand diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups

Table 1: Operationalization table

4. The identification of the policy objectives

This chapter answers SQ one, namely 'What are the policy objectives defined in the policy documents RDIR and RTR and what role do CEOs play in the implementation?' First, section 4.1 explains the role of CE in Rotterdam and elaborates on the activities of the CEOs in the city. Second, section 4.2 discusses the policy objectives identified for CE in RDIR and RTR.

4.1   The role of city enforcement in Rotterdam

In the past, cluster CE primarily focused on giving fines for unwanted behavior, but currently CEOs function as the hosts and hostesses of the city (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019). CEOs commit to creating an enjoyable city for all those who live in, work in, or visit Rotterdam. (See appendix II for an elaborate summary of all types of CEOs)

This research will focus on neighborhood CEOs who are committed to the everyday nuisances and annoyances in the city. The neighborhood CEOs supervise the district or neighborhood they are working in. They should be the familiar faces, know the people who live there and know what is going on in the area. Together with the local residents, they tackle all kinds of problems and nuisances (Gemeente Rotterdam). Specifically, they address and enforce the rules stated in the general local regulation; that does not identify any rules or laws on discrimination and racism, which makes it difficult for CEOs to play a direct role in the fight for acceptance of diversity and against racism and discrimination (Algemene plaatselijke verordening Rotterdam, 2012).

Specifically, the documents state that CEOs contribute to feelings of security and safety in the city and be aware and sensible for diversity and challenges like prejudices, discrimination, and exclusion of specific groups in the society. However, from exploratory dialogues, it seems that the employees in cluster CE are not familiar with the policy documents, although these argue that CEOs play a role in the implementation of the objectives (anonymous, personal communication, May 4, 2021; Policy advisor Handhaving, personal communication, May 12, 2021). Therefore, it is important to identify the exact policy objectives CEOs need to implement in their work.

4.2   The policy objectives

4.2.1   The policy objectives in Relax dit is Rotterdam
RDIR has been published in spring 2019. The anchor point of this document is the Dutch law. On the website of the municipality, they state *"Wherever the constitution is at stake, we*

intervene. Whether it is labor market discrimination, intimidation, scolding or insulting, everyone can appeal to the municipality when the constitution is violated" (Gemeente Rotterdam). The municipality discusses the constitution because article 1 of the Dutch constitution addresses the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, belief, political opinion, race, sex or any other grounds (The Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, 2018).

Everyone is equal and should be treated accordingly. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Diversity poses many challenges to Rotterdam, namely inequality, prejudices, stereotypes, discrimination, racism and exclusion (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020; Schiller, 2017; van de Laar et al., 2019). As a reaction to these challenges, the municipality argues that, together with all departments and with other actors, they will transform diversity into a positive force in the city. They will work towards this objective by for instance tackling undesirable behavior in the public sphere. According to RDIR, the CEOs play an important role in creating a safe society for all Rotterdam citizens. But still, the policy document does not make clear what is expected of the CEOs exactly.

4.2.2   The policy objectives in Rotterdam tegen Racisme

As an intensification on RDIR, RTR has been published in autumn 2020. This document highlights three points. For this study, the second principle is key: ownership and doing better with diversity and the fight against discrimination.

With this new document, the municipality aims to initiate change on three levels. On the micro-level, they stimulate citizens to meet and connect with new people for mutual understanding and respect. On the meso-level, the municipality focuses on normalizing diversity and inclusion in the communities and on macro-level they will focus on breaking institutional patterns of prejudices, discrimination and exclusion in organizations, sectors, market etc. Specifically, they promote sensitivity for diversity and its challenges in the municipality. According to some employees of the municipality, the main aim is to create awareness and attention for diversity and inclusion in all municipal departments and all societal policy terrains (Policy Advisor 'Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling', personal communication, May 17, 2021). Even this document does not explain how CEOs must achieve this.

4.2.3   The policy objectives for cluster city enforcement

RTR does not state the role for CE but since they are part of the municipality, it is expected that CEOs become more sensitive to the municipal objectives and implement it somehow in their

daily activities as demonstrated in the previous section. The core themes are (i) sensitivity for diversity in the society, (ii) sensitivity for conscious and unconscious prejudices, and (iii) sensitivity for vulnerable and difficult-to-reach groups who are victims of discrimination or exclusion. In multiple dialogues with policy advisors and managers of CE these themes were discussed and thus could be regarded as the policy objectives for CE (anonymous, personal communication, May 4, 2021; Policy advisor Handhaving, personal communication, May 12, 2021; Policy Advisor 'Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling', personal communication, May 17, 2021).

The CEOs do not play a direct role in the fight against discrimination, but at the same time, it is expected that they enforce on anti-social and rude behavior. Also, since they are in direct contact with the citizens, it is expected that CEOs know how to deal with diversity in the society and are sensitive for the resulting challenges. Therefore, these three themes could be seen as the policy objectives for CEOs. More specifically, sensitivity for diversity means that CEOs respect and try to understand all citizens in their diversity and if necessary adjust their attitudes and their language use to ensure better communication (Policy advisor Handhaving, personal communication, May 12, 2021; Policy Advisor 'Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling', personal communication, May 17, 2021).

Sensitivity for prejudices implies that CEOs need to be aware and pay attention to their own and colleagues' prejudices and prejudices citizens can have. CEOs might have a preventative and solving role because they are able to discuss the importance of prejudices and to create awareness in order to combat consequences as discriminatory behavior (Policy advisor Handhaving, personal communication, May 12, 2021; Policy Advisor 'Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling', personal communication, May 17, 2021).

Sensitivity for vulnerable and difficult-to-reach groups (hereafter: vulnerable groups) will also add to a CEO's ability to cope with diversity in the society. Since these groups are often the victim of misunderstanding, discrimination or exclusion, CEOs should be aware of respective citizens' backgrounds and positions in society when they enforce the rules and solve everyday nuisances in the neighborhoods (Policy advisor Handhaving, personal communication, May 12, 2021; Policy Advisor 'Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling', personal communication, May 17, 2021).

To sum up, CEOs in Rotterdam should develop three key sensitivity objectives. (See table 2)

Policy objective	
Sensitivity for diversity	Respect and try to understand all citizens in their diversity and adjust attitudes or language use if necessary
Sensitivity for prejudices	Awareness of prejudices and the willingness to discuss prejudices with colleagues and citizens
Sensitivity for vulnerable groups	Awareness of the backgrounds and positions of vulnerable citizens and the willingness to support and help them

Table 2: Overview policy objectives

5. The implementation of the policy objectives

The previous chapter described the case of CE and identified the policy objectives that are important for CEOs. This chapter answers SQ two 'How do CEOs implement the identified policy objectives in their daily operations?' and demonstrates the findings on the implementation of sensitivity for diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups. Finally, this chapter ends with a conclusion. The data from semi-structured interviews with 16 different CEOs are the basis of this analysis and thus will provide an understanding of how these CEOs implement the policy objectives.

5.1 The implementation of objective one: Sensitivity for diversity

Implementation of objective one means that CEOs (i) respect and try to understand all citizens in their diversity and (ii) if necessary, adapt their attitudes and their language use to ensure better communication. This section analyzes the interviews that were held with the CEOs on the implementation of objective one. All respondents were asked to define diversity and its challenges. Specifically, 12 respondents were asked to elaborate more on the role of diversity in their work.

5.1.1 The respect and understanding of differences

From the findings, most of the respondents identified diversity as the differences between people in culture, norms and values, religion, education, income, and age (I1, I2, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I9, I10, I11, I12, I13 & I15). Moreover, some also discussed differences in sexual and political orientations (I9 & I12).

Specifically, there were six respondents who said to understand the differences between people and to understand that this influences one's behavior (I1, I4, I5, I8, I12 & I13). One respondent said:

> *"I've been to Africa several times, for example, there you throw garbage out of the window, if you don't know better and you come here, you might do that, you just have to be told once, not necessarily with a fine, but as; there they do it like this and here we do it like this"*(I1)

Other respondents said that diversity in society requires flexibility from the CEOs (I4, I5 & I12). One of them said *"The challenge is to approach each different group in their own way. That takes some empathy, also sometimes adjustments from yourself"*(I12). Another respondent gave an example of this flexibility during work:

"For example, a week ago we had the 'eid al-fitr' and we got a report about a lot of cars on the sidewalk at night. [...] Then you see that there are four cars on the sidewalk, but others can pass. You talk about it with another colleague, who finds them worthy of a fine. But I think that's not the best option. The streets are broken up, people are visiting each other, they are not really a nuisance. [...] The 'eid al-fitr' is just important and they want to visit each other"(I5)

Furthermore, three respondents elaborated on the value of having a diverse team. They explained that in certain situations it helps to bring another colleague from the same culture as the involved citizens to ensure communication (I1, I8 & I13). One of them said:

"I do believe that it is important. On the street we experience many different cultures. If you only have Dutch colleagues and you meet a Moroccan family, you might not know how to react. If you have a Moroccan colleague who knows what the culture is like. That can have a positive influence"(I8)

However, there were four respondents who said not to see the differences between Rotterdam citizens (I3, I10, I14, & I16). One respondent said, *"It's not necessarily that some people are different from other people"*(I3). Furthermore, there were two respondents who argued to not see the value a diverse society might bring (I10 & I14).

Also, there was one respondent that had a strong opinion on the Black Pete discussion, and says not to understand the other perspective on this discussion:

"Yes, with the Black Pete thing, that's just a children's party, it always has been. I think it's nonsense. When I was little, I didn't think they must be slaves. You don't look at it that way as a child. [...] I took part in the entries, and I could also join as a Pete. Now you have sooty smutch Petes, syrup waffle Petes, etc. I said I'm not doing it anymore. I'm not cooperating"(I16)

The same respondent also said not to understand why certain youth hangs out on the street, which results into frustration towards these citizens. The respondent said:

"They then sit around and hang out. Why? Do something with your life?! What are you doing here?! Do something, go to work, go to school, go home and annoy your mother, what are you standing here?!"(I16)

These findings show that most of the respondents automatically implement the sensitivity for differences between people and the respect for these differences in their daily operations, but

some do not implement any understanding about differences or implement respect for different perspectives.

5.1.2 *The adjustment of attitudes and/or language use*

The second part of objective one is the willingness to adjust attitudes and/or language use to ensure better communication with the citizens. In the interviews, eight respondents have explained that they adjust their attitudes and/or language use to the involved citizen (I1, I3, I4, I7, I8, I12, I13 & I16). They all say that it does not matter where they are from, but they do try to ensure communication by empathizing with the citizens and by mirroring their language use.

Some respondents explained how they deal with groups of youth hanging in public places. For instance, one respondent explained:

> *"Absolutely, you start talking differently. Little more relaxed, you're going to be a little more accommodating if they are rude. You adjust your language. Because you do not want to escalate things. You want to make it accessible"*(I13)

Also, some of the respondents explained they adjust their attitudes and language use to people with different positions in the society. For instance, one respondent said:

> *"In Nesselande, for example, the houses are very expensive and people with more money and education live there. So, the conversation is very different than in Zevenkamp where there are more social housing units and people who receive benefits or have less money"*(I4)

In contrast, four respondents explicitly said they do not adjust their attitudes nor language use to the involved citizens (I2, I7, I10 & I14). They argue to deal with everyone the same, because it does not matter where they are from, how old they are, or where they live. For instance, one respondent says *"No not really, I always stay the same. I think I talk in a general way that most people understand well"*(I10).

Then another respondent explains not to respond to invitations, even though he knows the invitation is part of their customs:

> *"No, I will stay myself. Look. in a lot of cultures, if you've been by and had a chat, they ask if you want a drink. I know it's their custom. But in my job, I don't participate in that"*(I14)

These comments demonstrate that that half of the respondents implement the first objective by explicitly adjusting themselves to the respective citizens, while some respondents implement the objective by addressing and communicating with everyone equally.

5.2   The implementation of objective two: Sensitivity for prejudices

As introduced in chapter 4, the implementation of sensitivity for prejudices includes (i) to be aware of and pay attention to own and colleagues' prejudices and (ii) the willingness to discuss prejudices and to create awareness. This section considers the comments on prejudices made during the interviews. Prejudices were explicitly discussed with six of the 16 respondents, and two respondents referred to prejudices without asking about it.

5.2.1   Awareness and attention to prejudices

From the findings, all respondents were able to identify prejudices in their work or in society and believed that everyone in society has prejudices (I3, I6, I8, I9, I10 & I15). One respondent explained it as *"That you already have a certain image of someone without knowing them or what they do and are like. I think everyone has those. I have them too"*(I8). Furthermore, other respondents elaborated further on prejudices in the society. One said:

> *"Reports you know, who say those Turks this, those Turks that. Those Surinamese. If they get to know those people, they would also think differently. But also, the other way around, foreigners talking negatively about Dutch people"(*I10)

Moreover, two of the respondents explicitly recognized their own prejudices about certain groups. But at the same time, they said to be aware of those thoughts being prejudices instead of facts. A comment one respondent made is *"I think everyone has prejudices. […] Not everyone is the same, but prejudices will persist. I have them too, I try not to listen to them, but they are still there"*(I15).

At the same time, some of the respondents seem to pay less attention to prejudices than other respondents (I2, I3, I8, I10 & I15). One of them acknowledged to never think about their own prejudices. Also, this respondent argued that some thoughts are not necessarily prejudices:

> *"But I don't see that as a prejudice. For example, someone says those Turkish guys always do this or that, maybe you hear it and store it, then you might think of it in a situation, but that's not necessarily a prejudice"(*I3)

Other respondents explained that they act on certain thoughts, even though they are aware of those being prejudices (I8, I10 & I15). One of the respondents said:

*"If we see Turkish or Moroccan guys drive an expensive car, me and my colleague are on the same page. We say they must be rude or criminal guys. But that's not always true. I don't do anything with it, but I know I have it"(*I10)

These findings show that the respondents implement this objective by being aware of their own prejudices, while at the same time some respondents do not entirely implement this sensitivity in their work because they do not see the consequences of their prejudices.

5.2.2 *Willingness to discuss prejudices*

Regarding the second element, most of the respondents expressed either that they are addressing prejudices or that they are willing to address and help create awareness (I3, I6, I9, I10 & I15). More specifically, one of the respondents elaborated on how he/she deals with colleagues that express prejudices:

*"Colleagues sometimes say things about certain population groups. Then I ask; why you think like that? They explain. I am a person who can empathize with others. Sometimes they have a point, sometimes they are bullshitting"(*I10)

Similarly, another respondent elaborated on their response to citizens who express prejudice.

*"Last time when this woman said to me, your kind is very quick to penalize. What do you mean by my kind, as an enforcer or as a Moroccan? She didn't respond. Then I said that I find such comments very sad"(*I9)

On the contrary, some of the respondents that were willing to address prejudices also made some comments that demonstrated the opposite (I2, I10 & I15). Specifically, one respondent said, *"I don't think it's up to us, to change how people think"*(I10). To a lesser extent, some respondents' comments illustrate that there is a certain discomfort in discussing prejudices or other unwishful behavior. One respondent said:

"Maybe if you really notice it, you can say something about it. But it also has to do with everyone's experiences, so I would not be so quick to say: hey that's a prejudice don't say that. Because maybe it shows to him that everyone does that"(I15)

Similarly, another respondent expressed *"When I see colleagues warning everyone and giving exactly one person a fine, I can't say something about that"(*I2). This demonstrates that some find it a difficult topic to raise.

These comments demonstrate that the respondents implement this second objective by asking for clarification when someone expresses their prejudices, but at the same time the respondents express to have trouble to implement this in their work.

5.3   Implementation of objective three: Sensitivity for vulnerable groups

Implementation of objective three means that (i) CEOs are aware of the backgrounds and positions of vulnerable citizens in society and (ii) to support and help them. During the interviews, vulnerable groups were discussed with five respondents. All were asked to identify vulnerable groups and how they deal with these vulnerable citizens. This section evaluates the implementation of objective three in CEOs' work.

5.3.1   Identification of vulnerable groups

The findings show all respondents identify three groups in Rotterdam. First, all of them identified homeless people as vulnerable (I4, I7, I9, I13 & I16). Then some of them identified youth as vulnerable (I9 & I13). Finally, some respondents identified disabled people as vulnerable (I4 & I9). One respondent identified all three *"Youth, people who are homeless? Those kinds of groups. People with disabilities"*(I9) One respondent addressed both groups individually. For homeless people the respondent said:

> *"For example, this weekend I drove down parks and then I looked for sleepers. I write down the details of those people [...] Many Romanians, Poles and Hungarians come here for work; they can't find a job here. They come here with a few euros in their pocket and have nowhere to go"*(I13)

This is also interesting because this respondent was the only one who said that the homeless people in Rotterdam are often labor migrants. Other respondents had no idea of the background or position of the homeless people. For youth as vulnerable group, the respondent explained:

> *"You also have young people. [...] One is easy to talk to and the other is difficult to deal with. Sometimes you can get young people on the right track"*(I13)

Interestingly, the respondent who identified disabled as vulnerable, did not only mean physical or mental disabilities, but also people who do not speak Dutch. The respondent said *"These can be people with a disability and this disability can be anything. From a physical disability to not being able to speak Dutch"*(I4). These comments demonstrate the awareness of large percentage of the society that could be vulnerable.

However, other respondents were less updated. One respondent's initial response was *"I think, vulnerable means maybe annoying people or something. Maybe also, people who have it difficult"*(I7).

As can be seen in these comments, most of the respondents implement the objective for groups like homeless citizens and youth. Some implement this sensitivity also for people who do not speak Dutch, but interestingly none of the respondents implement this sensitivity for citizens with a migration background and others who are prone to discrimination and exclusion.

5.3.2   Supportiveness and helpfulness

The second part of objective three refers to how CEOs deal with these vulnerable citizens. In other words, the implementation of supportiveness and helpfulness. From the findings, it seems that all respondents implement an empathic and supportive attitude regarding homeless people (I4, I7, I9, I13 & I16), but only one implements a supportive attitude regarding youth (I13). In general, the respondents express their supportiveness toward homeless people by, for instance:

> *"Because in the back of your mind, you know they already have a hard time. You have a calmer approach. With respect. You do that with everybody. But with them, you change your mindset to think that they are really vulnerable"*(I7)

Furthermore, another respondent argued in a more general sense how important supportiveness and being helpful is in our society. He argued:

> *"I think that a piece of being available and wanting to be there to help someone when they need help. Looking further than just letting someone walk by, start the conversation when you see that there could be something going on. We need to adopt an active attitude to be able to help people and not adopt a wait-and-see attitude"*(I4)

These comments demonstrate that the respondents implement the objective by helping vulnerable groups and be supportive towards citizens if they believe it is necessary. For now, they only see the necessity in helping and supporting homeless people, not yet in supporting other vulnerable citizens.

5.4   Conclusion

The respondents demonstrated different ways of implementing the identified policy objectives in their work. The three policy objectives are either implemented with an individual idea of how the objective should be implemented or they are not really implemented because the CEOs do

not know how to implement the objective. Table three provides an overview of the categorization of comments.

As explained in the beginning of section 5.1, the implementation of the sensitivity for diversity depends on the understanding of diversity among citizens and the willingness to adjust attitudes or language use to ensure communication. The findings demonstrate that most of the CEOs implement this sensitivity for diversity in their daily operations by acknowledging the differences between citizens. While a smaller group does not acknowledge the differences between citizens, and therefore implement this sensitivity for diversity in their work through focusing on equality. Furthermore, half of the respondents demonstrate the implementation by adjusting their attitudes or language use to ensure better communication with citizens. While some demonstrate this by treating everyone the same and therefore not changing attitudes or language use while interacting with citizens. This shows that the respondents implement the first objective in different ways, either by focusing on differences or focusing on equality.

Second, sensitivity for prejudices includes the implementation of awareness and attention to prejudices and the willingness to discuss prejudices. The findings demonstrate that the respondents find it difficult to implement this objective in their daily operations. All demonstrated to implement the objective by acknowledging the existence of prejudices with everyone. While at the same time, some demonstrated to have trouble with the implementation of the objective because they do not think about prejudices in their daily operations. Furthermore, they said to be willing to address prejudices and create awareness. However, they also said not to know how to address this. As such, this shows that the respondents want to implement the second objective but do not have the tools to implement objective two.

Last, the implementation of sensitivity for vulnerable groups includes the awareness of the background and positions of these citizens and the supportiveness expressed toward them. The findings demonstrate that all respondents are supportive to the citizens they believe are vulnerable. As such the objective is implemented as the CEOs see fit. However, the objective aims to address the vulnerability of citizens who are prone to discrimination and exclusion in general, not only homeless, disabled, or young citizens. The respondents could not identify other groups. This shows that the third objective is not implemented as aimed for but implemented following the subjective priorities of the respondents.

Policy objectives	Respondents
O1: Recognizes and understands all citizens in diversity	I1, I2, I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I9, I10, I11, I12, I13 & I15
O1: Does not recognize and understand diversity	I3, I14, & I16
O1 Adjusts attitudes or language use if necessary	I1, I3, I4, I7, I8, I12, I13 & I16
O1: Does not adjust attitudes of languages use because of equality	I2, I3, I8, I10 & I15
O2: Showed awareness of prejudices in society	I3, I6, I8, I9, I10 & I15
O2: Expressed difficulty in being aware of prejudices during work	I2, I3, I8, I10 & I15
O2: Showed willingness to discuss prejudices	I3, I6, I9, I10 & I15
O2: Expressed difficulty in discussing prejudices	I2, I10 & I15
O3: Identified homeless people as vulnerable	I4, I7, I9, I13 & I16
O3: Identified youth as vulnerable	I9 & I13
O3: Identified disabled people as vulnerable	I4 & I9
O3: Does support and help those who they think are vulnerable citizens	I4, I7, I9, I13 & I16

Table 3: Overview implementation of the policy objectives

6. Policy implementation by city enforcement officers

This chapter describes the findings for SQ three 'In what ways do CEOs experience political control, organizational control and the importance of individual norms and attitudes?' First, section 5.1 analyzes the level of political control in cluster CE. Second, section 5.2 describes the level of organization control experienced by CEOs. Third, section 5.3 elaborates on the importance of individual norms and attitudes in CEOs' daily operations, and finally, this chapter ends with a conclusion

6.1   The level of political control

The first variable is the level of political control the CEOs experience. The level of political control, as explained in section 2.2.1, includes (i) the influence of alderman and managers over the implementation process and (ii) the clarity of the policy objectives. The level of political control will be considered high if the superiors direct the implementation process and if the policy objectives are so clearly formulated that there is no room for interpretation. This section will analyze the findings for both these elements.

6.1.1   Influence of superiors over the implementation process

On the one hand, the level of political control in cluster CE is determined by the influence that the alderman, managers, and team captains have on the implementation process. This influence will be exercised by the presence of protocols and rules that the CEOs need to follow while implementing the policy objectives, or by clear instructions on what to do and how to implement the policy objectives.

From the findings appear that most of the CEOs do experience a certain level of political control (I1, I2, I3, I4, I7, I8, I9, I10, I11, I14 & I15). The power from above is felt by the respondents in three different ways. First, the respondents discussed the reports that come from the control room. In this control room, the reports made by citizens come in and are communicated to the CEOs. The protocol says that these reports have priority over all the normal activities. One respondent elaborated on this:

> *"But all reports must be handled. Sometimes there are assignments and requests that you must do. From higher up, that goes before anything else. We have a whole laundry list, normally you set your own priorities but if it comes from higher up that has priority"(I2)*

Second, the respondents discussed the hotspot locations. Hotspot locations are locations or areas in the city that require more attention because of the kind of nuisance or frequency of nuisance. Protocol says that these locations have priority over other locations. Moreover, in these locations, some respondents say it is expected that you penalize the citizens when they break the rules (I3, I9 & I15). One respondent said *"Look, there are also hot spot locations, where we always have to penalize"*(I3). Another respondent elaborated:

> *"Mostly hotspot locations are mapped. We get a lot of reports about this, for example. […] We then must focus on that for a month and try to reduce the nuisance. Sometimes we do that with chain partners such as the police. You have a little less freedom in that"(*I9)

Furthermore, the respondents explained that cluster CE is part of a political organization. This means that whatever the mayor or alderman believes is important will be focused on. So, the CEOs must follow instructions coming from their managers and team chefs, because it is often coming from higher up. One respondent said *"Some decisions are taken higher up. If politicians say that the waste problem is getting out of hand, we have to do something about it"*(I1). Similarly, another respondent elaborated:

> *"From above, there are certain things that you must do, which do not have priority. But now it's seen as the most important thing. Then you can't get to your other work. I don't have time to do the things I would like to do. We want to put and keep things in order but that's not possible now. So, then you must ignore certain things that you would like to do. Yes, and those other things are forced upon you so to speak"(I14)*

However, there are also some respondents that did not experience the influence from the mayor, alderman and managers the same as their colleagues (I9, I12 & I16). Some respondents were very clear in their experience. They said not to experience the power or pressure exercised from above. For instance, one respondent explained:

> *"We observe things, of course, and we pass them on to another CEO or to the team leader. One comes up with an idea to set up an action, or we must visit a particular spot more often to see what is happening, and is there as much nuisance as people are saying? Or the team leader thinks the problem is so big, in which case we have already established that there is a significant nuisance. The team leader consults with the senior staff member about what we can do at policy level. It comes a lot from the bottom to the top in my experience"*(I12)

From these comments, it can be understood that cluster CE is, in general, a political and hierarchical organization. The decisions on activities coming from the alderman, manager or the control room have priority over the other activities. Also, when certain hotspots have been mapped or civil reports are communicated, the CEOs must give priority to these nuisances over the other daily operations. Thus, the influence of superiors or protocols on the implementation process can be considered relatively high.

6.1.2 Clarity of the policy objectives

On the other hand, the level of political control is determined by the clarity of the objectives. The clarity can be measured by the understanding CEOs have about the objectives. In other words, is there room for interpretation or are the objectives so clear that the CEOs know exactly what to do?

From the findings appears that the clarity depends per objective. Some are very clear, as such the CEOs know exactly what is expected of them. However, in other cases, such as the objectives regarding the COVID-19 policy were unclear and inconsistent for some respondents (I6, I12, & I14). Two respondents explained that cluster CE is not always successful in making policy objectives clear and simple to implement. One respondent argued that:

> "CE adapts to societal developments, but at the operational level they can improve. For instance, now with the pandemic, politics decide what we need to enforce on, but everything is unclear. It is not clear what we need to do, how we need to do it, and how we monitor it"(I14).

Looking at the clarity of policy objectives identified in RDIR and RTR, the respondents illustrated that cluster CE did not explicitly communicate or discuss the objectives with the CEOs. As such, as elaborated on in chapter 5, the respondents openly interpreted diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups, Also, they shared their understanding of the policy objectives. Most of the respondents had a clear idea what diversity, prejudices and vulnerable groups entail. But at the same time, there were respondents that had a difficult time understanding these policy objectives. Most importantly, none of the respondents knew exactly what was expected from them with the implementation of the policy objectives.

6.2 The level of organizational control

The second variable is the level of organizational control the CEOs experience in cluster CE. The level of organizational control, as explained in section 2.2.2, (i) the experienced resource constraints and (ii) knowledge constraints during policy implementation determine the level of

organizational control. This can be considered high if the CEOs have limited time and resources and/or limited access to training and education about the issue and therefore cannot implement the policy objectives consistently. In this section, the interviews will be analyzed through the above indicators.

6.2.1 Resource and knowledge constraints

From the findings, it appears that all respondents experience the level of organizational control differently. In the interviews, nine respondents have indicated to experience a low level of organizational control, while at the same time eight respondents have indicated to experience a high level of organizational control. Five respondents were undecided and demonstrated experiences of both high and low organizational control.

On the one hand, nine respondents demonstrated to have adequate resources, time, and knowledge to deal with the societal issues at hand or to implement the objectives (I1, I6 ,I7, I8, I9, I10, I12, I13 & I15). One respondent discussed time and resources to make decisions during work *"Yes so far I have enough time, those decisions I make I make myself. I have the time and the resources to do that"(*I9). Another respondent elaborated on adequate knowledge about the neighborhood and the citizens:

> *"Anyway, I have knowledge of the neighborhood. I understand the complaint system. I know what kind of complaints people have"(*I8)

Moreover, some respondents indicate that among CEOs the information is shared when necessary. In other words, sometimes one does not have the knowledge of the situation, but a colleague does. At moments like this, the information and knowledge are shared and therefore the respondents experience low levels of organizational control (I6, I8, I12 & I15). For instance, one respondent said:

> *"Yes, if I am in doubt about something I can always reach out to a colleague. […] You do have the means for that. But you can also go inside and find out exactly what the situation is. In any case, we have the resources and information"(*I15)

Interestingly, some respondents also indicate that all CEOs receive training to deal with different situations and different people (I4, I5, I6 & I8). For instance, one respondent explains:

> *"In terms of information, we get, for example, […] training for few months. This is where the fine details are explained, and this information is given to you. We get IBT*

here, we get all theory and practice, then we get lessons that we need to be able to function outside"(I6)

However, there are also some respondents demonstrate to experience organizational control (I1, I2, I6, I10, I12, I14 & I16). The respondents mostly discussed the lack of time for everything that is expected of them. For instance, one respondent said:

"Sometimes you drive from one side to the other and then you are only busy with reports, and you do not get around to your normal work. And some deal with it better than others, but now the whole team thinks it's too much, it is too much"(I12)

Furthermore, some respondents expressed that they do experience organizational control when they do not have the information or knowledge necessary. In contrast to colleagues that discussed the information sharing among CEOs, these respondents feel like they cannot respond to the situation and must look up the information themselves afterwards (I2 & I9). One respondent said:

"Sometimes not, sometimes it's really searching for the information yourself. Sometimes you don't know something, then you go look it up first and then you come back to it"(I9)

Also, more respondents demonstrated the feeling of needing more training about certain issues. Especially regarding the diversity and its challenges, the respondents indicated wanting more training and education on cultures and different demographic groups (I2, I3, I6, I9, I10, I13 & I15). For instance, one respondent said:

"A piece of cultural background, why people do something, why they behave that way. Something that is very normal in their country is not normal in the Netherlands. So sometimes you keep doing things and people get a completely different picture of you. So, if you don't know that as an CEO, you don't understand it and you can't change it"(I2)

These comments, therefore, demonstrate the different experiences of organizational control among the respondents. Although the experiences differ, it shows that time is the most important factor in the work of the respondents. Only a few discussed information resources and just one respondent talked about knowledge. Interestingly, regarding the themes diversity, prejudices and vulnerable groups, some respondents indicated wanting more training and education on these issues, before they would be able to adequately address it.

6.3   The importance of individual norms and attitudes

The third independent variable is the importance of individual norms and attitudes during the implementation process. In section 2.2.3, these norms and attitudes are explained as more influential to the implementation process than political and organizational control. The importance of individual norms and attitudes is high when CEOs' opinions matter in the organization and when the norms and attitudes seem to influence the daily operations.

6.3.1   The importance of opinions and the influence on daily operations

From the findings, it appears that half of the respondents have demonstrated a high importance of norms and attitudes in cluster CE during policy implementation. Eight respondents have commented that their opinions matter and that attitudes and norms influence their work (I2, I8, I9, I10, I12, I13, I15 & I16).

Some respondents elaborated on the importance of their opinions in the organization and discussed that they could always bring up issues and that it is considered important (I2, I8 & I9). An example of such a comment is:

"Your supervisor, you can always go to them. You can always speak your mind in confidence. You can always express your opinion. Sometimes something is done with it, sometimes not. It depends. But it is considered important"(I9)

Other respondents explained the importance of their knowledge and professional norms in their work. They said to only act on the facts and take a neutral position in work-related situations (I8, I9, I12, I15 & I16). One respondent explained:

"I really only act on what I know. What one neighbor says can be true or not true, maybe she is hiding something. If I don't know the ins and outs of a situation, I don't interfere. I only act on the facts that I observe"(I8)

Furthermore, some respondents discussed the influence attitudes can have on their work. They acknowledge that in some situations their personal attitudes guide their actions (I12, I13 & I15). The examples refer to the COVID-19 measures, but it is still relevant. One respondent said:

"Sometimes I find it hard to say; I'm going to do something. For example, we had one day of ice skating this winter. People want something fun. I made small talk for the day, and they loved that. I also understand that they say, you know, we've been at home for a year and now you come and whine about measures"(I13)

In contrast to these comments that demonstrate a high importance of individual norms and attitudes, only one respondent experienced that his/her opinions do not matter in the organization (I10). The respondent said *"I did say at one time we should do something about that in disguise. But I've said that many times and nothing happened"*(I10). Thus, the comments illustrate that more respondents experience a high importance of their individual norms and attitudes in cluster CE during implementation than low importance of these factors.

6.4   Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that the respondents all have different experiences of the policy implementation process in their work. The majority, while discussing indicators of political control, showed that cluster CE is, in general, a hierarchical organization in which superiors have the highest word and some protocols are in place that instruct CEOs what to prioritize. Specifically, 11 respondents were very clear about experiencing a high level of political control, while only three respondents experienced a low level of political control.

Furthermore, there is a bigger division between respondents that experience low level of organizational control and those who experience high level of organizational control. There were nine respondents that said to have adequate time, resources, and knowledge to do their jobs. But on the other hand, there were seven who discussed the lack of time to do everything they need or want to do during workhours. Interestingly, regarding the policy objectives, seven respondents indicated the need for more information and training about diversity, prejudices, or vulnerable groups to develop more sensitivity.

Finally, there is a gap between the eight respondents who explained that their individual opinions are found important in the organization and believed that individual norms and attitudes do influence the daily operations of CEOs and the one respondent who expressed the opposite and said that their opinions do not matter and as such, their norms and attitudes will not influence their actions.

Important fact for this case study is that the policy objectives, mentioned in chapter 4, are not translated into specific actions nor goals. This means CEOs are not obligated to execute actions regarding diversity governance. Therefore, the variables political control, organizational control and importance of individual norms and attitudes could not always be measured in terms of the objectives. However, the high level of political control demonstrates that the moment diversity governance in CE becomes priority for the alderman or manager, CEOs will have little control over the implementation of it. Furthermore, the experienced organizational control is,

in terms of diversity governance, rather high than low. CEOs expressed to have adequate knowledge and resources for their work now, but at the same time they expressed to not have enough time to do everything, and they said to require more training and education on diversity and its challenges. Thus, for now the level of organizational control is divided, but when diversity governance becomes a priority, the level of experienced organizational control could increase due to time and knowledge constraints. Then, the importance of individual attitudes and norms seems to be relatively high throughout CE. In terms of diversity governance this means that CEOs can follow their own attitudes regarding issues in the implementation of the diversity governance objectives, which has already been demonstrated in chapter five where CEOs only act on what they believe in.

Experience of factors of the implementation process	
Experience that the alderman, managers and/or protocols decide how to implement	I1, I2, I4, I7, I8, I10, I11 & I14
Do not experience pressure from the alderman or managers during implementation, only by protocols	I3, I9 & I15
Have adequate time, resources, and knowledge to implement	I1, I6 ,I7, I8, I9, I10, I12, I13 & I15
Do not have adequate time to implement everything	I1, I2, I6, I10, I12, I14 & I16
Do not have access to training and education on diversity	I2, I3, I6, I9, I10, I13 & I15
Experiences individual norms and attitudes are important	I2, I8, I9, I12, I13, I15 & I16
Experiences individual norms and attitudes are not important	I10

Table 4: Overview of the experiences of the implementation process

7. Policy alienation of city enforcement officers

The preceding chapter described the experiences of CEOs in policy implementation. Building up, this chapter analyzes the findings on SQ four 'What feelings of alienation can be identified among CEOs while implementing the policy objectives identified in RDIR and RTR?' First, section 7.1 analyzes the level of institutional alienation experienced by CEOs regarding the implementation of the policy objectives. Second, section 7.2 examines the level of political alienation. Third, section 7.3 determines the level of problem alienation. Section 7.4 evaluates the level of social alienation experienced by CEOs regarding diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups. Finally, this chapter ends with a conclusion.

7.1 Institutional alienation

In section 2.4.1, institutional alienation is explained as the estrangement from the policy due to the inability of institutional structures to respond and adapt to complex circumstances. Translating this to cluster CE, institutional alienation could be explained as the estrangement from the policy objectives because cluster CE does not respond or adapt to the societal developments regarding diversity governance. This section analyzes the experience of institutional alienation through two elements: feelings of strategic powerlessness and feelings of tactical powerlessness.

7.1.1 Strategic powerlessness

As explained in section 2.4.2, strategic powerlessness includes (i) not knowing the policy documents and the objectives and (ii) not being engaged in the formulation of the policy objectives. The feeling of strategic powerlessness is part of institutional alienation, as due to institutional structures, CEOs are not engaged in the policy formulation nor know the policy objectives, as they are not communicated within cluster CE.

From exploratory dialogues about the policy documents and its objectives, it became clear that the employees of cluster CE, including one of the CE managers, a CE policy advisor, and the CEOs, were not familiar with the documents nor the objectives. One of the interviewees argued that the policy documents RDIR and RTR have been created somewhere in an ivory tower (anonymous, personal communication, May 4, 2021; Policy advisor Handhaving, personal communication, May 12, 2021).

Moreover, the respondents were asked whether they thought cluster CE responded well to societal developments. Specifically for diversity governance, some respondents were asked

about the developments regarding diversity and discrimination last year with the BLM protests and how CE responded. One respondent said *'No, I never hear something about it, actually we don't talk about* it'(I16*)* and another interviewee responded, *'From my perspective, they could have paid more attention to it'*(I13).

The above demonstrates that there is strategic powerlessness since they were not involved in the policy formulation and are not familiar with the policy objectives due to the lack of communication to cluster CE. However, none of them demonstrated feelings of frustration or disappointment while discussing this. Thus, whether they feel strategic powerlessness is debatable.

7.1.2 Tactical powerlessness

As explained in 2.4.2, tactical powerlessness refers to the level of influence CEOs experience in how the policy objectives are implemented within CE. In other words, CEOs might not be able to deal with the policy objectives due to political and organizational structures that make it difficult to implement.

From the findings, it shows that although CEOs sometimes must tackle the issues the alderman and managers prioritize, in general CEOs do not indicate feelings of tactical powerlessness. The political and organizational structures make sure some tasks are prioritized over others, but only two respondents have expressed concern about the implementation their tasks (I12 & I14). These respondents explained to have no influence over the implementation process in cluster CE due to the institutional structures. One respondent explained that communication about the policy objectives takes too long, as such the respondent feels clueless about how to implement the policy. The respondent said:

> *"Sometimes we must wait too long at the policy level, what do you want from us? What do we have to abide by what agreements are made and how do we commit to that? […] I understand that policy and management have to think about that, but sometimes it takes a week, which is too long"(I12).*

These comments demonstrate feelings of tactical powerlessness. Due to political and organizational structures, only two respondents feel like they cannot influence how to do their jobs or do not know how to implement the objectives. While the majority did not demonstrate feelings of tactical powerlessness in the interviews, none of them described to feel tactical power while dealing with diversity, prejudices and/or vulnerable groups. This means that none

of the respondents elaborated on good organizational structures that enable them to deal with diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups.

7.2 Political alienation

In this research, political alienation is explained as the estrangement from the policy objectives because existing power structures deny or simplify the importance of the policy objectives. This means that the alderman and managers decide how to deal with the policy objectives and thus instruct the CEOs exactly how to implement the objectives. This is analyzed through the feelings of operational powerlessness.

7.2.1 Operational powerlessness

As explained in 2.4.2, operational powerlessness is the lack of control over the operational working process and can be indicated by (i) not being able to deal with the policy objectives due to power structures that give instructions and (ii) not being able to use discretionary power in the implementation process of the policy objectives.

From the findings, it can be argued that there is little experience of operational powerlessness among the CEOs, instead all respondents have demonstrated to experience operational power. The respondents have argued that they have the discretionary power over the implementation of all policies and activities in their daily operations. For example, one respondent said:

> 'From the organization, of course, we have the policies that we have to implement. And then when you start zooming in to us as individuals, we have to deal with our knowledge and our discretion that determine what we do and how we act'(I3)

Another respondent elaborates:

> 'You have quite a lot of authority and you are allowed a lot and you have a lot of free hand. […] And you have a free hand how you deal with it."(I5)

Given these comments, this demonstrates that the respondents experience a lot of freedom in how they deal with the policy objectives. In other words, the feelings of operational powerlessness are non-existent. Regarding the policy objectives identified in RDIR and RTR, the respondents have demonstrated, as discussed in chapter 5, that they deal with diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups in their own way. For instance, some adjust their attitudes and language use to the citizens, while others communicate identically with all citizens. Furthermore, some do address prejudices in work situations, while others do not see the value

of helping others to be more aware of their prejudices. Thus, all respondents experience operational power and implement the policy objectives in their own way.

7.3 Problem alienation

Problem alienation is explained, in section 2.4.1, as the estrangement of the policy issue because the knowledge, information and expertise of the CEOs do not enable them to cope with the policy issues. This means that (i) CEOs do not have the resources such as information and time to deal with the policy issue, and (ii) that they do not have the knowledge to deal with the issue. This dimension is evaluated by the feelings of meaninglessness, which exists of two elements: societal and client meaninglessness.

7.3.1 Societal meaninglessness

In section 2.4.3, societal meaninglessness is defined as the CEO's perception that their activities do not deal with or add to value to the policy issue. In other words, the CEOs might feel that their actions are meaningless for diversity and its challenges, because they do not have the resources and knowledge.

From the findings, it seems that six respondents demonstrated feelings of societal meaninglessness (I2, I4, I5, I9, I12 & I14). These respondents address different issues. Some respondents elaborated on addressing diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups (I2, I5 & I14). One of the respondents discussed prejudices and said *"Everybody puts people in boxes, but some express it. That I find very difficult to discuss"*(I2).

Another respondent explained the difficulty of dealing with people of color because the respondent is afraid to be called discriminatory. The respondent said *"Sometimes, you have the feeling, well I'm white. I cannot address a person of color and say something about his actions or behavior, because he might think I'm discriminating"*(I15). Interestingly, another respondent elaborated on the behavior of colleagues regarding diversity. The respondent explained:

> *"The theme of diversity could be put on the agenda again a bit more. I think almost everyone knows that diversity exists, but not everyone knows what to do with it, what can I do about it"*(I14)

These comments demonstrate that some respondents experience a feeling of uncomfortableness or insecurity in their actions regarding the policy objectives, because they do not know how to deal with the objectives or do not have enough knowledge about it. However, some of them demonstrated the contrary. Six respondents discussed their strategies on how to deal with

nuisance in general or with diversity more specifically with self-confidence. Therefore, they demonstrated rather feelings of societal meaningfulness than meaninglessness (I1, I5, I6, I8, I11 & I13).

Several respondents elaborated on the strategy to bring another colleague to ensure communication and solve the respective issue (I1, I5, I8 & I13). One respondent said:

> "Perhaps it would be helpful to bring a younger colleague. It is also important that you have varied colleagues in terms of background, Cape Verdean, Turkish Moroccan colleagues. You can make use of that"(I1)

Their comments demonstrate that the respondents feel confident in how they approach and implement sensitivity for diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups. Thus, among the respondents there is a divide between some who feel their actions are meaningless and some who feel their actions are meaningful.

7.3.2   Client meaninglessness

The feeling of client meaninglessness is also explained in section 2.4.3. Here meaninglessness refers to CEOs' perceptions whether their activities contribute to individual cases that are part of the policy objectives. Client meaninglessness is therefore high when CEOs believe their actions are not valuable for the involved citizens.

From the findings, six respondents demonstrated feelings of client meaninglessness. They all said to not be able to satisfy everyone in Rotterdam nor are able to help all citizens understand the rules (I1, I2, I5, I10, I14 & I15). One respondent explained:

> "I try to do my job as well as I can. Not to straighten what is crooked, that is not possible anyway. But I do try to explain why it should be this way. One gets it and the other not"(I14)

More specifically, two respondents explained that they do not know how to influence people's thinking or behavior. Especially regarding prejudices, these respondents did not see how their actions could be valuable. One respondent explained:

> "But it also has to do with everyone's experiences, so then I wouldn't be very quick to say; hey that's a prejudice, you cannot say that. Because maybe it seems to him that everyone does it"(I15)

In contrast to these comments, more respondents demonstrated feelings of client meaningfulness in the interviews. The eight respondents elaborated confidently on their strategies to deal with diverse citizens, address prejudices with citizens or colleagues and support vulnerable citizens (I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I9, I11 & I13).

Specifically with strategies on how to deal with diverse citizens, one respondent said, *"You have to be willing to be able to listen to people and tell your story calmly"*(I7). Another respondent explained knowing how to influence behavioral patterns:

> *"I am more of the warnings. If you want to steer on behavior then it makes no sense to punish these people, because they can't do anything about it. It's better to provide information and help, but help in a way that benefits them"* (I4)

Regarding prejudices one respondent explained to address the prejudices in a conversation with the respective person to make them aware of it:

> *"You have to contribute to them not doing it anymore, or at least make them aware that what you are saying or doing now is not right. [...] Some people get the message, but others don't"*(I9)

Finally, regarding vulnerable citizens, one respondent explained to know the position of homeless people and therefore try to support them through offering help:

> *"I try to help the homeless more, can I offer you a shelter or something of other possibilities. That they have a roof over their heads. Sometimes it's appreciated, others don't want help"* (I9)

In general, more respondents showed feelings of client meaningfulness than meaninglessness. The comments demonstrate that they believe in what they are doing and that their actions are valuable to citizens.

7.4   Social alienation

Social alienation is explained, in section 2.4.1, as the estrangement of complexity due to certain discourses, driven by social categorizations and individual understandings, that prevents CEOs from understanding the policy issues. In other words, different discourses might result into different understandings of the policy issue. This dimension is analyzed by feelings of social isolation.

7.4.1 Social isolation

Social isolation, as explained in section 2.4.4, includes that (i) CEOs might experience conflicting understandings on how to implement the objectives and (ii) that CEOs cannot deal with the objectives due to simplification of the policy issues. Social isolation will be high, when CEOs implement the objectives differently and when they simplify the policy issues.

During the interviews, five respondents experienced that CEOs have different ways of working or addressing the policy objectives (I2, I5, I8, I13, I14 & I16). For instance, one respondent said "*With colleagues there is a difference. I also do notice that some drive past the homeless people, consider if it is going well, and then continue*"(I13).

Interestingly, many respondents showed signs of simplification of the policy objectives. Four respondents demonstrated to not completely understand the diversity in Rotterdam, as elaborated on in section 5.1.2 (I3, I10, I14 & I16). For instance, one respondent said: "*Dutchman is Dutchman, Turk is Turk, Moroccan is Moroccan*"(I14). Furthermore, five respondents showed to not be completely aware of the outcomes of prejudices, as shown in section 5.2.2 (I2, I3, I8, I10 & I15). Also, all respondents who were asked about vulnerable citizens could only identify youth or homeless people as vulnerable in Rotterdam. They were not able to identify other groups like migrants, victims of discrimination, citizens with lower socio-economic positions etcetera (I4, I7, I9, I13 & I16). Thus, at least eleven of the respondents showed signs of simplifying the policy objectives.

On the contrary, there were also some respondents who demonstrated low feelings of social isolation. The respondents generally discussed the similarity between CEOs. So, how they think about issues and how they act on issues or implement policy (I3, I6, I7 & I9). For instance, one respondent said "*Yes, I think they do the same. They will also talk to the person about it, they will make a complaint. They will certainly take it up*"(I9).

Moreover, eight respondents mentioned the complexity and difficulty they must deal with while dealing with diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups (I2, I4, I6, I7, I10, I12, I14 & I15). Although most of them simplified at least one policy objective, they still acknowledged complexity of the objectives. Some discussed the difficulty of discussing the issue, others found it difficult to identify the issue, and some believed that the challenges resulting from diversity are difficult to deal with.

7.5   *Conclusion*

The level of institutional alienation is analyzed through strategic and tactical powerlessness. First, strategic powerlessness was present with all respondents due to institutional structures. The respondents were not involved in the formulation nor familiar with the policy objectives. However, none of the respondents expressed clear feelings of strategic powerlessness. Second, the feeling of tactical powerlessness only exists with two respondents. They indicated to worry about why and how to respond to the policy objectives and implement them in the organization due to institutional structures, but importantly, the other 14 respondents did not demonstrate feelings of tactical powerlessness. Therefore, it can be concluded that the degree of institutional alienation is relatively low. This means that the CEOs do not experience the way things work in CE as an obstacle to implementation of sensitivity for diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups.

Furthermore, the level of political alienation is analyzed through the feeling of operational powerlessness. The findings show that all respondents experience discretionary power in the work that they are doing or while implementing a policy objective. Thus, the degree of political alienation can be considered low. This means that CEOs experience freedom to deal with diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups as they see fit in their daily operations and therefore do not disconnect from the objectives due to the alderman and managers.

Third, the degree of problem alienation is evaluated through societal and client meaninglessness. The feeling of societal meaninglessness was present with six respondents, who discussed the difficulty of addressing the issues or dealing with the issues. Probably because no one ever explained them how to deal with or address diversity and its challenges. However, there were also six respondents who were confident about their strategies in dealing with the policy objectives, and rather showed meaningfulness than meaninglessness. Moreover, the feeling of client meaninglessness was felt among six respondents. They said not to be able to help all citizens understand the rules nor to be able to influence one's behavior. However, eight respondents expressed confidently how they add value for all citizens dealing with diversity, prejudices, and vulnerability. As such, the degree of problem alienation is divided, showing some CEOs are convinced to have the information and knowledge to create implement these objectives and some not.

Finally, the level of social alienation is analyzed through the feeling of social isolation. Social isolation was felt by at least eleven respondents. Five of them elaborated on the different understandings and different ways of working among colleagues. More important, they

demonstrated to simplify the policy issues, through which they cannot completely capture the complexity, but at the same time, eight respondents demonstrated to recognize the complexity of the policy objectives and four of them said that CEOs' actions are in general aligned with each other. Although some recognized the complexity, most of them could not explain what the objectives exactly entail. Thus, the level of social alienation is relatively high. This means that CEOs experience diversity and its challenges to be difficult to deal with and as such simplify them to make sense of it. Every CEO simplifies the issues individually, so they can understand it, which then results into incompatibility between CEOs' understandings of diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups. The simplification and logic incompatibility hamper CEOs to understand the objectives and implement them.

Experiences of policy alienation	
Powerlessness because they do not know the policy objectives were not involved in formulation	none
Power because they know the objectives and were involved in formulation	none
Powerlessness because they cannot implement the objectives in the organization	I12 & I14
Power because they can implement the objectives in the organization	none
Powerlessness because they do not have the freedom to implement the objectives in daily operations	none
Power because they do have the freedom to implement the objectives as they see fit	all
Meaninglessness because they do not know how to deal with the objectives	I2, I4, I5, I9, I12 & I14
Meaningfulness because they do know how to deal with the objectives	I1, I5, I6, I8, I11 & I13
Meaninglessness because they cannot be valuable to all citizens	I1, I2, I5, I10, I14 & I15
Meaningfulness because they do provide value to all citizens	I4, I5, I6, I7, I8, I9, I11 & I13
Simplify diversity, prejudices and/or vulnerable groups	I2, I3, I4, I7, I8, I9, I10, I13, I14, I15 & I16
Social isolation because of logic incompatibility between CEOs	I2, I5, I8, I13, I14 & I16

Table 5: Overview of experiences of policy alienation

8. Conclusion and discussion

The final chapter presents the final remarks and recommendations of this research. First, section 8.1 answers the RQ of this thesis and provides some alternatives explanations for the research findings. Second, section 8.2 discusses the research expectations, and whether they are rejected or accepted. Third, section 8.3 elaborates on the contributions and limitations of this research. Finally, section 8.4 presents the recommendations for cluster CE to improve the sensitivity for diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups.

8.1 Conclusion

Over the last years more attention is given to diversity and the resulting challenges in Rotterdam. This led to the publication of two policy documents on diversity governance, in which the role of the municipality has been explained with certain policy objectives. However, not for all departments of the municipality these policy objectives were specified. One of those departments is cluster CE. Different actors within CE argued not to be familiar with the policies, although the CEOs are constantly in contact with the diverse citizens of Rotterdam. This lack of engagement could be explained through the degree of policy alienation experienced among CEOs. Therefore, this research answers the following RQ:

> How are diversity policies of Rotterdam implemented by city enforcement officers, and how can the role of policy alienation in the implementation process be explained?

In the final analysis, this case study demonstrates that the objectives on diversity governance, specifically sensitivity for diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups, are implemented in different ways in cluster CE. The findings have shown that CEOs either implement the policy objectives according to their own ideas or do not implement the objectives because they do not know how to. The sensitivity for diversity has been implemented by either focusing on differences between citizens or focusing on equality in the society. The sensitivity for prejudices is not really implemented in their work because CEOs do not know how to address the issue or do not think about it. Finally, the sensitivity for vulnerable groups is only implemented for one group, homeless citizens, while the municipality also aimed attentiveness for other victims of exclusion and discrimination. As such, it can be argued that there is not one way of implementing attentiveness and responsiveness to diversity and its challenges.

In this process of implementation, the disparity between the different ways of implementation can be explained by certain factors that cause disconnection from the actual objectives, which can be explained by policy alienation. The findings demonstrate that CEOs mainly experience

two types of alienation in the implementation of sensitivity for diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups. Many of them feel like they do not have the information and knowledge to implement the objectives and to create value in the fight against the challenges of diversity. Furthermore, most of the CEOs simplify the policy issues to make sense of it. This results in not being able to understand the entirety of the policy objectives and not being able to develop attentiveness and responsiveness to diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups. Interestingly, it seems that individuals' ideas, norms and attitudes, and the lack of training and education influence these types of alienation and thus hamper the development towards a more equitable society.

8.2 Discussion

The previous section has answered the main question of this research. Hereafter follows an elaboration on the research expectations and whether this case study verified or denied them. Political control, organizational control and the importance of individual norms and attitudes are expected to influence the degree of alienation experienced by CEOs. Specifically, each independent variable seems to influence one of the dimensions of alienation.

8.2.1 Expectation one

The first expectation developed from bridging the two frameworks on policy implementation and policy alienation was 'Greater political control in cluster CE will result into a higher degree of institutional alienation'(E1). In this case, the findings have demonstrated that, in general, the experienced political control is high, because the CEOs indicated that the alderman and manager have most power over the implementation process and secondly, because there are protocols in place which instruct the CEOs what to prioritize.

Thus, according to expectation one, the degree of institutional alienation should be high too. However, the findings illustrate that the level of institutional alienation is relatively low because few respondents expressed powerlessness or frustration about not being involved in policy formulation or experienced organizational structures as obstructions to implementation. Thus, this research rejects expectation one.

8.2.2 Expectation two

The second expectation formulated considering this research also refers to political control but highlights the connection with political alienation. The expectation suggests 'Greater political control in cluster CE will result into a higher degree of political alienation'(E2). The findings

have demonstrated that, as already explained, the level of political control experienced among the CEOs is high.

According to expectation two, this should mean that the degree of political alienation experienced is high. However, also for this dimension, the findings demonstrate that the level of political alienation among CEOs is low. Even though, the level of political control is high, the CEOs will always have their discretionary power to act in a situation as they see fit. The comments show that they have the ultimate decision-making power. One possible explanation is that discretionary power is more important than control by manager or protocols. It is also possible that there are other factors present that mitigate the effect from political control on the degree of alienation, but these were not identified due to limited research. Overall, this research also rejects expectation two.

8.2.3   Expectation three

The third expectation in this research argues 'Greater organizational control in cluster CE will result into a higher degree of problem alienation'(E3). Considering this research, this implies if CEOs lack the access to time, resources, and knowledge, they will be unable to deal with the policy objectives and create value for society and citizens. First, the findings demonstrate that the organizational control experienced among the CEOs quite is divided. Approximately half of the CEOs experience a low level of organizational control since they have sufficient time, resources, and knowledge to do their jobs. At the same time, the other half of the CEOs experience a high level of organizational control, because they lack time to do all that their jobs require and lack access to relevant training and education on diversity and its challenges.

According to expectation three, those who experience high level of organizational control are expected to not have the tools to implement the objectives and create value for citizens and society, and those who experience a low level of control the other way around. However, the findings demonstrate that the division of experiences is more complex because some respondents who said their actions were not valuable for society, also said they were able to help and create meaning for all citizens. Furthermore, some respondents who did experienced lack of resources and knowledge, did not demonstrate feelings of meaninglessness on societal level nor on client level. Overall, it can be concluded that expectation three is also rejected.

Although the lack of resources and knowledge does not seem to strengthen feelings of meaninglessness, half of the CEOs indicated to not have enough time to execute all responsibilities and to lack access to relevant training and education about the policy objectives.

A possible explanation for the division between CEOs who do experience problem alienation and those who do not, is the effect of individual norms and attitudes regarding the policy objectives. Some might believe although they have everything, they still cannot be meaningful while others will believe their actions are meaningful, even under lacking circumstances. It might be just a matter of attitude.

8.2.4 *Expectation four*

Finally, the fourth expectation of this research suggests 'Greater importance of individual norms and attitudes in cluster CE results into a higher degree of social alienation'(E4). This means that if CEOs' norms and attitudes influence their work directly, they will simplify the policy issue and experience incompatibility between different logics. The findings demonstrate that half of the CEOs argued that their opinions matter in the organization and their norms and attitudes influence the work they execute, while only one CEO expressed that their opinions do not matter and do not influence their work.

As such, according to expectation four, at least half of the CEOs should demonstrate a degree of simplification in their understandings of the policy issue and/or experience incompatibility of different understandings on how to approach the objective. Interestingly, the degree of social alienation is relatively high. The findings demonstrated that at least eleven CEOs showed signs of simplifying one of the policy objectives. For instance, they demonstrated to not see the consequences of prejudices and only identified homeless people as vulnerable. Also, five CEOs elaborated on the different ways of dealing with the policy objectives among CEOs, while only two said that everyone acts similarly. In other words, individual norms and attitudes increase the degree of alienation, because simplified and incompatible understandings of the objectives result into the inability to capture its complexity. This means that this case study confirms expectation four.

Although, only the effect on social alienation was analyzed, this does not say individual norms and attitudes might influence other dimensions of alienation as well, especially problem alienation.

8.3 **Contributions**

This research aimed to connect the policy implementation framework with the policy alienation framework and study how one influenced the other. First, the policy implementation literature missed to elaborate on different consequences political control, organizational control and individual norms and attitudes can have on the implementation's outcomes. Second, because

the policy alienation literature lacked to explain what factors might influence the different dimensions and individual feelings of policy alienation. As such, this research tried to fill these gaps by connecting the frameworks.

This case study showed that the degree of alienation among CEOs is mostly influenced by the individual norms and attitudes. This seems logical since CEOs have freedom to implement these specific policy objectives as they see fit without direction from the alderman, managers, or protocols. Therefore, CEOs do not experience feelings of powerlessness in their daily operations. The implementation process is mainly guided by their individual norms and attitudes. The differences in implementation between CEOs compared to the intentions of the municipality show that the freedom, maybe even lack of direction on these issues, and importance of individual norms and attitudes might cause the simplification of the policy objectives. This makes it difficult to understand the objectives and implement them in their daily operations.

From another perspective, this case study confirms that May (2012), May & Winter (2009) and Montjoy and O'Toole (1979) are right in their findings. They argued that internal factors as norms and attitudes are more influential for policy implementers than external factors as political and organizational control. Of course, this does not imply that external factors as political and organizational control are not important to analyze in implementation research. However, future scholars should consider that implementers who have freedom and discretionary power are more inclined to follow their individual norms and attitudes rather than colleagues' or professional ideas.

The outcomes of this research do not argue that other factors do not influence the degree of alienation. It rather demonstrates that these factors do not influence alienation as expected. For instance, half of CEOs indicated to lack access to education and training on diversity and its challenges. The influence of this on problem alienation could not be verified, but it plays a role in the understanding of the policy objectives and ultimately influences the actual implementation. Furthermore, the experienced time pressure among CEOs also plays a role in what is prioritized in the implementation process. Currently the implementation of the objectives regarding diversity governance are not prioritized in cluster CE yet. The moment the alderman or managers will give more attention to sensitivity for diversity, resource constraints might influence the degree of policy alienation. Also, the high political control did not directly result into institutional and political alienation. However, this might be the case because discretionary power is more important to CEOs or because there are no protocols on diversity

governance yet. If this changes in the foreseeable future, the degree of alienation might still increase.

8.4   *Limitations*

Some critical notes should be indicated. First, during the interviews, most of the respondents seemed at first not that alienated from the policy objectives. Probably because the respondents were inclined to give socially desirable answers. The dimensions of alienation were analyzed considering personal experiences, but when a respondent argues to not feel alienated from the objectives, it does not imply that this individual is not alienated. Therefore, an observation study could be more appropriate for studying the degree of alienation among the CEOs.

Second, the individual norms and attitudes do not always have to lead to higher degree of policy alienation as demonstrated in this research. It could also be that individual's norms and attitudes are positive, comprehensive, and sensitive of the policy objectives. As such individual norms and attitudes might decrease the level of alienation instead of increasing it. Thus, it could be interesting to conduct a comparative case study to compare the different forms this correlation could take.

Finally, there could be different explanations for the outcomes of this research. For instance, individual characteristics like age, ethnicity, place of birth, education and socio-economic position could play a role in the individual feelings of alienation. These factors could be further studied in a more anthropologic setting, where more attention is given to the individual. Also, as already indicated, the influence of discretionary power in cluster CE seems to be very high. It is possible that this power overrules all other feelings of alienation in the implementation process. Several in-depth analyses that take these factors into account could be relevant to study the degree of policy alienation among implementers of policies.

8.5   *Recommendations*

Based on this research, this section elaborates on the recommendations developed. The most important recommendation for cluster CE is to organize dialogue sessions with its CEOs to discuss the norms and attitudes regarding diversity and its challenges in Rotterdam. Since this research demonstrates that the individual norms and attitudes of workers and policy implementers affect their ways of addressing or implementing the policy objectives, it might be effective to put effort in sessions, in which the CEOs discuss their understanding of the objectives, how they perceive the objectives, how they approach this in their work, and most important to find out why they do it like that. While discussing norms, values, attitudes and

perceptions, new perspectives might be brought up and the CEOs must start reflecting on their own way of thinking and doing. Therefore, I recommend creating a platform where CEOs can share their stories about diversity and its challenges during work, and where their colleagues are able to comment on these stories with tips or other perspectives. This platform must be introduced with a mandatory workshop for all CEOs, preferably in mixed/diverse groups to reflects that city's diversity, and where the issues regarding diversity in the city are discussed and guided by an expert. By creating a safe platform under the guidance of professional and operational experts, the policy issues diversity, prejudices, and vulnerable groups in Rotterdam will be better understood and embraced among the CEOs.

The second recommendation for cluster CE is more straightforward. Based on the analysis and the comments of more than half of the respondents, cluster CE could organize information sessions or knowledge trainings that aim to inform the CEOs on different cultures, their customs and norms and values etc. In time, knowledge will also adapt one's attitudes regarding differences between people and the consequences of these differences. Knowledge might make them more accepting and supportive to certain cultures or groups, they felt uncomfortable with prior to these knowledge trainings or information sessions. These sessions could be organized per theme. For instance, each month the management of CE organizes an information session with an expert, digital or physical, on a specific topic, such as a non-Dutch cultural holiday, a session about labor migrants in Rotterdam, or about refugees and housing in the city. These sessions should not be mandatory to attend, but with a rewards system presence could be stimulated.

These are not easy recommendations to implement, but with some perseverance and time, the results in the implementation of sensitivity for diversity, prejudices and vulnerable groups will improve.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Interview guide (in Dutch)

<u>Algemene vragen</u>

- Wat is diversiteit volgens u? Wat voor uitdagingen brengt een diverse samenleving met zich mee?
- In welke wijk bent u werkzaam en wat valt u op in deze wijk?
- Kunt u mij wat vertellen over de gang van zaken binnen handhaving? Hoe worden beslissingen gemaakt? Wat heeft er invloed op de het besluitvormingsproces?
- Denkt u dat handhaving als afdeling van de gemeente zich aanpast en reageert op de ontwikkelingen in de samenleving? Waarom wel / niet? (> BLM vorig jaar)
- Binnen die discretionaire bevoegdheid, heeft u genoeg middelen, informatie en tijd om een beslissing te maken?
- Kunt u binnen de organisatie dingen bespreekbaar maken die jij belangrijk vindt?

Interview A: Sensitief voor diversiteit in wijk

- Hoe kijkt u aan tegen diversiteit in wijk?
- Past u uw gedrag (houding en taalgebruik) aan tussen verschillende groepen? Waarom wel/niet? Is er iets wat u tegenhoudt om dit te doen?
- Hoe denkt u dat uw leidinggevenden & collega's zouden omgaan met diversiteit?
- Heeft u het idee dat u van waarde kan zijn voor alle diverse mensen? Waarom wel / niet?
- Wat heeft u nodig om nog beter om te gaan met de diversiteit in de wijk?

Interview B: Sensitief voor vooroordelen

- Hoe denkt u over vooroordelen in de samenleving? Heeft u het wel eens met collega's hierover? Hoe denkt u dat een mens zich bewuster kan worden van zijn/haar vooroordelen?
- Is dit iets wat u in uw werk meeneemt? Is er iets wat u tegenhoudt om dit mee te nemen in uw werk?
- Hoe denkt u dat uw leidinggevenden en collega's omgaan met vooroordelen bij zichzelf en bij anderen?
- Heeft u het idee dat u van waarde kan zijn in het bewust maken van vooroordelen bij mensen? Waarom wel / niet?
- Wat heeft u nodig om nog beter om te gaan met die vooroordelen?

Interview C: Sensitief voor kwetsbare en moeilijk bereikbare groepen

- Wat zijn volgens u kwetsbare of moeilijk bereikbare groepen in Rotterdam? Komt u deze wel eens tegen in uw werk?
- Gaat u anders om met deze mensen dan met anderen? Waarom wel/niet?
- Hoe denkt u dat uw leidinggevenden en collega's omgaan met kwetsbare groepen in Rotterdam?
- Heeft u het idee dat u van waarde bent voor kwetsbare en moeilijk bereikbare groepen? Waarom wel / niet?

- Wat heeft u nodig om nog beter om te gaan met kwetsbare of moeilijkbereikbare personen?

Appendix II: Overview tasks of city enforcement officers

As CEO you may have different tasks:

- As neighborhood CEO, one will supervise the district or neighborhood they are working in. They should be the familiar faces, know the people who live there and know what is going on in the area. Together with the residents, they tackle problems and all kind of nuisances.
- As youth CEO, one will be deployed to specific areas where youth cause nuisance. They will address the youth, and if necessary, they will warn or penalize unwanted behavior.
- Bikers (or CEOs on bike) have the same tasks and powers as the neighborhood CEO, but they move by bicycle and work in a larger surveillance area. The biking team is also often deployed during events and check on taxi permits and on the correct parking of taxis.
- The CEOs of team living check whether residents are registered, check maintenance and fire safety of buildings, and provide information to residents about relevant schemes and facilities.
- Then there are also CEOs who execute controls on operating licenses and liquor licenses in restaurants, bars and clubs.
- Furthermore, some CEOs oversee the management and organization of the Rotterdam markets. They supervise and enforce the rules that apply here.
- There are also CEOs who focus on environmental infringements like dumping, discharging, improper removal of asbestos or improper placing of industrial waste.
- Finally, some CEOs of team clean respond to urgent waste problems.

(Gemeente Rotterdam).

Appendix III: *Consent form*

Inleiding
Mijn naam is Kristel Yuan Ting Kan, master student Bestuurskunde, gespecialiseerd in Governance van Migratie en Diversiteit. Voor mijn masterscriptie zal ik de bereidheid (van de Rotterdamse handhavers) om beleid te implementeren onderzoeken en identificeren welke factoren invloed hebben op die bereidheid. Specifiek wil ik het hebben over de implementatie van de beleidsdoelen geformuleerd in Relax dit is Rotterdam en Rotterdam tegen Racisme.

U zal participeren in een reeks interviews die uw persoonlijke ervaringen met politieke druk, organisatorische druk en verschillende belangen en meningen in kaart zal brengen. Specifiek betreft het uitvoeren van het beleid geformuleerd in Relax dit is Rotterdam en Rotterdam tegen Racisme. Deze beleidstukken zijn gefocust op het creëren van sensitiviteit voor diversiteit.

Voor verdere uitleg of eventuele vragen, kunt u contact met mij opnemen via kristelyuantingkan@gmail.com of 0681385229

Gegevensverzameling
U kunt vragen verwachten betreft thema's en obstakels die worden ervaren genoemd in het huidige diversiteitsbeleid van de gemeente Rotterdam. Verschillende thema's zullen bijvoorbeeld zijn; diversiteit in Rotterdam, dagelijkse gang van zaken binnen handhaving, besluitvorming binnen handhaving, omgang met diverse groepen, omgang met vooroordelen en omgang met kwetsbare en moeilijkbereikbare groepen.

Potentieel ongemak en risico's
Er zijn geen fysieke, juridische of economische risico's verbonden aan uw deelname aan dit onderzoek. Het is niet verplicht om alle vragen te beantwoorden. Uw deelname is vrijwillig en u kunt op elk moment stoppen.

Vertrouwelijkheid en gegevensbescherming
De verzamelde gegevens worden gebruikt voor een geaggregeerde analyse en er wordt geen vertrouwelijke informatie of persoonlijke gegevens opgenomen in het onderzoeksresultaat. De gegevens worden opgeslagen op een beveiligde locatie en zullen worden bewaard gedurende 7 jaar.

Gegevensuitwisseling
Ik zal de gegevens delen met mijn scriptiebegeleider en mijn directe scriptie collega's ten behoeve van het onderzoek naar en het schrijven van mijn masterscriptie verplicht ter afronding van mijn studie aan de Erasmus School of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Erasmus Universiteit.

Verder zullen de (geanonimiseerde) resultaten van de scriptie (dus niet van de interviews) gepubliceerd worden vanwege de samenwerking met RADAR en de gemeente ten behoeve van het Rotterdam Inclusivity Program.

Vrijwillige deelname & individuele rechten
Uw deelname is vrijwillig en u kunt op elk moment stoppen. Wanneer u deelneemt aan het onderzoek, hebt u het recht om meer informatie te vragen over de gegevensverzameling, de analyse of om uw toestemming in te trekken en te vragen om gegevens te wissen voordat de dataset wordt geanonimiseerd of het manuscript wordt ingediend voor publicatie. U kunt uw rechten uitoefenen door contact op te nemen met Kristel Yuan Ting Kan.

Als u klachten heeft over de verwerking van persoonsgegevens in dit onderzoek, neem dan contact op met Kristel Yuan Ting Kan

Bij ondertekening van dit toestemmingsformulier bevestig ik dat:

- Ik ben geïnformeerd over het doel van het onderzoek, de gegevensverzameling en -opslag zoals uitgelegd in het informatieblad;'
- Ik het informatieblad heb gelezen, of dat het aan mij is voorgelezen;
- Ik de gelegenheid heb gehad om vragen te stellen over het onderzoek; de vragen voldoende zijn beantwoord;
- Ik ga vrijwillig akkoord met deelname aan dit onderzoek;
- Ik begrijp dat de informatie vertrouwelijk zal worden behandeld;
- Ik begrijp dat ik op elk moment mijn deelname kan stopzetten of kan weigeren vragen te beantwoorden zonder dat dit gevolgen heeft;
- Ik begrijp dat ik mijn toestemming kan intrekken voordat de dataset ter goedkeuring is ingediend.

Daarnaast geef ik toestemming om:

	Ja	Nee
Ik geef toestemming om het interview audio op te nemen		
Ik geef toestemming om het interview op video op te nemen *(alleen bij digitaal interview)*		
Ik geef toestemming om citaten uit mijn interview te gebruiken		

Naam van deelnemer onderzoek: _____

Datum: _____

Handtekening: _____

_____