

# The path to anti-racism

A mixed-methods Social Network Analysis of complexity in the anti-racism  
network of Rotterdam

*Master's thesis by*

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## Executive summary

2020 marked the year of Black Lives Matter protests all over the world. People marched for equal rights and demanded governments, companies, and individuals to change. After the protests in Rotterdam, the municipality acknowledged that it was time for change and launched the policy program Rotterdam against Racism. The initiative of the city provides a context conducive to study the governance of diversity. Societal issues have become more complex. Therefore, governance networks are increasingly used for policymaking, implementation, and service delivery. In governance networks that deal with wicked problems, actors may face substantive, strategic, and institutional complexity. This study examined how complexity influenced the anti-racism governance network in Rotterdam. Following Klijn and Koppenjan's (2016) framework, the analysis of the anti-racism network in Rotterdam was grounded in network governance theory. The framework provided by Klijn and Koppenjan proved to be an important stepping stone for analyzing networks.

This study employed a mixed-methods social network analysis. The anti-racism network consisted of 62 actors and reflected a collaboration among actors from the public, cultural sector, private sector, and communities. With quantitative methods, the anti-racism network was analyzed in terms of connections and centrality. In addition, interviews were conducted to discover whether complexity influenced the anti-racism governance network of Rotterdam. The quantitative network analysis showed that the cluster *Gemeente Rotterdam* RADAR, Art. 1, IDEM, and Dona Daria form the core of the anti-racism network. Gemeente Rotterdam and Radar are considered the most influential network actors. The influence of these organizations is extended to IDEM, Art 1, and Dona Daria. Based on the analysis of this cluster, the quality of ties rather than the quantity of ties seems to be a decisive aspect of an actor's position within the anti-racism network. The qualitative results of this study showed that only strategic and institutional complexity influence the anti-racism network. Ownership or access to financial resources is decisive for the power that an actor holds in the network. Overall, complexity makes it more challenging for newer actors to exert influence on the governance of anti-racism in Rotterdam.

Based on the findings of this study, recommendations are offered concerning enhancing resources of small or young organizations and increasing cohesion within the network. Finally, it is recommended that further research is conducted into the anti-racism network in Rotterdam using the same research design.

## Preface

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## Introduction

The Black Lives Matter protest in Rotterdam in June of 2020 emphasized the urgency to address institutional racism. Rotterdam is known for its diversity with 206 different nationalities and an abundance of religions, cultures, and sexualities. Yet, living together in a super-diverse city also generates challenges. In 2020, approximately 19 to 33 percent of *Rotterdamers* experienced racism (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020). Besides, citizens of Native-Dutch descent expressed feelings of social distance and a lack of belonging to their neighborhood. The municipality of Rotterdam acknowledged these concerns and planned to transform diversity into an asset.

The anti-racism initiative of the city of Rotterdam provides a context conducive to study the governance of diversity. There is no dominant group in a super-diverse city, and identities have become further diversified (Vertovec, 2007). Policies that address diversity and inclusion must be developed so that it targets the whole society. The challenges related to diversity are of wicked nature, characterized by complex, ambiguous, and uncertain underlying issues (Rittel & Webber, 1973). The challenges that arise from the complexification of diversity cannot be tackled by one actor but require many different actors' efforts. Accordingly, the action program "Rotterdam against racism" of the municipality of Rotterdam is directed at all *Rotterdamers*. It seeks collaboration among different municipal departments and additional actors from public and private sectors. This results in the emergence of governance networks which consist of mutually dependent actors, each with their views of the problem, solution, and strategy (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Governance through networks emerged as a response to the traditional top-down government. Traditional forms of government were criticized for being too rigid and hierarchical. More recently, governments have a facilitating role and are more dependent on other societal actors for policymaking and implementation (Ball & Junemann, 2012; Wanna, 2009).

Advocates of governance networks draw attention to the degree of flexibility and adaptability to the complexity of issues (Eggers, 2008). Networks provide the opportunity for collaboration across sectors and organizations and reduce the risk of implementation resistance (Sørensen & Torfing, 2009; Marin & Mayntz, 1991). Nonetheless, the literature also stresses that governance through networks can increase the complexity of decision-making and interaction between actors (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Complexity within networks stems from power differences in the relationships between network actors due to the asymmetry of information and resources (Ball & Junemann, 2012; Kooiman, 1993). Moreover, the involved

actors each have their perceptions of the nature of the policy problem, which can lead to uncertainty and disagreement. The function, form, and effectiveness of governance networks have been extensively discussed in the literature.

As the discussion above shows, there is extensive literature on governance through networks. To a lesser extent, scholarly attention for the governance of migration and diversity has increased over the years. Within this field, governance at the local level has become a focal point (Schiller, 2018; Meer, Mordood & Zapata-Barrero, 2016; Scholten, 2013; Uitermark, 2012). Even though the body of literature on governance networks and local governance of migration and diversity has grown, few focused on diversity-related governance networks. In attempting to add to this body of literature, this thesis poses the research question:

*“How is the anti-racism network in Rotterdam influenced by complexity?”*

This thesis examined the influence of complexity on the anti-racism governance network of Rotterdam. The work by Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) *Governance Networks in the Public Sector* was an essential building block for the foundation of this study. The book presents a systemic approach to analyzing governance networks in terms of substantive, strategic, and institutional complexity. Similarly, this thesis explored the influence of complexity within the anti-racism network in Rotterdam through semi-structured in-depth interviews. Before the influence of complexity was examined, the actors and relationships in the anti-racism network were reconstructed using quantitative and qualitative social network analysis tools. This study used the qualitative tool of a bull’s eye diagram to inquire about actors and relationships of the anti-racism network. The bull’s eye diagrams were translated into a map of the anti-racism network of Rotterdam. In addition, the acquired data was subject to quantitative network measures, which established influential actors and relationships. The network consists of 62 organizations which can be grouped into five organizational categories.

### 1.1 Societal relevance

The societal relevance of this study is multifaceted due to the relationship between governance networks and anti-racism, which essentially affects the majority of society. The municipality of Rotterdam has taken the opportunity, in collaboration with citizens and NGOs, to develop a program that addresses racism in healthcare, education, sports, and other public spheres. Working towards a city that is inclusive for all takes the effort of many actors. Governance

through networks is inevitable, with issues as complex as racism. Instead, including individuals across sectors and levels of society is fundamental for a shift towards anti-racism.

This study provides an in-depth analysis of the anti-racism governance in Rotterdam. The insider perspective sheds light on the relationships between network members and where complexity emerges. If sources of complexity within governance networks are ignored, the attempt to deal with a societal problem may be counterproductive. The results of this research will unveil how complexity influences the anti-racism network in Rotterdam and develop recommendations for practitioners to handle complexity. This is beneficial not only for the actors in the network but all citizens in Rotterdam.

## 1.2 Scientific relevance

The scientific relevance of this thesis is rooted in three aspects. Firstly, there is a limited body of governance network literature that focuses on diversity-related governance networks. Most studies apply governance network literature to cases of physical planning, environmental issues, health care, or elderly care. The governance of diversity through networks remains overlooked in this field of research. This study aimed to fill this gap in the literature by applying the governance network perspective to a diversity-centered network.

Secondly, this study contributed to the expanding field of the governance of anti-discrimination. Research into governance networks often focuses on the national level, the EU level, or the vertical cooperation among actors. In the field of governance of migration and diversity, the local level is recognized as the crucial environment in which policy responses are formulated. Considering the urgency to respond to challenges emerging from super-diverse societies, this thesis specifically contributed to the local governance of diversity.

Thirdly, the chosen research methods contribute to the field of social network analysis. This research is guided by a mixed-methods approach to social network analysis. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed on one source of data. Combining semi-structured interviews, bull eye's diagram exercise, and quantitative network measurements contributed to developing a more thorough approach to mixed-methods social network analysis.



### 1.3 Outline of thesis

This thesis is structured as follows. The next chapter synthesizes earlier literature in the field of (governance) networks. Based on the work of Klijn and Koppenjan (2016), chapter two concludes with expectations that guide this study. Chapter three provides an in-depth explanation of the used research methods. Chapter four elaborates on the actors of the anti-racism network and continues with quantitative network measurements. The subsequent chapter analyzes the network in terms of substantive, strategic, and institutional complexity. The final chapter answers the research question and reflect on the findings in the context of governance network literature and the governance of anti-racism in Rotterdam.

## 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter will review previous research to ground this study in the existing literature. The chapter is structured as follows. First, the concept governance is discussed followed by how networks and governance networks fit within this context. Second, the chapter will elaborate on how complexity influences governance networks. Finally, the conclusion of this chapter identifies the gap in the literature and sets theoretical expectations for the empirical phase of this study.

### 2.1 Governance

Governance is a concept that has been widely discussed and applied to various contexts. Good governance or corporate governance refers to the functioning of the system. Private and public organizations should operate on general principles of transparency, accountability, integrity, and the rule of law (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Rhodes, 2001; Stokke, 1995). In the late 1980s, governance emerged as New Public Management (NPM) to introduce reforms in the public sector. The neo-liberal principles of NPM strived to reduce the size of government and provide public goods and services based on competition through the free market. Governments were expected to steer by setting goals and formulate policies but leave the implementation to other public agencies or organizations. Later work perceived governance as a multi-level collaboration between public actors. Multi-level governance stresses that one single actor cannot address societal issues across different policy sectors and hierarchical levels. Rather, decision-making powers are shared among actors at different levels (Marks, Hooghe & Blank, 1996). A critical author on the conceptualization of governance is Rhodes (2001), who

identified six different meanings of governance. He defined modes of governance as the minimal state, corporate governance, new public management, good governance, a socio-cybernetic system, and self-organizing networks. According to Rhodes (2001), the government as a central actor changed into governance through networks linked by shared goals and resources.

Although the term governance is used with a range of meanings and in different fields of study, some aspects are shared. Firstly, to deal with complex societal issues of collaboration between state and non-state actors is essential (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Secondly, it involves the interaction between autonomous but interdependent actors (Schiller, 2019; Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Polèse & Stren, 2000). Finally, the process of governance builds on achieving a common purpose or objective (Schiller, 2019).

## 2.2 Networks

The study of networks is rooted in organization theory and political theory. Like the growing interest in governance, the role of networks has become a central topic in public administration. Based on these fields of research, three types of networks can be distinguished. The first type of network revolves around service delivery and implementation, which stem from organizational theory. The core element of these networks is to collaborate to improve service delivery. Policy networks stem from political science and are characterized by how actors have power and access to participate in decision-making in policymaking. Finally, governing networks focus on solving societal problems in a complex environment (Klijn, 2008). A network consists of a minimum of three autonomous actors that must be involved that work towards a shared goal (Provan & Kennis, 2008). However, not all networks may be considered governance networks. Governance networks address specific policies, problems, programs, or public services (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). To be characterized as a governance network, collaboration must exist between actors, the public, and the private sector (Torfing, 2012). Since governance networks are the focus of this study, hereafter, networks always refer to governance networks.

### 2.2.1 Governance networks

As explained earlier, governance networks are increasingly used for policymaking, implementation, and service delivery. This section will elaborate on the various characteristics of governance networks.

First, governance networks emerge to solve complex policy issues that cannot be solved with the efforts of one actor (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Collaboration among actors from both the public, semi-public, and private sectors is required. These actors are autonomous and simultaneously dependent on each other for resources and capacities. To become a network member, actors must contribute resources that are valuable to the other members (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) identify five types in governance networks: financial resources, production resources, competencies, knowledge, and legitimacy. This results in interdependencies that connect actors on a horizontal level rather than a vertical level. However, this does not eliminate power differences between actors (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). There is often an asymmetry in material and immaterial resources among network actors, resulting in interdependency (See Table 1).

Table 1

#### *Typology of dependency relations*

	Substitutability of the resource	
<i>Importance of the resource</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Low</i>
<b>Great</b>	Moderate dependency	High dependency
<b>Small</b>	Low dependency	Moderate dependency

*Note.* Klijn & Koppenjan (2016) p. 75.

The horizontal nature of the relationships between network actors limits the risk that one actor can single-handedly exert power and authority over the other actors (Torfing, 2012). Besides, participation in the network is voluntary, so actors are free to leave when no common ground can be found.

Second, actors interact through negotiations because of interdependent relationships. Some actors may want to bargain on the allocation of resources to maximize their desired outcome. Negotiations may also be targeted at creating a shared understanding of the problem, solution, or challenges (Torfing, 2012). These complex interactions may lead to disagreements.

Third, governance networks tend to become institutionalized. There is no previously established set of rules when governance networks emerge. Over time, networks become increasingly institutionalized through regular interaction (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Patterns of interaction will constitute shared rules, roles, and procedures. The degree of institutionalization may vary depending on the network. Some networks may decide to establish themselves as a formal institution or organization. Other networks may continuously redefine the rules and perceptions, which is also referred to as deinstitutionalization.

Fourth, governance networks are characterized by their ability of self-regulation. Networks are assumed to operate based on their resources, ideas, and interactions (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). There is no hierarchical structure of command, and network members have the capacity to make authoritative decisions (Torfing, 2012). However, the capacity of self-regulation is limited by the political and institutional context in which the network operates (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007).

Finally, the efforts of governance networks are directed at enhancing public value in a particular area. Network actors are engaged with values, plans, policies, and regulations relevant to the general public (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). Within the network, actors may strive to maximize their interest, but the overarching objective is to contribute to public value.

Today, governance networks are perceived as a beneficial strategy to address complex and uncertain societal problems. Network actors usually have expertise in a specific policy area that is relevant for policymaking. Besides, the actors may identify policy problems early on and adjust their responses to a changing environment (Sørensen & Torfing, 2007). The inclusion of relevant actors in the implementation and decision-making process and may contribute to greater support for policies (Mayntz, 1993). While governance networks may lead to a more effective and efficient governing process, this can only be realized when the network is well-functioning. Having defined the characteristics and potential gains of governance networks, the following section will delve deeper into the complexity of networks.

### 2.3 Complexity in governance networks

Wicked problems are characterized by uncertainty or conflict about both the nature of the problem and information and knowledge about the problem (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Rittel & Webber, 1973). In governance networks that deal with societal issues of wicked nature, actors may be faced with substantive, strategic, and institutional complexity.

### 2.3.1 Substantive complexity

Substantive complexity stems from actors' perception of the problem. Perceptions are socially constructed, which means that a problem is defined as such based on an individual's perceived gap between an existing situation and the desired situation (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). How reality is perceived is grounded in the values and expectations that one holds. Consequently, actors may hold different perceptions of the problem's nature within governance networks or whether a problem even exists. While perceptions are subjective, the action that individuals take based on these perceptions has implications for the scope in which solutions are sought. Defining the nature of the problem is often characterized by conflict.

In order to come to a solution, network members strive to convince other actors about the nature of the problem or a specific solution that fits within the various problem perceptions. By framing the problem or situation in a certain way, actors aim to attract attention to their formulation of the problem over the formulation of other actors. This frame alignment process may not always be successful when actors are unwilling to reflect on their problem definition or engage with the definition of other network members. As a result, impasses may emerge in which the interaction between actors is relatively ineffective. These impasses may be of symmetrical argumentation structure when two actors propose two conflicting alternative perceptions or asymmetrical argumentation structure when one actor blocks the debate on defining the problem.

Actors may respond to substantive complexity in two ways. First, actors attempt to reduce the uncertainty about the nature of the problem by gathering information, research, and expert knowledge. Second, actors may turn to expert knowledge and research that reaffirms their perceptions. These responses do not necessarily contribute to the reduction of complexity. Due to different perceptions, actors also perceive information and knowledge in different ways. It may result in information overload and conflicts between members about the knowledge of the problem, which increased complexity and confusion (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). This bears the risk that some smaller voices are not heard, and policy decisions are not grounded in scientific knowledge.

To conclude, various actors are involved within governance networks that each holds their perception of the problem situation. Under the condition of diverging problem perceptions, substantive complexity emerges. When actors are not aware that perceptions of others may be different, it results in impasses and knowledge conflicts (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Substantive complexity is best addressed through clarification, reflection, and communication

of the various perceptions. It is essential to develop a shared understanding of the problem situation before further decisions are made.

### 2.3.2 Strategic complexity

As addressed in 2.3.1 *Substantive complexity*, the decisions that actors make are influenced by their perceptions. Strategic complexity in governance networks is rooted in the interaction processes among the actors that are involved. In governance networks, actors try to anticipate how other members act to realize their desired outcome. They do so according to strategies that can be defined as a combination of objectives and means based on perceptions (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Table 2 summarizes the various strategies that actors may take to exert influence on the governance process.

Table 2

*Types of strategies*

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Actions of network member</b>
Go alone	Attempt to realize one's desired solution regardless of strategic dependencies
Coalition-building	Formation of a coalition to impose a desired outcome on other network members
Conflicting	Attempt to block or prevent a solution that is not in accordance with the actor's own desired solution
Avoidance	Adopt a indifferent position to a particular solution
Collaborative	Accept the dependencies and develop a solution that is favorable to all parties involved
Facilitating	Bringing parties together and mediate conflicts to achieve mutually desirable solution

*Note.* Adapted from Klijn and Koppenjan (2016), p. 80

Governance networks emerge without a clear hierarchical structure; instead, actors collaborate on a horizontal and autonomous basis (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2014). Strategic interaction processes develop when actors attempt to influence or anticipate the behavior of other actors. The ability of an actor to influence others in the network is related to relationships of

interdependencies, as shown in Table 1. However, actors are not always aware of their position of dependency and may overestimate the power that they hold. As follows, parties cannot know the exact position of others, or strategies may change unexpectedly. The gap between the chosen strategy and the objective dependency may result in conflicting strategies due to a lack of coordination among actors (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016; Kapucu, 2014). This creates a situation of strategic complexity characterized by a high level of dynamics, uncertainty, and unpredictability (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

This section has shown that resource dependencies influence the implementation of policy through governance networks. The complexity of the issue and the horizontal structure of governance networks means that actors attempt to influence each other to employ their resources in a certain way (Table 2). Network members base their strategy of interaction based on their perceived dependency position (Table 1). Alignment between these two aspects establishes the condition under which strategic complexity emerges. Strategic complexity within governance networks may reduce the progress in formulating solutions to address the wicked problem. Instead, when strategies, perceptions, and information are openly discussed, conditions are set for an environment conducive to common action and joint outcomes (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

### 2.3.3 Institutional complexity

Perceptions and trust among network members become solidified through patterns of interaction. When a network gradually develops, so do the institutional characteristics like interaction patterns and perception patterns, followed by rules. Regular interaction makes it possible to predict the behavior of other actors, which actors may reduce complexity and improve cooperation. (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2014). Over time, shared perceptions are developed through regular interaction among actors. Based on the intensity and variety of interaction patterns, it can be established whether actors are positioned in the center or periphery of the governance network (Aldrich & Whetten, 1981). The intensity of interaction refers to the degree of repeated interaction between two actors. By looking at how many actors interact with each other, it is possible to establish a variety of interaction patterns. This process is characterized by the emergence of rules that can be formal and informal and are formed and sustained by interactions between actors (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

The institutional dimension of governance networks is considered to guide the behavior of actors. As this section explained, shared perceptions and trust emerge through interaction

patterns. However, in young networks, interaction patterns are likely non-existent or relatively unstable. Under these conditions institutional complexity may emerge.

#### 2.4 Governance networks in the context of anti-racism

This chapter extensively discussed the concepts of governance, governance networks, and complexity within governments. The main question of this research concerns complexity within governance networks in the context of anti-racism. While the literature on governance networks expanded rapidly over the past decades, only recently are scholars studying this in relation to the governance of migration and diversity (Scholten, 2020; Schiller, 2020; Hampshire, 2013). The underlying complexity of migration and diversity requires an approach to policymaking that includes flexibility, contingency, and a broad range of actors (Scholten, 2020). Policy processes tend to become contested in dealing with migration and diversity-related complex issues (Dunlop, 2017). Uncertainties about problem definitions and problem solutions and the role of knowledge in an attempt to reduce uncertainty may contribute to complexity (Scholten, 2020). Besides, complexity may be reinforced by institutional structures and power relations between involved actors. As a consequence of the inability to cope with complexity, policy issues may enter the realm of alienation. The logic of policymaking becomes estranged from the original problem situation that it intended to address (Scholten, 2020).

#### 2.5 Theoretical expectations

This chapter provided the framework that grounds this empirical study. Within the context of the discussed literature *in 2.2.1 Governance networks* and *2.3 Complexity in governance networks*, this thesis will add to this body of literature by bringing in the dimension of diversity governance. The following expectations guide this research:

E1: If perceptions of the problem situation concerning racism diverge, then it is less likely it becomes that network members agree on the best strategy to address racism in Rotterdam.

E2: If actors hold a central position in the anti-racism network, then network members become more dependent on the resources that they possess.

E3: If actors hold a central position in the anti-racism network, then it is likely that they have stable and varied interaction patterns.



### 3. Methodology

The purpose of this study is to understand the structure of the anti-racism network and its underlying mechanism. The study employs a quantitative and qualitative research design. This chapter elaborates on the design of the research, and the methods for collecting and analyzing the data.

#### 3.1 Research design

Social network analysis (SNA) is used to study complex systems that emerge from interactions (Schipper & Spekkink, 2015). This research approach makes it possible to study relationships and understand the behavior of actors. Quantitative network analysis tools have the advantage of observing connections in an abstract and structured way. Relational data generated by networks can quickly become exhaustive (Crossley, 2010). Quantitative tools reduce the data and allow for systemization and visualization. At the same time, quantitative SNA excludes the personal narrative that explains the underpinning of social structures (Crossley, 2010). Qualitative tools make it possible to focus on the interpretations of network relations. With a qualitative research approach, actors' interactions and perceptions of the network can be thoroughly investigated. This study uses both quantitative and qualitative tools to complement the strengths and limit some weaknesses.

#### 3.2 Operationalization

This thesis is guided by the following research question: *“How does complexity influence the anti-racism network in Rotterdam?”* The following sub research questions have been developed to guide data collection and analysis:

1. Which actors are part of the anti-racism network in Rotterdam?
2. What does the anti-racism network look like?
3. How do diverging perceptions of racism influence the network?
4. How do resources influence the network?
5. How do interaction patterns influence in the network?

Table 3

*Operationalization table*

Variable	Attributes	Indicators	Methods
<b>Network structure</b>	<i>Network members</i>	Actors within the network	Qualitative mapping exercise
	<i>Network relations</i>	Number of relations	In-degree and out-degree ties
		Influence of network members	Betweenness centrality Eigen vector centrality
<b>Network Complexity</b>	<i>Substantive complexity</i>	Diverging definition of racism	Interviews
		Diverging perception of strategy for racism in Rotterdam	Interviews
	<i>Strategic complexity</i>	Types of resources in the network	Interviews
		Importance of resources	Interviews
		Substitutability of resources	Interviews
	<i>Institutional complexity</i>	Stability of interaction patterns	Interviews
		Variety of interaction patterns	Interviews

### 3.3 Methods

The study uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze the anti-racism network. These methods are integrated, which means that they are employed on the same data source. All data was gathered through in-depth semi-structured interviews. Respondents were purposively selected, with the possibility for new respondents to be included based on the network maps of participants. Interviews were held from mid-May to the end of May 2021 via Microsoft Teams or Google Meet, depending on the participants' preferences.

#### 3.3.1 Data collection

Qualitative interviewing was the most suitable method to inquire about relationships and the overall structure of the network. It provides flexibility for both respondents and the research to add relevant information (Babbie, 2013). Furthermore, the degree of structure reduces the risk of losing the focus on topics essential to the study. The interviews were structured in such a way that it allowed for an evident description of the network and an in-depth discussion of network relationships guided by substantive, strategic, and institutional complexity (Appendix I).

##### 3.3.1.1 Network members

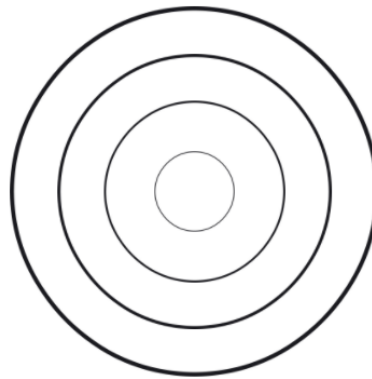
Before analyzing the anti-racism network of Rotterdam it was important to first identify network members followed by relationships within the network. To better grasp relevant actors operating in the anti-racism context in Rotterdam, the following steps were taken:

1. The policy program *Rotterdam against Racism* was analyzed to find out which organizations contributed to the process of anti-racism policymaking.
2. Exploratory conversations were held with policy advisers and public officials with knowledge of organizations in Rotterdam active in the sphere of anti-racism.
3. Newspaper articles and reports concerning anti-racism in Rotterdam were checked for mentions of actors overlooked in preceding steps.

Based on availability, the final sample consisted of nine organizations: *Gemeente Rotterdam*, *Stadsmarinier Racism and Discrimination*, *RADAR*, *Art. 1*, *IDEM*, *Stichting Gedeeld Verleden Gezamenlijke Toekomst (GVGT)*, *Stichting RUTU*, *Kick Out Zwarte Piet*, and *SPIOR*. Potential respondents were informed about the focus of this study and asked whether they have had direct experience with working with other organizations and maintaining

external relations. This resulted in a total of eight interviews with representatives of the nine organizations mentioned above. Three interviewees were board members and involved in executive decisions for their organizations. The remaining five interviewees had extensive experience with their organization's network and external relations.

During the interview, respondents were asked to consider which actors they work with to realize the goals of their respective organization. Subsequently, respondents were asked where they would place the actor on the map based on the frequency of collaboration. This study used standardized maps over free drawn maps to interpret the data in a meaningful way (Figure 1).



*Figure 1. Concentric circles*

Concentric circles required the respondent to identify and rank other network members, where the smallest circle represented the respondent's position (Dobbie, Reith & McConville, 2018). These network maps served as a tool to reconstruct the anti-racism network and help respondents to reflect on their network in a standardized way. It allowed for examining individual perceptions of reality and relationships in the networks and which dynamics emerge (Ahrens, 2018).

### *3.3.1.2 Network relations*

The visual element of this study provided insight into the network that exceeds the dialogue narrative of in-depth interviews (Ahrens, 2018). The maps served as a tool to construct the network and understand network relationships in the context of governance network complexity. After the mapping exercise, the interview was structured according to the three types of complexity (Appendix I). First, interviewees were asked about their definition of racism and what they perceive as the best strategy to address racism in Rotterdam. Second, referring back to the network map, interviewees were asked to elaborate on their relationship

with each actor. In addition, interviewees were encouraged to take a bird's-eye view of the anti-racism network and describe influential actors and the reasons behind this. Finally, interviewees were asked to reflect on their interaction patterns with the actors mentioned in their network maps.

### 3.4 Data analysis

The anti-racism network of Rotterdam was both quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed. This section first explained the quantitative approach to data analysis and ends with the qualitative data analysis.

#### 3.4.1 Quantitative network analysis

During the interview, respondents created network maps that served as the building block for visualizing the network. The network maps consisted of three concentric circles, where the first circle represented close collaboration descending to less close collaboration.

##### *3.4.1.1 Data preparation*

After each interview, Microsoft Excel was used to adapt the respondent's network map to a nodes and edges table. The nodes table consisted of an id and label column. Every actor that the respondent mentioned was given an id. The edges table consisted of source, target, and weight. The respondent represents the source and the target refers to their collaborative actors. Based on whether the respondent placed the target in the first, second, or third concentric circle, the relationship between source and target was weighted by a value of one, two, or three. The relationship between nodes are directional as the ties flow from the source to the target.

Finally, the tables were uploaded in network software Gephi version 0.9.2. The software transformed the data into a graph (Figure 2, p. 24). The size and color of the nodes were ranked according to in-degree centrality. The edges were ranked based on weight.

##### *3.4.1.2 Network statistics*

There are many ways to examine connections within a network. The aim of this thesis is to examine the influence of governance network complexity in the anti-racism network. With the interdependent character of governance networks in mind, the network was measured in terms of important and influential actors (nodes).

In-degree and out-degree ties help to establish which actors are influential in a network. For example, an actor with a relatively high number of incoming ties is seen as a target of interest which implies its popularity among network members (Hanneman & Riddell, 2005). In contrast, an actor with a relatively high number of outgoing ties may hold the communicator's position (Hanneman & Riddell, 2005).

Although in-degree and out-degree ties are important to consider, it is likely that actors are able to influence actors beyond their direct ties others. Betweenness centrality is a general measure of actor's position within a network. Betweenness measures the extent to which an actor is located in between other network members (Freeman, 1978). An actor with a high betweenness centrality hold a critical position because they connect different groups of the network (Tabassum, Pereira, Fernandes, Gama, 2018).

The final measure used in this study is eigenvector centrality. Bonacich (1972) proposed the idea that it is not only important to consider how many connections an actor has but also how many of these connections are with powerful and well-connected actors (Tabassum et al., 2018). Here is is mainly about the quality of connections rather than the quantity of connections. At first glance, an actor may have few connections, however, it may have a greater influence on the network than expected due to its connections to powerful actors.

### 3.4.2 Qualitative network analysis

The previous section showed how actor positions and network relations were measured. However, quantitative network analysis cannot give meaning to the relationships and the structure of the anti-racism network. The qualitative analysis of this thesis explored how this is influenced by governance network complexity.

Before the analysis, the interviews were transcribed. The transcripts were analyzed through open, axial, and selective coding. The coding process started with reading the transcripts marking important sections, followed by labeling the sections with a code. Afterward, the codes were analyzed to discover overlap and consider how the codes could be categorized (Babbie, 2013). As the interviews were structured according to the types of complexity, patterns in the data were more evident to discover (Appendix I).

### 3.5 Ethical considerations

Conducting research always includes some degree of involvement of the researcher. Qualitative studies risk being influenced by subjectivity. This study aims to reduce this risk by using both quantitative and qualitative research methods.

An essential part of this study is the network mapping exercise. The research method includes semi-structured interviews with the creation of a network map. During the creation of a network, respondents needed some steering and guidance. It is inevitable for the researcher to become involved. Respondents were stimulated and reinforced to execute the exercise how they preferred. However, the possibility exists that this may have influenced the results.

Permission is an essential element. Organizations and respondents themselves must be aware of their participation and role in the study. The interviewees were made aware that the conversation will be recorded and are allowed to object or withdraw from the interview at any time. Since one of the objectives is to construct the anti-racism network in Rotterdam, the organization that the respondent represents cannot be anonymized for the visualization. Respondents are made aware of these aspects before deciding to participate, which will be confirmed with a consent form. The privacy and confidentiality of the respondent will be respected during and after the research process.

## 4. The anti-racism network in Rotterdam

So far, the preceding chapters have discussed the theoretical foundation and research design of this study. Chapter four and chapter five will review the results. Chapter four is structured as follows. Section 4.1 introduces the context of anti-racism network. Section 4.2 visualizes the anti-racism network based on interviewees' network maps. The remaining sections 4.3 to 4.5 elaborate on the network statistics and findings.

### 4.1 Context of the anti-racism network

The anti-racism protests revealed the urgency of addressing diversity-related issues in Rotterdam. The municipality responded with the additional policy plan, "Rotterdam against Racism" (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020a). The 2020-2022 plan delineates how and what the council will do to address racism in the city. The municipality of Rotterdam strives to work with many different actors to improve the city. The cooperation between the municipality and the diversity network in Rotterdam is further emphasized in action 3 of Rotterdam against

Racism. As this study focuses on the anti-racism the section will continue with the organizations of the network.

The anti-racism network of this study consist of 62 actors that reflect a collaboration among different sectors. For clarity, these organizations were grouped according to the type of organization in Table 4. Five categories of actors were established: government institutions and departments, knowledge institutes, cultural sector actors, specific groups, and the private sector.

Table 4

*Members of the anti-racism network*

<b>Government institutions and departments</b>	<b>Knowledge institutes</b>	<b>Cultural sector actors</b>	<b>Specific groups</b>	<b>Private sector</b>
Politie Rotterdam, OM, PVDA, NIDA, DENK, Groen Links, Gemeente Rotterdam, Stadsmarinier, Racism and Discrimination, Department of Integratie & Samenleven, Department of Veiligheid, HR department, College van B&W	RADAR, IDEM, Dona, Daria, Art. 1, Controalalt-delete, EUR	Verhalenhuis Rdam, Platform Verbalism, Concrete Blossom, GVGt, NL Wordt Beter, Historisch Gemeenschap Rdam, Historisch Museum, Wereld Museum, Stadsarchief, Open Rotterdam, Bibliotheek Rotterdam, Theater Rotterdam, Skar, Rotterdam Rijnmond, Walhalla, Ik ben wij,	Skin, Samen010, SPIOR, Stichting Mara, Jewish community, Chinese community, RUTU, KOZP, Wi Masanga, Jongeren op Zuid, Rdam pride	Havenbedrijf Rotterdam, Loopbaan lounge, Helderheid, 010inclusief

First is the category of government institutions and departments. The core actors within this category are the municipality of Rotterdam and its specific departments. This category also includes enforcement agencies such as *Politie* Rotterdam and *Openbaar Ministerie* (OM).



These actors strive to create and maintain an environment where every citizen can be themselves, enjoys equal opportunities, and can live in a diverse society. For brevity, political parties are also included in this category.

Second, actors that belong to the category of knowledge institutes focus on research practices related to anti-discrimination. Expertise centers like RADAR and its branches IDEM, DonaDaria, Art. 1 make up most of this category. The expertise centers in Rotterdam focus on diversity, discrimination, and emancipation. These centers were established after subsidies for many societal organizations, and migrant organizations ceased to exist in the early 2000s (Dekker & van Breugel, 2019). RADAR and Art. 1 operate both locally and nationally and set out to prevent and combat discrimination. IDEM and DonaDaria are only active in Rotterdam and focus specifically on making the city more inclusive. Their activities are directed at citizens, organizations, professionals, and volunteers. In 2010, the national government adopted the *Wet Gemeentelijke Antidiscriminatievoorzieningen*. This law entails that a municipality must provide access to anti-discrimination measures such as registering discrimination reports by an independent body (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 2009). Anti-discrimination agency RADAR fulfils this obligation for the municipality of Rotterdam.

Third, cultural sector actors are concerned with diversity-related matters. Organizations such as Verhalenhuis Rotterdam, Platform Verbalism, Concrete Blossom, and Gedeeld Verleden Gezamenlijke Toekomst (GVGT), focus on inclusivity and diversity within the cultural sector as well as in society.

Fourth, the category of actors that represent specific groups. This category contains various actors ranging from foundations representing religious groups or less organized representatives of ethnic communities. Some actors within this category have been active in Rotterdam for decades, while others have only operated in Rotterdam for a few years. Albeda College and Hogeschool Rotterdam were also included in this category due to their diverse student body. These institutions offer insight into the diversity-related experiences of young citizens in Rotterdam.

Finally, the anti-racism network includes actors related to the private sector. These actors are concerned with making the private sector of Rotterdam more accessible and inclusive for people with diverse backgrounds.

The anti-racism governance network of Rotterdam includes many actors from different sectors in society. As mentioned in chapter 3.3.1.1 *Network members*, it was beyond the scope of this study to have interviewed all actors included in Table 4. The organizations that were interviewed are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

*Overview of interviewed organizations*

<b>Organization</b>	<b>Category</b>	<b>Goal</b>
RADAR	Knowledge institute	Combat discrimination and improve equal treatment <sup>1</sup>
Art. 1	Knowledge institute	Prevent and combat discrimination <sup>2</sup>
IDEM	Knowledge institute	Making knowledge and expertise concerning inclusion, discrimination and emancipation accessible to organizations, professionals and volunteers <sup>3</sup>
Gemeente Rotterdam	Government institution and departments	Creating an environment where every citizen can be themselves, enjoys equal opportunities and is able to live in a diverse society <sup>4</sup>
Stadsmarinier R&D	Government institutions and department	Monitoring societal issues in Rotterdam neighborhoods through close cooperation with wide range of stakeholders and the municipality.
Kick Out Zwarte Piet (KOZP)	Specific groups	Advocates of anti (black) racism with the purpose of educating people and discussing institutional racism at the local, national, and international level. <sup>5</sup>
Stichting Gedeeld Verleden Gezamenlijke Toekomst (GVGT)	Cultural sector actor	Enhance awareness and knowledge of the shared history of Rotterdam to increase a shared understanding of what it means to live in a multi-ethnic society <sup>6</sup>
SPIOR	Specific groups	Facilitate and strengthen the Muslim community
Stichting RUTU	Specific group	Creating awareness and connect Rotterdammers in

<sup>1</sup> <https://radar.nl/over-radar/radar-inc/>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.art1.nl/over-art-1/>

<sup>3</sup> <https://idemrotterdam.nl/over-idem-2/missie-visie/>

<sup>4</sup> Rotterdam tegen Racisme 2020-2022 <https://controlealtdetele.nl/files/racismekaanpak-gemeente.pdf?d06722947f>

<sup>5</sup> <https://guerrillafoundation.org/grantee/kick-out-zwarte-piet-stroomversnellers/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://gvgtrotterdam.nl/>

#### 4.2 The anti-racism network visualization

During the interviews, respondents participated in a network mapping exercise. Each respondent was asked to identify the organizations that they collaborate with to realize their goals. Subsequently, Respondents allocated actors on their network map according to concentric circles (Figure 1). Figure 2 visualizes the anti-racism network of Rotterdam.

The network is to be interpreted as follows. The anti-racism network in Rotterdam consists of 62 nodes and 85 directive edges. The nodes are supplied with an id label to clarify which organization it represents. The edges refer to the connections between organizations and are visualized as arrows. Figure 2 shows the size and the color of the nodes based on weighted incoming relations: the greener and larger a node, the more incoming ties. The links between nodes are not treated as binary but are weighted according to the frequency of collaboration. This is visualized in Figure 2 as follows:

1. Thick dark blue edges represent the actors that respondents identified as inner circle collaborators.
2. The actors considered as close collaborators are represented by light blue and less thick edges.
3. Thin edges represent actors that were allocated to the outer circle.

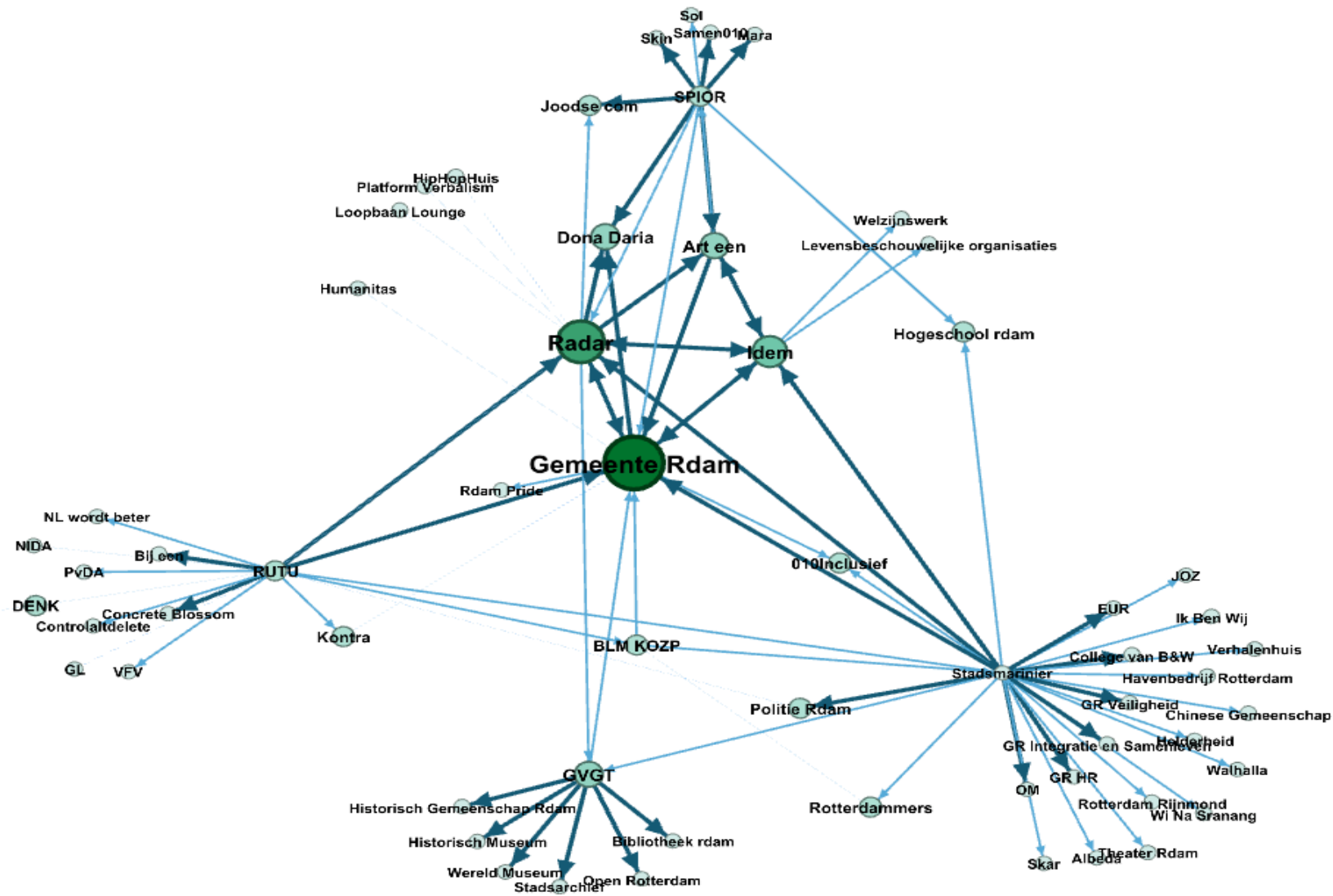


Figure 2. Anti-racism network map

### 4.3 Network relations

This section will discuss network statistics to gather more insight into the network's structure. The average degree of a network measures the number of ties each actor has (Frey, 2018). An actor in the anti-racism network has an average of 2.9 ties to other actors. This is a relatively low average. However, as ties between actors are directed, it is more meaningful to look at the in-degree and out-degree ties.

Table 5 shows that all respondents have a higher out-degree than in-degree and relatively few reciprocal ties. Ties that are reciprocal imply the existence of an interdependent relationship. However, respondents ranked relationships based on the intensity of collaboration as depicted with different colored edges (Figure 2). Even though ties may be reciprocal, the degree of interdependency may differ among the two actors.

*Gemeente Rotterdam* has the highest number of in-degree ties initiated by RADAR, Art 1, GVG, *Stichting RUTU*, KOZP, SPIOR, and *Stadsmarinier R&D*. Four of seven of these in-degree ties are ranked as most important by its initiators. However, of the seven in-degree ties, only the ties from RADAR and GVG are reciprocal. RADAR has the second-highest in-degree ties of the network, albeit a small gap compared to the other respondents. RADAR's ties are reciprocal and of equal strength with *Gemeente Rotterdam*. The tie to *Stichting RUTU* is also reciprocal but differs in terms of strength. During the interview, RADAR described *Stichting RUTU* as an outer circle collaborator which provides them access to a specific community. In contrast, *Stichting RUTU* perceived RADAR as an inner-circle collaborator that they reach out to for information and operational advice.

Table 6

*Specified number ties of respondents*

<b>Organization</b>	<b>In-degree</b>	<b>Out-degree</b>	<b>Sum of ties</b>	<b>Number of reciprocal ties</b>
Gemeente Rotterdam	8	12	20	3
RADAR	5	8	12	4
IDEM	3	2	5	2
Stichting GVG	3	7	10	1
Kick Out Zwarte Piet	2	3	5	1

SPIOR	2	12	14	3
Stichting RUTU	2	14	16	2
Art. 1	1	3	4	2
Stadsmarinier R&D	1	27	28	0

*Stadsmarinier* R&D has a low in-degree of one but a relatively high out-degree of 27. This is expected since *stadsmariniers* act as bridges between citizens, interest groups, companies, and the municipality (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2021b). Network members SPIOR and *Stichting* RUTU also show a relatively low in-degree but a high out-degree. Likewise, the overall goal of these organizations is to either connect or facilitate (Table 4). Interestingly, SPIOR is the organization with the most reciprocal ties, which may be related to its many years of experience operating in Rotterdam.

#### 4.4 Central actors

While in-degree and out-degree ties provide an initial overview of well-connected and possibly influential actors, it is unlikely that all organizations in the network are directly connected. It is also possible to reach network members through indirect connection (Hevey, 2018). Besides, some actors have a favored position in the network which offers a greater power. An actor located in-between other actors is considered more powerful as network members are more dependent on the position of that actor (Hanneman & Riddell, 2005). Table 6 provides an overview of the calculated betweenness centrality of the respondents.

Table 7

#### *Centrality measures*

<b>Organization</b>	<b>Betweenness centrality</b>	<b>Eigenvector centrality</b>
Gemeente Rotterdam	205.8	1.0
Stadsmarinier R&D	165.9	0.15
Kick Out Zwarte Piet	141.7	0.34
RADAR	101.2	0.78
Stichting RUTU	88.8	0.24
SPIOR	48.6	0.41
Stichting Gedeeld Verleden	48.0	0.52
Gezamenlijke Toekomst		

IDEM	21.3	0.66
Art. 1	6.8	0.51

As shown in Table 6, *Gemeente Rotterdam* has the highest betweenness centrality score. This means that *Gemeente Rotterdam* most often lies in-between the shortest paths that interconnect other organizations of the anti-racism network. In comparison to other respondents, most network members are in some way dependent on *Gemeente Rotterdam* to realize their goals. Based on betweenness centrality, *Gemeente Rotterdam* holds the most influential position in the anti-racism network.

*Stadsmarinier R&D* and *Kick Out Zwarte Piet* also have a relatively high betweenness centrality score. Following Bonachich (1972), eigenvector centrality introduces the idea that besides the number of direct and indirect connections, it is also relevant to consider how important the actors of those connections are. *Stadsmarinier R&D* has a high betweenness centrality score; it also has the lowest eigenvector centrality score. While *Stadsmarinier R&D* serves as a bridge connecting to other organizations in the network, few connections are with influential organizations resulting in a distance from the network's center of power. Similarly, *Stichting RUTU* and *KOZP* have moderate to high betweenness centrality but low eigenvector centrality scores. Figure 2 shows that *Stadsmarinier R&D*, *Stichting RUTU*, and *KOZP* share direct and indirect connections depicted with the light blue lines. However, these organizations are considered either outer-ring collaborators or non-collaborators by the cluster of *Gemeente Rotterdam*, *RADAR*, *IDEM*, and *Art. 1*, leading to low eigenvector centrality scores.

Figure 2 shows that the cluster of *Gemeente Rotterdam*, *RADAR*, *IDEM*, and *Art. 1* form the core of the anti-racism network. These actors share reciprocal ties and consider each other as inner-circle collaborators. Correspondingly, this suggests a more symmetrical interdependent relationship between actors in this cluster compared to the other network members. Based on the analysis of this cluster, the quality of ties rather than the quantity of ties seems to be a decisive aspect of an actor's position within the anti-racism network. *Gemeente Rotterdam* has both the highest betweenness centrality and eigenvector centrality. *RADAR* has a moderate betweenness centrality but the second-highest eigenvector centrality score. *Gemeente Rotterdam* and *RADAR* already hold an influential position in the network based on their in-degree ties (Table 2). However, *IDEM* and *Art.1* have low in-degree ties and low betweenness centrality but have the third and fourth highest eigenvector centrality scores. *Gemeente Rotterdam* and *RADAR* perceived these actors as inner-circle collaborators

which strengthened the position of IDEM and Art .1 in the anti-racism network. Notably, Dona Daria was not part of the sample that was interviewed and did not provide any data on their connections. Nevertheless, the betweenness centrality of Dona Daria is 21.3 and has an eigenvector centrality of 0.60. This suggests that Dona Daria has a favorable position in the network due to its relationship with the core actors.

#### 4.5 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the anti-racism network in Rotterdam, focusing on network relations and the position of actors. In general, the anti-racism network is considered to be a low-density network. An ultimately linked network has a density of 1, compared to a 0.02 density in the anti-racism network in Rotterdam. The analysis of the anti-racism network of Rotterdam showed that *Gemeente Rotterdam* and RADAR hold an influential position in the network. The influence of these organizations is extended to IDEM, Art 1, and Dona Daria. Similarly, SPIOR holds a moderately influential position in the network due to its connections to the organizations mentioned above. *Stichting RUTU*, KOZP, *Stichting Gedeeld Verleden Gezamenlijke Toekomst*, and *Stadsmarinier R&D* are considered to be less influential network members.

Social network analysis is a helpful approach to visualize and identify network connections. However, it cannot account why the cluster of *Gemeente Rotterdam*, RADAR, IDEM, Art. 1 are considered more influential than other network members. Chapter 5 investigates whether this is related to complexity within governance networks.



## 5. Complexity in the anti-racism governance network of Rotterdam

The preceding chapter analyzed the anti-racism network in terms of connections and actors. This chapter will determine whether complexity influences the the anti-racism network in Rotterdam. Eight interviews were conducted in which respondents were asked about relationships with network members. Chapter five is structured according to the themes of the theoretical framework of Chapter two. Section 5.1 *Substantive complexity* expands on the problem perception of respondents. Section 5.2 *Strategic complexity* elaborates on the role of resources in the anti-racism network. Section 5.3 *Institutional complexity* discusses interaction patterns that exist in the network. Finally, section 5.4 concludes by summarizing the influence of network complexity.

### 5.1 Substantive complexity

Within governance networks actors may have diverging perception of the problem situation, also referred to as substantive complexity. These perceptions are influenced by an actor's values and expectations. Finding a solution to a problem may become more challenging if individuals have different problem perceptions (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016).

#### 5.1.1 Defining racism

The first question that respondents were asked was how they would define racism. The extensive character of this question allowed respondents to elaborate on their perspectives without any limitations. Table 7 provides a concise overview of respondent's initial answers, which they further expanded during the interview.

Table 8

#### *Overview racism definitions*

<b>R1</b>	Racism is about inclusion, there must be an understanding that people act inclusively
<b>R2</b>	Racism is a system of people and institutions that is projected on a certain demographic and marginalizes and excludes certain groups
<b>R3</b>	I think at its core racism is about exclusion of groups from society
<b>R4</b>	Racism is about how people interact and how institutions function. I believe this is rooted in behavioral patterns that are being transferred from generation to generation
<b>R5</b>	It is about how people of color are treated by society, leaders and institutions

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**R6** I think racism and discrimination and exclusion are perceived on a scale. It takes the form of an iceberg, you have explicit forms of racism such as violence, verbal abuse, vandalism which is the consequence of racist sentiments. This is followed up by unconscious racism and prejudice

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**R7** I would define racism as one that feels superior over the other one and also possesses over the power to be superior. I think its particularly about the superiority between races, not necessarily black against white but all different colors.

---

**R8** It's a systematic problem that is very complex so I don't think that there is one answer

---

Racism is complex, and it is unlikely that everyone would have defined it the same way. Yet, Table 7, shows that there is an overlap in the definition by the respondents. Respondents all based their descriptions on the interaction between individuals or groups of people. Four out of eight respondents explained racism according to contrasting terms such as conscious or unconscious and implicit or explicit (R4, R5, R6, R7). For example, respondent 6 stated: *“people that are explicitly racist are in my opinion only a relative small portion of society, the amount of people that are unconsciously prejudiced is a way larger part of society.”* Two respondents questioned whether the concept of racism could be seen as a separate phenomenon or in relation to discrimination and exclusion (R1 & R6). Respondent 2 elaborated on their experience with the debate of defining racism:

*“For example when we're talking about Black Lives Matter the younger generation also says hey it's not just about race it's also about different identities such as sexuality and gender”*

Surprisingly, few respondents made explicit references to race (R5, R7). Instead, it was described as an issue derived from diverse societies. Respondent 7 did specifically include race in defining the concept of racism:

*“I think its particularly about the superiority between races, not necessarily white against black but all different colors. Racism can also play a role within groups, for example, within the black community it can be directed at different backgrounds. However, I think that white people always feel superior over those of color.”*

These quotes show that the distinction between racism and related concepts such as discrimination may not be as clear-cut in an individual's daily life. Respondent 2 elaborated that it is important to discuss alternate perspectives of racism to communicate what communities in Rotterdam experience and how this can be addressed. Similarly, respondent 8 questioned whether there is one approach to defining racism.

### 5.1.2 Addressing racism in Rotterdam

The strategy to address racism in Rotterdam was described by six out of eight respondents as a responsibility of everyone in society. Creating awareness was seen as the primary tool to alter behavior that excludes certain groups from the community (R2, R3, R4, R5, R6, R7). Dialogue is described as an essential measure to understand the experience of those who have suffered from racism. Besides, through dialogue, it becomes possible for individuals to reflect on their prejudice and the consequences this has on their actions. Respondent 7 further elaborated:

*“As for the best strategy to address racism, I focus most on the second part of the iceberg, namely unconscious prejudice (...) I think it is important to create awareness about their behavior and mindset reset. This starts with self reflection and awareness. It's about thinking and becoming aware of your own privilege but also your own prejudice and how this all affects society.”*

In discussing the best strategy for racism in Rotterdam, most respondents focused on the role of public officials and the municipality (R1, R4, R5, R6, R7). Specifically, public leaders were seen as important figures in bringing about structural change. The commitment of leaders is perceived as an essential aspect in changing the environment. Respondent 5 emphasized the importance of committed leaders from a critical angle:

*“The most honest answer I can give on the strategy to address racism is that our societal leaders need to grow up emotionally. They need to become responsible for the actions they take and the people who they lead in their work. And I don't think that's happening.”*

While all described the role of the municipality as setting an example, perceptions diverged on what this role entails (R1, R4, R5, R6, R7). For example, respondent 7 felt like the municipality must actively provide marginalized groups space, opportunity, and resources to fight racism

and educate others. According to respondents 1 and 6, institutions are acknowledging the problem and are becoming anti-racist. Respondents similarly described that racism could be addressed by creating more awareness among society in Rotterdam.

To conclude, substantive complexity did not influence the anti-racism network. While there was some overlap, the perception of what racism entails did diverge among the respondent. The overlap in definitions was not specific to a particular category of actors (Table 4). On top of that, having diverging perceptions did not prompt contradicting problem solutions. Instead, regardless of their power and position in the network, network members acknowledged that racism is a complex issue that it is implausible to have converging perceptions.

## 5.2 Strategic complexity

Governance networks are characterized by interdependent relationships among its members. Interdependency emerges because no single actor possesses all resources to handle the governance issue alone. To realize the desired outcome, actors try to anticipate or influence other network members. These interaction processes are based on actors' subjective dependency position. Network members are not always aware of dependency relations or may misestimate their dependency position. As follows, strategic complexity may emerge due to uncoordinated interaction.

### 5.2.1 Resources within the anti-racism network

Relationships between members of the anti-racism network in Rotterdam reflected the interdependent character of governance networks. All respondents discussed that collaboration with other organizations was essential to address racism in Rotterdam since everyone has a different expertise. Each organization possessed resources that are helpful for other network members. This is also where the strength of governance networks lies, as Respondent 2 highlights:

*“For example, considering the protest against racism within the Rotterdam police force, I could have started something by myself or parallel to other organizations but it is more advantageous to speak to others and consider how we can unite our resources and where everyone can contribute. Sometimes it’s brainstorming other times it’s about coming into action”*

According to Klijn & Koppenjan (2016), the most common resources in governance networks consist of financial resources, production resources, competencies, knowledge, and legitimacy. Participants were asked to describe their relationships with other network members. Based on their responses, knowledge, financial resources, and legitimacy as common resources in the anti-racism network.

The resource of knowledge was described by six out of eight respondents as sharing of information. This covered a wide range of activities. Respondents 1, 2, 3, 4, and 8 described that they share information with network members as a means of support. For example, respondents 2 and 4 explained that the municipality approached them on for the colonial history project in Rotterdam to figure out which actors must be included and how they can be united. Respondent 6 explained that it often connects actors to each other that can benefit from each other's resources. Respondent 7 emphasized that by sharing knowledge, their organization gathers insight into the experiences of specific communities. All organizations relied on each other for knowledge; however, RADAR reoccurred as an organization that was seen as obtaining over varied sources of information (R1, R2, R3, R6, R7, R8). Respondent 2 elaborated on the reason for reaching out to RADAR:

*"You don't need to reinvent the wheel. The organizations that I work with have certain networks, knowledge or practical matters. (...) For example, RADAR possesses over a lot of data. When I encounter obstacles I am able to discuss what the best approach might be. My contact advises me to talk to certain people or which route is best to take."*

This facilitating strategy to cooperation is described by six out of eight respondents (R1, R2, R3, R4, R6, R8). Organizations within the network helped each other to connect to the right person for the matter. Besides, network members acknowledged that they must collaborate to fight racism in Rotterdam. Since respondents defined racism as an issue affects all of society in *Chapter 5.1 substantive complexity*, this line of reasoning reappeared that it should be solved by a myriad of actors.

While all network members contributed knowledge as a resource, the opposite is true for financial resources. Seven out of eight respondents perceived *Gemeente Rotterdam* as the only provider of funding. Respondent 1 illustrated the role of the municipality as provider of financial means:

*“All organizations are important but Gemeente Rotterdam is essential for the existence of other organizations, they might be able to find other constructions for survival but the Gemeente is important for them.”*

The quote by respondent 7 affirmed the perception that respondent 1 has of *Gemeente Rotterdam*:

*“The municipality is the one that has the money. Without the municipality none of these organizations would be able to conduct their activities”*

Linked to its position concerning financial resources, *Gemeente Rotterdam* is the sole actor that has the ability to give or withhold legitimacy. Particularly younger organizations with less capacity and experience in the anti-racism network felt that it is more challenging to be taken seriously (R5, R7). For example, respondent 5 is part of an organization that refrains from using financial resources provided by *Gemeente Rotterdam*. In the quote below, respondent 5 elaborates on their experience:

*“When so many people show up you as they did during the protests last June, you can show how urgent the issue is and that it needs to be discussed. When this happens you start to be seen as a serious player. It took us ten years before we could obtain that position.”*

Similarly, respondent 7 addressed how legitimacy influences smaller organizations in the network:

*“It is beneficial for the smaller organizations if they cooperate with us. If they want to do a certain project for which they need subsidy, they can go to the municipality and say that they are cooperating with us and apply for subsidy.”*

All organizations contributed resources described by network members as necessary. However, this section has shown that some actors possess more resources than others. Considering that governance networks rely on sharing resources, actors attempt to influence network members to employ their resources in a certain way (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2020). The following section will elaborate on how resource dependencies influence the anti-racism network in Rotterdam.

### 5.2.2 Resource dependencies

Six out of eight organizations acknowledged that working together is crucial as no one possesses all resources needed to conduct their activities. Accordingly, organizations adopted a collaborative strategy to seek a solution that favors multiple parties (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). However, resource dependencies influenced the process of interaction with other network members. The anti-racism network in Rotterdam relied on three types of resources: knowledge, financial means, and legitimacy. As discussed in the previous section, financial resources were perceived as crucial by network members. Likewise, dependency relations concerning financial resources were the main source of strategic complexity.

*Gemeente Rotterdam* is considered the most the central actor in the anti-racism network (Figure 2). It is also the only network member that provides financial resources. Following Klijn and Koppenjan's (2016) typology of dependency relations, there is a high dependency on *Gemeente Rotterdam* within the network. Financial resources are both of great importance and low substitutability. This is likely to strengthen the bargaining position of *Gemeente Rotterdam*. Organizations can receive a subsidy if the application fits within the policy framework and are required to evaluate afterward (R1, R5).

The quantitative network analysis showed that the cluster around *Gemeente Rotterdam* holds a stronger position in the network due to its close relations to the central actor (Table 5, Table 6). As a result, these organizations were seen as having an advantage over actors located at the periphery because of their experience and capacity to anticipate what *Gemeente Rotterdam* desires (R1, R7). However, what the municipality desires is also related to the political landscape (R1, R5, R6, R7). Respondent 5 further specified this:

*“If an organization receives money from the municipality, it still needs to adhere to the objective of the municipality. Thereby, right wing parties dominate the council in Rotterdam. For example, RADAR did not speak out about zwarte piet. The organizations that are located in the sphere of civil society are therefore not entirely independent of the political climate. This makes it messy, institutions that should hold others accountable are not doing this.”*

Remarkably, only two out of eight respondents included the resources held by peripheral actors (R2, R7). Respondent 7 elaborated on how this influences interaction among network members:

*“The cooperation with the smaller organizations works both ways. But often we approach them because they are in close contact with the communities that they represent. They provide access to the different communities. For example, the municipality comes to us with a question and we execute this, however, we need those organizations to provide access to the right community in Rotterdam.”*

Both respondents explained that these organizations are often in direct contact with communities in Rotterdam affected by racism. Arguably, access to communities would be a valuable resource within the anti-racism governance network. However, this was only discussed by two respondents. These findings may represent two things. Firstly, the anti-racism network is characterized by dependency rather than interdependency. Secondly, network members may underestimate their dependency position on smaller organizations representing a community. The network visualization and analysis in chapter four showed that the cluster of *Gemeente Rotterdam*, RADAR, IDEM, and Art. 1 form the core of the anti-racism network. These actors shared reciprocal ties and considered each other as inner-circle collaborators, suggesting a more balanced interdependent relationship.

In contrast, reciprocal ties from the core cluster to actors representing specific groups are limited. Furthermore, these actors are not considered as inner-circle collaborators by the core cluster of the anti-racism network. Between the cluster *Gemeente Rotterdam*, RADAR, IDEM, and Art. 1 and peripheral network members, the relationship is of an asymmetrical interdependent nature.

Strategic complexity influenced the anti-racism network in Rotterdam. *Gemeente Rotterdam* is the only actor that can provide financial resources. This resource's great importance and low substitutability created a high dependency on *Gemeente Rotterdam*, explaining its core position in the network. The cluster of actors surrounding *Gemeente Rotterdam* suggests that access to financial resources and, to a lesser extent, legitimacy was also decisive factors that influenced an actor's position within the anti-racism network.



### 5.3 Institutional complexity

Institutional complexity within governance networks may develop when interaction patterns are non-existent or unstable (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2016). Interaction patterns create shared perceptions and predict the behavior of network members. As a result, cooperation becomes more straightforward, which may reduce complexity.

Interaction patterns within the anti-racism network of Rotterdam varied based on the extent to which an organization is formalized. Older organizations show patterns characterized by regular interaction and varied actors (R1, R2, R4, R6, R7, R8). These organizations have many years of experience working together regularly. Respondent 3 elaborates on their interaction pattern:

*“We have been active in Rotterdam for a very long time and find it helpful to have regular meetings. Every month we come together to discuss matters that are relevant and see where we can help each other out.”*

The well-established organizations in Rotterdam reap the benefits of stable relationships. Organizations that cooperated regularly become are more likely to join forces for future events (R1, R2, R6, R7, R8). They obtain over greater access power in comparison to younger organizations. Respondents of these older organizations state that they have established reliable relationships with short lines of communication. It becomes even more evident when it concerns access to a central actor such as *Gemeente Rotterdam*. Respondent 7 gives an example of the advantage of a close relationship with *Gemeente Rotterdam*:

*“If I want to know something, I just call the policy advisor of that project that I’m doing, or if we have an idea, my manager calls the alderman and asks if we can meet. Gaining access like this is more difficult for younger organizations.”*

Regular interaction is described as an essential aspect of gaining access (R1, R3, R6, R7, R8). Smaller organizations in the anti-racism network also show stable interaction patterns. However, compared to larger organizations, communication is characterized by informal relationships (R2, R5, R7). It heavily relies on relationships between individuals based on friendship rather than inter-organizational relations. Both respondents 5 and 6 connect friendship-based connections to a lack of understanding between government institutions and marginalized groups over the past years. Respondent 5 states:

*“Government institutions work bureaucratically and the needs of society do not necessarily correspond with this way of working. (...) We have always chosen to not make any concessions in our message, how we speak up and where we do it. I believe that this makes it possible to get the entire societal issue on the agenda and thereby help organizations such as RADAR to better fulfil their responsibilities.”*

All respondents described their interaction patterns as stable, which strengthens relationships and makes cooperation more straightforward. While interaction patterns were stable, the patterns showed a lack of variety. The network map in chapter four showed that the immediate neighborhood of network members generally consists of actors with a similar institutional background (Figure 2). For example, the immediate neighborhood of SPIOR consists primarily of religious organizations. Likewise, mainly cultural sector actors are found in the immediate neighborhood of *Gedeeld Verleden Gezamenlijke Toekomst*.

Four out of eight respondents addressed the lack of variety in interaction patterns (R2, R5, R6, R7). In general, it was preferred to work with a couple of familiar actors due to knowing what to expect in terms of operation and performance. Respondent 2 explained:

*“There is communication between many different sort of organizations. However, when there are a lot of people involved and each with their own ideals, everyone has their own perception of where we need to go and what needs to happen (...) There’s also a lot of things happening internally for organizations that might make it more difficult. That may be one of the reasons why organizations may become more inward-focused. For example, you work with a couple of actors that you’re familiar with and know how it works. I believe the less is more. but it’s also difficult.”*

As mentioned earlier in this section, younger organizations relied on friendship-based organizations. It was also these organizations that emphasized the importance of trust in relationships. Along the same lines, respondent 6 related the lack of variety to the challenge for responsibility: *“The issue is that a lot of people are working within this theme and if everyone is responsible nobody is responsible.”* These findings suggest that trust may be a factor that influences a limited variety within interaction patterns.

The influence of institutional complexity on the anti-racism network varied. All respondents described having stable interaction patterns within their direct neighborhood. However, the variation in interaction patterns was scarce. Similarly, chapter four found that only 2% of the potential ties were observed. This low level of density indicated that there are fewer connections between organizations across the anti-racism network. Besides, stable interaction patterns among the cluster *Gemeente Rotterdam*, RADAR, IDEM, and Art. 1 likely reinforced the influential position of the core. The stable interactions patterns reduced institutional complexity within the network's core because actors can anticipate desired behavior. At the same time, this may keep younger organizations at the periphery of the network. Towards the periphery of the anti-racism network, more emphasis was put on trust-based relationships. These findings suggest that institutional complexity had a greater influence on peripheral members of the anti-racism network.

#### 5.4 Conclusion

The network analysis of Chapter 4 showed that the cluster of *Gemeente Rotterdam*, RADAR, IDEM, and ART 1 were considered to be powerful actors. This chapter delved deeper into the influence of complexity on the anti-racism network. Respondents were asked about their experiences of collaboration structured around substantive complexity, strategic complexity, and institutional complexity.

First, substantive complexity did not to influence the anti-racism network. In defining the problem, respondents showed diverging perceptions. Three respondents focused on exclusion, another four respondents focused on the institutional and systematic aspect, the remaining respondents focused on race in defining racism. Although respondents' perceptions of the problem diverged, there was a shared understanding of the strategy to address racism in Rotterdam.

Second, strategic complexity did influence the anti-racism network. Financial resources are non-substitutable within the network. *Gemeente Rotterdam* is the only actor that can provide this resource. Notably, the financial resources are decisive for the high dependency of network members on *Gemeente Rotterdam*. While the other cluster actors do not possess financial resources, respondents experienced that it was more accessible due to having worked together for many years. Financial resources became the focal point of most respondents when discussing interdependencies. Few respondents reflected on the resources held by less central actors. These findings suggested that the dependency position of network members on

peripheral actors is underestimated, or the anti-racism network is characterized by dependency rather than interdependency.

Third, institutional complexity also influenced the anti-racism network. All network members showed stable interaction patterns within their direct neighborhoods. Simultaneously, the interaction patterns of actors throughout the network lacked in variety. As a result, the central actors of the anti-racism network share durable interaction patterns and actors outside of the cluster are not considered as close collaborators. Network members outside of the cluster share stable interaction patterns with actors in their immediate neighborhood. However, these interaction patterns also showed a lack in variety which meant that their close collaborators are not considered to be influential actors of the network. The stable but unvaried interaction patterns is likely to have strengthened the influence of cluster actors located in the core of the anti-racism network.

## 6. Conclusion and discussion

The first section of this chapter covers the discussion of the results and will answer the central question of this study. Section 6.2 reflects on the findings in the wider context of governance network literature and the governance of anti-racism in Rotterdam. Based on the reflections in the previous section, section 6.3 offers recommendations for the governance of anti-racism. Section 6.4 concludes with the limitations and implications of this research.

### 6.1 The influence of complexity

This study set out to answer the research question “*How is the anti-racism network in Rotterdam influenced by complexity?*” using a mixed-methods approach to network analysis. With quantitative methods, the anti-racism network was analyzed in terms of connections and centrality. The quantitative network analysis showed that the cluster *Gemeente Rotterdam* RADAR, Art. 1, IDEM, and Dona Daria form the core of the anti-racism network. *Gemeente Rotterdam* and Radar are considered the most influential network actors. Both actors viewed network members Art. 1, IDEM, and Dona Daria as inner-circle collaborators and shared reciprocal ties. As a result, these three actors also enjoyed greater influence in the anti-racism network. *Stichting RUTU*, *Stadsmarinier R&D*, and *Stichting GVGT* thought of *Gemeente Rotterdam* and/or RADAR as inner-circle or close collaborators. However, these

ties were not reciprocal, which weakened their position in the anti-racism network. The analysis found that the quality of ties is crucial in the anti-racism network. The employed mixed-methods social network analysis offered the possibility of further studying why the cluster of *Gemeente Rotterdam*, RADAR, IDEM, Art. 1, and Dona Daria is considered more influential than other network members.

The qualitative part of this study analyzed whether complexity influenced the anti-racism governance network of Rotterdam. The conducted interviews allowed for an insider perspective of the anti-racism network. Following Klijn and Koppenjan's (2016) framework, the analysis of the anti-racism network in Rotterdam was grounded in network governance theory. The framework provided by Klijn and Koppenjan proved to be an important stepping stone for analyzing networks. The results of this study show that predominantly strategic and institutional complexity influence the anti-racism network. Ownership or access to financial resources is decisive for the power that an actor holds in the network. The actors that belong to the core of the anti-racism network in Rotterdam either possess or have access to critical resources. Their stable relationships reinforce the centralized power in the cluster of actors at the core. In contrast, peripheral actors have weaker relationships with core actors and experience difficulty in accessing critical resources. Complexity makes it more challenging for newer actors to exert influence on the governance of anti-racism in Rotterdam.

## 6.2 Is Rotterdam on the right path to anti-racism?

This section reflects on the findings of this study according to the theoretical expectations developed in the theoretical framework of chapter 2. Additionally, this section reflects on the results in the context of governance network literature and the governance of anti-racism.

Substantive complexity is not considered an influence of the anti-racism network. The first theoretical expectation that if perceptions of the problem situation diverge, then the less likely it becomes that network members agree on the best strategy to address racism in Rotterdam was not confirmed by the findings of this study. Initially, perceptions of the problem situation did diverge among network members. Even though perceptions of the problem situation differed, network members sought the solution to address racism in Rotterdam in a similar direction.

The framework for analyzing governance networks by Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) emphasized that different problem perceptions feed the wicked nature of policy problems. Divergent perceptions lead to varying interpretations of the problem. Network members may

try to contest diverging perceptions or convince others to accept their perceptions. However, the findings of this study suggest that this is not the case for members of the anti-racism network in Rotterdam. It is worth discussing whether these findings were influenced by the method applied in this research. Substantive complexity was operationalized as network members' diverging problem perceptions and problem solutions. During the interviews, respondents were subject to creating a network map and the three types of network complexity. While respondents were able to reflect on their perceptions, it may be have been too demanding for respondents to consider how their perception relates to other network members.

Alternatively, the findings question the meaning of substantive complexity in diversity-related governance networks.

The study of governance networks tends to focus on physical planning and environmental issues while diversity-related governance networks remain widely undiscussed. To fill this gap in the literature, this thesis analyzed an anti-racism governance network. The findings of this study suggest that diverging perceptions on racism are accepted rather than contested. Instead, different perceptions on what racism entails contributed to a more complete picture of the problem situation in Rotterdam. Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) emphasize the importance of aligning problem perceptions among network members. However, the findings of this thesis challenge this aspect of Klijn and Koppenjan's (2016) framework for analyzing governance networks. This raises the question of whether substantive complexity in diversity-related governance networks must be treated as an advantage rather than a pitfall.

This study confirmed the second theoretical expectation that if actors hold a central position in the anti-racism network, then more network members are dependent on the resources they possess. Central actors in the anti-racism network have crucial resources. However, a distinction must be made here. *Gemeente Rotterdam* is described as the sole actor that provides financial resources. Other central actors like RADAR, IDEM, Art.1, and Dona Daria depend on *Gemeente Rotterdam* for financial resources. However, as inner-circle collaborators of *Gemeente Rotterdam*, resources become more accessible. Despite not being the owner of a crucial resource, these organizations hold a more favorable dependency position than other network members. It is advantageous for network members that are less connected and influential to collaborate with organizations such as RADAR due to their connections to *Gemeente Rotterdam*.

The findings concerning strategic complexity debate the feasibility of a genuinely interdependent diversity-related governance network. As mentioned earlier, governance network literature is often applied to cases of physical planning and environmental issues.

Likewise, Klijn and Koppenjan (2016) use cases to illustrate strategic complexity concerning water management, nuclear waste, tunnel construction, and Amsterdam Schiphol Airport. In these governance networks, many actors possess important resources. However, the findings of this research suggest that strategic complexity may present itself differently in diversity-related governance networks. Particularly in the social sector, organizations have limited options for acquiring financial resources. The (local) government is, besides donations, generally one of the few sources for organizations to gather income. The power relations within the anti-racism network reflect the scarcity of financial resources. Network members were focused on the financial resources held by *Gemeente Rotterdam* and its cluster. Few actors discussed the importance of resources held by organizations that represent *Rotterdammers*. Precisely for the matter of racism in Rotterdam, these resources would be imperative to the network.

The third theoretical expectation, that central actors show more stable and varied interaction patterns, was only partly confirmed by the results of this study. All actors experienced stable interaction patterns within their immediate neighborhood. However, this meant that the central actors share stable interaction patterns, while peripheral actors shared stable interaction patterns within their neighborhood of less influential actors. The central actors expressed to have durable relationships after having worked together for years. The collaboration between these network members was described as more straightforward due to known expectation patterns.

Although it is a relatively young network, the findings concerning strategic and institutional complexity may impose a risk for the governance of anti-racism in Rotterdam later on. The Black Lives Matter protest of Rotterdam in June 2020 demonstrated societies' need for change. The municipality of Rotterdam listened to its citizens and reached out to various organizations active in the anti-racism sphere. The protests led to the creation of the policy action program "Rotterdam against Racism." However, the anti-racism network in its current state does not reflect a changing environment. The cluster *Gemeente Rotterdam*, RADAR, IDEM, Art.1, and Dona Daria constitute the core of the anti-racism network. These actors share durable relationships and either possess or have access to critical financial resources. Yet, these are the actors that have been present in Rotterdam for decades. Continuing on the current trajectory bears the risk that younger organizations that offer new perspectives only operate on the peripheries of the anti-racism network. However, it is precisely these organizations that are in direct contact with diverse communities in Rotterdam.

### 6.3 Recommendations

Based on the discussion of the findings in the previous section, the recommendations are directed at strengthening the relationships in the anti-racism network of Rotterdam. The municipality developed the policy program Rotterdam Against Racism for 2020-2022. The other recommendations concern network relations and further research.

#### 6.3.1 *Recommendation one: strengthen resources of young and/or small organizations*

Action 5 of Rotterdam Against Racism offers individual citizens, or small organizations support for their initiatives in the neighborhood. The municipality sets out to lower bureaucratic hurdles and control mechanisms to make it easier for citizens to improve the neighborhood. Although the action is directed at the neighborhood and city level, the policy program only addresses initiatives at the neighborhood level.

The findings of this research show that younger and smaller organizations similarly experience bureaucratic hurdles. The municipality plans to open a designated desk for citizen initiatives. It is recommended that the municipal department of *Integratie en Samenleven* offer this opportunity not only to citizen initiatives but also to younger organizations active in the sphere of anti-racism. It is essential for the governance of anti-discrimination that the municipality fosters an environment conducive to the survival of young organizations in direct contact with diverse communities. Rationally, the allocation of resources is influenced by the composition of parties in the council. It remains, however, crucial for organizations operating in the anti-racism sphere to receive secure funding for the sustainable development of the governance network.

#### 6.3.2 *Recommendation two: improve network cohesion*

This study showed that members of the anti-racism network collaborate most with actors in their immediate neighborhood. Network members inevitably have stronger relationships with comparable actors that operate in the same environment. However, trust is an essential element for a well-functioning governance network. While trust in relationships is likely to evolve when the network matures, it is recommended that network members strive to collaborate with actors beyond their neighborhood. By implementing recommendation one, young and/or new organizations will be able to enhance their capacity. The cluster of Gemeente Rotterdam, RADAR, IDEM, and Art.1, have worked together for many years, reflecting strong relationships that make up the core of the anti-racism network. As influential actors, they must continue to include organizations that represent specific communities. Instead of reaching out



to these communities for information, it is also crucial that the actors representing them are offered a leading role in working towards anti-racism in Rotterdam.

### *6.3.3 Recommendation three: further research into the anti-racism network in Rotterdam*

This study contributed to the field of public administration, and in, particular the governance of anti-racism in Rotterdam. However, the scope of this research limited the number of interviewed network members. Future research could replicate this study with a larger  $N$  and test how this affects the anti-racism network in Rotterdam. Interviewing more actors of the anti-racism network will demonstrate whether the current core actors maintain their central position and if complexity continues to influence the network in the same way. Furthermore, conducting this research in other Dutch cities would discover whether the current findings are context-specific or generalizable to other diversity-related governance networks.

### 6.4 Limitations and implications

The limitations of this research are related to the methodology and scope. A bull's eye diagram technique was less demanding than asking the respondent to list all actors with whom they collaborate. However, respondents still experienced some difficulty in remembering all organizations that are part of their network. Furthermore, the mapping exercise is a snapshot in time and influenced by respondents' subjectivity. The analysis was based on the data generated by eight interviews. The combination of a small sample size and possibly incomplete network maps may have affected the results of this study.

The mixed-methods design brings together the strengths of both research approaches and reduces possible limitations. This field of mixed-methods social network analysis is continuously developing. More specifically, this study employed an integrated quantitative and qualitative approach by studying the same data source. The bull's eye diagram technique was integrated into semi-structured interviews. This approach stimulated respondents to think about the mechanisms that underpin network relations in a governance setting. Qualitative and quantitative strategies were used to examine the gathered data. The generated data were examined using both quantitative and qualitative strategies. In addition, the analysis was grounded in network governance literature. Thereby, this thesis contributes to the field of social network analysis and public administration.

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## Appendix I: interview questions

### **Part II Complexity within the network**

#### Intro

- Introducing myself and stating the purpose of this research
- Asking for permission to record the conversation
- Explaining the structure of this interview

#### *Substantive complexity*

- How would you define anti-racism?
- Causes/root of racism in Rotterdam
- Consequences for those that experienced racism and Rotterdam as a society
- What would be according to you the best strategy to address racism in Rotterdam?
- You have just explained the characteristics of anti-racism from your perspective, is your perspective similar as to other organizations you work with? Are there any differences i.e. how anti-racism is defined or what the best strategy is to address it?
  - i. If yes, how is it different/what are the consequences of diverging perceptions.

#### *Visualizing the network in cooperation with respondent*

Gaan we even naar deze link: XXXX

#### Netwerk intro

- How zou je de missie van de organisatie beschrijven
- Met welke organisaties werk je samen om deze missie te realiseren?
- Hoe zou je deze actors plaatsen op de map? De middelste smalle cirkel is de organisatie waarvoor jij werkt. Hoe zou je de organisaties die je net noemde plaatsen op deze netwerk map, dus in de cirkel het dichtstbij de center met wie je het meest samenwerkt etc

Vragen tijdens het creëren van de netwerk map:

Soort relaties met de organisaties die je plaatst hebt in de eerste ring, tweede ring etc

- Why do you collaborate with these actors?
- How does the collaboration with these actors look like? Doorvragen om resources helder te krijgen i.e. sharing information
- Can you explain from your perspective how the collaboration emerged?
- How did your organization become involved in the collaboration?

*Strategic complexity*

- You explained earlier that you collaborate with refer to actors on network map because of REASON. Is deze samenwerking essentieel voor het realiseren van de organisatie's missie?
  - i. If so/not, why?
  - ii. If yes which actors?
- What sort of resources do you need to conduct your activities?
  - i. Is it sufficient? Why not?
- Do you think that other organizations would benefit from your resources? Do others depend on you to conduct their activities?
- Could you describe how actors collaborate towards anti-racism in Rotterdam?
  - i. Are there any difficulties in the collaboration? Why do you think that these difficulties emerge?
  - ii. How do you deal with these difficulties? What is the specific role of your organization?

*Institutional complexity in depths*

- With which actors do you interact with most often and why?
- How is the interaction among different organizations structured? i.e. do you meet periodically or only when necessary; are there any procedures?  
Depending on the answer:
  - i. How did these rules emerge?
  - ii. Are they rigid or more flexible?
  - iii. Is it clear when rules apply or are there uncertainties?
- Are there any other rules you can think of?

## Conclusion

- Remaining questions/remarks
- Thanking participant

## Appendix II: respondent list

<b>Respondent number</b>	<b>Respondent function</b>	<b>Organization</b>
1	Policy maker	Gemeente Rotterdam
2	Board member	Stiching RUTU
3	Board member	Spor
4	Program director	Gedeeld Verleden Gezamenlijke toekomst
5	Representative	BLM/KOZP
6	Stadsmarinier	Gemeente Rotterdam - Stadsmarinier R&D
7	Senior Trainer inclusion and anti-discrimination,	Radar/Art. 1
8	City networker	Idem