

Beyond Tokenism: Interactive Governance Taking on a Meaningful Role

A study on the construction of meaningfulness through interactions between the municipality of Rotterdam and participants of social movements in the field of diversity, inclusivity and anti-discrimination

- from an interactive governance perspective

Master's Thesis

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Executive Summary

As Rotterdam is working hard in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination, so does a widespread network of social movements at the local level in Rotterdam's neighbourhoods. The municipality of Rotterdam has been putting focus on talking together with the people instead of talking about the people when it comes to developing policy on these topics and acknowledges the strength of social movements and their knowledge of local developments. Social movements in their turn want to share their knowledge and strive for an inclusive policy-making process. Within this network, practices of interactive governance are coming to the surface. Therefore, this thesis focuses on exploring interactive governance in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination and how interactive governance can be improved. This is done by looking at the construction of meaningfulness among participants of social movements and what meaningfulness means within the framework of interactive governance. The concept of meaningfulness has been introduced to understand experiences with interactions in relation to responses towards the municipality.

Meaningfulness has been operationalized by the definition of Mills and Smith (2008), as the judgements that participants have of their activism and the impact they make with it on the people in their networks and outside their networks. Understanding the role of meaningfulness in interactive governance in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination is important because of two reasons. Firstly, interactive governance can promote more inclusive policy-making. Secondly, policy-making in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination is about creating an inclusive society, where people feel like they belong. If interactive governance can take on a meaningful role for citizens and stakeholders, it would be an adequate tool to enhance inclusion.

This research is a case study in which interviews have been held with participants of different social movements located in Rotterdam. With help of these interviews the role of the meaningfulness could be established. In order for interactive governance to be perceived as meaningful, social movements need to be able to act on the level of citizen/stakeholder power (Arnstein, 2019). In addition, meaningfulness has been established as a mediator between experienced interactions and responses of social movements towards the municipality, which illustrates how meaningfulness can be of influence and why it is thus important to enhance meaningfulness. These two findings together provide an argument that the current institutional arrangements of our representative democracy are in need of a change if one wants to reach meaningful interactive governance, as participation that is experienced as meaningful is indeed favourable.

Based on the findings of this study, recommendations are formulated concerning improving the involvement of social movements in the policy-making process in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination in Rotterdam.

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1. Introduction

“It’s not about resistance, it’s about commitment.”¹ – Be The Change

The last couple of weeks were centred around constructive conversations with representatives of different social movements on their experiences with and visions on interactions with the municipality of Rotterdam. These were organisations active specifically in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination. The conversations are called constructive as they contained critical notes regarding the subject, but these were all approached through self-reflection and visions of alternative proposals, from small ideas to more radical ideas of changes. The core, however, illustrated by the quote above, is not that the social movements resist interaction with the municipality, it is that they want to commit themselves to cooperation with the municipality. The purpose of the critical notes is to improve interactions between the municipality and the social movements as social movements distinguish themselves as smaller units containing a lot of transformative power stemming from local citizens. This is not a belief that is only held by the social movements, the municipality acknowledges this power as well.

Over the past few years, we witnessed a rise in action programmes on anti-discrimination, diversity and inclusion within the city of Rotterdam. The municipality is working hard on programmes such as ‘Relax. This is Rotterdam.’ (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019) and ‘Rotterdam against Racism’ (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020). These programmes focus on improving inclusivity, tackling racism and promoting diversity. Woven through these programmes, making a difference *together* with the city’s people is emphasized. In addition, an underlying ideal of the projects is a shift from talking *about* the people, to talking *with* the people. Along those lines, the municipality of Rotterdam has sat down with different social movements about anti-black racism, representatives of organisations that also deal with other forms of racism, people of Asian communities, youth living in Rotterdam and organisations that are active within and for the LGBTQIA+ community. These were organisations such as *Stichting Rutu*, *Wi Masanga*, *SPIOR*, *Me&Society* and *Queer Rotterdam*. They wanted to open up dialogue between the municipality and the movements (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020).

Alongside the rise of aspirations in Rotterdam on including citizens and stakeholders in programmes on diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination, the notion of interactive governance has been increasingly developed. Simply said, interactive governance involves engagement with the public by civil servants. However, this engagement does not come without the necessary tensions between local bureaucracy and the principles and wishes of participating citizens (Blijleven, 2022).

Interactive governance in policy-making in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination specifically is not yet a widely-used framework. Therefore, the first step is to see what role interactive governance can play within this field. As it is about making policy on diversity,

¹ Original quote: Appendix II No. 1

inclusion and anti-discrimination, it is important to reflect these core aspects in the making of the policy. Interactive governance can play an essential role in realising that. However, interactive governance can be complex, especially in extensive networks consisting of many different actors/stakeholders. Therefore, it is important to understand what makes interactive governance valuable. For this research, interactive governance has been broken down into types of participation and the interactions that can take place in these types of participation. Essentially, it thus comes down to understanding the value of the interactions that interactive governance brings about. This brings us to the concept of meaningfulness, which grasps how an interaction is experienced and valued. Meaningfulness taps “into constructs that people think matter and also ultimately make a difference in their lives” (Litt et al., 2020, p. 11).

1.1 Research Focus & Research Question

By linking experiences of interaction from a citizen’s perspective to the construction of meaningfulness in participating in social movements, this thesis seeks to explore the interactions between participating citizens and the municipality from a bottom-up perspective. Previous research is often focused on the implications of interactive governance at the administrative level (Edelenbos, 2005; Edelenbos, Klok & Tatenhove, 2009; Krogh, 2017). However, this thesis is focused specifically on implications for citizens in their participation in social movements. In concrete terms, the thesis attempts to answer the following research question:

‘How does the construction of meaningfulness play a role in interactive governance for participants of different social movements in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination?’

In order to answer this research question, a set of sub-questions has been formulated.

Sub-question 1:

- What does interactive governance look like in the field of diversity and anti-discrimination in Rotterdam?
 - o What are the intentions from the municipality on interactions with social movements, realising interactive governance?
 - o What are the concrete interactions that actually take place between the municipality of Rotterdam and social movements?
 - o How are interactions perceived by participants of the social movements in Rotterdam?

This sub-question will help shedding light on the position that interactive governance takes within the field of diversity and anti-discrimination. By looking at interactive governance in this field from three different angles as proposed above, it will be possible to identify discrepancies between what the

municipality intends to do and what actually happens. The perception of the participants on the interactions is important as it reveals how participants experience the interactions, revealing what interactions are satisfactory and where there are problems or tensions.

Sub-question 2:

- What importance do participants of social movements attach to interactive governance?

This sub-question will help in understanding why different interactions are experienced as satisfactory or why certain problems and tensions exist. If the existing interactions meet the purpose of interactive governance as participants of social movements intend, it explains why these interactions are satisfactory. If the interactions do not comply with their vision of what interactive governance should achieve or look like, it will explain certain tensions.

Sub-question 3:

- What does meaningfulness entail according to participants of social movements?

This sub-question is important in order to establish a unanimous meaning of what we understand as meaningful during the interviews. By diving into this question it can be made sure that findings can be generalized among participants on what role meaningfulness plays. It is a stepping stone towards the next question on the relation between interactions and meaningfulness.

Sub-question 4:

- How do interactions or a lack of interactions play a role in relation to meaningfulness?

This sub-question helps exploring how interactions with the municipality, as part of interactive governance can play a role in constructing meaningfulness. It also helps putting meaningfulness in the bigger mechanism of interactive governance and outcomes of interactions.

Answering these questions will shed light on interactive governance and actual participation experiences from a bottom-up perspective. In addition, it will provide insights on current practices in interactive governance, calling attention to strengths and shortcomings in order to improve the inclusion of citizen participation into governance.

1.2 Scientific Relevance

The notion of meaningful participation frequently returns in academic research on interactive governance. For example, Edelenbos and Klijn (2006, p. 428) “assess whether the participation structure of an interactive policy process results in more meaningful participation”. Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos (2010) speak of how different perceptions of actors on interactions in a network can be an obstacle to reach meaningful outcomes. Edelenbos, Van Schie and Gerrits (2010, p. 74) argue that “links between interactive governance initiatives and existing power structures” should be organized better in order for these initiatives to become meaningful. Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk (2016, p. 25)

conclude the introduction of their book with the notion that the contributions in the book add to the debate on interactive governance in making it “meaningful, legitimate and effective”. Last in this chain of examples, Van Rijswick et al. (2014) discuss involving stakeholders as a building block of governance, in which the question if the stakeholders experience meaningful participation is an aspect of this building block. The word meaningful, however, arises, per article at most twice and remains quite an empty preposition. Therefore, this research tries to understand not only when participation is meaningful, but also how it functions within the interactive governance mechanism, understanding what importance meaningfulness effectively contains.

Next to that, Blijleven (2022) recently published a study of the experiences of civil servants in interactive governance in local governments of the Netherlands. She highlights the interaction between civil servants and citizens, indicating that civil servants require support from the citizens to be effective, which finds itself, first and foremost, in active trust building. As her research is from the perspective of the civil servants, she leaves a gap for further research relating to the citizens perspective, arguing that it may shed more light on exposing the power dynamics within interactive governance. This research will add to this by examining the perspective of citizens active in social movements on experiences with interactive governance.

1.3 Societal Relevance

In light of the emergence of a society that is more and more becoming a network society, with the government as just one of the actors herein, interactive governance becomes more important. The government will need to collaborate with other actors in order to achieve things. There is thus a need for complying the current institutional structure with the implementation of interactive governance (Edelenbos, 2005). This brings us to why meaningfulness is the core of this research. “Meaningful interactions are social interactions that are of higher quality and deeply subjective, serving as the foundation for our strongest relationships” (Litt et al., 2020, p. 1). Understanding what makes interactions meaningful helps to improve how we shape our institutions to strengthen society (Litt et al., 2020). The mere focus on meaningfulness will thus give insights on how the municipality of Rotterdam can act or adjust in order improve quality of interactions and to use interactive governance to their best interests but also to the interests of the citizens. In addition, “[M]eaningfulness has long been considered as a critical psychological experience, necessary for high levels of motivation, satisfaction and performance, because it is a fundamental psychological need that strengthens an individual’s self-worth and life experience” (Fletcher & Schofield, 2021, p. 2978). It will also enhance intrinsic motivation to act and provide energy instead of draining energy. Lastly, and perhaps most important within the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination, experiencing meaningfulness is in line with the needs of experiencing relatedness and belongingness (Fletcher & Schofield, 2021). When meaningfulness is experienced, a sense of belonging is present as well. If interactive governance

can thus generate feelings of belonging by enhancing experiences of meaningfulness in participating in social movements, it is a good framework to implement in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination. Understanding the role of meaningfulness in interactive governance can therefore not only help improving policy on diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination, but also help making the process of policy-making in this field more inclusive.

Furthermore, when speaking of a network society, interactions are also important as they help developing positive perceptions and trust between members of the network. Regular interaction makes it possible to anticipate each other's actions, it relieves complexity of the network and improves collaboration (Chantre, 2021).

1.4 Thesis Outline

The thesis has been divided into several chapters. The following chapter will provide the theoretical framework. Theories regarding governance, interactive governance, participation, interactions, social movements and meaningfulness will be provided. It will also provide an outline of the tentative expectations, based on the different theories. The third chapter explains the followed methods in this research. This will include the case selection, data collection, sampling strategies, data analysis, ethical considerations and an operationalization table of the concepts from the theoretical framework. Chapter four will provide the context in which interactive governance takes place within Rotterdam. It addresses the current state of Dutch local democracy, the way interactive governance functions in the Netherlands nowadays, the development of interactive governance in Rotterdam specifically and finishes with a description of the current anti-racism network in Rotterdam. Chapters five to seven contain the results and analysis of those results. Chapter five will elaborate on the results in line with sub-question one: what interactive governance looks like in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination. Chapter six will outline and analyse the results related to sub-question two about the perceived importance of interactive governance. Chapter seven then includes the results and analysis of sub-questions three and four about meaningfulness and how it is constructed in relation to interactions with the municipality. The last chapter will answer the research question, summarize the main findings and provide a discussion on these findings. It will also provide limitations, resulting in recommendations for further research and provide some practical recommendations regarding the governance of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination.

2. Interactive Governance and Meaningfulness

This theoretical framework will present a deductive approach on contemporary research on interactive governance, its generated interactions between governing bodies and social movements and the construction of meaningfulness within this governing structure. The main theories are discussed and conceptualized to fit this study. In the first paragraph governance in general is assessed, interactive governance will be defined and the dimensions and structures of interactive governance will be laid out. The second paragraph will dive into perspectives on interactive governance: different ideas on what functions interactive governance can take on. Furthermore, it will assess different levels of participation that can occur within interactive governance and the spaces that they can occur in. The third paragraph will be focused on social movements and what they are. It also includes what forms of interactions can lead to what kind of outcomes for social movements and it will outline how meaningfulness will be assessed within this research. So, with this framework it will be possible to look at how interactive governance is shaped in Rotterdam, what spaces it creates for social movements to act in, which can explain different kinds of participations and interactions that take place within those levels of participation. Having this complete picture, it will be possible to untangle the role meaningfulness within this mechanism. Lastly, this chapter will provide theoretical expectations based on the outlined conceptualizations.

2.1 Governance and Interactive Governance

The term governance has been widely used throughout different disciplines such as political sciences, sociology and public administration. The wide distribution of the term across the disciplines has made the meaning of governance quite complex when applying it within public administration (Yi, 2015). Within the extensive body of definitions and meanings of the concept of ‘governance’, Colebatch (2009) suggests that it might be worthwhile to look at the context in which ‘governance’ emerged instead of looking at the meaning of it. There are two ways in which ‘governance’ can be used: as *Gegenbegriff* and as *Oberbegriff*, where the first one is used to distinguish different modes of governing from each other and second one encompasses all forms of governing (Colebatch, 2009). To gain more understanding of interactive governance, for this study, governance will be comprehended as *Gegenbegriff*. This way, governance will remain an analytic construct (Colebatch, 2009). Five different key aspects of governance can then be discerned. These are different institutions and actors in- and outside of the government, the blurring of different roles and responsibilities, the presence of a power dependency between different actors, autonomous self-organisation networks, and governing through ‘steering’ instead of ‘commanding’ (Stoker, 1998).

Within ‘governance’ as *Gegenbegriff*, interactive governance can be distinguished as a mode of governing. Kooiman and Bavinck (2013, p. 11) define interactive governance as “[t]he whole of interactions taken to solve societal problems and to create societal opportunities; including the

formulation and application of principles guiding those interactions and care for institutions that enable and control them”. It connects two actors in general: the system-to-be-governed and the governing system. Inherent to interactive governance is its focus on the relation between both actors outplayed in the ‘interactions’ itself (Kooiman et al., 2008). These interactions between actors are a practical aspect of interactive governance. Kooiman et al. (2008) argue that interactive governance also encompasses a normative side. This normative side is the underlying philosophy that the participation of citizens in governance is desirable because it is an expression of democracy. Interactions in the form of participation and the role of democracy will be further elaborated on in paragraph 2.2.

Interactive governance research is embedded within two dimensions: structure and agency (Kooiman et al., 2008). The theoretical idea behind interactive governance is that society exists out of multiple governing actors who possess agency, or, within interactive governance, the power of action. However, these actors are constrained or enabled in their actions by structures, which consist of the social surroundings that actors are active in (Kooiman & Bavinck, 2013). Dixon and Dogan (2002) argue that interactive governance is based on the ontology of structuralism, in which, ‘causation-wise’, social action is derived from structures, calling it a top-down structural approach. In addition, interactive governance follows a hermeneutic epistemology. This means that “knowledge rests on interpretations embedded in day-to-day expressions or forms of life derived from cultural practice, discourse and language” (Dixon & Dogan, 2002, p. 176). This form of knowledge is thus culturally specific.

Interactive governance, projected onto this case, includes in one conceptual framework the ways that governing bodies and social movements connect and collaborate in order to guarantee that concerns about anti-discrimination and diversity are incorporated into governing efforts. But why specifically interactive governance in this field?

In the last years, in the field of development, academics have been moving toward the concept of ‘inclusive development’ (Gupta et al., 2015, Gupta, Pouw & Ros-Tonen, 2015, Pouw & De Bruijne, 2015). Within this framework, inclusiveness is addressed as non-discriminatory in nature. Furthermore, it calls for enhancing participation in the process of decision-making by implementing approaches by the governance based on participation and by building capacity to realise participation (Gupta, Pouw & Ros-Tonen, 2015). “Capacity building aims to empower poor, vulnerable and marginalized people caught in nested circles of exclusion” (Gupta, Pouw & Ros-Tonen, 2015, p. 547). Empowering, in this context, is involved with gaining four different types of power: ‘power over’, ‘power to’, ‘power with’ and ‘power from within’. Respectively, they mean being able to resist manipulation and power over one’s assets, the ability to create opportunities, collective action and an increased self-esteem regarding one’s position and abilities in society (Gupta, Power & Ros-Tonen, 2015). In the context of this thesis research, the framework of inclusive development is important as they plea for reconstructing governance as interactive governance, stating that “[i]nequalities cannot

be tackled without addressing the governance system as a continuous, adaptive, complex, interactive process that goes beyond (but not without) government” (Gupta, Pouw & Ros-Tonen, 2015, p. 549). Even though this framework is grounded in development studies, it seems highly applicable to apply to policy making in the field of diversity and anti-discrimination, as it gives insight in underlying structures of societies that contain inequalities and examines unequal relations. Based on these arguments, it is thus important to assess interactive governance regarding diversity and anti-discrimination as it creates opportunities of adaptive learning and empowers marginalized people (Gupta, Pouw & Ros-Tonen, 2015).

2.2 Interactive Governance Perspectives and Participation

Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk (2016) use three perspectives on interactive governance to develop a critical view on both the potentials and pitfalls of interactive governance. The perspectives are the instrumental perspective, the cultural perspective and the democratic perspective. The instrumental perspective relates to public administration literature. Interactive governance is therein seen as a way to improve effectiveness and efficiency in tackling societal issues. Second, the cultural perspective is more sociologically based and approaches interactive governance as a tool for performing and developing identity. Through interactive governance, citizens are able to create new political identities, besides those that are already institutionalized. Lastly, the democratic perspective is mainly grounded in political science. Central to this perspective is that it is more about the relation of interactive governance to the prevailing politics, rather than the interests or identities of the involved actors (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016). The cultural and democratic perspective are more transformative in character, whereas the instrumental perspective is more focused on improving the system that already exists (Hordijk et al., 2015). All three perspectives highlight different advantages. In terms of diversity and anti-discrimination, most notorious is the cultural perspective, which leaves room for multiple different identities, promoting inclusivity.

As mentioned in paragraph 2.1, interactions in the form of participation are a practical and central aspect to interactive governance (Kooiman & Bavinck, 2005). The perspectives on interactive governance by Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk (2016) can be applied in two realities of participation. These two realities are brought in by Bua and Bussu (2021). The first one is called ‘governance-driven democratization’ (GDD). Within this approach governing bodies shape the agenda and ask citizens to participate herein. The second one is called ‘democracy-driven governance’ (DDG) (or citizen-driven participation (Bartels, 2016)), in which, bottom-up, social movements actively try to be included by the state, trying to create participatory structures in order to induce changes in current policies and regulations (Bua & Bussu, 2021). GDD has been criticised on certain aspects, for example, that it might de-politicise collective action, but also that it leaves no room for actual transformative changes of society. DDG on the other hand creates opportunities for this transformative change (Bua & Bussu,

2021). In their definition, they make the normative side of interactive governance and its relation to democracy, as discussed in paragraph 2.1, more explicit.

When speaking of governance-driven democratization in relation to the cultural perspective, one should remain critical of identity development, in order to avoid top-down/one-way constructions of identities. In the case of democracy-driven governance, one should be receptive to the possible dividing character of interactive governance, creating homogeneous and exclusive social groups that are partaking in the governing process (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016).

The definitions of GDD and DDG link nicely to the conception of respectively ‘invited spaces’ and ‘claimed spaces’ of Gaventa (2004). The first space is created by the government where citizens are invited to participate, whereas claimed spaces are formed by mobilization of social movements. In addition to those spaces, ‘negotiated spaces’ can also be identified. This type of space starts as an invited space, but expands as a result of pressure from the participants that are invited (Baud & Nainan, 2008). Based on this conception of spaces, Bua & Bussu (2021, p. 719) adopt spaces of participation “as relational, emphasising power relations inherent to participation and the need to ask who sets the foundations of the space, as these will structure the participants’ interactions. This relates to the ontology of structuralism from Dixon and Dogan (2002). The key here is that interactions involve social interdependencies (Kooiman & Bavinck, 2005) which creates uneven power relations.

Broadly, there are thus three perspectives on interactive governance that can take place. These can take place within both governance-driven democratization and democracy-driven governance. Zooming in on the actual participation within these realms, one can discern various degrees of participation: non-participation, tokenism and citizen/stakeholder power (Arnstein, 2019). Arnstein (1969) differentiated between these forms of participation in a ladder based on the gradation of power sharing within these forms of participation. Non-participation refers to the situation where powerholders are enabled to help the people, instead of enabling people to participate. Secondly, tokenism refers to the situation where people are indeed heard, but they still lack the power to ensure that their views are subsequently followed up on. Lastly, citizen/stakeholder power refers to the situation where the people actually have power to be part of the decision-making process (Arnstein, 2019). Participation can be done in many different ways. It can involve, among others, round tables, hearings, citizen juries, focus groups, workshops, consultations, polls, written commenting and interactive web pages (Gupta, Pouw & Ros-Tonen, 2015, Hordijk et al., 2015).

In interactive policy-making, for some participation is seen as a renewal of democracy, enhancing support and a source of knowledge. However, critics view interactive governance as aggravating the decline of democracy. The bar to participate can be perceived by citizens as too high and intimidating, which leads to the participation of only a small group of citizens, leading to misrepresentation and exclusion (Edelenbos, Klok & van Tatenhove, 2009). This resembles the argument that Hordijk et al. (2015) make, that there is a risk of only empowering local elites. In these cases intentions of participatory governance can become stuck in the unequal fundamentals of a society. In addition, it is

important to keep in mind that, in case there exists distrust in authorities in a society, it might undermine participatory governance. Participation does thus not necessarily work best in strong democracies (Hordijk et al., 2015).

2.3 Social Movements, Interaction Outcomes and Meaningfulness

In our contemporary society, social movements fulfil an important role for a variety of reasons. We learn about the world through social movements, make us think about different policies and social trends and function above all as a mechanism to transform intuitions, feelings and visions into common held values and political demands. Groups and individuals are given the chance to debate visions of their own, within social movements. Therefore, social movements are seen as a central part to the public sphere (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009). Goodwin and Jasper (2009, p. 4) define social movements as “a collective, organised, sustained and noninstitutional challenge to authorities, powerholders, or cultural beliefs and practices.” Within the notion of governance, especially interactive governance, social movements are increasingly important as an actor taking part in interactions which arise from the interactive governance.

Participation involves interaction between the system-to-be-governed and the governing system as described in paragraph 2.1. However, these participatory interactions can manifest themselves differently. Kemper (2006) created a framework of the different manifestations of interactions and the connected outcomes in terms of emotions, which he calls the power-status theory of emotions. He states that interactions can take form in immediate (non)interaction, future (non)interaction and stable or continuous (non)interaction. These different manifestations of interactions can consequently provoke different outcomes of emotions. Within this framework, immediate interaction is linked to ‘consequent emotions’, which can be assessed as emotions that “result from immediate outcomes of on-going interaction in power-status terms” (Kemper, 2006, p. 24). Secondly, future interaction can be connected to ‘anticipatory emotions’ that result from the expectations of future interaction. Lastly, structural emotions can be linked to stable or continuous interaction. Structural emotions are the result of a stable relationship between the system-to-be-governed and the governing system in terms of power and status. Consequent, anticipatory and structural emotions present, from a relational perspective, a clear foundation on emotions in social life (Kemper, 2006).

The power-status theory of emotions is useful in this research as interactive governance is embedded in power-structures. This theory bridges the gap in how to analyse interactions between social movements and the governing system and how this can affect individuals within social movements in order to understand how the same individuals construct meaningfulness by participating in a social movement. However, in this research will not be specifically looked at literal emotions, but at responses in terms of perceptions on the municipality and the interactions that took place.

Therefore, the terms ‘consequent responses’, ‘anticipatory responses’ and ‘structural responses’ will be used.

This research follows mostly the definition of meaningfulness by Mills and Smith (2008, p. 433), who define it as “the judgments that subjects articulate that their activism has a significant impact on those in their networks and possibly the wider world”. Two elements are included within this definition on which a participant of a social movement can have impact in order to create meaningfulness, which are ‘others within their network’ and ‘the wider world’. For the purpose of this research, ‘others within their network’ will be assessed as everyone within the same social movement, which will be called ‘the collective’. This will relate to the perception of meaningfulness among participants in the social movement and for each other. ‘The wider world’ will encompass anyone in the society outside of the social movement, which will be called ‘the broader society’. Here, meaningfulness refers to the perception of participants of the impact they have outside the social movement. Furthermore, an extra element will be added, which is ‘the individual’. Here, focus is on the idea if participation makes a difference for oneself. This will thus be assessed by judgment of the participant on the impact on him or herself.

Meaningfulness in this case is thus a subjective assessment by participants in social movements of the impacts they make. Fletcher and Schofield (2021) make in their research on meaningfulness in the workplace a distinction between meaningfulness *in* work and meaningfulness *at* work. Experiences of meaningfulness *in* work arise mainly through social interactions when performing one’s role in an organisation. Experiences of meaningfulness *at* work arise when feelings of membership and connection in terms of belonging exist within an organisation. For this research, both contents of meaningfulness are combined with the definition of meaningfulness by Mills and Smith (2008). Experiences of meaningfulness thus arise when participants in social movements feel like they make an impact for themselves, the organisation or society through social interactions and the formation of feelings of belonging among participants and/or society.

Bartels (2016) states that for interactive governance to attain good outcomes, focus should not be solely on who drives interactive governance. “[N]either government-driven democratization nor citizen-driven participation provide meaningful norms in and of themselves that can guarantee productive dynamics and positive outcomes” (Bartels, 2016, p. 352). Therefore, he suggests that focus should be pointed toward the dynamics between the actors involved. To understand if interactive governance should be driven by the government or by citizens and how interactions can be linked to the institutional context, can be witnessed while observing encounters between stakeholders and experiences in these interactions to consolidate differences between all stakeholders (Bartels, 2016).

2.4 Theoretical Expectations

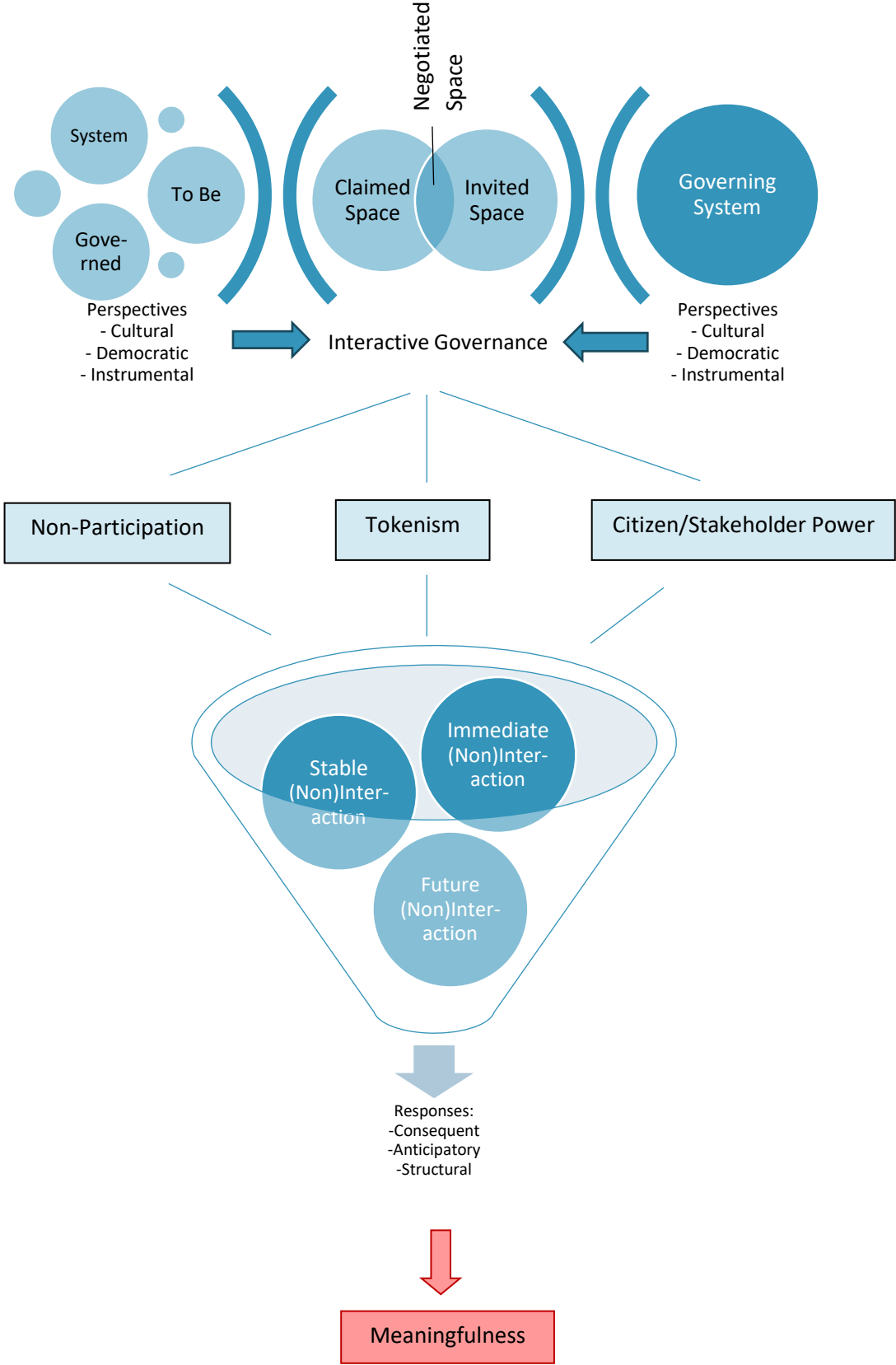
Considering the whole of theories as discussed above, different expectations within this study can be formulated.

1. The perspective on the purpose of interactive governance differs between the municipality and the social movements.
 - a. The municipality might view interactive governance more through an instrumental perspective, whereas social movements might view interactive governance more through a cultural perspective
2. In the current governance system, governance-driven democratization (GDD) is more present than democracy-driven governance (DDG).
3. Participants in social movements might feel constrained in their participation, as power structures remain present.
4. Regarding the ladder of Arnstein (1969), the level of participation is expected to be fluctuating between non-participation and tokenism.
5. A sense of meaningfulness of participants in social movements will be higher when participation in interactive governance is high.
6. When immediate interactions and future interactions are not met, it will reinforce the feelings of being constrained by the power structures at play and lower a sense of meaningfulness. However, when those interactions do happen, it will strengthen the sense of meaningfulness, but possibly obscure the presence of GDD over DDG.
7. Stable interactions will uphold a sense of meaningfulness. However, absence of stable interactions will not necessarily mean the absence of a sense of meaningfulness, in the presence of immediate and future interactions.
8. The combination of interactions and the responses that consequently arise, influence the experience of meaningfulness.

Overall, it is expected that interactive governance can take up a more meaningful role in the governance of migration and diversity, when the municipality aligns their perspective on interactive governance with that of social movements.

Figure 1, on the next page, presents the system in which the role of meaningfulness has to be established by this research. Meaningfulness is portrayed in red, as it is the expectation of where meaningfulness will be positioned in the mechanism.

Figure 1. System of Interactive Governance, Interactions and Responses and the Expectation of the Role of Meaningfulness



3. Research Design

This chapter will provide an outline of the research design. This includes a justification of the case selection, followed by a discussion of the methods that will be used throughout the research in terms of data collection, the sampling strategy and data analysis. Next, the ethical considerations applicable in this study will be discussed and lastly, the operationalization table is presented with the relevant concepts.

3.1 Case Selection

This research is based upon the following research question: ‘How does the construction of meaningfulness play a role in interactive governance for participants of different social movements in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination?’

To answer this research question, a case study will be carried out from a social constructionist perspective. This perspective on public administration is concerned with “how people construct and attach certain meanings to their experiences and how these meanings become objectified aspects of public administration” (Jun, 2016, p. 55), therefore it will help understanding the role of interactive governance from the perspective of social movements themselves. The research will employ abductive reasoning. The theory on interactive governance, participation and anti-discrimination will guide interpretation and sensitize for data, which in turn supports the development of theory, and so on (Boeije & Bleijenbergh, 2014). A case study allows for a thorough examination of contextual variables which leads to a high degree of construct validity. However, this can be to detriment of external validity (Bennett, 2004).

The city of Rotterdam is selected for this study, as part of the Rotterdam Inclusivity Project. In addition, Rotterdam is excellent to start research on interactive governance in the area of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination, because of their active policy programme in this field. It is therefore a revelatory case study, observing the mechanism of interactive governance and its possibilities and pitfalls in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination in Rotterdam. As the municipality is speaking of working with the people and talking with instead of talking about the people, the social movements that are selected are overall bottom-up organisations that are closely involved with their target group. The reason for this is that these organisations are closest to the actual situation of what is going on in the city, and might thus also have the best insights on what is needed to improve the particular situation. However, to obtain a clear sight on current interactive governance, bigger social movements on inclusion and anti-discrimination have been selected as well.

3.2 Data Collection

To guide the data collection and the analysis in this research the following sub-questions have been developed:

1. What does interactive governance look like in the field of diversity and anti-discrimination in Rotterdam?
 - a. What are the intentions of the municipality on interactions with social movements, realising interactive governance?
 - b. What are the concrete interactions that actually take place between the municipality of Rotterdam and participating social movements?
 - c. How are interactions perceived by participants of the social movements in Rotterdam?
2. What importance do participants of social movements attach to interactive governance?
3. What does meaningfulness entail according to participants of social movements?
4. How do interactions or a lack of interactions play a role in relation to meaningfulness?

To understand intentions of the municipality of Rotterdam, as stated in sub-question 1a, content analysis is done on policy documents of the municipality of Rotterdam regarding anti-discrimination and diversity in the city of Rotterdam. Content analysis is useful here to understand how Rotterdam wants to involve citizens and social movements. In addition, it can be put into contrast with the experiences of participants in social movements, to get grip on the context in which they manoeuvre themselves and to be more accessible in understanding their experiences.

In order to understand how interactive governance is experienced by these specific social movements in Rotterdam, two different research methods are combined to reach triangulation: semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Triangulation can give more confidence to findings in the research, when the different methods lead to the same results (Rothbauer, 2008). Semi-structured interviews (Appendix IV) are held with members of the social movements. This form of interviewing offers structure to the interview to cover the main topics, but leaves room for participants' individual ideas and perceptions and options for the researcher to follow up on statements of participants (Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson & Kangasniemi, 2016). Furthermore, participant observation is used within the social movements. This type of method helps understanding interaction and communication within the social movements. In addition, it shows dynamics from which the perceived importance of their work can be discerned. Therefore, it will be specifically used for sub-question 2. It is a way to develop a holistic understanding of the movements (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Important within this method is to be aware of the researcher's bias. Reflexivity of the researcher on his/her own biases is therefore required. However, using other methods, like interviewing, helps to overcome these biases (Kawulich, 2005). Table 1 provides an overview of the methods used per sub-question.

Table 1. Methods used per sub-question

Sub-question	Method
1a	Content Analysis
1b	Interviews
1c	Interviews
2	Interviews + Participant Observation
3	Interviews
4	Interviews

3.3 Sampling Strategy

The policy documents of the municipality of Rotterdam are chosen through criterion sampling. This means that only documents that fit the, on beforehand set, criteria are analysed (Patton, 2002). For this case, the main criteria of the policy documents is that the topic encompasses ‘diversity’, ‘inclusion’ and/or ‘anti-discrimination’. Furthermore, the documents have to be published within the past five years, as this study wants to assess current practices of interactive governance. Noted, the presence of discussion on interactive governance or citizen participation are not amongst the criterion. This is because absence of the inclusion of these terms also provides information on the interactive governance practices of the municipality of Rotterdam. Table 2 provides an overview of the used policy documents.

Table 2. Analysed policy documents

Policy Document	Source (full source in Bibliography)
Relax. This is Rotterdam. Living together in a city where everyone is a minority 2019-2022	Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019
Rotterdam against racism 2020-2022	Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020

The social movements are chosen through nonprobability, purposive sampling. Purposive sampling leads to as Patton (2002) calls it, information-rich cases. “Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations” (Patton, 2002, p. 230). Within these movements respondents are identified, in order to develop a comprehensive perception on the movement and its activities (Babbie, 2016). This is done through purposive maximum variation sampling. This sampling technique helps to create an holistic understanding of the activities of the social movements (Suri, 2011). Here, the one main criterion is that participants are active within the social movement at the moment of the study. People that occupy roles that facilitate (possible) contact with the municipality, different backgrounds, age and gender are interviewed. This sampling technique ensures that participants have knowledge of and experience with interactive

governance and results in a comprehensive view on the subject, Where appropriate, snowball sampling is used to reach more people.

Purposive maximum variation sampling has been realised based on conversations with the city manager of racism and discrimination of Rotterdam. The city manager is close connected to the local level and has a good overview of the network around diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination. The following actors have been selected for in-depth interviews: Women Connected, Be The Change, IKBENWIJ, Wi Masanga, Dona Daria, the independent advisory council on inclusion and diversity/*Verhalenhuis Belvédère* and a civil servant of the municipality who takes on the role as *stadsfluisteraar* (city whisperer) in Rotterdam (Appendix Ia). Participant observation activities have been performed during a gathering of Women Connected and a networking event of Vital Cities and Citizens (VCC) (Appendix Ib). During the networking event of VCC, informal conversations have been held with present representatives of Me & Society, RADAR and *Recht op de stad*. These conversations have functioned mainly for expanding my knowledge on the subject and affirming data found through the in-depth interviews. The actors chosen for interviews cover three different levels. Women Connected, Be The Change, IKBENWIJ, Wi Masanga and *Verhalenhuis Belvédère* are bottom-up social movements with non-stable interactions with the municipality, Dona Daria is a bottom-up social movement with stable interactions with the municipality, and the city whisperer works for the municipality. Lastly, the independent advisory council takes up a more unique role, as it is established by the municipality's initiative, but exists of different people, independent from the municipality. Many of the board members are also active in bottom-up social movements.

3.4 Data Analysis

The analysis of the policy documents and the interviews is done through coding. As this study uses abductive reasoning, coding will be a process of both predetermined codes, deduced from the theoretical framework as presented in chapter two, and emergent codes. Emergent codes evolve from the collected data (Stuckey, 2015). The interviews will be coded by help of ATLAS.ti. The coding is done in two phases: open coding and axial coding. Open coding was the first phase, in which a framework was created of the collected data for later analysis by grouping conceptual categories. This form of coding builds straight from the obtained raw data, which secures the validity (Khandkar, 2009). In this phase, there were loads of loose codes, still lacking structure. In the phase that followed, axial coding, the collected codes were analysed, grouped and connected into a code tree (Appendix V). Axial coding comprises the second phase of coding. "Compared to more descriptive open coding [...], the axial coding involves a greater degree of theoretical inference and analytical induction" (Scott & Medaugh, 2017, p. 1). The already coded parts formed through open coding will now be reassembled into more abstract categories. A benefit of axial coding is that it results in a more pragmatic framework, explaining details of the phenomenon that is at subject of a study (Scott & Medaugh, 2017). This is valuable in order to present recommendations in the end of this study.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

This section outlines ethical challenges that the researcher can be confronted with in qualitative research on anti-discrimination and diversity and which are applicable to this study.

Within this methodology, participant observation brings forward some ethical dilemmas that need to be considered before entering the field. Participant observation is central to anthropological research. This kind of research deals with two opposing demands, one where the researcher wants to build a friendly relationship with the people that are subject to the study and one where the researcher wants to obtain the best possible data. This so-called ‘duplexity’ can easily lead to duplicity. There is a thin line between friendship that has an instrumental function and friendship that is sincere (Van der Geest, 2011). This is important to be aware of during the period of research.

Furthermore, within qualitative research, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality are key for ethical research. Confidentiality includes both the explicit disclosure of participants’ identity as well as demonstrating data that reveals one’s identity, even when anonymizing data (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2020). In this study, it is important to recognize that confidentiality can be breached, unintentionally. This kind of study involves in-depth details and movements which are often close-knitted, meaning that people often know each other quite well. The chances that others can identify participants in the study are therefore bigger (Zapata-Barrero & Yalaz, 2020). This should be clearly communicated with the participants, following informed consent (Appendix III), and well-considered by the researcher in processing obtained data, to make sure it does no harm.

3.6 Operationalization

Table 3. Operationalization table

Concept	Definition	Dimension	Sub-Dimension	Indicator	Method
Interactive governance	"The whole of interactions taken to solve societal problems and to create societal opportunities; including the formulation and application of principles guiding those interactions and care for institutions that enable and control them" (Kooiman et al., 2013, p. 11).	System-to-be-governed	Social system, represented by social movements	“A social movement is a collective, organized, sustained, and noninstitutional challenge to authorities, powerholders, or cultural beliefs and practices” (Goodwin & Jasper, 2009, p. 4).	Interviews
		Governing system		Government actors of Rotterdam involved with policy making on anti-discrimination and diversity	Content analysis

Interactive governance purposes	Perspectives on interactive governance by the municipality and by participants in social movements	<p>Instrumental perspective</p> <hr/> <p>Cultural perspective</p> <hr/> <p>Democratic perspective</p>	<p>Tool to improve effectiveness and efficiency in tackling societal issues (Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk, 2016).</p> <hr/> <p>Tool for performing and developing identity (Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk, 2016).</p> <hr/> <p>Tool to improve democracy (Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk, 2016).</p>	<p>Words such as ‘effectief’, ‘doelkrachtig’, ‘efficient’,</p> <hr/> <p>Words such as ‘thuisgevoel’, ‘inclusieve samenleving’, ‘erbij horen’, ‘ruimte voor zelf expressie’</p> <hr/> <p>Words such as ‘inspraak’, ‘democratie’, ‘belang van participatie’</p>	Content Analysis / Interviews / Participant Observation
Spaces of participatory interaction	The circumstances in which participation is constituted and performed	<p>Governance-driven democratization (GDD) (Bua & Bussu, 2021)</p> <hr/> <p>Democracy-driven governance (DDG) (Bua & Bussu, 2021)</p> <hr/> <p>GDD and DDG combined</p>	<p>Invited spaces (Gaventa, 2004)</p> <hr/> <p>Claimed spaces (Gaventa, 2004)</p> <hr/> <p>Negotiated spaces (Baud & Nainan, 2008)</p>	<p>Commissioning bodies invite social movements into participation (Bua & Bussu, 2021).</p> <hr/> <p>Bottom-up, popular mobilisation to bring social movements into the state (Bua & Bussu, 2021).</p> <hr/> <p>Space that started as an invited space, but which expended under pressure from participants (Baud & Nainan, 2008).</p>	Interviews
Participation	The relation in terms of governance between the system-to-be-governed and the governing system, based on the gradation of powersharing (Arnstein, 2019)	<p>Non-participation (Arnstein, 2019)</p> <hr/> <p>Tokenism (Arnstein, 2019)</p> <hr/> <p>Citizen/stakeholder power (Arnstein, 2019)</p>		<p>When powerholders are enabled to help the people, instead of enabling people to participate (Arnstein, 2019).</p> <hr/> <p>When people are indeed heard, but they still lack the power to ensure that their views are followed up on (Arnstein, 2019).</p> <hr/> <p>When people actually have power to be part of the decision-making process (Arnstein, 2019).</p>	Interviews

Representational gap	The extent to which social movements take effectively part in interactions with the governing system and if they have the same goals by using interactive governance	Intentions of governing system to take part in interactive governance		Inclusion of social movements as described in anti-discrimination and diversity policies	Content analysis
		Social movements participation in interactive governance	‘Physical’ ‘Perceptual’	Concrete activities and dialogues with the governing system Perceptions of participants in social movements on interaction with the governing system	Interviews
Interaction outcomes	Power-status theory of emotions: Three different types of emotions that can be derived from different kinds of participation, in this research assessed as responses (As described by Kemper, 2006)	Immediate (non)interaction	Consequent responses	Responses that “result from immediate outcomes of on-going participation in power-status terms” (Kemper, 2006, p. 24).	Interviews / Participant Observation
		Future (non)interaction	Anticipatory responses	Responses that “result from contemplating future participation outcomes” (Kemper, 2006, p. 24).	
		Stable/continuous (non)interaction	Structural responses	Responses that “result from a relatively stable power-status relationship” (Kemper, 2006, p. 23).	
Meaningfulness	“The judgments that subjects articulate that their activism has a significant impact on those in their networks and possibly the wider world” (Mills & Smith, 2008, p. 433).	Meaningfulness <i>in</i> work / Meaningfulness <i>at</i> work	Individual	Perception of meaningfulness for oneself.	Interviews
			Collective	Perception of meaningfulness among participants in the social movement / for each other.	
			Broader society	Perception of meaningfulness/impact outside the social movement.	

4. Dutch Democracy, General Practices of Interactive Governance and the Network of Social Movements on Diversity, Inclusion & Anti-Discrimination

In this chapter, the context will be sketched in which interactive governance takes place. To provide a full understanding of the current situation, the conditions of local democracies in the Netherlands and participation of citizens will be explained first. Interactive governance requires participation and therefore it is important to understand the functioning of local democracies, the current strengths and pitfalls. This will be followed by an assessment of current interactive governance practices in the Netherlands, within the context of the local democracies. Next, developments on interactive governance specifically in Rotterdam will be discussed. To make the frame of reference complete, a sketch of the actors in the anti-racism, inclusion and diversity network in Rotterdam will be provided.

4.1 Local Democracy in Cities in the Netherlands

In terms of context, local participatory cultures are important. Practices that involve participation depend heavily on the socio-political, historical and cultural context of the places in which they occur. In case of the Netherlands, the groundwork for participatory spaces has been influenced by the so-called polder model. The first democratic institutions, such as the Dutch water authorities (*waterschappen*) have already been developed in the Middle Ages, which form the socio-spatial background for the development of participatory practices. Practices of participation seem to have the most success in places that contain a history of participation. Therefore, participatory practices have to be repeated continuously (Hordijk et al., 2015) in order to function well.

Van Ostaaijen (2021), has been looking at the functioning of local democracies in the Netherlands. He does this by addressing three clusters of values of good governance: ‘responsive governance’, ‘performance-oriented governance’ and ‘proper governance’. Responsive governance evolves around the idea that the municipality provides enough space for citizens to participate in politics and policy-making of the municipality. Performance-oriented governance evolves around achievements in terms of results and services. Lastly, proper governance is about the idea that the municipality works by the law and rules in their function, as an example to society.

Regarding responsive governance, more than half of the Dutch citizens are not interested in local governance. In addition, acquaintance of citizens with the local government is measured, through some knowledge questions, as ‘remarkably limited’, two third of the Dutch people indicates to be fairly or highly ill-informed about what is going on in local councils and the national government is perceived to be responsible for many of the tasks that are actually carried out by the municipality. Only a low percentage of citizens find that municipalities give citizens enough space for ideas, involve citizens, listen to citizens and are insufficiently flexible. It is apparent that municipalities communicate quite passively and that control is handed over to a minimum extent. The main goal of participation is about enhancing support instead of sharing control, therefore possibilities to participate are often

centred around thinking along and providing advice. Furthermore, in the event that these forms of participation take place, municipalities lack in following up on results of conversations with the citizens (Van Ostaaijen, 2021).

Looking at performance-oriented governance, municipalities seem to be very strong mostly in the field of operational tasks and challenges, which include for example civil affairs. They appear weaker in strategic policy-making, which includes long-term visions, cooperation, decisiveness and priority-setting. Municipalities prioritize compliance with the law than following their local ambitions. This is because the decentralisation processes of the national government are problem-oriented and thus focus mostly on relieving implementation and budget problems instead of creating space for decentralised governments to tackle challenges within their territory independently. Finally, when looking at proper governance, it is plausible that there are sometimes violations of rules with serious direct results, but more regularly smaller rule violations which are more procedural violations. Proper governance is also about countervailing power, which protects minorities against the majority and the other way around. Supporting and accepting countervailing powers by the municipality, such as ombudsmen and local media, leaves room for improvement (Van Ostaaijen, 2021).

4.2 Interactive Governance in the Netherlands

Most of the time, interactive governance was used on issues regarding design of the public space and infrastructure projects (Van den Bent, 2010; Edelenbos, 2005). Interactive governance thus mostly plays a role in projects that are more tangible and explicitly visible within the city. There is little experience with interactive governance in other fields. However, the past projects on interactive governance in the Netherlands provide important insights. Firstly, interactive processes are often poorly embedded in the institutional environment. What happens is that interactive governance takes form as an informal process that is taking place parallel or prior to the formal institutional decision-making process, creating an extra phase in this process. A result is that, when the formal process starts, the variation of the interactive phase fades and decision or policy makers pick their preferred parties, leading to “cherry-picking” behaviour (Edelenbos, 2005). Secondly, there is left more room for interaction in the beginning of the process compared to the last stage of decision-making. In the circumstance of both phenomena, “the institutions of interactive governance do not work (are dominated by the existing institutions) or work only temporarily (at the beginning of the interactive process)” (Edelenbos, 2005, p. 129). An overall observation is that processes of interactive governance contain aspects of a deliberate democracy system, whereas the existing system builds on a representative democracy.

4.3 Interactive Governance in Rotterdam

Rotterdam has a strong tradition in which citizens could shape society outside the traditional channels of representatives. In the nineties, Rotterdam wanted to adopt a new style of governance, with the motto *Het Nieuwe Rotterdam* (New Rotterdam). “Intensive cooperation between citizens, corporate life, institutions and governmental bodies, combined with trust in each other and in the future became the guiding principle regarding *Het Nieuwe Rotterdam*” (Van den Bent, 2010, p. 149). In the year 2000, a rapport was issued by the state commission, led by constitutional law professor Elzinga, on enhancing local governance and strengthening interest of citizens and social movements in politics. According to the commission, interactive governance was seen as a great potential to make local politics more appealing and accessible. They argued that citizens, social movements and companies had to be approached in the earliest stadium possible to prepare, implement and evaluate policy through open interaction and/or cooperation. However, there was no enriching of citizenship for multiple reasons. Subjects for discussion were selected top-down, representativity of the outcomes was questionable and effects on decision making were invisible. In addition, so-called interactive governing gave the impression of an admission of weakness and the debates were often purely informative without triggering a dialogue (Van den Bent, 2010).

In Rotterdam, the municipality works together with multiple parties which are non-governmental in order to develop a plan on governance of diversity. In the research of Tersteeg, Van Kempen and Bolt (2013) a programme manager of the municipality of Rotterdam stated that they, as governmental actor, are one of the players and that they are looking for a way to participate within a network society.

4.4 Social Movements Network in Rotterdam in the Field of Diversity, Inclusion & Anti-Discrimination

In light of the protests regarding Black Lives Matter in 2020, the municipality of Rotterdam came up with a policy plan. To develop this plan, the municipality sat down with different organisations to speak about racism. As noted in these conversations, policy is often made about people instead of together with people, the policy document on Rotterdam against Racism (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020) therefore states to repeat these conversations more often. The action plan consists out of thirteen different actions. Four of these actions are targeted at changing the municipality itself within. The other actions are targeted at the city and divided in three levels: the micro-level, the meso-level and the macro-level. The majority of the actions are formulated under the macro-level. This thesis research positions itself around action 3, targeted at the municipality itself, and action 5, which is the only action formulated under the micro-level. Action 3 states that the municipality is going to talk with the people instead of about the people and action 5 focuses on supporting initiatives at the neighbourhood- and city-level (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020).

A preceding thesis, by Chantre (2021), which also contributed to the inclusivity project this thesis adds to, identified that the network in which social movements on anti-discrimination work is a low-density network. There thus exist few connections between the different actors, even though there are many connections possible. The municipality of Rotterdam is part of the core within the network to which each actor, to a certain degree, is connected. Power in the anti-discrimination network is centred at the core, because of ownership or financial resources. Ties to the core of the network are thus essential for actors to influence the governance of anti-racism. The core of the anti-racism network is complemented by the two biggest actors that have been active in Rotterdam for a significant amount of years: RADAR Inc. and Dona Daria. All other smaller organisations seem to operate on the edges of the network. Many of these smaller organisations are connected to the city marine on racism and discrimination of Rotterdam, through which they are linked to the municipality (Chantre, 2021). There are thus three levels of actors within the anti-racism network. These are actors that work for the municipality, organisations that have stable interactions with the municipality and organisations with non-stable interactions with the municipality. There is one actor that forms an exception: the independent advisory board on inclusion and diversity. This board is relatively new within the anti-racism network, active for around a year now. It is established in commission of the municipality, but it is to remain independent of the municipality. The members of the board are all active in the city within different organisations or initiatives and the board may give solicited and unsolicited advice to the municipality on subjects that touch upon inclusion and diversity.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

Overall, the functioning of local democracies can be improved. Responsive governance is low, performance-oriented governance can be improved regarding, among others, cooperation and long-term visions and in proper governance, there is room for improvement in terms of accepting and supporting countervailing powers. Furthermore, interactive governance takes, for now, mostly place in tangible and visible projects and often only in the first stage of a project and not in the decision-making phase.

The network of social movements in Rotterdam is complex and there exist little connections between the different actors. In this network, the municipality finds itself at the core, together with Dona Daria and RADAR. Interactive governance would link the social movements of Rotterdam to the municipality.

Lastly, there has thus been little practice of interactive governance in other fields, such as diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination. Consequently, there has been little research into interactive governance within this field and the role it could take up. This research intends to contribute to the existing literature on interactive governance within this field.

5. Current Interactive Governance in the Field of Diversity, Inclusion & Anti-Discrimination in Rotterdam

This chapter explores interactive governance as it currently is in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination in Rotterdam. First, the intentions of the municipality of Rotterdam on interactive governance in the city are lined up. The following paragraph will assess the actual interactions that the participants of the social movements in this research participate in, in which spaces this takes places, following Gaventa (2004) and Baud and Nainan (2008) and identifies the present levels of participation according to the ladder of Arnstein (1969). The last paragraph will assess the perceptions of the social movements on these levels of participation but also on how they would like it to be. By doing this, a gap between intentions and what actual happens can be identified. Furthermore, the perceptions on the interactions can help improve the current interactions. The last paragraph is mainly a description of subjective experiences by the social movements of the participation, which is a stepping stone towards both the analysis of interactive governance perspectives which will be discussed in chapter six and towards understanding how and why interactions influence experienced meaningfulness the way they do, which will be analysed in chapter seven.

5.1. Intentions of the Governing System Regarding Interactive Governance

In this research, interactive governance is defined as the interactions between the governing system and the system to be governed. The municipality of Rotterdam fulfils the role of governing system. The system to be governed exists out of social movements that are active within the field of inclusion, diversity and anti-discrimination. The intentions of the municipality of Rotterdam regarding interactive governance with these actors, have been identified by analysing policy documents on this topic. In their current policy documents, ‘working together’ is repeatedly emphasized. For example, “[L]iving together, relaxed, in a diverse city, is only achievable through working very well together. With (active) citizens and professionals, with social and public organisations and with companies in the city”² (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, p. 21). They call for actualizing active participation of organized and non-organized citizens and acknowledge the importance of the role that different actors play in living together with differences. “The challenge to realise a relaxed society shall be tackled with each other. From the bottom-up, with the people and groups in the diverse regions of Rotterdam”³ (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, p. 16). In addition, a number of times they make clear that ‘the influence of the government on this is limited’. Actors that are introduced in the documents are among others employers, sport clubs, schools and, important for this thesis, social movements/organisations. Therefore, conversations with all kinds of actors have been held.

² Original quote: Appendix II No. 2

³ Original quote: Appendix II No. 3

Next to more general statements on working together, they also specify on actions towards supporting and working together with social movements in which they emphasize one thing, crucial for this research, which is that involving small organisations will help with reaching out to Rotterdammers who are often not reached by the municipality.

“We support small social and (religious or philosophical) organisations that provide a substantial contribution to this programme and know how to bring citizens together in a low-threshold way. These kinds of initiatives often know how to reach Rotterdammers who do not come to municipal activities. Involving these (often small) organisations makes contact and dialogue with vulnerable Rotterdammers possible”⁴ (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, p. 16).

Two important things can be derived from this regarding the intentions from the municipality towards interactive governance. Firstly, the municipality acknowledges the power of bottom-up perspectives and initiatives by stating that they individually cannot exert as much influence or change within the society. Secondly, to overcome the idea that their extent of power in influencing is restricted, they call for actively empowering different actors in order to have an actual impact.

5.2 Level of Participation of the System to be Governed

Among the social movements, part of the system to be governed, different types of interactions with the municipality could be identified. Social movements can have more or less stable interactions or non-stable interactions. Social movements that have stable interactions with the municipality receive subsidies on a regular basis for a longer period and they have short lines of communication with policy officers with whom they can sit down. They occupy an advisory role, which works in a two-way direction. They have space to come up with ideas and visions, calling the municipality around the table, and, more frequently, the municipality asks them for advice on certain topics. For organisations with stable interactions, they mostly act within the notion of invited spaces. The fact that they have space to mobilize themselves in front of the municipality seems to imply that they also work within claimed spaces (Gaventa, 2004). However, it is because of the stable interactions that they have the room to do so. They have often worked hard to make personal connections within the municipality through whom they can reach the municipality with their visions and advice, as illustrated by the following quote from IKBENWIJ. “We certainly have those contacts. That when I have an idea, than I know several people who really listen to me and who take me seriously.”⁵ Organisations with stable interactions, thus, transform the invited space into a negotiated space by taking the opportunity to put in their own ideas and visions on topics they see in the city as important (Baud & Nainan, 2008).

⁴ Original quote: Appendix II No. 4

⁵ Original quote: Appendix II No. 5

Therefore, in Rotterdam, we can speak mostly of governance-driven democratization instead of democracy-driven governance in the first phase of interactions between the municipality and social movements. Democracy-driven governance becomes more prominent once there are already some ties established between the municipality and the social movement in question (Bua & Bussu, 2021).

For most organisations, interactions were there in order to obtain subsidies from the municipality. Participation in which social movements take up an advisory role is almost not present among the participating organisations. In addition, participation in which social movements hold the power to be part of the policy-making on diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination have not been found among the participating organisations in this study. Taking in consideration the ladder of Arnstein (2019) on participation, many of the smaller bottom-up social movements find themselves low on the ladder, in the non-participation area. The powerholders within the municipality help social movements through subsidies. A smaller part of the social movements manoeuvre themselves somewhat around tokenism, where they can let their voice hear and are invited to speak and share their visions, but where they lack the power to actually follow up on their views, this also applies to the independent advisory council. However, it is important to note that in some cases participants do see that their visions are followed up on in policy-making by the municipality.

“On the one hand, we share things that we observe or visions that we develop with policy officers. We have conversations about that or it is really about policy development. For example, in social development, the policy has become very intersectional. [...]. That is literally what we always have been saying. So, in that, we can see that information is taken seriously.”⁶ – Dona Daria

This applies mostly to the social movements with stable interactions with the municipality and is promising with regards to moving up to the level of citizen/stakeholder power.

5.3 Perceptions of Social Movements on Participation

The participating social movements have provided different perceptions on the different forms of participation. A straightforward perception on both the non-participation level and the tokenism level is that something has to change in the position that social movements occupy in Rotterdam. From the point of view of social movements with non-stable interactions, they argue that they would like to see more interest from the municipality. The municipality stands too far away from the local citizens and what is happening on the streets. The social movements would like to see civil servants physically stop by, and come take a look at what the organisations are doing. Another perception on this level is that the system to request for subsidies is experienced as a barrier. What we see is that, currently, the

⁶ Original quote: Appendix II No. 6

municipality works with a tender, issued mainly to Dona Daria and Radar. Both organisations thus receive a structural flow of money and it puts them in a position in which continuous contact is possible. The smaller organisations however lack this continuous contact and need to be more assertive in their requests for subsidies. In this area the smaller organisations encounter difficulties. When speaking with participants about these interactions, the crux on the surface seems to be the bureaucratic system, but, more specific to the field of inclusivity, diversity and anti-discrimination, it is in how the municipality of Rotterdam approaches the inclusion of social movements in their policy. As mentioned above, the municipality works with a tender that is received by the two biggest organisations. However, participants state that when we speak of an inclusivity policy, we should not only enforce one or two parties.

“If you dominate one party, just as in politics, it would in the end not be very healthy if only one or two parties make the decisions, just like it would not be healthy that Women Connected would be the only representative.”⁷ – Women Connected

Thus, they say, a policy that wants to enhance inclusion, diversity and anti-discrimination should be an inclusive policy in itself.

“Within the policy, I think, they should look at the diversity of the policy itself. You can make a ‘one size fits all’ policy, but the policy itself needs nuance as well. Create space for parties in all sizes, that the main policy is a representation of those.”⁸ – Women Connected

IKBENWIJ argued “familiar makes beloved”⁹, which we discussed. The bigger organisations are known to the municipality and thus the safe option to invest in, even though less known organisations might have more impact on the people. In general, many respondents would like to see the municipality to be more daring with regards to anti-discrimination, inclusion and diversity policies, in order to establish real change.

It might seem quite straightforward that parties that do not receive part of this tender that they are less positive towards this system. However, these views on the system are also shared by the bigger organisations.

“We are an enforcer of a tender by the municipality, so the contact that we have with a policy officer is a regular contact. And within this contact we thus have space to indicate what we encounter in our work. So, that is quite a different position than a smaller

⁷ Original quote: Appendix II No. 7

⁸ Original quote: Appendix II No. 8

⁹ Original quote: Appendix II No. 9

organisation occupies, without a structural collaboration with the municipality.”¹⁰ – Dona Daria

“I think, when organisations receive a big tender, we should really think about how to involve smaller organisation, pay for their work and take in their signals. [...]. Because, as we call it, grassroot organisations often do not have a formal structure to apply for subsidies at the municipality.”¹¹ – Dona Daria

They thus see the value in the smaller organisations. In addition, where the tender has many advantages, it leaves less room for initiatives that the municipality does not necessarily agree with. It takes some independency from organisations. However, experiences are also that it is a collaboration and in collaborations, it is only logical that both parties sometimes take and sometimes give. In this logic, there is enough room for initiatives, ideas and input from organisations. In this specific relationship with the municipality of Rotterdam, the municipality is experienced as accessible. However, this thus applies to organisations with stable interactions with the municipality.

At the level of tokenism also some general perceptions could be discovered. To begin with, participants are positive about the development that the municipality wants to speak more together with the people and organisations. Connections that they have with the municipality are most of the time experienced as warm and welcoming. Important here though, is that these are often personal contact persons of the participants themselves that they established and with whom they have a good bond and through whom they are able to get access to the municipality. As they see that the municipality is trying, there remains a common perception of criticism on the invited spaces in which some of the organisations act. Currently, several organisations mention that they indeed do get invited to be part of a dialogue with the municipality, but it does not evoke the most positive reactions. Two reasons for this could be identified. Most frequently mentioned, is that participants of the social movements with non-stable interactions often do not feel taken seriously. They get invited, but are more present for show than for their visions. “Per definition, we are basically excluded, but we are not excluded as show pony.”¹² The quote from Women Connected illustrates experiences of movements that they are invited when the municipality wants to show off all the good initiatives in the city, but at the moment that a social movement needs help, the municipality is suddenly hard to reach out to. Another reason that became evident why participants feel dissatisfied is because they feel like they are invited because of the idea of ‘doing diversity’. They are invited because they reflect the image of diversity, instead of their abilities.

¹⁰ Original quote: Appendix II No. 10

¹¹ Original quote: Appendix II No. 11

¹² Original quote: Appendix II No. 12

“I have been requested quite often to be part of a board of certain institutions, but I knew why. I was asked because of my skin colour and because I made a little bit a name for myself here in Rotterdam.”¹³ – IKBENWIJ

Another respondent explained his perception on doing diversity. In doing diversity exists a big pitfall, which is diversity as image to the outside world, without actually valuing the people themselves. In addition, diversity is often “implemented” at the lower levels of organisations, which then thus leaves top levels very homogeneous. Inclusion works via the same mechanism.

“In my eyes, diversity is a buzzword. ‘We are diverse because we have a black man in the workplace. But what does the board look like? Nothing like that. But you can still say that you are a diverse company. So diversity shows me that we are still talking about the people, as long as you do not have the people on the chairs where the decisions are made, we cannot talk about diversity. It is about taking people serious, that you talk with people, not about we have an x amount of diverse cultures within our organisation.”¹⁴ – Be The Change

We should thus avoid being inclusive only for the image. Interactive governance can provide the tools to move towards an inclusive governance, but therefore citizens and stakeholders should not just be put at the level of tokenism. They should rise up the ladder of participation.

In the end, citizen/stakeholder power is for each of the participants perceived as something that should be strived towards, an important goal. As none of the participants are at this stage, there are no perceptions on how this is experienced right now. However, perceptions on how this should be realised could be identified. One thing they have in common is that the system in which the municipality and everyone else operates is in need of a change. The City Whisperer is very active in engaging citizens in decision-making within the municipality and she shares her vision on effectively realising interactive governance in the current system:

“The municipality cannot do it, because the municipality is not able to establish an open cooperation, as there is always a spark of self-interest from some kind of policy occurrence. And people feel that it exists. So, when the municipality wants to work together, people think, I am jumping on their bidding, it is not a question of open collaboration.”¹⁵ – City Whisperer

In the quote she illustrates what respondents experienced as explained before, that they are invited but do not feel like it is genuine. She also mentioned another important reason of what she experiences

¹³ Original quote: Appendix II No. 13

¹⁴ Original quote: Appendix II No. 14

¹⁵ Original quote: Appendix II No. 15

as problematic about the current system. The municipality is problem oriented, instead of strength oriented.

“That’s also a reason why the municipality can never collaborate, because they always start with a big problem, which leads parties and organisations to address people as vulnerable, whereas, when you reason from within the strength of the city, the people will never address issues that way.”¹⁶ – City Whisperer

The interactions and the experiences participants have had with them thus form perceptions on the municipality and give insights into their visions on interactions.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the intentions of the municipality regarding interactive governance have been identified in which it becomes visible that the municipality intends to involve citizens and stakeholders more in the making of policy on diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination. This section was followed by an analysis of the actual interactions that are currently happening. They take place mostly on the level of non-participation and tokenism within invited spaces of the municipality, with some exceptions. Finally, the perceptions on the interactions revealed that participants find that the way the municipality is trying to achieve an inclusive, diverse and anti-discrimination policy lacks inclusion itself. They argue that the system as it is now, is not adequate enough for hosting interactive governance in a way that the participants really feel like they are involved in decision-making.

¹⁶ Original quote: Appendix II No. 16

6. Understanding the Role of Interactive Governance in the Field of Diversity, Inclusion and Anti-Discrimination

This chapter will dive deeper into perspectives on interactive governance. First, an outline of why social movements perceive interactive governance to be important will be provided. This outline and the perceptions on participation as described in paragraph 5.3, are compared to the perspectives on interactive governance as provided by Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk (2019). Identifying underlying perspectives might unveil discrepancies in how social movements approach interactive governance and how the municipality approaches it. The third paragraph provides some critical points and possible alternatives on interactive governance and social movements as stakeholders.

6.1 The Importance of Interactive Governance as Perceived by Social Movements

Next to asking what actual participation takes place between social movements and the municipality, they were asked why they believe interaction with the municipality would be important to them. In first instance, this would bring the conversation back to the interaction that is most prominent. The answer was always given with a smile and an air of obviousness: the need of subsidy. As described above, for many, this is also the only form of interaction that happens between the social movements and the municipality.

In addition to subsidies, all parties had other reasons of why interaction with the municipality would be important to them. The municipality is valued for their expertise on many aspects of the society in Rotterdam. Furthermore, as illustrated in chapter four as well, the municipality is the centre of the network of the diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination network, therefore they are valued for all the connections that they have, as expressed by Wi Masanga: “We are rooted in Rotterdam and the municipality also has a big network, expertise and information that could help us a lot.”¹⁷

These reasons are all reasons of why interactive governance would be important to the social movements themselves. The biggest reason, however, why they find interactive governance to be crucial, is not to better their organisations, but to improve policy-making. Multiple participants spoke about ‘blind spots’. A respondent from the independent advisory council said:

“We, thus, give advice. Solicited and unsolicited, because we want to change the policy. Because we want to make blind spots visible. Therefore, we need the municipality one way or another, because I could write an advise and publish it in the newspaper every month, but than nothing happens with it, so we need to find ways how to affect the municipality the most.”¹⁸ – Independent Advisory Council

¹⁷ Original quote: Appendix II No. 17

¹⁸ Original quote: Appendix II No. 18

Everyone has their own blind spots, the municipality has them, but the social movements as well, which is why they argue that cooperation is thus important. In addition, each and every respondent in this research answered that they want to give the people about who the policy is made a voice. Those people that we do not hear, who do not know how to effectively use their voice and those who are hard to reach.

“The municipality cannot know everything that is going on, we just speak with way more people on a yearly basis than the municipality. People also tell us more, because we have a more intimate setting where people can talk to us in confidentiality. That is why I think contact with the municipality is very important, because otherwise there would be a mismatch between what they think the people need and what we experience that people need.”¹⁹ – Dona Daria

This is thus a common goal among participants in social movements, but when reading the policy on inclusion, diversity and anti-discrimination of the municipality of Rotterdam, this is also the goal of the municipality. Speaking with the people. On this note, cooperation seems a valid step. The social movements all have access to a lot of people which the municipality does not and the municipality has the resources that most organisations do not have. Nonetheless, as described in the previous chapter, participation is minimal and perceptions on the participation include a lot of suggestions for change and improvement. To get an understanding of this, all the participants were asked about their visions on interactions with the municipality and their visions on their own role in policy-making. These responses were compared to the three perspectives on interactive governance (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016), as provided in the theoretical framework, which will be addressed in the next paragraph.

6.2 Perspectives on Interactive Governance

The three perspectives that Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk (2016) discerned were the instrumental-, democratic- and cultural perspective. Analysing the interviews, it became clear that the respondent’s ideas on interactive governance are transformative in character as illustrated by the following two quotes:

“If you do what you did, you get what you got.”²⁰ – IKBENWIJ

¹⁹ Original quote: Appendix II No. 19

²⁰ Original quote: Appendix II No. 20

“I see that the municipality tries its best, it is of course an enormous organisation and bringing changes or transformations in that system is of course easier said than done, but there is no way around it.”²¹ – Wi Masanga

Both the cultural and democratic perspective on interactive governance contain transformative elements. The cultural perspective contains aspects that can explain the intentions of interactive governance from social movements. This comes most clearly to the surface in the following case. Multiple participants expressed their concerns about the low turnouts in the municipal elections, as they view these elections as a crucial element to let them hear your voice.

“I want to express that voice, that voice the policy is about. Because those voices aren’t heard very often, but that voice does exist. A majority sadly did not vote, and that pains me, because I think it is so important, but apparently those people aren’t reached. Or they do not value it enough, I don’t know, but still, we can speak with the people, we can be that voice. The beauty of Be The Change, I think, is that we can both speak with the people on the streets, but we can also talk on policy level.”²² – Be The Change

As the quote illustrates, social movements see opportunities to restore the connection with the municipality that the people lost by committing themselves as a middleman. Therefore, they create a space where people can connect with political identities they do feel connected to or develop their own political identities. This corresponds to the cultural perspective on interactive governance (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016). In addition to the cultural perspective, the democratic perspective also takes form within the visions of social movements. Participants actively argue that they strive to be welcomed in the decision-making, passing the listening and talking phase, but really taking part in making the end decision. Therefore, there is a need of adjustments in the current representative democracy system.

If we take a look at the municipality, the democratic perspective can clearly be identified in the sense that they try to bridge a gap between the citizens and the municipality by emphasizing the importance of talking with the people in order to make the people feel that they are heard. But what happens at the moment, in the current interactive governance practices, is that the connection to the citizens remains within the participation level of tokenism. People are heard, but lack power to actually realise their words. At the moment this seems to backfire. Because many feel like they are involved more as a ritual than for actual action, criticism and scepticism on the current institutional system grow. Furthermore, the democratic perspective serves a different purpose: creating more support for the representative democracy system, whereas social movements would like to see more deliberative elements in the democracy system. The city whisperer, for example, is active in

²¹ Original quote: Appendix II No. 21

²² Original quote: Appendix II No. 22

democracy organised in different ways than by holding elections, as she is experimenting with drawing lots instead of elections, which is an example of a very transformative perspective on democracy. She argues: “many people think that democracy is equal to elections, but that is not true.”²³

In this research, the cultural perspective has not explicitly been identified within the municipality’s intentions of interactive governance. Words like ‘inclusive society’ and ‘feeling at home’ have been mentioned in the policy documents, however the difference here is that they are used to describe an end state of what our society should look like whereas the social movements are not talking about an end state but about an inclusive process. The instrumental perspective on the other hand, could be identified. The municipality is focused on interactive governance in order to make their policy more effective.

The differences in perspectives on interactive governance from both the municipality and the social movements can provide a possible explanation of why tensions remain in the perception on interactions, even though the municipality and the movements share the same visions on what their goal is and why interactive governance is important.

6.3 Critical Perspective on Spokespersons

Spending some hours with the women of Women Connected showed how people can be empowered by giving them a voice, which will be illustrated by the following vignette.

A big group of women with all kinds of different backgrounds, all of different ages from different areas in Rotterdam comes together to make theatre, dance and sing. The atmosphere is as inclusive as I have never experienced. How does an atmosphere feel inclusive? I could find two reasons for myself. First of all, it felt safe. Safe in the simple meaning that one can be her true self without any spark of judgment. Secondly, every woman had space and was encouraged to contribute in their own way to the activities of the group. Voices and stories were heard that I in my bubble often do not come across. And next to that, maybe most important of all, each and every woman blossomed in their own way during those hours.

The vignette shows how connected organisations can be to the people in the city and the importance it carries for these people. Including social movements in the decision-making phase of the policy-making would thus empower citizens in the city of Rotterdam indirectly. Important to note here, in the interview with the city whisperer of Rotterdam we discussed the risk of using key spoke persons for groups of people. She said about key persons:

²³ Original quote: Appendix II No. 23

“It sounds a bit paradoxical, because I absolutely believe that they matter, they step up for good reason, but when you say let’s call that person to find out about the opinion of all the Cape Verdean people in Rotterdam, then we would not be doing it right. That is always the easy way for policymakers, let’s go to the spokesman and then we covered it. One should be aware of that.”²⁴ – City Whisperer

When raising the same subject in the interview with the chair of the independent advisory council, she acknowledged this. Their alternative was to assign people not to different groups, but to different domains in which they were specialised. For example, not to focus on if a specific ethnic group experienced discrimination, but to focus on where discrimination can be found within the domain of, for example, education. In addition to shifting focus from groups away to domains, another already mentioned idea might help overcoming the risk of one spokesperson. This is what most social movements already wish for, that civil servants come by, and participate. Looking back at the vignette, stories of the women are there brought to the table, the one guiding the group is not a spokesperson anymore in that way.

6.4 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter the underlying beliefs towards interactive governance have been uncovered. The chapter first shows that both the municipality and the social movements perceive interactive governance to be important for the same reason: giving citizens a voice. However, when diving deeper into this with help of the perspectives of Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk (2016) it became clear that social movements view interactive governance more with a cultural perspective and the municipality more with a instrumental perspective. They both do value the democratic perspective a lot. Although that seems corresponding on the surface, the democratic perspective differs in character for both parties. Social movements approach it from a more transformative point of view, whereas the municipality approaches it from a conservative point of view, trying to strengthen the current system.

As the chapter is focused on the importance of involving social movements, it also takes time to remain critical in order not to just assume that using one spokesperson for a whole group fulfils the idea of interactive governance. Instead social movements can for example have input on what happens in certain domains of society instead of what happens in or to particular groups.

²⁴ Original quote: Appendix II No. 24

7. Responses to Interactions and the Role of Meaningfulness

This chapter will provide an outline of what makes the work of participants in social movements meaningful to them. From this assessment of meaningfulness, the influence of interactions on meaningfulness will be discussed, again based on paragraph 5.3 on how respondents experienced participation. The second paragraph will dive deeper into the role of meaningfulness within the mechanism of interactive governance and outcomes of social movements in the shape of responses, according to the framework of Kemper (2006). It will discuss the position of meaningfulness in the mechanism as proposed in Figure 1 in the theoretical framework.

7.1 The Construction of Meaningfulness

In order to understand how interactions can play a role in the construction of meaningfulness, several questions were asked about what it means for participants to be active within their specific organisation, what their intrinsic motivation is, followed by the question about what makes their work meaningful to them. Where the first two questions generated varying answers the last one produced a unanimous answer. Participants find their work meaningful because they feel like they can make a change.

“Every step is a step forward, so if we can touch people, can reach people, can make people think. A win is a win, also with people for whom we have opened the door only an inch, who start to think further on the subject.”²⁵ – Be The Change

How participants define meaningfulness is thus in line with how Mills and Smith (2008) define meaningfulness. Within this vision of what meaningfulness entails, there were some varying answers on the importance on which level they want to have an impact. If we look at individual level, people close to the participants, neighbourhood level, city level or even outside of Rotterdam. But most of the time it was a combination.

“For the people that we work with, for ourselves, for the people with who do it and for the people out there. We always say, it is like a stone that you throw in the water, which makes circles. That one stone is a woman that participates and influences the people in her life around her.”²⁶ – Women Connected

“What it means to me is that you notice that you really make a change, and for me it is less focused on coaching people, it is more the development of projects, concepts,

²⁵ Original quote: Appendix II No. 25

²⁶ Original quote: Appendix II No. 26

looking at the bigger picture of society, how you can make a change there in the life of the people. [...] it is thus really about making an impact in a broader societal manner.”²⁷ –
Dona Daria

Looking further into meaningfulness, a distinction was made between meaningfulness in work and meaningfulness at work (Fletcher & Schofield, 2021). During the interviews it became clear that within meaningfulness in work and meaningfulness at work two different situations can be identified. Meaningfulness in work arises for participants through social interactions with the people involved with the organisation and meaningfulness at work arises because they feel connected within their organisation and the people. Assessing meaningfulness in work by social interactions with the municipality instead of with people within the city and assessing meaningfulness at work to belonging to the municipality gave some interesting insights. In general, participants perceived collaboration with the municipality as a factor to increase the extent of impact that they would like to make. Therefore, interactive governance can thus through interactions with the municipality increase meaningfulness in work for participants in social movements. The influence of interactive governance on meaningfulness can be nuanced by looking at the different manifestations of interactions by Kemper (2006), which are immediate (non)interaction, future (non)interaction and stable or stable (non)interaction.

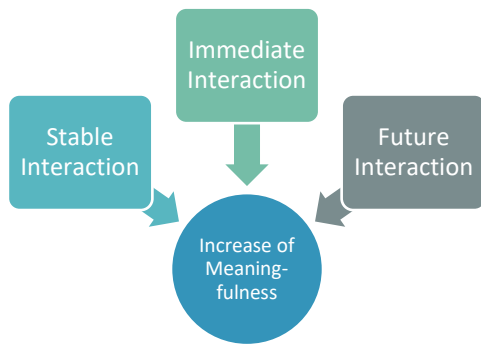
On all three levels, non-participation, tokenism and citizen/stakeholder power, immediate interaction increases the idea of meaningfulness at that particular moment (Figure 2a). It, however, leaves an idea of temporality. This expresses itself in a criticism heard more often during the interviews on the level of non-participation. Social movements want to do projects on a long term basis, but the municipality invents themes that social movements have to fit in, for example gender, in order to be eligible for subsidy. Women Connected argues: “If you would really be in contact with the field, you would not have to invent themes, the themes would come to the surface, the field tells you its themes.”²⁸

Thus, immediate interaction can increase meaningfulness, but the idea of temporality shows the experienced dependency on the municipality, which leaves room for movements to worry about being able to keep doing what they are doing. Therefore, many try to become completely independent in terms of self-sufficiency. Immediate interaction on the level of tokenism can also decrease meaningfulness when they feel like they are only there ‘for show or image’ (Figure 2b), which sometimes leads participants to say no to the next invitation of the municipality to sit together around the table. Immediate interaction thus increases meaningfulness but can also lead to social movements backing away from the municipality when interactions are negatively experienced.

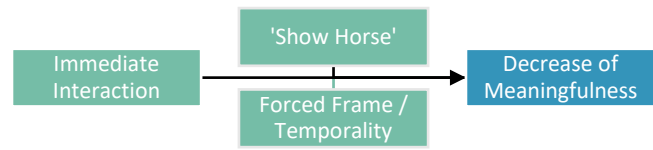
²⁷ Original quote: Appendix II No. 27

²⁸ Original quote: Appendix II No. 28

Figure 2. Interactions and Meaningfulness



a. Interactions on Meaningfulness



b. Immediate Interaction on Tokenism Level on Meaningfulness

Next, the prospects of future interaction on all three participation levels increase the idea that participants make a bigger impact on their surroundings, and thus increase their perception on their work as more meaningful. And lastly, stable interaction increases meaningfulness in work. In contrast to immediate interaction, it leaves no room for temporality. And also, the social movements with stable interactions experience the municipality as more open and accessible to their ideas, thus on the tokenism level, the feeling of ‘show horse’ is also not present.

Immediate non-interaction and stable non-interaction do not necessarily decrease meaningfulness (Figure 3a). Participants experience meaningfulness for themselves and for the people they work with and this does not diminish. However, although there is no stable or immediate interaction there might remain hope for future interactions. This became explicitly clear in conversation with Be The Change: “it is more on us now that we have not realised concrete things, but the roads are open to us and we see chances there.” If there is no immediate interaction, no stable interaction and it is clear that there is no future interaction it does decrease meaningfulness (Figure 3b).

Figure 3. Non-Interactions and Meaningfulness



a. Non-Interactions, but Possible Future Interactions

b. Non-Interactions + Future Non-Interactions

When assessing meaningfulness at work in relation to belonging to the municipality, first the question would be asked if participants felt involved by the municipality. This question was answered predominantly positive, with the needed sidenotes, as discussed, on how this involvement was enacted. After explaining why they felt involved (to a certain extent), the question was asked if they, together with their organisation, had a feeling of belonging towards the municipality. The answer to this, by the small organisations, was, sometimes hesitant, but in the end clearly a no. This can be illustrated with a quote from IKBENWIJ: “Belonging, what is belonging? Belonging is that we can be part of the decision-making and that is not the case.”²⁹

In formulating the answer there was no pointing towards one ‘wrong-doer’, the participants reflected both on the municipality as well as their own position and actions. Belonging also involves a thin line as the participants all mention that they should remain independent but also that they want to keep their own identity. The identity of social movements is the reason why they are able to reach out to certain people that the municipality cannot reach, therefore they very much value that.

The main reason that social movements indicate that they feel like they do not belong is because they are not at a point where they can actively have a say. So that is the main difference with being involved and feelings of belonging. They feel involved as the municipality informs and invites, but they do not feel like they belong as they do not hold citizen/stakeholder power. Therefore, meaningfulness at work in this aspect is low.

That there is an uneven power relation between the municipality and social movements is apparent. If it is also necessary is another discussion. Nevertheless, it is essential to acknowledge the influence of the power division. Looking back at the research of Fletcher and Schofield (2021), the presence of meaningfulness is necessary for, among others, performance and experienced when there is a sense of belonging. Lifting citizens and stakeholders up to the level of citizen/stakeholder power would increase the sense of meaningfulness and thus possibly also outcomes of what social movements want to reach and an overall sense of belonging in society.

²⁹ Original quote: Appendix II no. 29

7.2 Interaction-Response Mechanism and the Role of Meaningfulness

The presence or absence of immediate (non)interaction, stable (non)interaction and future (non)interaction have been discussed with participants and have been compared to the perceptions and opinions towards these participation forms and towards the municipality. Important to realize is that in the case of immediate interaction and stable interaction, the actual experiences with the interaction influence the outcomes of the response enormously. In the previous paragraph we also saw that the way interactions are enacted might decrease meaningfulness. When an interaction is negatively experienced, responses will be different than when an interaction has been positively experienced. Building on the previous quote by Women Connected about a stone making circles, they said this:

“You throw a stone, the municipality is one as well, and in physics we learned that waves can reinforce each other, but they can also dissolve each other, so when those movements of the effects aren’t in sync, it will weaken the impact of our work. We can keep working, but it also asks work from the bigger stone, the municipality, to amplify the effects, instead of just sometimes creating a peak. That is what happens still too often, it all feels like some sort of token, that what is going on.”³⁰ – Women Connected

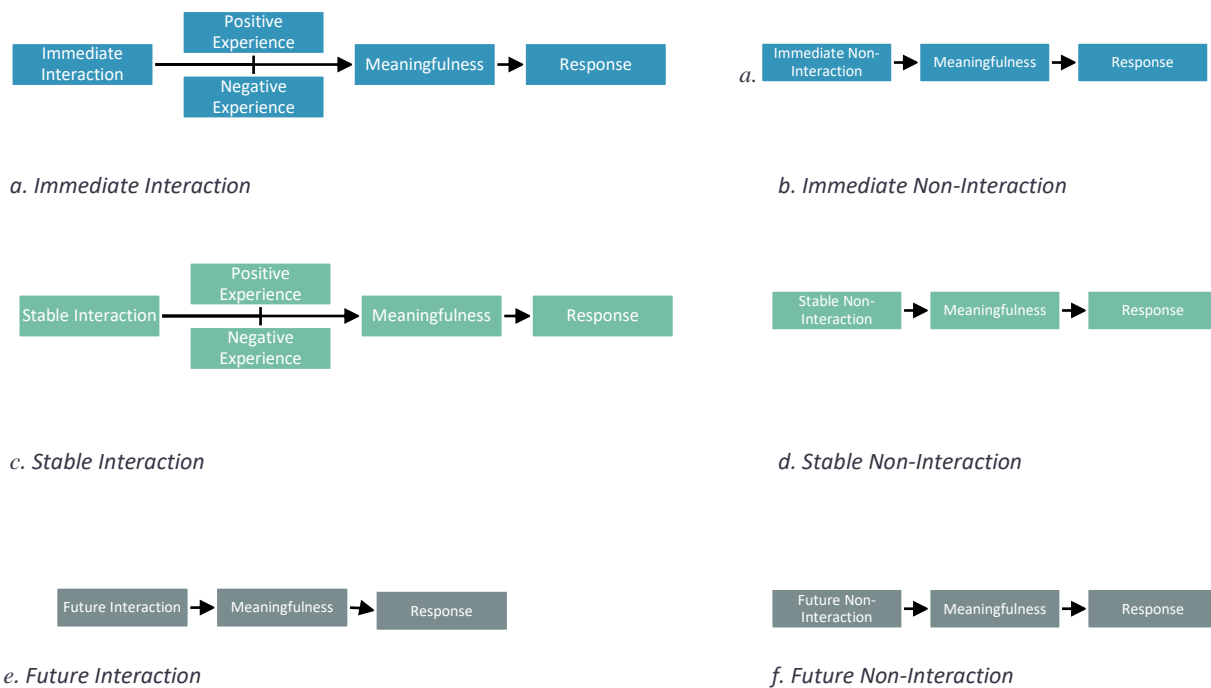
The quote illustrates both the first point, about weakening impact and thus meaningfulness, and at the same time it shows a more negative response towards the municipality.

In the case of future interactions, it differs, as there has not yet been any interaction. Here, it is really about the prospect of interaction and how this influences perceptions and opinions towards interactions and the municipality. The same goes for the non-interaction forms. There has not been any interaction at the present moment nor is there prospect on any interaction in the future. This is really about the influence of no interaction or no future interaction prospects on responses.

Keeping in mind that meaningfulness is constructed by the idea that participants make an impact, meaningfulness can be placed in relation to interactive governance and responses. The kind of interaction influences the impact that participants have on their surroundings, which in turn influences perceptions on interactions and on the municipality. In developing this thesis research, it was expected that the level of meaningfulness would be an outcome of interactive governance. However, analysing the collected data, it is found that meaningfulness also functions as an intermediary actor regarding the formation of perceptions on the municipality. What happens is that the forms of participation influence the judgments of the significance of the impact that social movements make. This in turn triggers different responses. Increasing meaningfulness is thus a tool to better perceptions on the municipality, arguably also collaboration and possibly also outcomes. Figure 4 portrays the role as found in this research of meaningfulness in the interaction-response mechanism.

³⁰ Original quote: Appendix II no. 30

Figure 4. Interaction-Response Mechanisms and the Role of Meaningfulness



7.3 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the idea of what makes work meaningful to participants is assessed, which is the idea that they make an impact on different levels in society. In the domain of meaningfulness *in* work, in general, stable interactions and future interactions with the municipality enhance experiences of meaningfulness. However, it is more nuanced when looking at immediate interactions. When immediate interactions are experienced negatively it obstructs them in their work, the idea of impact they make and thus meaningfulness. Next to interactions, the absence of immediate interaction and stable interaction do not necessarily decrease experiences of meaningfulness, unless it is combined with the absence of future interactions.

Looking at meaningfulness *at* work, it is found that at the current level of interactions, social movements do not find themselves in a position of belonging. Meaningfulness at work is thus low, whereas meaningfulness in work does exist. The findings of meaningfulness *in* work and *at* work reveal the influence of the power structures. Raising citizens and stakeholders on the ladder of participation will increase their experiences of meaningfulness.

Lastly, this chapter also set out some groundwork for further research. Meaningfulness is found to play an active role in how citizens and stakeholders perceive interactions and the municipality. The last paragraph therefore proposed an interaction-response mechanism. From here on, outcomes of interactions between the municipality and social movements can be assessed if they differ when meaningfulness is experienced differently.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter sets out the main findings of this thesis research. It will subsequently answer the main research question and discuss the results in light of the expectations that were set in chapter two. Based on the discussion of the results, the second paragraph will provide limitations of this study and recommendations for future research. Lastly, the third paragraph will conclude with recommendations derived from this research for the governance of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination in Rotterdam.

8.1 Discussion and Conclusion

In this research the focus has been on social movements in Rotterdam that are active in the field of diversity, inclusivity and anti-discrimination. In response to the current policy in this area of the municipality of Rotterdam and its focus on involving citizens and stakeholders, the concept of interactive governance and its dimensions has been explored. With the idea of Bartels (2016) that in order for interactive governance to attain good outcomes, focus should be on the dynamics between the actors, this research focused on experiences of participants in social movements with interactions between the municipality and the participants. The concept of meaningfulness has been introduced to understand experiences with interactions in relation to responses towards the municipality. This study has been done in accordance with the following research question: ‘How does the construction of meaningfulness play a role in interactive governance for participants of different social movements in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination?’

The concept of meaningfulness has been operationalized by the definition of Mills and Smith (2008), as the judgements that participants have of their activism and the impact they make with it on the people in their networks and outside their networks. To make it more graspable the concept has been divided into two constructs through which meaningfulness can arise, following Fletcher and Schofield (2021). Meaningfulness arises through interactions and is assessed as meaningfulness in work, and/or meaningfulness arises through the formation of feelings of belonging among participants and/or the society which is assessed as meaningfulness at work.

Understanding the role of meaningfulness in interactive governance in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination is important because of two reasons. Firstly, interactive governance can promote more inclusive policy-making. Secondly, policy-making in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination is about creating an inclusive society, where people feel like they belong. If interactive governance can take on a meaningful role for citizens and stakeholders, it would be an adequate tool to enhance inclusion.

Within the context of decreasing interest of citizens in representative democracy in the Netherlands and even less interest in local representative democracies, the role of the construction of meaningfulness of social movements in relation to interactive governance has been analysed.

8.1.1 *Interactive Governance in the Field of Diversity, Inclusion & Anti-Discrimination*

In order to get hold of the whole picture, interactive governance practices have been identified and experiences with these interactions have been collected.

The municipality explicitly states that they want to work together with citizens and stakeholders, in a bottom-up way. It remains unclear if they want to have dialogue throughout every phase of the policy-making, if they are speaking of the orientation phase, a phase after establishing goals on which organisations can give advice, or actual involvement in the decision-making phase.

When looking at the interactions that are currently taking place, confirming the fourth expectation, most social movements find themselves still on the level of non-participation (Arnstein, 2019), where the main interactions are about being helped by the municipality, for example in terms of subsidy, but without input in the direction from social movements towards the municipality. This is mostly the case for organisation without stable interactions with the municipality. Those with stable interactions find themselves higher on the ladder of Arnstein (2019), around the level of tokenism. Here they are heard, but still lack the power to make sure that what they say is act upon. These interactions find themselves mainly in invited spaces, sometimes expanded to negotiated spaces. Notably, interactive governance is mostly driven by governance-driven democratization, confirming the second expectation.

Experiences with these interactions create perceptions, from which two main findings could be derived. Participants experience the policy on involving organisations not as inclusive. As only two organisations have stable interactions with the municipality, because of the tender. In addition, when participants are invited for dialogue, it is often experienced as for show or for the image of diversity.

8.1.2 *Perspectives on Interactive Governance*

To understand the underlying perspectives participants of social movements have on interactive governance, they have all been asked why interactive governance is important to them. The most important reason they all had in common consists out of two aspects. Firstly, they find interactive governance to be very important because everybody has blind spots. There is a need to avoid overseeing these blind spots, especially in the domain of diversity. If the policy-makers are a homogeneous group, the policy will not be able to cover diversity. The social movements all argue, just like the municipality, that they have access to groups that the municipality itself cannot reach. Secondly, adjacent to having access to certain groups that remain otherwise invisible, including social movements in policy-making can give these citizens a voice.

From the findings of the importance attached to interactive governance, perspectives on interactive governance, as provided by Edelenbos and Van Meerkerk (2016), could be identified. It became apparent that the perspective of social movements has a transformative character, leaning towards deliberative democracy and creating a space where people can express and create their identity. Whereas the municipality uses it more as a tool to improve the existing representative

democracy and approach social inclusion as an end-stage instead of an ongoing process. The cultural perspective is more applicable to the social movements whereas the instrumental perspective is more applicable to the municipality. This partly confirms the first expectation. They also both value the democratic perspective, but as we have seen the approach is either transformative or conservative.

8.1.3 *Meaningful Interactive Governance*

In the last chapter, the role of meaningfulness within interactive governance is assessed. For the participants, their work is meaningful at the moment that they have the idea that they make a change somewhere, for themselves, for people in their network or for the broader society.

Interactions help expanding impact they make, and thus meaningfulness, which confirms the fifth expectation. This goes for both stable interactions and future interactions. However, for immediate interactions, this might also be the case, but it is not as straightforward as depicted. Only when the interaction at stake is experienced as positive, meaningfulness is enhanced. If it is experienced in a way that they are not taken seriously, the specific interaction decreases the idea of making impact and thus meaningfulness. This is also the moment that the power structures play a role in reinforcing feelings that they are constrained in their actions. This confirms the third and the sixth expectation.

If interactions are experienced as meaningful, it influences responses of participants towards the municipality and the interactions themselves in terms of perceptions. Meaningfulness thus becomes a factor in the interaction-response mechanism, which dismissed the eighth expectation.

The seventh expectation is partly confirmed and partly dismissed. In case of a lack of interaction, specifically immediate non-interaction and stable non-interaction, meaningfulness does not necessarily decrease. Participants can experience meaningfulness by feeling that they make an impact on their direct surroundings and through the people in their network. However, this is in the case they feel like they have options to expand the reach of the impact they make. In case when there is no prospect of future interactions, it does decrease meaningfulness. Social movements want to make policy-making more inclusive in order for people to feel more like they belong in the society, but for now they themselves do feel like they are involved but not like they belong in the policy-making process. Meaningfulness in interactive governance for them arises only when they feel like they are taken seriously, which would be when they are part of the decision-making phase and thus manoeuvre at the level of citizen/stakeholder power (Arnstein, 2019). Therefore, the uneven power relation between the municipality and social movements plays a big role in the experienced meaningfulness and also feelings of belonging. Interactive governance would thus play a meaningful role at the moment that we lift social movements up to the level of citizen/stakeholder power, meaning that more deliberative elements should enter the current democracy. Therefore the perspective on interactive governance from the municipality should shift.

8.1.4 *Main Takeaway*

In light of the discussion of interactive governance and its relation to representative democracy (Edelenbos & Van Meerkerk, 2016), this research brings an important argument to the table. This is derived from the two main findings of this research. First, meaningfulness has been established as a mediator between experienced interactions and responses of social movements, which illustrates how meaningfulness can be of influence and why it is thus important to enhance meaningfulness. Secondly, in order for interactive governance to be perceived as meaningful, social movements need to be able to act on the level of citizen/stakeholder power. These two findings together provide an argument that the current institutional arrangements of our representative democracy are in need of a change if one wants to reach meaningful interactive governance, as participation that is experienced as meaningful is indeed favourable.

Important for the municipality is, thus, that if they speak of working together with the people and with organisations, the way they realise this should be more extensively developed in order not to put these people and organisations in a position of tokenism, which might even work against the municipality. Enhancing positive responses of social movements can be done by increasing experiences of meaningfulness, which means empowering the social movements beyond an advisory role.

8.2 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of this study should be put in the context of some limitations. First of all, the sample size should be taken into account. In the case of Rotterdam, there are only two actors that actually have stable interactions with the municipality regarding diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination, whereas there is a big network of social movements with non-stable interactions. The findings on social movements with stable interactions are therefore not very representative for networks outside of Rotterdam that might have stable interactions with more different organisation compared to the findings of social networks with non-stable interactions. For further research it would be very valuable to look at diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination networks within other cities. However, this should also be in cities in which the municipality also has a policy that displays intentions leaning towards interactive governance in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination.

Secondly, the scope of the research should be taken into account. In this study the role of meaningfulness has been studied and the question on how to make interactive governance meaningful has been answered. In addition, meaningfulness has been identified as a tool to improve responses towards the municipality. It has speculated that it might thus improve collaboration between social movements and the municipality, but this has not explicitly been looked at. For now, it is clear what interactive governance makes meaningful and how it can be realised. For further research it would be interesting to dive deeper into this mechanism and to find out, eventually, if that also better outcomes

of taken actions by social movements. It was beyond the scope of this research to look at this for two reasons. The first reason is that interactive governance in the field of diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination is only happening on a very small and confined scale. To identify the role of interactive governance on outcomes, there should be in-depth research on a specific project in which social movements are involved. The second reason is because of the timing of the research. The policy on diversity, inclusion and anti-discrimination and the intentions to involve citizens and stakeholders is still in development. Therefore, it would be very interesting to do a longitudinal study on how involving organisations by the municipality develops over time.

8.3 Practical Recommendations

The recommendations following from this research are directed at strengthening involvement between the municipality and stakeholders based on the framework of interactive governance to be able to follow up on their intentions as stated in the policies of Relax. This is Rotterdam. (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019) and Rotterdam Against Racism. (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2020).

8.3.1 Recommendation one: come on down and see social movements in action

As the municipality wants to support and involve social movements, the first recommendation for the municipality is that they should show their face more often in the spaces where social movements are active. The argument that the municipality stands too far away from local reality still holds, and this would be a simple step to decrease this distance. The findings of this research show that being recognized and taken seriously enhances experiences of meaningfulness. Coming down to the local level reflects recognition not only for the team of social movements themselves but also for the people they connect with.

In addition, paying a visit to social movements every now and then would increase understanding of what they are doing. Civil servants would be more informed about the doings of social movements and the role they play for the local citizens. Parts of the bureaucratic regulations that have to be taken to receive support from the municipality could be done or discussed on the spot. So, bureaucratic hurdles will be lowered and the human touch will be more present, which is an important aspect of an inclusive society.

8.3.2 Recommendation two: make a more inclusive policy on who interactions are established with

The second recommendation is that the policy on who the municipality interacts with should be more inclusive. This study showed that the way the municipality wants to reach an inclusive, diverse and anti-discrimination policy is not as inclusive in itself. This is because the current diversity, inclusivity and anti-discrimination network is organised by a tender, giving two of the biggest actors of the network the most power, in terms of money of course, but as showed also in terms of lowering the bar

to sit down together with the municipality and steer directions. Even though it is recognised by both organisations with stable interactions and non-stable interactions that sometimes smaller organisations can have as much impact or even more as they have a strong independent identity and feel safe because of their smallness. By adopting recommendation one, this will also become more clear to civil servants, but those moments can also directly be moments of consultancy, gathering information of what is needed, listening and having a dialogue with those actors. It will give more opportunities to include more different actors in the stages of making inclusive, diverse and anti-discrimination policies.

8.3.3 Recommendation three: use social movements to inform on what is happening in different domains instead of what specific groups need and make those the themes that need to be worked on

The third recommendation is to use social movements to inform on what is happening in different domains instead of what specific groups need and make those the themes that need to be worked on. Currently, it is often that the municipality brings up subjects they think to be a problem in the city. However, as we have noticed they are often distanced from the local people and are therefore not always spot on with their ideas of what the problems are. Social movements on the other hand have the best insights into what is happening and needed at the local level. Therefore, they would be an excellent actor to have input on what the municipality should work on. The municipality should now work from problems ‘invented by them’, but from the power that exists in the city, where motivation is grounded in citizens to take action on. To overcome the risk of key spokespersons as representatives of complete groups, they should inform on what is happening in different domains instead of in specific groups.

8.3.4 Recommendation four: involve social movements in all stages of the policy-making

The last recommendation is, following the third recommendation, to involve social movements in all different stages of the policy-making. As this study revealed, the most involved social movements find themselves in an advisory position. However, this is an advisory position within subjects that the municipality has brought up themselves. So, social movements should be more involved in bringing subjects to the table, the very first stage, as the previous recommendation states. From there on, they can take an advisory role, but they should also take up a spot in the making of the end decision. This can be implemented already for the social movements with stable interactions with the municipality, as they are already further in occupying different roles in the policy-making process, possessing more power to put subjects on the table. It is a good follow-up step to reach inclusive interactive governance in the field of diversity, inclusivity and anti-discrimination.

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Appendix I – Respondents and Participant Observation Activities

a. Overview of the interviewed actors

Function	Organisation	Level	Ties
Founder	WomenConnected	Bottom-up	Non-Stable
Founder	IKBENWIJ	Bottom-up	Non-Stable
Founder	Be The Change	Bottom-up	Non-Stable
Director	Wi Masanga	Bottom-up	Non-Stable
Board Member	Verhalenhuis Belvédère	Bottom-up	Non-Stable
Project Manager	Dona Daria	Bottom-up	Stable
City Whisperer	Rotterdam Municipality	Municipal	Stable
Chair of the Board	Independent Advisory Council	Independent	Stable

b. Overview of participant observation activities

Activity	Organisation
Open Repetitions: Theatre, Singing, Dancing, Spoken Word	Women Connected
Networking Event	Vital Cities and Citizens

Appendix II – Original Quotes from the Interviews in Dutch

1. “Het gaat niet om verzet, het gaat om inzet.”
2. “Ontspannen samenleven in een diverse stad kan alleen worden bereikt door heel goed samen te werken. Met (actieve) bewoners en professionals, met maatschappelijke en publieke organisaties en met bedrijven in de stad.” (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, p. 21)
3. “De uitdaging om een ontspannen samenleving te realiseren gaan we met elkaar aan. Van onderop, met de mensen en groepen in de diverse gebieden binnen Rotterdam.” (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, p. 16)
4. “We ondersteunen kleine maatschappelijke en (religieuze of levensbeschouwelijke) organisaties die een inhoudelijke bijdrage leveren aan de doelstellingen van dit actieprogramma en de burgers op een laagdrempelige manier bij elkaar weten te brengen. Vaak weten dit soort initiatieven Rotterdammers te bereiken die niet op stedelijke activiteiten afkomen. Door het betrekken van deze (vaak kleine) organisaties is er contact en het gesprek met kwetsbare Rotterdammers mogelijk.” (Gemeente Rotterdam, 2019, p. 16)
5. “Zeker die contacten hebben we echt wel. Dat wanneer ik een idee heb, dan weet ik wel een aantal mensen die dan echt gewoon naar me luisteren en mij dan ook echt serieus nemen.”
6. “Aan de ene kant, dingen die we signaleren of dingen waar we zelf een visie op ontwikkelen, die delen we met de beleidsambtenaren. Daar hebben we gesprekken over of het gaat echt over beleidsontwikkeling. Dat is bijvoorbeeld bij maatschappelijke ontwikkeling is het beleid heel erg intersectioneel geworden. [...]. Dat is letterlijk wat wij altijd zeggen. Dus daarin merk je dat informatie wel serieus genomen wordt.”
7. “Dus als je een partij domineert, ja dat is net als in de politiek, uiteindelijk is het ook niet heel gezond als je maar een of twee partijen die eigenlijk het helemaal bepalen, het zou ook niet gezond zijn als alleen maar een partij als Women Connected er in zit.”
8. “Binnen het beleid denk ik, moeten ze kijken naar wat is de diversiteit van het beleid nu zelf, ik bedoel je kan wel een soort one size fits all beleid is het, maar het beleid an sich heeft ook nuancering nodig, dat je daar ruimte creëert dat partijen in alle vormen en maten, dat het hoofdbeleid daar een representatie van is.”
9. “Bekend maakt bemind.”
10. “Je bent een uitvoerder van een aanbesteding, dus het contact wat je hebt is al met een beleidsambtenaar regelmatig contact. En in die contacten heb je dus al wel de ruimte om aan te geven waar je met je werk tegenaan loopt. Dus dat is wel een andere positie dan als je een kleine organisatie bent die geen structurele samenwerking heeft met de gemeente.”
11. “Ik denk dat we dus als mensen een grote aanbesteding krijgen wel ook echt nadenken van hoe kunnen we kleinere organisaties echt inzetten, maar ook betalen voor hun werk en die signalen dus weer meenemen. [...]. Omdat, zoals ze dat noemen, grassroots organisaties hebben vaak nog niet een formele structuur waarmee je ook geld kan aanvragen of dat kan organiseren bij de gemeente.”
12. “Per definitie val je eigenlijk buiten de boot, maar je valt niet buiten de boot als een sierpaard.”
13. “Ik ben vaak gevraagd om in het bestuur te zitten van instellingen. Maar ik wist wel waarom. Ik werd gevraagd om mijn huidskleur en omdat ik een klein beetje van naam heb hier in Rotterdam.”

14. “Diversiteit is in mijn ogen een modewoord. Dus ja, we zijn divers, want we hebben een donkere man op de werkvloer. Hoe is het in het bestuur? Niet. Maar dan kan je wel zeggen van ja we zijn een divers bedrijf. Dus diversiteit laat mij zien, het is weer een stukje van je praat nog steeds over mensen, zolang je niet mensen hebt op stoelen waar er ook meebeslist wordt, moet je bij mij niet aankomen met diversiteit. Het gaat om dat je mensen serieus neemt, dat je met mensen in gesprek gaat en niet gaat zeggen van we hebben een x aantal mensen van diverse culturen binnen een organisatie.”
15. “De gemeente kan dat niet, omdat de gemeente niet open samenwerking aan kan gaan, want er is altijd een soort eigen belang van een of ander beleidsgebeuren. En dat voelen mensen, dat dat er is. Dus als je dan de stad in gaat om lekker samen te gaan werken, dan denk je ja, moet ik door de hoepel van de gemeente springen en er is helemaal niet sprake van een open samenwerking.”
16. “Dat is ook een reden waarom de gemeente nooit kan samenwerken, want het begint altijd van een grote probleem toestand en dan krijg je ook allerlei partijen en organisaties die op problemen en op kwetsbare mensen zitten, terwijl als je hem vanuit de kracht van de stad redeneert, die zullen dat nooit zo brengen.”
17. “Nou, we zijn er geëiland, in de stad Rotterdam en de gemeente heeft ook behoorlijk wat netwerk en expertise en informatie waar wij veel mee kunnen.”
18. “Wij adviseren dus. Gevraag en ongevraagd, omdat we het beleid willen veranderen. Omdat we die blinde vlekken zichtbaar willen maken. Dus wij hebben de gemeente nodig, linksom of rechtsom, want ik kan wel een advies laten schrijven en publiceren in de krant elke maand, maar dan gaat er niks mee gebeuren, dus wij moeten ook manieren vinden hoe we ze het beste kunnen beïnvloeden.”
19. “Ja de gemeente kan niet alles weten wat er speelt, wij spreken gewoon veel meer mensen op jaarbasis dan de gemeente. Mensen vertellen ook veel meer aan ons omdat we ook in kleinere intieme settings in vertrouwen met mensen praten. Daarom vind ik contact met de gemeente wel heel erg belangrijk, omdat anders er denk ik een mismatch ontstaat tussen wat zij denken dat mensen nodig hebben en wat wij ervaren wat mensen nodig hebben.”
20. “Als je doet wat je deed, krijg je wat je kreeg.”
21. “Ik zie dat de gemeente, dat ze hun best doen, het is natuurlijk een kolossale organisatie en daar verandering of transformaties in teweeg brengen is makkelijker gezegd dan gedaan, al hoewel je ontkomt er niet aan.”
22. “Ik wil die stem laten horen, die stem over wie het beleid gaat. Want di worden niet vaak gehoord, maar die stem is er wel. Groot gedeelte helaas heeft iet gestemd, weet je, dat doet mij pijn, omdat ik denk van het is zo belangrijk, maar blijkbaar worden die mensen niet bereikt. Of vindt het misschien niet belangrijk genoeg, maar nog steeds, we kunnen met mensen in gesprek gaan, wij kunnen de stem zijn. En het mooie vind ik van het team van Be The Change is dat we kunnen praten met de jongeren op straat, maar we kunnen ook praten op beleid.”
23. “Voor heel veel mensen is democratie gelijk aan verkiezingen en dat is niet waar.”
24. “Dat klinkt een beetje paradoxaal met dat ik ook wel vind dat ze er absoluut toe doen en ze steken hun nek niet voor niks uit, maar als je zegt nou dan bellen we die even om te weten wat de Kaapverdiaanse Rotterdammers vinden, dan zijn we ook niet goed bezig. Dat is namelijk voor beleidsmakers altijd zo lekker makkelijk, we gaan even de spokesman vragen en dan hebben we ze.”

25. “Maar elke stap vooruit is een stap vooruit. Dus als we mensen kunnen raken, mensen aan het denken kunnen zetten. Winst is winst, en mensen bij wie we de deur op een kier gezet hebben, die daar nu verder over na gaan denken.”
26. “Voor de mensen met wie we werken, voor onszelf, voor de mensen met wie we het doen, voor de mensen daarbuiten. We zeggen altijd het is een soort steen die je in het water gooit die een soort kringen maakt en die ene steen is de vrouw die deelneemt en beïnvloedt zo haar leven om haar heen.”
27. “En wat dat voor mij betekent is dat je merkt dat je ook echt verandering aanbrengt en voor mij is dat minder een op een mensen coachen, voor mij het meer echt de projectontwikkeling, conceptontwikkeling, naar de grotere lijnen kijken, naar de maatschappij en hoe je daar verandering aan kan brengen in het elven van mensen. [...] en dat is echt ook dus op een breder maatschappelijke manier impact maken.”
28. “Als je echt met het veld in contact zou staan, hoef je die thema’s niet eens te verzinnen, thema’s komen naar boven drijven, waardoor het veld je al vertelt dit zijn de thema’s.”
29. “Er bij horen, ja wat is er bij horen? Er bij horen is dat we mee mogen beslissen en dat is nog niet het geval.”
30. “Je gooit een steentje, de gemeente is ook een steentje, in de natuurkunde hebben we natuurlijk geleerd, golven kunnen elkaar versterken of dat effect nihilleren, dus op het moment dat die bewegingen van die effecten niet in sync zijn zal het impact van ons werk ook gewoon verzwakt kunnen worden. En wij kunnen wel blijven doen, maar het vraagt ook van de grotere steen, dat de gemeente is, om de effecten daarvan te amplificeren in plaats van, ja leuk af en toe zo’n golf die dan pieken veroorzaakt. Dat is natuurlijk wel wat er nog te veel en te vaak gebeurt en het voelt allemaal als een soort token ding dat men doet.”

Appendix III – Consent and Information Form in Dutch

Informatie Formulier

Inleiding

Mijn naam is Bo van Ek. Ik ben student aan de Erasmus Universiteit in Rotterdam, waar ik een master volg in Governance van Migratie en Diversiteit. Voor mijn masterscriptie onderzoek ik ervaringen met interactie met de gemeente van mensen die actief zijn in organisaties op het gebied van inclusie, diversiteit en/of anti-discriminatie. Als aanvulling daarop kijk ik naar wat deze interactie (of gebrek aan interactie) met de gemeente betekent voor participanten.

U zal participeren in een interview die uw persoonlijke ervaring binnen uw organisatie en met interacties met de gemeente in kaart zal brengen. Voor verdere uitleg of eventuele vragen kunt u contact met mij opnemen via 6225546be@student.eur.nl of 0646549026.

Gegevensverzameling

U kunt vragen verwachten wat betreft uw ervaringen met het werken binnen uw organisatie en vragen over uw ervaringen met interactie met de gemeente Rotterdam rondom onderwerpen zoals inclusie, diversiteit en anti-discriminatie. De vragen zullen onder anderen gaan over uw perceptie hierop en wat deze interacties voor u betekenen.

Potentieel ongemak en risico's

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

Vertrouwelijkheid en gegevensbescherming

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

Gegevensuitwisseling

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

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

Vrijwillige deelname en individuele rechten

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

Als u klachten hebt over de verwerking van persoonsgegevens in dit onderzoek, neem dan contact op met Bo van Ek.

Toestemmingsformulier

Bij ondertekening van dit toestemmingsformulier bevestig ik dat:

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

Daarnaast geef ik toestemming om:

	Ja	Nee
Ik geef toestemming om de audio van het interview op te nemen		
Ik geef toestemming om het interview op video op te nemen (<i>alleen bij online interview</i>)		
Ik geef toestemming om citaten uit mijn interview te gebruiken		

Naam van deelnemer onderzoek: _____

Datum: _____

Handtekening: _____

Appendix IV – Semi-Structured Interview Questions in Dutch

Wat het voor jullie betekent om actief te zijn binnen jullie organisatie en hoe samenwerking met de gemeente Rotterdam nu ervaren wordt en hoe het daaraan zou kunnen bijdragen.

Eerst twee algemene vragen, dan over interactie met de gemeente en uw visie hierop en de laatste paar vragen gaan over zingeving binnen het werk en dat dan gerelateerd aan interactie met de gemeente.

Wat is uw rol binnen de organisatie?

Wat zou u willen bereiken met de organisatie?

De gemeente Rotterdam werkt aan een beter inclusief, diversiteitsbeleid

Heeft u, of uw organisatie contact met de gemeente Rotterdam?

V Zo ja, hoe ziet dit contact eruit?

Aanbod van de gemeente was er altijd wel, alleen iedere voorzitter eigen visie

Wat wil wijk gericht, waar spelen wij rol in bij de gemeente

Wat is het doel van dit contact?

Wordt dit contact geïnitieerd vanuit de gemeente of vanuit jullie als organisatie?

X Zo Nee, wat is de reden daarvan?

Hoe ervaart u het huidige contact met de gemeente Rotterdam?

Heeft u het gevoel dat u bijdraagt aan de beleidsvorming binnen Rotterdam?

Zo ja, of zo nee, hoe komt dat dan?

Vindt u contact met de gemeente Rotterdam belangrijk?

Ja, nee, waarom dan?

Waar denkt u dat interactie met de gemeente vooral aan zou kunnen bijdragen? Wat voor uitkomst?

Wat is uw visie op hoe gemeente Rotterdam beleidsvorming interactief zou kunnen maken / zou er iets kunnen veranderen waardoor er meer inspraak komt vanuit organisaties zoals deze?

Stel jullie hebben effectief inspraak bij het vormen van beleid, wat is voor jullie dan belangrijk in termen van einddoel? Iets specifiek dat u zou invoeren?

Zingeving

Wat betekent het voor u om deel uit te maken van deze organisatie?

Wat is uw intrinsieke motivatie om hier te werken? Waarom vindt u het persoonlijk belangrijk?

Als we het hebben over zingeving, wat is het aan uw werk dat het zinvol maakt?

Heeft u het gevoel bij te dragen aan verandering? Dit kan klein zijn, bijvoorbeeld voor u zelf, voor mensen die dichtbij staan of in grotere termen zoals de Rotterdamse samenleving of misschien zelfs daarbuiten.

Wat voor waarde hecht u aan de mogelijkheid hebben om impact te hebben, een verandering te maken?

Draagt interactie met de gemeente voor u gevoel hier aan bij? Als u meer betrokken zou worden bij beleidsvorming in de gemeente, heeft u dan het gevoel dat u meer impact maakt?

Voelt u zich betrokken door de gemeente?

Waarom wel of niet?

Draagt gezien worden door de gemeente bij aan het gevoel 'er bij te horen' met uw organisatie?

Waarom wel of niet?

Appendix V – Code Tree

