

Community Pathways to Resilience:

Activist, Survivor, and Conservator Communities in Cardiff

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*A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Cardiff
University*

March 2025

SUMMARY

The aim of this research is to explore how actors within communities are coming together to influence their communities' resilience. Drawing on the community resilience literature, the research identifies the need for an empirical examination of how resilience discourse plays out at the local and community level, focusing on what communities are doing and how they are reacting to policies of community resilience. The research is based on a case study of the city of Cardiff, using a combination of publicly available documents (77) and semi-structured interviews (45) with salient actors from the local authority and community to explore how communities seek to influence community affairs. The study utilises Fligstein and McAdam's Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) theory (2011) as a theoretical lens to understand community resilience in Cardiff as a SAF, focusing on actors' agency, in terms of their social skill, collective action, and power. The research combines thematic analysis with Fairclough's (2010) method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in line with a constructivist approach, with the purpose of understanding the power relationships that exist within the SAF and how the interactions between actors inform their practices and understandings of resilience. Through this analysis, a typology of three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**) is developed to explain how communities in Cardiff are organising to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. The findings make two contributions to SAFs theory: (1) empirically demonstrating that social actors in SAFs are indeed thinking and acting strategically to influence something, in this case their communities' development and resilience; and (2) revealing the critical role that place should play within SAFs theory. Overall, the research highlights the value of an organisational perspective for understanding the jockeying of actors and power dynamics within the SAF of community resilience.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude goes first and foremost to my supervisors Dr Marcus Gomes and Professor Rhys Andrews for their continuous support over the past years since embarking on my PhD journey at Cardiff Business School. I have been very privileged to have Dr Gomes and Professor Andrews as my doctoral supervisors. Thus, I would like to acknowledge their valuable guidance, steer, and advice in supporting me to complete my PhD. I am really grateful for their unwavering support, confidence and reassurance, particularly during the final stages of the PhD. I would also like to emphasise the development opportunities both my supervisors have offered to me, allowing me to develop as a researcher, making my first steps in academia.

I would also like to thank Dr Heike Doering for her valuable feedback, supporting me with her comments on improving my doctoral research. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude towards Professor Martin Kitchener and Professor Tim Edwards for their support while being involved in their research projects I assisted during my PhD studies. Additionally, I would like to thank the rest of the academic and administrative staff of Cardiff Business School, especially the Research Office and the Cardiff Organisation Research Group (CORGies) for all their help and support during my studies and doctoral research journey.

Also, a special thank you to the attendees of the Political Studies Association (PSA) Annual Conference (University of York, 2022) and the European Group for Organizational Studies (EGOS) Pre-Colloquium PhD Workshop (40th EGOS Colloquium, University of Milano-Bicocca, 2024) for their feedback comments and useful suggestions on various parts of my doctoral research as discussed and presented.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to my husband, Stavros Pantos, for his amazing support and patience throughout this journey. Especially, for his unwavering belief in me and his willingness to always listen and provide valuable advice. I cannot thank him enough for his help!

1. Introduction

In general, resilience refers to the impact of, and ability to withstand, adapt to and recover from a range of disruptive challenges and adverse events (Coaffee, 2013). In 2013 resilience was declared by the Time magazine as the buzzword of the year (Walsh, 2013). Since then, apart from the expansion of academic interest in resilience, there has also been a rise in the term used by governments, policymakers, organisations, institutions, and media. Indeed, the United Nations, (UN), the Department for International Development in the UK (DFID), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank have all made resilience a top priority (Pugh, 2014). For example, in 2013 the World Bank published a report named *'Building Resilience: Integrating Climate and Disaster Risk into Development'*, placing resilience at the centre of the World Bank's goals and development agenda (World Bank, 2013). More recently, the World Bank Group established the 'City Resilience Program' in 2017, which empowers cities to pursue investments that build greater resilience to climate and disaster risks (World Bank, 2019). This focus on urban resilience is also demonstrated by the campaign 'Making Cities Resilient 2030' launched in 2020 and is led by the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, with the aim of supporting and raising awareness of local governments in strengthening disaster management and resilience (UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, 2020).

Similarly, governments around the world have developed plans and programmes that aim to guide cities, communities, and authorities towards achieving resilience, indicating the importance of resilience in policy discourse (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). Despite the growing interest in resilience in both academia and policy, not much has been done in terms of empirical research of how resilience discourse plays out at the local and community level, focusing on what communities are doing. This research seeks to address this gap by empirically exploring how actors within communities are coming together to influence their communities' development and resilience. It aims to better understand the communities' point of view and how they react and engage with resilience policies and discourses associated with those policies. This is important because resilience is not built in a vacuum but in relation to surrounding actors, through external relations, networks, and policy, in which capacity to influence community affairs matters (Kumpulainen et al., 2022).

The rise in attention and scope of resilience in policy is clearly demonstrated in the case of policymaking in the UK. Indeed, resilience was initially used and developed as a policy to counter the threat of international terrorism that was eventually formalised through the 2004 Civil Contingencies Act (CCA) (Coaffee, 2013). Through the CCA, the UK government attempted to provide a central strategic direction for developing resilience focusing on emergency preparedness (Coaffee, 2013). This also includes the involvement of the local authorities in developing tailored resilience strategies to deal with different risks as well as the role of citizens in preparing for emergencies. For example, local resilient forums have been established across the UK, including the Wales resilience forum, which include representatives from local public services, local authorities, and the National Health Service (NHS), to plan and prepare for localised incidents and catastrophic emergencies (Cabinet Office, 2013).

Apart from resilience discussed in the context of catastrophic emergencies, resilience is also associated with other external shocks, such as financial crises and pandemics. Within this context, it is also worth noticing the role of resilience in policy during the coronavirus pandemic (Covid-19). In particular, many government organisations provided resilience funds to communities with the aim of protecting them from the impact of the Covid-19. For instance, the Welsh Government has provided an Economic Resilience Fund, which has supported more than 9,000 businesses in Wales, helping them to protect around 75,000 jobs (Welsh Government, 2020). Likewise, charity organisations such as the Community Foundation Wales launched the Wales Coronavirus Resilience Fund awarding grants to community groups, charities, and organisations to assist them deliver emergency support needed due to Covid-19, while also planning for the long-term recovery from the adverse economic effects of the Covid-19 (Community Foundation Wales, 2021). Consequently, these examples highlight how governments and different policy actors are increasingly employing the concept of resilience as a recovery strategy from Covid-19. In this sense, they are promoting the need to build resilience to ensure the creation of a recovery pathway from the effects of Covid-19.

Additionally, the role of resilience in policy has further expanded to include the creation and development of a variety of place-making and increasingly local planning activities (Coaffee, 2013; Joseph 2013). Therefore, there is an increasing emphasis on the social and community aspects of resilience, seeking to raise public

awareness of potential threats and to involve citizens and communities in their own risk management (O'Malley, 2010). Indeed, the initial focus of community resilience in policy was in relation to emergency planning, response, and recovery from adverse events such as disasters. This was because a focus at the community level is appropriate in disaster management as disasters are local events that have different effects in different communities and as a result, require different community responses (Pfefferbaum et al., 2017). However, the role of community resilience in policy has gradually changed over time, marking a shift from emergency planning and disasters alone, to its wider application as a solution to a variety of 'community-based' problems, including health and wellness, public safety, youth development and environmental sustainability (Zebrowski and Sage, 2017).

1.1. Community Resilience and its Attractiveness in the Policy Sector

More recently, community resilience has begun to be applied across a range of public policy issues, planning and management discourses as a means of addressing the uneven ability of places to respond to changes brought by social, economic, and political processes (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016; Markantoni et al., 2019). This is especially true in the context of austerity, where the concept of community resilience became attractive for governments, particularly at the local level where there had been significant budget cuts to government departments and local authorities. This is highlighted by Platts-Fowler and Robinson (2016) who argue that the notion of community resilience holds obvious appeal for local authorities grappling with the challenge of supporting places to cope in a harsh social and economic climate at a time of major budget cuts and service retrenchment. For example, in the UK the largest cuts between 2010 and 2015 fell upon the local authority which lost over half of its funding during this period under the politics of austerity (Gray and Barford, 2018).

In turn, governments facing increasing economic pressure were unable to support communities with social and economic challenges on their own, leading governments to increasingly employ community resilience as a strategy to cope with this situation. Hence, with austerity contributing to the reduction in the availability of safety nets and the dismantling of collective institutions of social protection, this results in placing increasing pressure on people as well as organisations that play important roles in community resilience (Wright, 2016). In this sense, the need to mobilise diverse

community actors working together as a means to address socioeconomic and environmental challenges became apparent and is now widely acknowledged (Zebrowski and Sage, 2017). This is also demonstrated by the fact that local authority corporate plans and strategy documents increasingly reference the need to create resilient communities and cities, not merely in response to environmental challenges, but as means of supporting vulnerable people and tackling inequality (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016).

This is also in line with a larger transition happening in policy, specifically referring to the shift from welfare states to enabling states, in which the government took a new role as facilitator and enabler, rather than provider and manager (Elvidge, 2014). For example, in the UK the role of the enabling state consists of empowering and supporting communities, individuals, and families to play a more active role in improving their own well-being, demonstrating the change from being dependent on the state to becoming more self-reliant (Elvidge, 2014; Markantoni et al., 2019). This is evident in the public policies of the UK that seek to strengthen community resilience and foster community-led development through community empowerment, participatory democracy, and asset-ownership (Wright, 2016; Zwiers et al., 2018). Thus, highlighting the ability of communities to cope with adversity and change in positive and aspirational terms (White and O'Hare, 2014).

Nevertheless, other scholars are more critical about this, emphasising that local communities have emerged as a principal target of contemporary empowerment and resilience programs, with such policies going beyond community preparedness and aiming to responsabilize citizens for the future of their locality (Zebrowski and Sage, 2017). As now communities are becoming more responsible for their own lives and are encouraged by the government to do so as well. This is related to neoliberalism and the fact that since the economic crisis in 2008 it has been more deeply entrenched into government policy, prioritising values such as personal choice, individual responsibility and self-reliance, seeking to replace infrastructures once provided by the state with a system of self-organised individuals who cooperate in providing these services (Blake, 2009). Consequently, the new role of the government as a facilitator and enabler under a neoliberal governance context, encourages the active role of citizens as well as emphasises the citizens' increasing responsibility in managing their own future. This new role of government together

with the different and proliferating types of threats that the government is dealing with and is unable to solve and tackle alone, places community resilience in the centre of policy.

1.2 Research Rationale and Significance

The expansion of the role of community resilience in policy led to a debate within the community resilience literature. In particular, whether the increasing role of resilience as a policy tool can be used to empower and strengthen communities or if is simply intended to advance neoliberal discourses and agendas. Indeed, there have been many studies criticising notions of community resilience on the basis that resilience is increasingly been interpreted as a neoliberal project, especially high-level analyses of policy documents. Such analyses apply the lens of governmentality to examine resilience as a discourse of governance, aiming to highlight the neoliberal rationalities of resilience programs (Bulley, 2013; Joseph, 2013; McKeown and Glenn, 2018). However, such analyses neglect empirical examination of how resilience discourse plays out at the local and community level. This is emphasised by Wright (2016) who argues that so far there is a lack of evidence about the extent to which the resilience agenda has been taken up, or noticed by the public, or how it is shaped within the broader sociopolitical context.

Consequently, although community resilience has recently gained a lot of attention, not much has been done in terms of empirical research, examining how communities react to policies of community resilience and the discourses associated with those policies. Indeed, studies of community resilience focus primarily either on the communities' different attributes, such as the prevalence of social networks (Kulig et al., 2008; Norris et al., 2008; Buikstra et al., 2010; Magis, 2010; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016) or the processes through which such attributes can be further developed to build community resilience focusing on empowerment processes (Buikstra et al., 2010; Zwiers et al., 2018; Cavaye and Ross, 2019). Kumpulainen et al. (2022) is a noteworthy exception who draw attention to the political dimensions of community resilience, by seeking to identify the different local tactics that rural communities adopt to maintain their viability during municipal mergers in Finland. By doing this, they demonstrate the importance of considering the active agency of actors to defend or develop their communities' resilience.

In order to address this gap in the literature, this research aims to empirically explore how communities¹ in Cardiff, the capital city of Wales, are organising to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. This requires a focus on the processes through which communities seek to influence community affairs. To do so, this research uses Fligstein and McAdam's Strategic Action Fields (SAFs) theory (2011) as a theoretical lens to understand community resilience in Cardiff as a strategic action field (SAF) in relation to the actors' capacity to influence the SAF through their interactions and strategies, focusing on their agency, collective action, and power. Thus, within the SAF, access to resources and struggle over discourses become central for actors to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position. A SAF is a meso-level social order where actors interact with knowledge of one another under a set of common understandings about the purpose of the SAF, the relationships in the SAF (including who has power and why), and the SAF's rules (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In this sense, SAFs theory views actors as interested and purposeful rather than passive participants, meaning that it takes the actors' interests and goals into account as well as their strategies in seeking to influence the SAF. In this case, by focusing on exploring the communities' point of view and how they engage with resilience policies and discourses, the emphasis is placed on looking at how communities play or 'jockey' with the rules of the game when seeking to influence their development in relation to resilience.

To achieve this aim, the following objectives are set:

- 1) To explore what communities are doing in terms of influencing their communities' development in relation to resilience; and
- 2) To explore how communities employ and utilise discourses of resilience and in doing so, if they are challenging existing dominant discourses of resilience.

Following from this, the two research questions are:

- 1) How are actors within communities in Cardiff coming together to influence their communities' development in relation to resilience?
- 2) In doing so, to what extent are actors within these communities challenging existing dominant resilience discourses?

¹ Note that this research refers to "communities" and "actors" interchangeably, as it views actors as embedded within communities in Cardiff.

This research contributes empirically to the community resilience literature, addressing the gap that exists regarding how communities react to community resilience policies and discourses associated with those policies. It explores how actors within communities come together (i.e., organise) to exercise their agency in relation to resilience by focusing on a case study of different communities in Cardiff. The research develops a typology of three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**) to explain how different actors within communities in Cardiff are coming together to influence their own communities' development and achieve what they want. In other words, the research looks at how communities are operationalising certain ideas of resilience, linking practices with discourses of resilience, and this extends our understanding of resilience. Therefore, the research examines the community pathways to resilience both empirically and theoretically as it combines the practices of communities with discourses of resilience. Consequently, each community pathway comprises specific communities grouped together because they share certain common practices and discourses of resilience, as well as certain place-based characteristics; providing a theoretical explanation as to why each pathway has that specific combination of practices and discourses of resilience.

At the same time, the research highlights the value of using an organisational perspective for understanding the jockeying of actors and power dynamics within the SAF of community resilience. This is significant as with important caveats (Revilla et al., 2018; Kumpulainen et al., 2022), there have been limited attempts to understand community resilience as a SAF or a social arena, where actors' interactions with each other and resources are central. Revilla et al. (2018) have prompted others to shift their attention to consider resilience in terms of the relationship between subjects with agential capacity and the social context in which they live, within which action unfolds. Indeed, the development of the three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**) define and depict community resilience as a relational concept that should focus not only on local authorities and/ or public policies, but also the communities that occupy such social space. Additionally, the findings make two contributions to SAFs theory. The first is empirically demonstrating that social actors in SAFs are indeed thinking and acting strategically to influence something, in this case their communities' development and resilience. The second contribution is revealing the critical role that place should play within SAFs theory.

1.3 Research Approach

The research is guided by a constructionist and interpretivist approach, which acknowledges that there are multiple, interrelated realities that are socially constructed in which social actors are central in constructing their own understanding of reality through interactions with their social world (Bryman, 2016). This is compatible with the chosen theoretical framework of this research (SAFs theory) which is based on the idea that social reality is constituted by SAFs, which are 'socially constructed arenas within which actors with varying resource endowments vie for advantage' (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012:3). In this sense, the focus is placed on the actors' interactions within the SAF as they seek to influence the SAF and strengthen the position they occupy within the SAF, based on their subjective meanings and interpretations regarding the SAF.

The thesis adopts a qualitative case study approach focusing on Cardiff, aiming to study community resilience as a recent phenomenon, focusing on the interactions of different social actors and their environment. Cardiff, which is the capital and largest city in Wales, makes an interesting case to explore community resilience as it is situated within deep income inequalities. This is because despite Cardiff's economic growth during the last 30 years, Cardiff still has some of the most deprived communities in Wales, with almost a third of its residents experiencing material deprivation (Cardiff Council, 2020c). Thus, publicly available documents are collected from different actors involved with the community resilience policy in the United Kingdom and Wales. These are used to develop an understanding of the policy context in which community resilience operates in Wales as well as identify and select the relevant actors to be interviewed, thus informing the interview schedule. Also, 45 semi-structured interviews are employed with different relevant actors from the local authority and the local community. The participants were selected on the basis of their involvement and participation in their community, as well as in community resilience activities (i.e., purposive sampling). The use of both document data and interview data together provides a means of triangulation, using multiple sources of data to seek convergence and corroboration (Bowen, 2009).

The research combines a thematic analysis with Fairclough's (2010) method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with the purpose of identifying themes from interview data as well as examining critically how power relations are embedded

within discourse. This allows the analysis of discourse in actively shaping social realities that can be used to maintain or challenge dominant narratives. Therefore, the analysis is in line with a constructivist approach as it seeks to examine the ways in which events, meanings and experiences are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The approach to data analysis starts with a first cycle of coding, which gives emphasis to the participants' perspectives and actions. This is followed by the second cycle of coding which consists of focused coding, combining and organising the initial codes that are the most relevant to this research together into clusters. This then involves a process of considering how the different focused codes may be combined to form overarching themes and sub-themes that capture the main ideas and concepts as expressed by participants. Finally, the possible relationships between themes and sub-themes are specified as well, aiming to move the analytic story to a theoretical direction (Charmaz, 2006). This is done in an abductive way, allowing the researcher to constantly move between empirical data and theory to develop new theoretical insights and explanations from the data, offering flexibility to the data analysis.

1.4 Overview of the Thesis

The remainder of the thesis is structured as follows.

- Chapter 2 (**Literature Review**) identifies the gaps in the community resilience literature. This encompasses a brief overview of the different definitions of resilience as well as the origins of the term resilience and how the term developed over time, leading to its use in the policymaking. It also includes a discussion of the main approaches of community resilience in the literature and the critical perspectives of resilience focusing on the politics of resilience and neoliberal discourses associated with resilience.
- Chapter 3 (**Theoretical Framework**) introduces fields theory, providing an overview of its main approaches. Then, it focuses on Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011, 2012), explaining its value as the chosen theoretical framework of this research, while also discussing its key concepts and criticisms.

- Chapter 4 (**Methodology**) outlines the research design, research context and the processes of data collection and analysis alongside the philosophical guiding principles.
- Chapter 5 (**Mapping the CRSAF in Cardiff**) defines the community resilience strategic action field (CRSAF) in Cardiff in terms of the different actors involved and provides a description of what is happening within the CRSAF. Also, it considers the Cardiff Council's approach and view of resilience.
- Chapter 6 (**Activist Pathway**) focuses on the first community pathway to resilience which includes the communities of Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott. It investigates how these communities specialise in organising themselves using their social capital and place-based identity as a resource to access certain resources. While exploring how these communities are utilising discourses of participatory and transformational resilience in mobilising these resources.
- Chapter 7 (**Survivor Pathway**) focuses on the second community pathway to resilience which includes the communities of Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney and Trowbridge. It investigates how these communities specialise in developing multi-sector partnerships to access resources such as funding and expertise. At the same time, the chapter explores how these communities are utilising discourses of pragmatic, crisis and transformational resilience in mobilising these resources.
- Chapter 8 (**Conservator Pathway**) focuses on the third community pathway to resilience which includes the communities of Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen and Rhiwbina. It investigates the ways these communities are accessing the resources they need by engaging in a diverse range of practices such as organising themselves, collaborating with others and establishing positive relationships with local councillors; while exploring how they are utilising discourses of beneficial and crisis resilience and what impact this has.

- Chapter 9 (**Conclusion**) summarises the key contributions to the literature and considers the limitations of the study as well as providing directions for further research.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to review the academic literature on community resilience. The contested nature of resilience is introduced in the first part of the chapter, highlighting the different definitions of resilience adopted in various disciplines. Then, the chapter follows a historical perspective of resilience which is necessary in order to demonstrate how resilience has moved from different fields over time, leading to the emergence and development of community resilience in policy. The second part of this chapter reviews how scholars have studied community resilience. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the critical literature around resilience, in relation to the increasing use of community resilience in policy. This is demonstrated by Figure 1, below, which depicts the five key themes identified, based on a thematic review of the extant literature on community resilience. To develop these themes, the literature on community resilience was evaluated based on six different aspects (definition of resilience, how examine/view resilience, dimensions of community resilience, critical perspectives of resilience, methods and theoretical framework).

Figure 1: Identified Themes of Community Resilience Research



The aim of this review is to gain a better understanding of community resilience, as due to the contested nature of resilience, different perspectives of resilience exist, leading to identifying gaps in the literature for further investigation. Through this review, it is revealed that not much has been done in terms of empirical research that examines how actors within communities react to policies of community resilience and existing discourses associated with those policies. Therefore, the aim of the research is to fill this gap by focusing on a case study of different communities in

Cardiff, to explore how actors within communities are organising to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. In particular, looking at the processes through which communities seek to influence community affairs.

Therefore, this chapter begins by providing the different definitions, and characteristics of resilience, as well as the origins of the term resilience, showing how the term developed over time, leading to how resilience is now employed in the social sciences and policymaking. Then, the community resilience literature is examined, looking at the different attributes of community resilience as well as the processes through which such attributes can be further developed to build resilient communities. Following this, there is an exploration of the critical perspectives of resilience focusing on the politics of resilience and the neoliberal discourses associated with resilience. Lastly, alternative ways of looking at resilience beyond neoliberalism which are associated with notions of resistance are examined.

2.2 Resilience

2.2.1 Multiple Definitions

Resilience highlights the impact of, and ability to withstand, adapt to and recover from a range of disruptive challenges and adverse events (Coaffee, 2013). Thus, resilience relies mainly on ideas of self-organisation, adaptation, transformation and survival in the face of adversity, especially crises (Humbert and Joseph, 2019). Today, resilience is a concept that is applied in various disciplines and different fields, including geography, engineering, economics, organisation, politics, development, psychology, and ecology. One reason for this popularity of resilience and its wide transferability across fields, is the flexibility of the term resilience. Indeed, no single fixed definition of resilience can be applied in all contexts and disciplines, as it has many different and diverse meanings. For example, in psychology, resilience can be defined as 'the process of, capacity for, or outcomes of successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances' (Masten et al., 1990:426). Whereas resilience in economics emphasises the ability of an economy to retain employment and wealth in face of disturbances (Reggiani et al., 2002). Similarly, organisational resilience provides a significant insight into how organisations are able to overcome major disruptions and maintain operations during periods of adversity (Burnard and Bhamra, 2019). Hence, the definition of resilience is distinct in each field, with a common point that all the definitions of resilience relate

to the ability of a system to respond to change while maintaining specific attributes (Baggio et al., 2015).

On the one hand, scholars argue that this absence of a single fixed definition of resilience can result to the adoption of a more flexible approach towards the concept of resilience which can be valuable. Therefore, the argument in this case is that the fuzziness of the concept does not make it meaningless, but rather depicts how full of meanings it is, as examining those meanings in grounded contexts provides an opportunity to examine what resilience does in specific contexts (Walsh-Dilley and Wolford, 2015; Vilcan, 2017). Therefore, it is crucial to understand the experiences of people who encountered these shocks or disturbances through the meanings of resilience produced on the ground. According to Walsh-Dilley and Wolford (2015), this process enables us to discover that resilience knowledge is itself a terrain of struggle, with resilience definitions, priorities or interventions being themselves political arenas. However, others emphasise that while resilience as an all-encompassing term has attractions relative to being a unifying concept, there is an inherent danger that it becomes an empty signifier, in the sense that it can be given any meaning to justify any specific goal (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015).

At the same time, one can argue that this flexibility of resilience provides the necessary vagueness to bring people together towards a goal that is hard to be against but also enables different actors to use and exploit such vagueness in their own benefits. Specifically, within the literature there are arguments highlighting that definitional failure allows the resilience concept to be used in imprecise ways that can do more harm than good in practise (Brand and Jax, 2007; MacKinnon and Derickson, 2012). Therefore, although resilience instinctively appears incontestable, portraying a desirable and aspirational goal relevant to practically any given issue, this is not the case (White and O'Hare, 2014). Consequently, there is a debate within the literature regarding the lack of a clear definition and the vagueness of the concept of resilience which is further detailed in this chapter.

Additionally, Brand and Jax (2007), suggest that depending on the intention and context of its research application, resilience should be descriptive and clearly defined for operational purposes, but also, that resilience should foster interdisciplinarity and collaboration across scientists belonging to different fields.

Therefore, resilience can be interpreted as a boundary object, in the sense that it is increasingly used with different meanings in a range of different fields, and able to foster communication and collaboration across disciplinary boundaries (Brand and Jax, 2007; Baggio et al., 2015). Similarly, some studies have also examined resilience as a bridging concept (Davoudi, 2012; Baggio et al., 2015). In particular, Davoudi (2012) discusses resilience as a bridging concept which is translated from the natural to the social world, and then applied to planning, highlighting the links between science and policy realms. In a later study, Baggio et al. (2015) support the argument of resilience as a bridging concept, but only to a limited degree, and for specific fields, arguing that it provides a weak bridge between natural and social sciences, apart from the socio-ecological systems field, perhaps due to its interdisciplinary origins, drawing from social sciences, engineering, ecology, and psychology. This means that only a relatively small number of papers are cited across fields, emphasising that the term resilience is clearly isolated in certain fields (Baggio et al., 2015). For instance, the engineering field is the most isolated, with very rare and few citations to and from other fields, and mostly to genetic engineering and/ or engineering applied to neurosciences (Baggio et al., 2015).

Resilience has been applied to phenomena of varying scales and complexity, from components of engineered public infrastructure systems, and social groups to systems and networks of systems, such as communities, socio-ecological systems, regional economies, organisations, and networks of infrastructure systems (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015; Koliou et al., 2018). Therefore, as mentioned earlier, different definitions of resilience may be embraced within the literature conditional on the object examined and the type of resilience adopted. For example, Walker et al. (2004:2) define resilience as the 'capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganise while undergoing change to still retain essentially the same function, structure, identity and feedbacks'. Similarly, resilience in UK policymaking is defined as 'the ability of assets, networks, and systems to anticipate, absorb, adapt to and/ or rapidly recover from a disruptive event' (Cabinet Office, 2011:14). In contrast, Norris et al. (2008:130) view resilience, as 'a process linking a set of adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation after a disturbance'. Whatever the definition adopted, Shaw (2012) emphasises that resilience involves three main elements; (i) the ability to absorb the stress and retain

functionality, (ii) the ability to self-organise and (iii) the capacity to learn, change and adapt.

Following this, it is important to distinguish between early ecology-based 'bounce back' perspectives of resilience that focus more on recovery and notions of transformational resilience which capture the 'bouncing forward' from external shocks, offering opportunities for local innovation and creativity (Shaw, 2012; Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). From a community resilience perspective, a transformational understanding of resilience focuses more on the community's long-term ability to respond to different challenges and thus, has the potential of transforming the community to a better and a more desirable state. In contrast, 'bounce back' perspectives of resilience focus on a community's ability to deal with adversity and adapt during crises, as well as 'bounce back' from a shock and return to a state that existed before the shock. Indeed, there is an academic debate between the two ways of thinking of resilience as conditional on the type of resilience adopted, there are different ways of thinking how to build or approach resilience. For example, in the case of urban resilience development, Raco and Street (2012) distinguish between conservative and radical constructs of resilience. The conservative approach views resilience planning as allowing a return to the steady state or equilibrium that existed before the external shock (Raco and Street, 2012). Whereas the radical approach considers resilience as involving a rejection of the situation one was before the shock, since that was the reason the shock happened in the first place, thus viewing resilience as a dynamic process (Raco and Street, 2012).

Most theoretical and practical approaches in social sciences aiming at increasing resilience still largely focus on understanding resilience as adapting and recovering during crises, only emphasising the 'bouncing back' ability (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). Similarly, this distinction between the two notions of resilience is often ignored in policy. White and O'Hare (2014) examine resilience in policy, demonstrating that the political and policy arenas tend to take a more simplistic, monistic approach than academia, glossing over such nuances. Even if in some policy arenas there has been a discussion about the type of resilience adopted, this is heavily focused on the 'bounce back' type, with the climate change field being the main exception, due to its synergies with evolutionary resilience with the adaptation agenda and efforts to link human and natural systems (White and O' Hare, 2014).

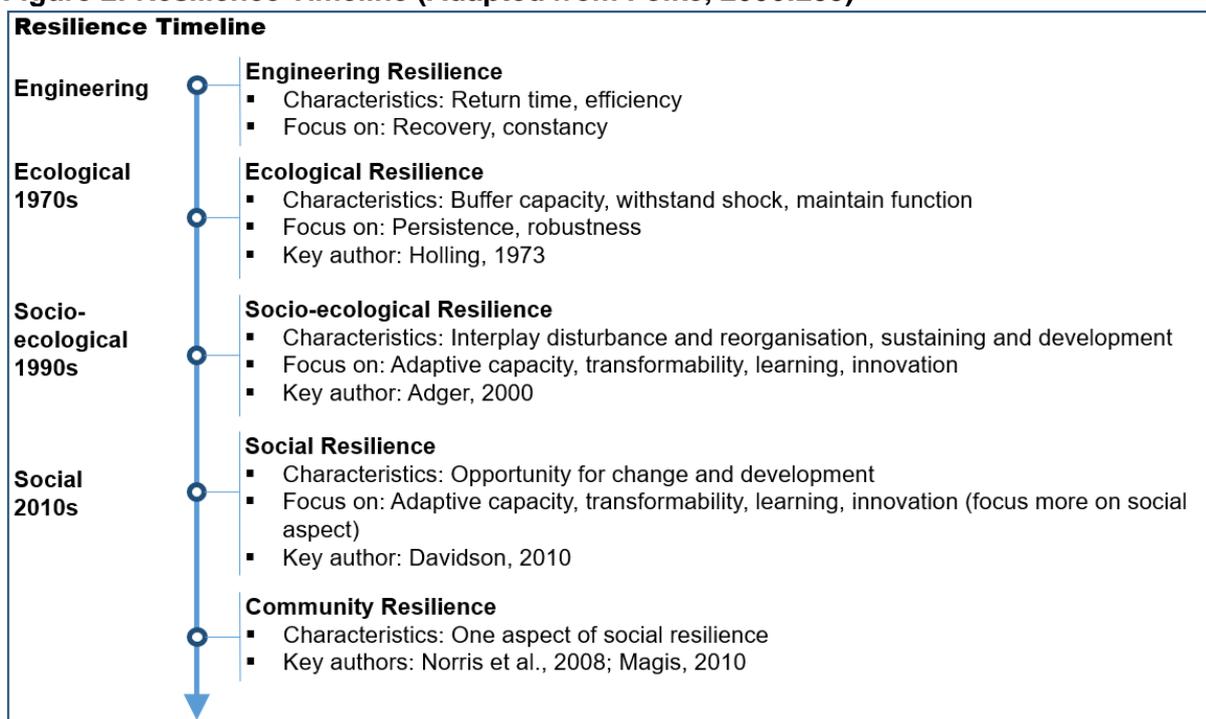
Based on this multiple use and implications of resilience, it is important to understand its origins and historical development of resilience.

2.3 A Historic Perspective

It is important to look at how the concept of resilience emerged and evolved over time, as well as moved from different fields. This is also crucial, in relation to the vagueness of the concept of resilience and the implications this has in policy.

Figure 2 below shows how the concept of resilience evolved over time, expanding on each type of resilience in the subsequent sub-sections as follows. Throughout this analysis, what is highlighted is the move of resilience from ecology to social and political sciences, as well as policy, depicting how broad the concept of resilience came to be.

Figure 2: Resilience Timeline (Adapted from Folke, 2006:259)



2.3.1 From Engineering to Ecological Resilience (1970s)

One common point that resilience literature shares, is that the origins of resilience can be traced back to ecology. Nevertheless, within social science the concept of resilience is far from new, as several disciplines and fields of research, including psychology, child development, criminology, and social work, have all laid out the components and strengths of a resilience approach in the past 60 years, if not

beyond (Bourbeau, 2018). For example, in strands of psychology, resilience refers to the capacity of an individual to adapt positively after a traumatic event (Bourbeau, 2018). However, within the ecological resilience context, resilience has gradually moved from a descriptive tool to one that projects how systems may change over time (Folke, 2006). Specifically, the most cited article is that of Holling (1973), who introduced the concept of ecological resilience for the first time, challenging the existing notion of engineering resilience, which referred to the ability of an ecosystem to return to stability or equilibrium after a disturbance. This narrow interpretation of resilience implies a desirability to bounce back to some initial condition or state (Torres and Alsharif, 2017). Indeed, this single equilibrium view has substantially shaped contemporary natural resource and environmental management with attempts to control resource flows in an optimal fashion (Folke, 2006). Specifically, it has prompted policy measures designed to maintain order and equilibrium in different contexts, such as forests, marine ecosystems, rivers, and agricultural lands (Powell et al., 2014).

However, such approaches to ecosystem management, were criticised and questioned on the basis that these approaches place an excessive emphasis on equilibrium (Zebrowski, 2013). In contrast, ecological resilience, concerns the ability of these systems to 'absorb changes of state variables, driving variables, and parameters, and still persist' (Holling, 1973:17). In other words, this type of resilience accounts for the ability of an ecosystem to remain cohesive even while undergoing extreme perturbations (Walker and Cooper, 2011). Thus, ecological resilience has primarily concerned itself with applying the insights of the complexity sciences to understanding the adaptive capacities of natural systems, including species and ecosystems with interactions across temporal and spatial scales (Zembrowski and Sage, 2017). This led to ideas about the adaptive renewal cycle of development and more recently, the concept of panarchy that explicitly takes fast/ slow dynamics and cross scale interactions and interdependencies into account (Gunderson and Holling, 2002; Folke, 2006). In the 1990s, interest in ecological resilience increased as it was promoted by the Beijer Institute in Stockholm, where a Resilience Alliance was created to identify possible connections between the work of Holling in ecological modelling and social science; particularly in the field of ecological economics (Cote and Nightingale, 2012).

2.3.2 From Ecological Resilience to Socio-ecological Resilience (1990s)

Since the emergence of ecological resilience in the 1970s, research on resilience entered a new phase where it examined whether ecological resilience could be applied to human systems as well. This is evident from the 1990s, as led by the Resilience Alliance network, the concept of resilience was extended to human systems otherwise known as social-ecological systems (Welsh, 2014). Therefore, resilience thinking was introduced to social sciences to describe socio-ecological systems. Similarly, Adger (2000) was amongst early scholars to make connections and investigate the potential relationship between social and ecological resilience. Consequently, Adger (2000:347) defines social resilience 'as the ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change'. From this definition, the notion of social resilience is a descriptive concept that refers to the social factors that allow change to happen while retaining similar feedbacks and functions of the socio-ecological system (Cote and Nightingale, 2012).

Hence, one can understand the importance placed on human agency which is not reflected in the ecological resilience. This is further demonstrated by Davidson (2010) who argues that it is our agency that distinguishes social systems from ecosystems. Nevertheless, this framework can also be used as a policy tool for socio-ecological systems management, broadly gathered under the notion of adaptive governance. As result, there has been a movement from descriptive to prescriptive domains in social resilience analyses, which can be problematic (Cote and Nightingale, 2012). For example, Walker et al. (2006) emphasises that some system regimes may be considered desirable by a section of society and undesirable by another. Similarly, Adger (2000) concludes by highlighting the difficulties in simply transferring the resilience concept from ecological sciences to social systems, as this assumes that there are no essential differences in behaviour and structure between social systems and ecological systems.

Despite these concerns, this led to an expansion of studies using socio-ecological resilience to examine the relationship between social and ecological systems. This new research into socio-ecological resilience aspires to set the ground rules for a general systems theory capable of integrating society, the economy, and the biosphere (Walker and Cooper, 2011). Hence, in socio-ecological resilience,

resilience consists of three elements; (i) the amount of disturbance the system can absorb and still remain within the same state or domain of attraction, (ii) the degree to which the system is capable of ecological self-organisation and (iii) the degree to which the system can build and increase the capacity for learning and adaptation (Carpenter et al., 2001; Folke, 2006). In this sense, the system is self-organising, emergent from those interactions, and non-linear in outcomes (Cretney, 2014; Welsh, 2014). Therefore, resilience no longer entails simply the ability to resist or absorb systemic shocks and to rapidly recover from impacts but is also about learning to anticipate as well as adapt to future shocks and vulnerabilities (Folke, 2006; Koliou et al., 2018). Thus, social learning, self-organisation, collaborative research and management, and transformability are some key components of the socio–ecological resilience (Folke 2006; Brown, 2014).

Consequently, socio-ecological resilience emphasises that social change can be achieved by either adaptation or transformation. Adaptation recognises the capacity of the social actors involved in the system to learn, combining experience and knowledge, and adjusting social behaviour to maintain a resilient system in the event of changing internal and external forces (Berkes et al. 2003; Walker et al. 2004; Folke et al. 2010). Whereas transformation, is regarded as a larger intentional change that creates a fundamentally different system when ecological, economic, or social structures make the existing system untenable (Gunderson and Holling 2002; Walker et al. 2004; Folke et al. 2010). Hence, emerging from the literature are three key underlying assumptions of socio-ecological resilience; (i) that socio-ecological systems are linked, (ii) that linked socio-ecological systems are complex adaptive systems, and (iii) that building adaptive capacity for resilience is the key objective in governing linked socio-ecological systems (Berkes et al., 2003; Walker and Cooper, 2011; Wilkinson, 2012). In the global environmental change arena, the ideas on resilience have been mainly drawn from the field of ecology (Brown, 2014). However, these have spread to broader applications to linked socio-ecological systems and in turn these have influenced and are influenced by work on disasters and climate change adaptation (Brown, 2014). Also, the ecology literature is concerned with the impact of global environmental change (Joseph, 2013).

2.3.3 From Socio-ecological Resilience to Social Resilience (2010s)

Over the past decade, the field of socio-ecological resilience has taken a 'social turn' as resilience researchers broadened their theoretical and methodological lens to incorporate insights and approaches from a wide range of non-natural science disciplines, ranging from sociology, anthropology, human geography, economics, psychology, to closely aligned interdisciplinary fields, such as sustainability sciences, environmental education, planning, and law (Brown, 2014; Stone-Jovicich et al., 2018). This was as a response to the increasing criticisms that socio-ecological resilience was failing to adequately integrate the social component into its approach. Consequently, a third strand of research emerged focusing on the resilience of human systems and communities, referred to as social resilience (Davidson, 2010). This approach, is influenced by psycho-social resilience theories which originated in studies in epidemiology and child development in the 1970s, viewing resilience as the ability to recover from trauma, and the capacity to persist or sustain health and psychological wellbeing in the face of continuing adversity (Welsh, 2014).

From then, there has been a rescaling of psychological resilience from the body to the place-based setting of the community, in order to understand the social factors enabling and enhancing the resilience of individuals and collectives, notably in natural hazards, and disaster management and recovery research (Welsh, 2014). The main characteristic of this type of resilience is that social resilience views disturbances as an opportunity for change and development (Wilson, 2012). Indeed, research on social resilience is often based on a 'bottom-up' approach predicated on understanding human drivers and indicators of resilience at community level, of which human–environment interactions are only one of many components (Wilson, 2012). From the field of disaster recovery and response, the idea of community resilience signalled a shift from the traditional focus on the individual and household preparedness to the role of social networks in assisting response and recovery efforts (Zebrowski and Sage, 2017). This in turn, has enabled the migration of community resilience from the field of emergency response to its wider application as a solution to a variety of 'community-based' problems, inclusive of health and wellness, public safety, youth development, and environmental sustainability (Zebrowski and Sage, 2017).

Having explored the historical aspect of resilience, it is evident that in its historical development the term gained attention and moved from fields, influencing research on different dimensions. Despite the criticism on the importance of human agency, not much has been done in terms of empirical research on community resilience which focuses on the communities' understandings of resilience as well as what communities are doing to influence their resilience. This research seeks to address this gap by empirically exploring how actors within communities are coming together to influence their communities' development and resilience. This is significant to understand as at the same time, resilience has massively influenced policies at a local level (e.g. at a community level). The next section discusses how scholars have studied community resilience focusing on the different attributes of community resilience as well as the processes through which such attributes can be further developed to build resilient communities.

2.4 Community Resilience

This section focuses on community resilience by highlighting the different attributes of resilient communities and how these can be fostered through processes such as community development, community-based planning, and social learning (Davidson, 2010). In this sense, community resilience as a concept can be helpful to analyse and integrate into resilience the collective dimension and actions of different members within communities to adapt and respond to changes.

2.4.1 Attributes of Community Resilience and Building Processes

Community resilience relates to the adaptation of communities and societies to environmental, social, economic, or political change (Adger, 2000). Becoming resilient as a community means gaining control not over the conditions people face, but over how they respond to change (Magis, 2010). Therefore, studies of community resilience seek to provide insight into how communities can actively develop the capacity to adapt to and flourish within environments characterised by perpetual change and turbulence (Zebrowski and Sage, 2017). Research on the attributes that a community has to possess and develop to achieve resilience largely focuses on the existence and development of community resources (or capital), the emergence of collective action, active agents, the prevalence of social networks, social inclusion, leadership, and equality (Norris et al., 2008; Buikstra et al., 2010; Magis, 2010; Ross and Berkes, 2014, Pfefferbaum et al., 2017).

Indeed, the analysis of the dimensions of community resilience of Magis (2010), was one of the first studies to emphasise human agency, proactivity, and social capital as key components of understanding community resilience. Specifically, Magis (2010:402) suggests that 'members of resilient communities intentionally develop personal and collective capacity that they engage to respond to and influence change within their communities'. At this point, it is worth noting that although both personal and community resilience are linked and connected with each other, this does not mean that they always exist simultaneously within a community. Therefore, there may be cases in which not everyone in a resilient community will be personally resilient, and equally a community may have many resilient members, but not necessarily be considered as a resilient community as a whole (Berkes and Ross 2013).

Within the literature, the existence and development of different types of capital within the community is highlighted as a key attribute of community resilience (Buikstra et al., 2010; Magis, 2010; Wilson, 2012; Steiner and Markantoni, 2014; Revilla et al., 2018). Specifically, Magis (2010) emphasises the importance of physical, material, psychological, and sociocultural resources which enable communities to survive within an environment characterised by uncertainty. Similarly, Wilson (2012) argues that community resilience can be best captured based on how well the critical triangle of economic, social, and environmental capital is developed in a community, as well as how these capitals interact with each other. This means for example, that communities focused almost entirely on developing economic capital (as a material property), at the expense of social or environmental capital, will be vulnerable, despite the fact that some individuals within this community may benefit disproportionately in financial terms (Wilson, 2012). Environmental capital analyses characteristics of human–environment interaction linked to the availability and use of natural resources for human consumption, such as forests (Wilson, 2012).

Environmental capital is important as 'the resilience of a community is inextricably linked to the condition of the environment and the treatment of its resources' (Cutter et al., 2008:601). Thus, a high level of environmental capital which may include the sustainable management of environmental resources is significant for the resilience of communities as they are better able to adapt to environmental changes. In

contrast, environmental degradation issues such as soil degradation or water pollution are often linked to increasing vulnerability of rural communities, negatively affecting the communities' overall resilience (Shiva and Bedi, 2002). Additionally, social capital often refers to the ability and willingness of community members to participate in actions and activities that advance the community's goals, and with individuals engaging collectively in community organisations, groups, and networks (Williams, 2004; Magis, 2010; Markantoni et al., 2019). This is significant for building and strengthening resilience in a community. Consequently, a socially supportive environment helps to engage individuals within their community and creates an environment with strong networks of social connections and trust (Zwiers et al., 2018).

More recently, the study of Revilla et al. (2018) further supports the role of capital in developing community resilience by pointing to the importance of social capital of a community including its internal relations, trust, and reciprocity, as well as economic and physical capital. Therefore, the combination of these resources or capitals is vital for communities to survive, function well and foster their resilience. Nevertheless, the critical literature highlights that it can be problematic to equate community resilience to a limited set of capitals as it may falsely indicate a linear process, whereas in reality it is a complex interplay between different capitals and their underlying properties, based on complicated power structures and networks within communities (Davidson, 2010; Wilson, 2012). In this sense, resilience is both a natural property of communities as each community possesses some resources and at the same time it is a quality which can be improved and extended through good governance, thus, looking to further develop these resources (Zebrowski and Sage, 2017).

Additionally, another significant attribute of community resilience is place attachment (Norris et al., 2008, Buikstra et al., 2010; Ross and Berkes 2014; Zwiers et al., 2018). Place attachment refers to the emotional bond between people and a particular geographic space which can lead to people wanting to invest time, energy, and money to improve their community (Perkins et al., 2002). Specifically, Zwiers et al. (2018) empirically explored the link between place attachment and community resilience in two remote rural villages in Scotland, concluding that social, environmental, and personal aspects of place attachment have an impact in community resilience. For instance, the social aspect of place attachment is linked to

the sense of community which involves feelings of belonging, mutual trust, social connections, shared concerns, interests and community values. Norris et al. (2008:139) underline this by arguing that 'place attachment often underlies citizens' efforts to revitalise a community' and thus may be essential for community resilience. In contrast, the personal aspect of place attachment is related to place identity, as the relationship between community participation and place attachment is created partly through interest in place history (Zwiers et al., 2018). Although, the sense of community focuses on the bonds and emotional connection among people and place attachment refers to the connection to place, both can encourage and motivate community members to participate in neighbourhood improvements and community actions (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). This results in the strengthening of relationships and ties within the community and consequently increasing community resilience. The length of residence also plays a role in place attachment, with some arguing that those whose family have lived there for generations can develop a strong sense of place, and others highlighting that new residents can also have strong place attachment because they have made a more deliberate choice to live there (Hay, 1998; Savage et al., 2005). At the same time a bond with the environment can also result in a sense of local pride, which helps in organising joint actions; again, useful for community resilience (Zwiers et al., 2018).

It is also important to note the sociopolitical context in which both place attachment and communities exist, as power relations manifest themselves in the everyday uses and meanings of place (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). For instance, how a community uses space, and whether and how people participate in neighbourhood processes are influenced by gender, race, ethnicity, and class (Manzo 2003). This includes whether someone feels marginalised or empowered to participate in community change efforts, and whether they feel they have a place, or a right to a place, at the bargaining table (Manzo and Perkins, 2006). Consequently, including the people–place bond and the effects of place attachment on resilience can assist policymakers to understand the complexity of community resilience (Zwiers et al., 2018). This in turn, would improve the design and target support for community actions, and intervention programmes on resilience for the creation of sustainable and adaptive communities (Ross and Berkes, 2014; Zwiers et al., 2018). In fact, there is an emerging literature that uses the term creative resilience to refer to innovative and place-based community strategies that engage with wider issues of resilience (Bosca

et al., 2020; Dunn 2020). In this sense, resilience is the process of creativity in the face of shocks, destruction, and instability, and so a place attachment approach allows to understand better the meaning of place and the meaning of various threats to that place by developing ways of genuinely engaging communities to identify their needs and unique capacities (Bosca et al., 2020).

Following from this line of argument which views resilience as a process, empowerment is also linked with community resilience. This is because to develop community resilience, community members have to actively engage in building the capacity to thrive (Skerratt and Steiner, 2013). Similarly, Hegney et al. (2008) highlight the ability to learn from the past, to be open and inclusive, and to have a sense of purpose, emphasising social learning. Thus, empowered communities are more likely to possess the ability to anticipate and adapt to changes, as well as to transform into more desirable states (Skerratt and Steiner, 2013). This need for empowering communities is even more essential in the case of hard-to-reach communities (Markantoni et al., 2019). In particular, one way through which communities can build or improve their resilience is community development. This process of community development involves community members mobilising and acting collectively, and it is through this action that a community becomes more vital, not just economically, but as a functioning community in itself (Cavaye and Ross, 2019). Therefore, the method of community development assists in showing different ways to ensure community action and empowerment. In other words, community development can be considered as a process of engagement, empowerment, and action that fosters community resilience and builds specific aspects of resilience, such as adaptive capacity, interactions within overall systems, and equity (Cavaye and Ross, 2019).

However, it is important to highlight that empowerment processes are complex, do not occur instantly, and flourish by creating common objectives for communities to work together (Skerratt and Steiner, 2013; Markantoni et al., 2019). Within these processes, there is also a crucial role for the government in supporting and empowering communities to build their resilience. This is especially the case for communities with little or no collective engagement, where support is needed, not only in financial terms to initiate community projects, but also to mentor and facilitate the process of project implementation (Markantoni et al., 2019). In particular, official

elected councillors have an important role to play in supporting communities build their resilience at the local level. Nevertheless, such support depends on how councillors engage with the communities and approach their role as representatives (Copus, 2003; 2010). For example, Cotterill and Richardson (2011) found that there are strong and positive relationships between communities and local councillors when there is a shared understanding between them of the role that the councillors have in relation to supporting and engaging the communities. Therefore, local councillors who value and support local efforts, will create opportunities for engaging with the communities in a supportive and participatory way. Despite the increasing attention for the need to develop community resilience, many studies point to the concept of community resilience that remains abstract for practitioners. In this sense, it is difficult to verify whether certain interventions bring anticipated changes and help to develop resilient communities (Steiner and Markantoni, 2014).

The above analysis demonstrates that studies of community resilience are mainly focused on three topics: (i) the different attributes of community resilience (Kulig et al., 2008; Norris et al., 2008; Buikstra et al., 2010; Magis, 2010; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016; Pfefferbaum et al., 2017), (ii) the processes through which such attributes can be further developed to build community resilience (Buikstra et al., 2010; Amundsen, 2012; Cavaye and Ross, 2019; Zwiers et al., 2018), and also (iii) the evaluation of the implementation of intervention programmes that seek to enhance resilience in communities (Markantoni et al., 2019). This is further depicted in Table 1, which summarises the main studies of community resilience and the approach they take. Table 1 highlights that there are different research approaches and methods towards researching community resilience. Indeed, most community resilience studies adopted a mixed methods approach, including case studies and in-depth interviews to examine how members of community respond to changes.

Table 1: Selected Studies of Community Resilience and Their Approaches (Adapted from Berkes and Ross, 2013:12-13)

Author	Context, research questions, and references	Approach	Strengths, processes, and contributions to practice
Buikstra et al., 2010	Rural community, Southern Queensland, Australia. What are the characteristics of individual and community resilience, and how can these be fostered?	Single case study. Participatory action research with the community and partner organisations, focused through meetings of a joint project team and community meetings.	Identify 11 key attributes that apply both to community and individual resilience: Social networks and support, positive outlook, learning, early experience, environment and lifestyle, infrastructure and support services, sense of purpose, diverse and innovative economy, embracing differences, beliefs, and leadership.
Magis, 2010	Forest-dependent communities, United States. What are the indicators of resilience in forest-dependent U.S. communities?	Examination of 13 research and implementation projects (United States, Australia, Africa, Ecuador) focused on aspects of resilience including: 10 focus groups with 60 participants and the development and testing of a scale and metrics using content from the 13 projects.	The community resilience dimensions identified are: community resources, development of community resources, engagement of community resources, active agents, collective action, strategic action, equity, and impact.
Kulig et al., 2008	Rural communities, Alberta, Canada. What is the relationship between health status and community resilience? How can health professionals assist?	A multimethod study was used to explore community resiliency in two rural communities and one urban neighbourhood. Qualitative interviews, a household survey, and analysis of provincial health databases were all used.	Key attributes of community resilience include: leadership, community problem solving, sense of belonging, community togetherness, ability to cope with divisions, networks and ability to cope with change.
Norris et al., 2008	Model building for disaster management, based on review. How does resilience enhance disaster readiness?	Based on a review of literature on community resilience, and resilience literature in the fields of psychology, sociology, geography, anthropology, public health, ecology, technology, and communications as well as past stress theory and disaster research.	Portrays community resilience as a network of adaptive capacities centered on: social capital, economic development (including level and diversity of economic resources and fairness of distribution), information and communication, community competence: taking action, critical reflection, collective efficacy and empowerment, and political partnerships.
Cavaye and Ross, 2019	Building community resilience based on review. To what extent is there mutual recognition between community resilience and community	Based on a review of literature on community resilience and community development.	Key characteristics of community resilience that can add to the consideration of community development include building adaptive capacity, managing complexity, enhancing community values and identity, managing multiple level systems, and supporting community agency. Community development can be considered as a process of engagement,

Author	Context, research questions, and references	Approach	Strengths, processes, and contributions to practice
	development and how they may add value to each other?		empowerment, and action that fosters community resilience. Community development principles also can build specific aspects of resilience such as adaptive capacity, interactions within overall systems, and equity.
Markantoni et al., 2019	Hard-to-reach communities, Scotland. Can externally funded interventions such as community projects enhance the resilience of hard-to-reach rural communities and change or influence perceptions of community and individual resilience among rural residents?	Evaluating the Capacity for Change (C4C) community intervention in Dumfries and Galloway region in the south-west of Scotland including: analysis from 345 interviews with rural residents from six communities.	The research shows that successful completion of community projects can positively change perceptions of resilience, whereas uncompleted projects negatively affect perceptions of resilience. To enhance the resilience of rural communities, the state must also create opportunities for effective community participation.
Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016	Case study of neighbourhoods, Sheffield. What is the potential utility of community resilience as a policy tool?	A mixed methods approach was developed to address the three key issues framing this study: defining community resilience, measuring community resilience, and understanding the factors promoting resilience.	Insights into the interaction of neighbourhood features that might inform resilience to economic stressors include: discussion of social capital, third places, community development and the underpinning role of public services, local capacity to secure and share information, and basic infrastructure of public spaces within which the sense of community was rooted and social relations were nurtured.
Zwiers et al., 2018	Rural communities, Scotland. What is the link between people, place, and community resilience, that is, the role of place attachment in rural communities?	Conducting of interviews and eliciting mental maps from residents in two remote rural villages in Scotland.	Rural community resilience is influenced by place attachment and therefore the people–place relationship should be included in research, policy, and community intervention programmes on community resilience.
Pfefferbaum et al., 2017	Community resilience in disaster management based on review. What are the different disaster management phases and how can community resilience be enhanced through social capital?	Based on a review of literature on community resilience and disaster management.	Resilience, both personal and community resilience, is increased by the social capital that emerges from improved social connections and social networks. Effective disaster management, which requires an informed and engaged public, relies on social networks to connect and support individuals, families, groups, and organisations within the community and to link the community with the disaster system of care.

Author	Context, research questions, and references	Approach	Strengths, processes, and contributions to practice
Amundsen, 2012	Case study of a village, Norway. What are the local responses to multiple challenges and how are they related to community resilience?	A mixture of five qualitative methods was applied in this research, including in-depth, semi-structured interviews, document analyses, participant observation, and media searches.	Community resources, community networks, institutions and services, people–place connections, active agents, and learning are activated in processes and activities in the village to respond to current challenges. This research suggests that community resilience is both complex and dynamic over time. The ability of communities to actively engage in reflexive learning processes is of importance for adaptation.

2.4.2 Adding Layers of Complexity

There are a number of caveats which one has to consider when examining community resilience, as these add to the complexity of community resilience as a concept. One such issue concerns the meaning of community, how one defines community and the implications this has for building resilience. Indeed, community, much like resilience, remains a contested concept, and has done so for many decades within the literature (Wilson, 2012; Skerratt, 2013; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016). On the one hand, some may regard communities as open and unbounded systems rather than closed and easily identifiable geographical entities, like a village community for instance (Wilson, 2012). Such a view of community entails that the process of developing community resilience becomes more complex, as different groups are involved beyond a specific geographical entity who have divergent goals or capacities. Hence, regarding community as an open system, means perceiving community resilience as a process of developing various resiliencies within a community by different groups in the community, with some groups competing and contradicting the efforts of other groups to build resilience (Wilson, 2012). In contrast, other studies focus and research communities of place and specifically neighbourhoods (Cutter et al., 2008; Skerratt and Steiner 2013; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016). This is because, although people are likely to be members of multiple communities of identity and interest that transcend neighbourhood boundaries, neighbourhoods are the setting for much of daily life, and therefore, representing a tangible material setting and target for interventions designed to promote resilience (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016).

There are also studies which adopt a multi-faceted definition of community which, whilst recognising place and the social relations within it, at the same time consider communities-within-communities and asymmetrical networks of unequal power (Skerratt, 2013). In this sense, communities are perceived as the totality of social system interactions, such as an affective unit of belonging and identity, and a network of relations usually within a defined geographical space (Cutter et al., 2008). This involves acknowledging that communities are not homogenous entities, but are comprised of households, individuals, and stakeholder groups who all have their own resilience pathways that may be very different from those of the community within which they live in (Wilson, 2012). In turn, normative questions about whose resilience, who is defining and measuring resilience, and how the data is used in

decision-making processes, and the methodologies that assess resilience have to be as inclusive as possible of different stakeholder views within communities (Wilson, 2012). In particular, Markantoni et al. (2019) suggest that even capacity-building projects, do not necessarily help to integrate all community members but only subgroups within communities, leading those who do not participate in local projects to believe that there is no external encouragement to be actively involved in community life. Consequently, the heterogeneity of the communities is seen as one of the main reasons for the lack of community participation (Zwiers et al., 2018). Therefore, it is important to clarify what type of community one refers to when researching community resilience.

Similarly, the issue of scale is another matter to be considered when discussing community resilience, since the concept of community can be scaled up and down. Therefore, building community resilience needs to recognise synergies between the community and other scales or levels within a system, internally and externally (Cavaye and Ross, 2019). Indeed, upscaling the notion of community demonstrates that local communities and individual decision-making pathways are embedded in nested hierarchies of scales, with close scalar interconnections between the community and the regional, national, and global levels (Wilson, 2012). It is within these levels, that there are indirect expressions of resilience that inform and influence resilience action by individuals and households (Davidson, 2010). Thus, although communities may perceive and exhibit resilience at the local scale, they are nonetheless part of a global system and have to respond to changes affecting them through this interconnectedness (Amundsen, 2012). Consequently, the role of exogenous factors operating within these different levels and influencing community resilience within particular contexts, needs to be better understood and more widely recognised (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016; Wright, 2016). In this sense, communities can only improve and build their resilience up to a certain extent, as communities cannot control or influence all conditions that might affect them. This means they can build resilience through their responses to shocks and actively develop resilience through capacity building and social learning up to a point (Berkes and Ross, 2013). In doing this, the existence of engaged social networks can help foster adaptive capacity and enhance transformative resilience (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016).

2.5 Critical Perspectives

As mentioned before, the role of community resilience in policy has changed and expanded over time, marking a shift from emergency planning and disasters alone, to a number of different policy problems and areas, such as poverty reduction. In response to this, a critical literature had emerged, criticising the increasing use of community resilience in policy, focusing on the politics of resilience, and how community resilience is used to advance neoliberal discourses and agendas.

2.5.1 Politics of Resilience

For the critics of resilience, the use of resilience in policy is problematic, as resilience frameworks ignore issues of power, justice and equity, otherwise known as the politics of resilience (Davoudi, 2012; MacKinnon and Derickson, 2012; Reid, 2012; Bulley, 2013; Walsh-Dilley and Wolford, 2015). For instance, Godschalk (2003) importantly notes the absence of any discussion of poverty and inequality from the discussion around community resilience. Consequently, this type of resilience thinking depoliticises poverty and seeks to alleviate vulnerability through market mechanisms, entrepreneurship and self-exploitation (Walsh-Dilley and Wolford, 2015). This is because, if questions regarding power and conflict are not addressed, then structural factors of poverty and causes of vulnerability are also ignored. Instead, you expect that vulnerable cannot be resilient due to a lack of material resources or skills in relation to other communities and so they have to rely on others, overlooking the evidence that vulnerability comes from socio-economic inequalities, making the poor less able to be resilient (Bulley, 2013). In fact, a depoliticised framing of resilience threatens to exacerbate such problems (Reid, 2012). This is because the inability to recognise poverty and inequality as the number one source of community vulnerability and lack of resilience illustrates a close proximity between emergent discourses of resilience and contemporary neoliberalism (Bulley, 2013). Another significant point related to the politics of resilience, is in terms of who determines what represents a desirable outcome and who benefits from resilience building (Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016). For example, MacKinnon and Derickson (2012) argue that resilience is often externally defined by state agencies and expert knowledge. Therefore, as a political construct, resilience policy leads to losers and winners, and it is important to identify them and make sure that it is not the most vulnerable individuals or social groups who carry the burden of resilience policy (Chmutina et al., 2016; Fitzgerald, 2018).

This is linked to the question of resilience of what, for whom and for what purpose? (Cote and Nightingale, 2012; Davoudi, 2012; Shaw, 2012; White and O'Hare, 2014; Walsh-Dilley and Wolford, 2015). This question allows policymakers, academics and organisations to consider which type of resilience is useful in each case, or why resilience is the desirable policy focus in this specific policy context. The purpose and importance of such an approach is to illustrate that resilience thinking and building are not simply natural or universal, but rather terrains of contestation (Walsh-Dilley and Wolford, 2015). This is further demonstrated when one looks at the case of austerity. Despite the fact that resilience has proven a popular framework through which to approach the social strains of austerity on individuals and neighbourhoods, it raises questions as to who is expected to be resilient, as well as how, and in whose interest that resilience works, leading to both winners and losers (Fitzgerald, 2018). Since resilience has been applied in social sciences for many decades now, it is surprising to see that all these issues of power and governance do not play a more important role in both theoretical and practical approaches aiming at increasing resilience (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). Hence, some scholars insist that this transition of resilience from ecology to the social world without any adjustments to fit the social world is problematic. In particular, MacKinnon and Derickson (2013) emphasise that the concept of resilience derived from ecology and systems theory is conservative when applied to the social sphere, as it refers to the stability of a system against interference, favouring established social structures, which are often shaped by unequal power relations and injustice. On a similar note, Joseph (2013) argues that resilience has been plucked from the ecology literature and is used in a fairly instrumental way to justify particular forms of governance.

2.5.2 Resilience as a Neoliberal Project

In the literature, notions of community resilience are criticised on the basis of reinforcing neoliberal pathways of development, with scholars arguing that resilience can increasingly be interpreted as a neoliberal project (Walker and Cooper, 2011; Reid, 2012; Joseph, 2013; Zebrowski, 2013; Zebrowski and Sage, 2017; Wilson, 2018). Following this, many critical studies of resilience have sought to illustrate this close relationship between resilience and neoliberalism through the lens of governmentality, aiming to highlight the neoliberal rationalities and practices of resilience programs. The concept of governmentality comes from critical theory and

represents a shift away from institutions towards mentalities as opposed to government and governance which are institutionally focused (Larner and Walters, 2004). In other words, it explores the emergence of resilience in policy related to the strategies of government to shape human conduct. In the case of community resilience, it can examine how responsibility shifts away from states and institutions towards populations and communities. A governmentality approach focuses on the arts, tactics and practices of governing, with neoliberal governmentality operating through various neoliberal strategies and technologies including governing at a distance, technologies of responsibilities, and practices of subjectification which aim to produce autonomous and entrepreneurial subjects in a world of naturalised uncertainty and crisis (Welsh, 2014). In this sense, neoliberalism is understood as a rationality of government performed through regimes of subjectification that extend the logic of the market including the principles of competition and inequality to all spheres of human activity (Mavelli, 2019).

The importance of these rationalities is the process of subjectification which refers to how subjects of intervention are constructed. The aim is to construct subjects that are free, enterprising, autonomous, and responsible (Dean, 1999). This then makes it possible for the government to govern individuals at a distance through their freedom. Thus, although there might be less direct government in a society in terms of traditional forms of hierarchical state control, this does not necessarily entail less governing (McKee, 2009). Rather according to a governmentality approach, this shift is an expression of a changing logic or rationality of government by which civil society is redefined from a passive object of government to be acted upon and become a subject of government (Sending and Neumann, 2006). In this context, power is not the antithesis of freedom and human agency as it presupposes it (McKee, 2009). This is further shown by Lemke (2001) who emphasises that neoliberalism posits an artificially arranged liberty, in the entrepreneurial and competitive behaviour of economic-rational individuals. Therefore, governmentality regards neoliberalism not only as an ideological rhetoric or as a political-economic reality, but rather as a political project that endeavours to create a social reality that suggests is already in existence (Lemke, 2001). Therefore, it is a specific form of social rule that institutionalises a rationality of competition, enterprise, and individualised responsibility (Joseph, 2013). Consequently, resilience has become a valuable political strategy facilitating this neoliberal shift of responsibility (White and O'Hare,

2014). As White and O'Hare (2014) emphasise, resilience discourses enable risks to be reconstructed and shared by multiple actors including citizens themselves, who have increased access to data, information, and crucially, a heightened responsibility to construct their own resilience strategies.

In turn, resilient people are responsible for their own wellbeing and do not expect the state to help them as they have been disciplined into believing in the necessity to secure it for themselves (Reid, 2012). Thereby, Reid (2012) points out that citizens are conceived as resilient in so far as they adapt to rather than resist the conditions of their suffering in the world, resulting to the conclusion that to be resilient, is to forego the very power of resistance. Moreover, through a critical analysis of UK policy documents and specifically the UK government's community resilience programme, Bulley (2013) demonstrates that resilience has become an important tactic not only in governing, managing, and controlling communities, but also in seeking to produce communities in the first place. In particular, Bulley (2013) argues that although in the policy documents the role of central government is to support and enable communities to help themselves, this is not about empowerment per se but about forming subjects and governing at a distance. Thus, the programme creates a hierarchical positioning of different subjects including, experts, volunteers, resilient individuals and last the vulnerable, from whom no such resilience can be expected (Bulley, 2013). Similarly, Grove (2014) analyses resilience discourse as a neoliberal project, in which the vulnerability and resilience of communities constitute an object of governmental intervention and control. All these analyses view resilience as compatible with contemporary neoliberal governance, focusing on its individualistic approach, the shifting of responsibility onto individuals and communities as well as its promotion of reflexive self-governance through strategies of awareness, risk management and adaptability (Joseph, 2018; Humbert and Joseph, 2019).

However, other scholars challenge this neoliberal view of resilience, arguing that resilience should be more properly understood as the expression of a post-neoliberal shift (Mavelli, 2019). Specifically, Chandler (2014) explains that the ontology of complexity at the heart of existing discourses and practices of resilience makes it a regime of governance primarily concerned with the unknown unknowns and thus resilience thinking would challenge state-led top-down liberal rationalities of government. Therefore, Chandler (2014) argues that resilience thinking offers a

vehicle to transform government at a time of complexity and uncertainty (Jacobs and Malpas, 2018). Nevertheless, Mavelli (2019) does not support such argument, emphasising that post-neoliberal resilience thinking neglects how complexity may be a product of neoliberal rationalities and as such, it may be instrumental in advancing the very notion of neoliberal resilience that it seemingly challenges. Similarly, Joseph (2013) agrees that resilience is not part of a new phase of post-liberalism, but it is still part of neoliberalism.

Apart from the emphasis of resilience towards shifting responsibility towards communities and away from the government, resilience is increasingly used to reinforce a neoliberal perspective of continuous risk and uncertainty. In particular, the use of resilience has created an atmosphere of constant vigilance and risk, where a crisis is considered inevitable (Coaffee and Rogers, 2008; Neocleous, 2013; Cretney, 2014). In turn, this has resulted in the blurring of lines between securitisation and emergency response, as the ability to adapt to any unpredictable outcome has become the focus of emergency response organisations, rather than actual preparation and response to known threats (Coaffee and Rogers 2008; Walker and Cooper 2011; Cretney, 2014). Similarly, O'Malley (2010) highlights that what makes resilience attractive is that it is not specific to the governance of particular threats, or even to threats per se, but rather it is a technology used to deal with uncertainty in general. As well as to govern situations of radical uncertainty, meaning to deal with possible events that have either not been predicted statistically or not thought to be sufficiently likely to warrant enacting (O'Malley, 2010). Therefore, by highlighting uncertainty, vulnerability and unpredictability as given and constant characteristics of the world, the implication is that one must always be prepared and resilient to survive better. Consequently, under certain manifestations, resilience is a strategy to help govern uncertainty, blunting prospective allegations of mismanagement or inaction frequently levelled at decision makers during times of crisis (White and O'Hare, 2014).

2.5.3 Resilience as a Form of Resistance

Despite the powerful critiques emphasising the close relationship of resilience to neoliberalism, there have been recent attempts to reconsider such dominant approaches. This is based on the argument that discourses and practices of resilience can carry multiple logics which contain possible alternatives of a more

critical or emancipatory character (Humbert and Joseph, 2019). This means, that however dominant such discourses are, one cannot assume or take for granted this relationship of resilience to neoliberalism and simply equate resilience with neoliberalism. This is demonstrated by Vilcan (2017) who points out to the questions that emerge in relation to the mechanisms and processes through which individuals are responsabilised, and whether or not they work in practice, and to what extent. Indeed, a common point of these critical studies is that they are high-level analyses of policy discourse, analysing the ways in which governments use community resilience as a governing tool for their own benefit. However, such analyses ignore an empirical examination of how resilience discourse plays out at the local and community level. In other words, such studies examine resilience as a discourse of governance using a governmentality framework to look how resilience is used for the state's neoliberal agenda, and more specifically what it aims to produce (Bulley, 2013; Joseph, 2013; McKeown and Glenn, 2018), ignoring what resilience is and does in practice. For example, Vilcan (2017) cautions that it is not enough to assume responsabilisation takes place, and it is essential to explore the mechanisms through which this happens, and if it is successful in practice. Consequently, it is significant to explore the meanings of resilience on the ground, depending on the context applied. This is because to place resilience either in the empowerment or responsabilisation box respectively, means ignoring the range of complexities that derives from their implementation.

There have also been a few studies in the literature challenging the idea that being resilient means that resistance cannot be exercised in any way, aiming to show how in some cases, resilience and resistance can coexist (Meira, 2014; Ryan, 2015; Zebrowski and Sage, 2017). Meira's (2014) empirical study of worker-led factory takeovers in Brazil, explains how alternative organising can promote a solidarity-oriented vision of community under neoliberalism, and show how community resilience can exist in such way without this neoliberal framing. Similarly, Zebrowski and Sage (2017) argue about the potential of resilience to be enacted in a manner resistant to the logic and practices of contemporary neoliberalism. Therefore, they turn to alternative organisational forms related with the worker cooperative movement to show new creative ways in which communities could be organised (Zebrowski and Sage, 2017). Additionally, Bourbeau and Ryan (2018) argue that resistance requires resilience for its sustainability as resilience keeps social justice struggles alive under

extreme pressure, especially when overt resistance is not possible and maintaining everyday life itself becomes a resistant act. This is evident in Ryan's (2015) study case of sumud in Palestine which effectively demonstrates that current debates within the resilience literature fail to account for how resilience itself may be a tactic of resistance. In this case, sumud is a tactic of resistance to the Israeli occupation that relies upon adaptation to the difficulties of life under occupation, staying in the territories despite hardship, and asserting Palestinian culture (Ryan, 2015). Therefore, sumud is a form of resilient resistance because it does not reflect living with uncertainty but, rather, living despite uncertainty (Ryan, 2015). Such analyses point to how resilience in the form of everyday practices of adaptation and coping can be a form of resistance.

Despite the above studies in the resilience literature which demonstrate that resilience and resistance can indeed coexist, there has not been much attention empirically in relation to how actors within communities react to policies of community resilience and existing discourses associated with those policies. Indeed, the literature review on community resilience has shown that the emphasis has been on the communities' different resources, such as the emergence of collective action, the prevalence of social networks and social inclusion (Kulig et al., 2008; Norris et al., 2008; Buikstra et al., 2010; Magis, 2010; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016). Together with how these resources can be further developed to build community resilience focusing on empowerment processes (Buikstra et al., 2010; Zwiers et al., 2018; Cavaye and Ross, 2019). At the same time, there have been many high-level analyses of policy documents which examine resilience as a discourse of governance, looking at how resilience is used for the state's neoliberal agenda, and specifically on what it aims to produce (Bulley, 2013; Joseph, 2013; McKeown and Glenn, 2018). However, such analyses neglect empirical examination of how resilience discourse plays out at the local and community level. This is supported by Kumpulainen et al. (2022) who pointed out that resilience is not built in a vacuum but in relation to surrounding actors, through external relations, networks, and influence on policy, in which capacity to influence community affairs matters.

Indeed, Kumpulainen et al. (2022) has drawn attention to the political dimensions of community resilience, by seeking to identify the different local tactics that rural communities adopt to maintain their viability during municipal mergers in Finland.

This requires a focus on the processes through which communities seek to influence community affairs. Similarly, Wright (2016) argues that so far there is a lack of evidence about the extent to which the resilience agenda has been taken up or noticed by the public, or how it is shaped within the broader sociopolitical context. To address such concerns, this research empirically explores how actors within communities in Cardiff are coming together to influence their communities' development in relation to resilience and whether in doing so, they are challenging existing dominant discourses of resilience. In this sense, this research considers the active agency of actors to defend or develop their communities' development and resilience.

2.6 Concluding Remarks

The goal of this literature review chapter is to present and analyse the main themes around the area of community resilience. That is why initially resilience was discussed in relation to both its multiple definitions and historical perspective, indicating the move of resilience from ecology to social and political sciences, as well as policy. Then, the different capitals including place attachment are discussed as the main attributes of community resilience, along with the processes seeking to develop those attributes further to build resilient communities (e.g., community development, empowerment). Additionally, the critical perspectives of resilience are analysed in relation to the politics of resilience which ignores issues of power and arguments of resilience as a neoliberal project. Lastly, studies of community resilience looking at resilience as a form of resistance are also discussed.

This review revealed that within the literature there are not many empirical studies examining how communities react to policies of community resilience and existing discourses associated with those policies. This research seeks to address this gap by focusing on exploring the communities' point of view and specifically how communities are organising to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. This means examining the processes through which communities seek to influence community affairs. To do so, this research uses Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011) as theoretical lens to examine the actors' capacity to influence the community resilience SAF through their interactions and strategies. Central to this, are the ideas of agency, collective action, access to resources, as well as issues of power which discussions around resilience have been criticised to largely ignore.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This research focuses on the communities' point of view, seeking to explore how communities in Cardiff are organising to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. As previously presented, the literature review on resilience highlighted that few empirical studies have focused on how communities react to policies of community resilience and existing discourses associated with those policies (Wright, 2016; Kumpulainen et al., 2022). In order to address this gap, this research adopts Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011) as a theoretical lens to understand community resilience in Cardiff as a SAF, in relation to the actors' capacity to influence the SAF through their interactions and strategies, focusing on their agency, collective action, and power. A SAF is a meso-level social order where actors interact with knowledge of one another under a set of common understandings about the purpose of the SAF, the relationships in the SAF (including who has power and why), and the SAF's rules (Fligstein and McAdam's 2012). In this sense, Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) conceptualisation of SAFs as an analytical category portrays actors as interested and purposeful, rather than passive participants, meaning that it takes actors' interests and goals into account.

This chapter begins by introducing fields theory, providing an overview of its three main approaches: (i) Bourdieu's theory of field and capital (1984;1986), (ii) new institutionalism (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983), and (iii) SAFs (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011; 2012) to understand their interconnections and differences, as well as their strengths and weaknesses. Then, Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) main theoretical building blocks are outlined, particularly focusing on the positions actors occupy within a SAF, how the broader SAF environment can influence that SAF, as well as the conditions that can stabilise and change the SAF. The concept of social skill is also considered. Additionally, the different applications of this theoretical framework to the state, market, and non-profit sector are examined to understand how this theoretical framework is currently being applied across a number of disciplines. By doing so, this research recognises this theory's value in exploring community resilience as a SAF.

3.2 Field Theory

Field theory in sociology and organisational studies encompasses three distinct but interrelated approaches: (i) the Bourdieu's theory of field and capital (1984;1986), (ii) new institutionalism (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983) and the most recent version of field theory, (iii) the SAFs (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011; 2012). These three approaches (i)-(iii), although different, all focus on analysing stability and change in field-level dynamics. In order to better understand the connections and differences between them, each approach is briefly outlined before turning to the SAFs theory which this research adopts as a theoretical lens. Therefore, the aim of this section is to provide an overview of the three approaches rather than discuss each of them in detail.

3.2.1 Bourdieu's Theory of Field and Capital

The earliest and most influential articulation of field theory was made by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984;1986). Bourdieu's main theoretical contribution was proposing the concept of a field and combining it with a theory of action around the concept of habitus (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). This theory demonstrated that social agents develop strategies which are adapted to the structures of the social worlds that they inhabit. According to Bourdieu (1984), each field is characterised by the dominance of a particular type of capital, conceptualising the field as a domain of struggles over capital. Thus, action in the field is influenced by the relative possession or lack of possession of capital as actors (i.e., individuals and organisations) within the field engage in competition over specific types of capital. Another related concept of his work is the one of the habitus, which is understood as the product of class position, and more specifically the product of the volume and structure of capital that agents possess (Riley, 2017). Therefore, for Bourdieu, the different forms of capital are seen as a way of reproducing existing unequal power relations (Reynolds et al., 2022).

In this sense, actors compete for legitimacy by mobilising and attaining various forms of economic, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984;1986). It is through leveraging these forms of capital, that actors are able to gain legitimacy for their actions which is necessary to influence the field and strengthen their position they occupy within the field. In particular, economic capital refers to the tangible resources that actors have at their disposal such as property, assets, income streams or access

to funding (Reynolds et al., 2022). Indeed, Bourdieu acknowledges the importance of economic capital for securing other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Whereas for Bourdieu, social capital is ‘the sum of the resources that an individual or a group accumulates by having the virtue of having a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:119). From this definition, it is clear that for Bourdieu social capital is linked to the reproduction of class, status, and power relations, as it is based on the notion of power over as opposed to power to (Smith and Kulynych, 2002). Lastly, cultural capital refers to having access to skills, expertise and knowledge, which actors can use for their benefit and advancement.

Despite Bourdieu’s concept of social capital being widely used across a range of different disciplines, the term social capital has been extended to include social networks, the relative interconnectedness of people and characteristics, such as trust and the cultural and institutional glue that binds communities together (Bodin and Crona, 2008; Wilson, 2012). Recently, environmental capital was also added to the list with the forms of capital which has been used by ecologists, human geographers and anthropologists to conceptualise attributes of human–environment interaction (Wilson, 2012). Such attributes are linked to the availability and sustainable use of natural resources for human consumption, often known as natural capital (Wilson, 2012). Indeed, within the resilience literature, studies draw on the ideas of Bourdieu’s capitals to explain community resilience. For example, Wilson (2012) proposes a framework for understanding community resilience as the conceptual space at the intersection between economic, social and environmental capital.

Such a framework emphasises the importance of how well the ‘critical triangle’ of economic, social and environmental capital is developed in a given community and how these capitals interact (Wilson, 2012). Similarly, many studies draw on the idea of social capital as a theoretical framework for understanding community resilience, recognising the significant role of social capital in community recovery that emerges from improved social connections and networks, especially in disaster management (Pfefferbaum et al., 2017; Revilla et al., 2018). Consequently, many sociologists and human geographers view well developed social capital as a key feature of resilient communities while at the same time recognising, that this is something that can be

further built and developed through processes of community engagement and empowerment (Magis, 2010; Cavaye and Ross, 2019).

Although Bourdieu's work in relation to central concepts such as habitus, capitals and field has been highly influential, there have been criticisms and disputes about its interpretation. One of the most prominent criticisms is that Bourdieu's theory is highly deterministic and reductionist, meaning that the theory does not allow for the possibility of agency and self-reflection, while failing to explain social change (Calhoun et al., 1993; Swartz, 1997; King, 2000; Mouzelis, 2003; Archer, 2009). In other words, Bourdieu's theory focuses on stability and sustaining power, which in turns provides no mechanism for explaining and theorising social change. For example, Calhoun et al. (1993) emphasises that as habitus is understood as the collection of internalised past experiences and capital as an essentially objectivist concept, Bourdieu's account leaves too little space for individual willpower, reflexivity and ability to change.

Similarly, Bourdieu's work encompasses primarily egoist and selfish notions of human nature, where individuals are being solely motivated by competition and status (Swartz, 1997). In an effort to overcome such criticisms, this research employs SAFs theory to focus on actors' agency and collective action to explain change and stability in fields. As, in contrast to Bourdieu's approach, SAFs theory advocates the potential for agency that individuals and/ or groups possess, making changes in the SAF possible by which the dominated actors can successfully challenge their position and the dominant status quo. Apart from this, SAFs theory focuses not only on competition but on collective action as well, where actors seek the cooperation of others, by seeking to frame their interests in a way that appeals to others within the SAF. Additionally, SAFs theory can contribute to underline power dynamics and shed light on the power struggles that exist within the SAF.

3.2.2 New Institutionalism

DiMaggio and Powell (1983) first introduced the idea of organisational fields, where a field consists of all organisations involved in the production and distribution of a particular good or service, as well as all those organisations in their environment that influence their decisions such as the state, producers, suppliers, trade associations and consumers. This version of field theory embraces the idea that once a set of

organisations emerges and establishes a field, rational actors make their organisations in the same industry increasingly similar regarding their practices and forms as they try to change them (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In this way, organisational change takes place as the result of processes that make organisations more homogeneous. The process of homogenisation is best explained through the formulation of three isomorphic pressures; (i) coercive isomorphism, (ii) mimetic isomorphism and (iii) normative isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Coercive isomorphism stems from both formal and informal pressures (i.e., force or persuasion) exerted on organisations by other organisations upon which they are dependent (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983).

Apart from coercive isomorphism, mimetic processes arise when an organisation models or copies other organisations to appear rational. Whereas normative pressures arise from professionalisation among members of an occupation, such as that of formal education and professional networks that span across organisations (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). In contrast to Bourdieu's perspective, actors' behaviour is shaped not by the pursuit of capital and unequal access to resources, but rather by institutional expectations and the pursuit of legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). Nevertheless, there has been a predominant attention on stability and isomorphism, rather than looking at change or what actors do to keep their powerful position. In this sense, new institutionalism is often criticised for placing too much focus on organisational conformity and isomorphism, leading to structural determinism (Greenwood et al., 2008; Scott, 2008). Such focus on structures tends to underplay the significance of agency in explaining institutional changes (Battilana, 2006). That is why this research utilises SAFs theory to look at the relationship between actors and change as SAFs theory is better suited to understand actors' capacity to influence their communities' development and resilience, focusing on agency and strategic action.

3.3 SAFs

The most recent version of field theory is that of SAFs as advanced by Fligstein and McAdam (2012:3) who view SAFs 'as socially constructed arenas within which actors with varying resource endowments vie for advantage'. Although Fligstein and McAdam (2012) in their book, 'A Theory of Fields', acknowledge that they borrow elements from both new institutionalism, and especially Bourdieu's theory of field and

capital, they view these perspectives as alternatives to their own theory and inadequate to explain the underlying structure of and sources of change and stability in institutional life (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). This is because scholars using institutional theory in organisational sociology have always struggled to recognise that significant piecemeal social changes are ongoing in SAFs and although rare, wide scale social change does in fact happen (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In fact, for new institutionalism, change in existing fields is regarded very difficult, as the general image for most new institutionalists is one of routine social order and reproduction (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Thus, the routine reproduction of a field is assured because all actors share the same perceptions of their opportunities and constraints, and act in those terms when other actors make moves (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

In contrast, SAFs theory advocates the potential for agency that individuals and/ or groups possess, making changes within the SAF possible. This is effectively demonstrated through the concept of social skill, which is central to Fligstein and McAdam's theory, as explained in detail in the subsequent sections of this chapter (3.4.1.3). Therefore, the result of this is the constant jockeying of actors happening within SAFs due to their contentious nature, with actors making moves and other actors having to interpret them, consider their options and act (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Despite SAFs theory drawing on Bourdieu's ideas of field and capital, another key difference between them is the systematic focus of SAFs on collective actors. Indeed, most of Bourdieu's discussion of habitus, capital and fields is aimed at the level of individual actors who find themselves in fields (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In contrast, SAFs theory focuses more on coordinated action, where actors focus not only at their position in the SAF, but they also seek the cooperation of others, by applying common frames which appeal to others in the SAF. Moreover, SAFs theory is concerned with the transformation of existing SAFs or the creation of new SAFs, something that Bourdieu's theory of fields is criticised for providing no mechanism by which the dominated actors in a SAF can successfully challenge their position and the dominant status quo. In order to address these gaps, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) integrate the development of organisational literature with social movement theory to explain change and stability in SAFs, focusing on collective action and actors' agency.

Despite the effort of Fligstein and McAdam (2012) to offer new perspectives of the field theory, there have been critiques of their theory which focus on the lack of sufficient discussions on the role of institutional structures. According to Fligstein and McAdam (2012), macro structures and processes are better explained by the relationship among SAFs and the idea of interconnectedness of SAFs rather than the existence of a deeper structural ordering that acts on SAFs, outside of the actors' notions of what is at stake. However, for many scholars the rejection of the idea that there is indeed an institutional logic that cuts across different SAFs is problematic, as it is only through such a concept of institutional structure that it is possible to recognise persistent patterns throughout society (Morgan et al., 2014). This is further argued by Goldstone and Useem (2012) who highlight that the SAFs theory only views social action in terms of challenger-incumbent contention and thus, discusses social change only in terms of shifting configurations among such organisations. In this sense, it largely ignores the context of institutions, values, and the broader reach of fractal structures in understanding agency and its consequences (Goldstone and Useem, 2012).

Thus, there is an absence of accounts of institutions and values that create similar rule frameworks, which operate across different levels of society, such as market choice, individual rights or racism. This makes it difficult to differentiate between the constant jockeying for advantages in a SAF and the crises that impact on those wider institutional structures (Morgan et al., 2014). Therefore, while SAFs theory places the socially skilled actor at the centre of its analysis, supporting the understanding of an actor as interested and purposeful, it is important to recognise and understand the relationship between structure and human action and its role in SAFs (Morgan et al., 2014). In this sense, reflecting upon the role of structures in shaping the shared understandings of the SAF, helps to avoid a field duality that could lead to a field being an end in itself (Morgan et al., 2014).

Having provided an overview of the three main approaches of field theory, Table 2 summarises these approaches by capturing their main differences and similarities as discussed above.

Table 2: Summary of the Three Main Approaches of Field Theory (Adapted from Barman, 2016:444)

Field Theory Approach	Focus of Field	Actors in Field	Action in Field	View of Culture	Outcome
Bourdieu's Theory of Field and Capital	<i>Domain of struggle over capitals</i>	<i>Individuals and organisations engage in competition over specific types of capital</i>	<i>Differentiating social distinction based on power</i>	<i>Shared rules of game but distinct habitus based on position</i>	<i>Reproduction or modification of field structure</i>
New Institutionalism	<i>Arena of production and distribution of good/service</i>	<i>Organisations involved in production and distribution of good/service</i>	<i>Conformity to institutional processes via networks</i>	<i>Shared cognitive-level orientation based on institutions</i>	<i>Isomorphism of organisations' formal structures/policies</i>
Strategic Action Fields (SAFs)	<i>Space of mutual interaction</i>	<i>Collective actors who self-identify as members</i>	<i>Collective action; social skill; cooperation</i>	<i>Shared rules of game but distinct social skill</i>	<i>Transformation of field or reaffirmation of existing status quo</i>

3.4 SAFs Theory

This section introduces SAFs theory by outlining the main theoretical building blocks of this framework, explaining how they relate to each other.

3.4.1 Theoretical Building Blocks of SAFs

3.4.1.1 SAFs

According to Fligstein and McAdam (2012:9), a SAF 'is a meso-level social order where actors (who can be individual or collective) interact with knowledge of one another under a set of common understandings about the purpose of the SAF, its relationships and rules'. Therefore, actors who self-identify as members within a SAF, seek to gain the cooperation of others to secure and advance their interests. In this sense, the boundaries of SAFs are not fixed, but rather they shift depending on the definition of the situation and the issues at stake. Consequently, SAFs are 'constructed on a situational basis as shifting collections of actors come to define new issues and concerns as salient' (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012:10).

Consequently, SAFs are constructed as they are based on a set of understandings established by members of the SAF. Also, collective actors who are members of a SAF, are themselves made up of larger political, economic or social SAFs. This is best explained by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) as looking at SAFs like Russian dolls, where opening up one SAF, leads to a number of other SAFs.

3.4.1.2 Incumbents, Challengers, and Governance units

Each actor occupies a position within a SAF, while acknowledging other actors' position in the SAF, and whether that actor is a friend or a competitor. In each case, there are sets of actors who possess relatively more or less power in the SAF, known as incumbents and challengers respectively (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

Specifically, incumbents are those actors who possess more power and influence within a SAF. Therefore, the direction of the SAF is shaped according to their interests, while the rules tend to favour them, as the shared meanings within the SAF tend to legitimate and support their privileged position (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). On the other hand, challengers obtain less power and influence over the SAF and how it operates. Thus, while challengers recognise the nature of the SAF and the dominant logic of incumbent actors, they can usually articulate an alternative vision of the SAF and their position in it (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). They do this by conforming to the prevailing order grudgingly, taking what the system gives them,

while awaiting new opportunities to challenge the structure of the system (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Apart from incumbents and challengers, many SAFs have formal governance units that are responsible for overseeing compliance with SAF rules and managing the smooth functioning of the system like regulatory bodies or accrediting bodies (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Consequently, governance units can be expected to serve as defenders of the status quo and are a generally conservative force during periods of conflict within the SAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

3.4.1.3 Social Skill

As discussed previously, central to Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2012) is the agency of social actors, that is the ability of individuals or organised groups to influence what happens to them. This is linked to the idea of strategic action and the possibility of change or transformation within the SAFs. This is made possible due to the concept of social skill which refers to the ability of some individuals to engage in collective action. In other words, social skill entails the ability of individuals or collective actors who have a highly developed cognitive capacity for reading people and environments as well as frame lines of action to mobilise people according to those action frames (Fligstein, 2001). This in turn, allows even less powerful actors such as challengers to be able to challenge the prevailing order and bring change within the SAF. In this sense, SAFs are not only spaces of conflict and domination, but they are also units of collective action.

For strategic action to be successful, skilled actors must engage others and secure their cooperation by understanding other actors' perspectives and framing their own interests in ways that resonate with others. Thus, this kind of skill requires that actors can transcend their own individual and group's self-interest and consider the interests of multiple groups, in order to mobilise support from those groups for a certain shared worldview (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In this way, skilled actors may belong to both incumbent and challenger groups. By emphasising social skill, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) suggest that people are always acting strategically, even in the most stable of social worlds. For example, skilled strategic actors in incumbent groups can help to produce and reproduce a status quo by mobilising a collective set of meanings shared by other actors in which those actors' identities and interests are

defined (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). At the same time, it is their social skill that gives the opportunity to challenger groups to oppose or challenge the SAF.

3.4.1.4 Broader SAF environment

SAFs are viewed as embedded in complex webs of other SAFs, meaning that they are influenced by their broader environment. To conceptualise this better, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) offer the distinction between distant and proximate SAFs, where distant SAFs have no capacity to influence a given SAF, in contrast to proximate SAFs which can. This indicates that a significant change in any given SAF, will affect all close SAFs, but only the most dramatic changes can pose a threat to the stability of a SAF. Another distinction is between vertical and horizontal SAFs as a SAF that is vertically linked to another is one that exercises formal authority over the other or is in a subordinate position in relation to it (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). When a SAF exercises no formal authority over another but instead, is mutually dependent upon it, their relationship is horizontal (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). An additional distinction is made between state and nonstate SAFs, as state actors have the formal authority to intervene in and set rules for, and pronounce on the legitimacy of most nonstate SAFs, resulting in states influencing and impacting the stability of most SAFs (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). However, states are themselves dense collections of SAFs, whose relations can be described as either distant or proximate (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

3.4.1.5 Stability and Change in SAFs

SAFs can be characterised as (a) unorganised or emerging, (b) organised and stable but changing, and (c) organised and unstable while open to transformation (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In unorganised or emergent SAFs, social order is yet to be created, meaning that rules do not yet exist. Within such SAFs, skilled social actors are important. In organised but changing SAFs, stability in the SAF is best depicted as an ongoing game where incumbents and challengers make moves and countermoves (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Even within the most stable SAFs, there is continual change as challengers engage in constant testing of the stability of the SAF. In more extreme cases, destabilisation can occur in a SAF, either through external shocks originating from another SAF, invasions by other groups of organisations, or large-scale crises like economic depressions or wars. During such crises, incumbents may be able to restore order themselves by allying with other

incumbents against challengers, or grant concessions to one or more challengers to prevent the prospect of a generalised revolt of the challengers (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In these cases, the SAF can change because of these moves, but it would not transform. Another potential outcome involves the restoration of the status quo through the decisive intervention of powerful external actors, of whom the most important are probably state actors (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). The third outcome of a SAF crisis is a genuine transformation of the SAF leading to a fundamental restructuring of power relations within the SAF. In this case, everything is up for grabs and change occurs in all elements of the SAF (Fligstein, 2013).

3.4.2 Applying SAFs Theory

SAFs approach has been particularly influential in both economics and organisational sociologies, with scholars often applying this approach to the cultural and political aspects of that to support economic and organisational dynamics (Amaral de Andrade et al., 2022). In fact, it has been used as a theoretical framework in multiple subfields of sociology, such as political sociology, global/ transnational studies and organisation studies, due to its capacity to bridge micro and macro levels of action, to overcome the duality of structure and agency, and to recognise the relational nature of social action (Barman, 2016). Additionally, scholars have used the SAF construct to explain situations of change, such as the emergence of a new SAF. For example, Pettinicchio (2013) draws from the SAFs theory to examine how disability rights came into the policy agenda through exogenous shocks in the 1960s.

Similarly, other scholars have focused on the interconnections between SAFs demonstrating their importance in terms of addressing the dynamic of stability and change in a specific SAF (Özen and Özen, 2011; Candido et al., 2019). Specifically, Candido et al. (2019) showed that despite the challenges involved in constructing research objects as an ensemble of SAFs, this helps portray more accurate accounts of organisational and economic dynamics, and in their case, the emergence of solidarity recycling in Brazil. Solidarity recycling refers to the growth of grassroots recycling cooperatives and associations which became a recognised and legitimate way to organise recycling (Candido et al., 2019). In their study, they analysed the cultural and political relations and processes that have led to the legitimation of the solidarity recycling SAF in Brazil (Candido et al., 2019).

Consequently, these different studies prove the value of adopting SAFs theory as theoretical lens to examine several arenas including the non-profit sector. Indeed, Barman (2016) argues that the sociologists' employment of SAF theory had a transformative effect on non-profit studies, challenging many of the initial and long-standing assumptions that characterised the study of the non-profit sector. One such assumption is the focus on methodological individualism which is excessively concerned with explaining voluntaristic action by actors' motivations and beliefs, as well as the view of the third sector as an autonomous space in society resulting from inefficiencies in the public sector (Barman, 2016; Oncini and Ciordia, 2024). In contrast, SAF theory rejects claims that action in the non-profit sector differs fundamentally from that found in the for-profit or public sectors, with each sector governed by a different set of values and/ or orientation of action (Barman, 2016). Instead, the key principles of SAFs theory also apply to the non-profit sector, concluding that SAFs are SAFs, regardless of whether they are in the non-profit sector, private, or public sector (Barman, 2016). The examples of studies utilising the SAFs theory range from examining the encroachment process that underlies the rise of the social entrepreneurship SAF (Spicer et al., 2019), to the re-emergence of collaborative projects in the housing SAF (Lang and Mullins, 2020), and to investigating the SAF of alternative food organisations to assess the transformative potential in the food system (Huber and Lorenzini, 2022).

3.4.3 Community Resilience as a SAF

With important caveats (Revilla et al., 2018; Kumpulainen et al., 2022), there have been limited attempts to understand community resilience as a SAF or a social arena within which actors' interactions with each other and access to resources are central. For example, Revilla et al. (2018) are amongst the few scholars who have prompted others to shift their attention to consider resilience in terms of the relationship between subjects with agential capacity and the social context in which they live, within which action unfolds. To do so, they argued that sociological approaches including Bourdieu's theory of structure and agency, offer the conceptual tools needed to explore this relationship, because these approaches focus on addressing the issue of how to explain individual action in social contexts. In this sense, field-based approaches consider resilience within a community or group perspective, dealing with logics of action that are cultural or collective, with these logics tested in

different social fields in different situations, which open the way for strategic action (Revilla et al., 2018).

The literature review chapter illustrates how community resilience studies do not take into account the communities' point of view, nor do they sufficiently explore how actors within communities react to policies of community resilience and existing discourses associated with those policies. In other words, to examine how communities seek to influence community affairs. By adopting Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011) as a theoretical lens to view community resilience as a SAF, this research considers the active agency of actors to defend or develop their communities' development and resilience. According to Kumpulainen et al. (2022), adopting SAFs as a theoretical framework can draw attention to the political dimension of community resilience processes, meaning the local actors' efforts to politically influence local development and consequently resilience. This enables the analysis of actors' capacity to influence the SAF through their interactions and strategies, focusing on their agency, collective action, and power. Within the SAF, access to resources and struggle over discourses therefore become central for actors to gain legitimacy for their actions and establish their position.

Moreover, another value of using SAFs theory as a framework in relation to resilience lies in its ability to highlight power dynamics and shed light on the power struggles that exist within a SAF, which are essentially 'about who gets what' (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012:3). The critical literature of community resilience highlights that many resilience frameworks tend to ignore or simplify issues of power (MacKinnon and Derickson, 2012; Reid, 2012; Bulley, 2013; Walsh-Dilley and Wolford, 2015). In this way, community resilience can be regarded as a SAF which is characterised by imbalanced power relations, where actors navigate the SAF, seeking to gain influence by promoting their own interests and desires to foster their communities' development (Kumpulainen et al., 2022). In addition, SAFs theory allows the researcher to examine how a SAF operates, not only when the SAF becomes unstable such as during a crisis, but even during 'settled times'. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) demonstrate that this is possible because although the power dynamics of SAFs are most apparent with severe disruptions or crises, the struggle for positioning also occurs during stable periods. Therefore, the focus here is on the constant jockeying of actors, as actors who are more or less powerful are constantly

making adjustments to the conditions in the SAF, given their position and the actions of others. Consequently, even in 'settled times', less powerful actors learn how to take what the system will give them and improve their positions in the SAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

Thus, in line with the research's aims and objectives, this research utilises Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011) as a theoretical lens to explore what communities are doing in terms of influencing their communities' development in relation to resilience and whether in doing so, they are challenging existing dominant discourses of resilience. Consequently, an organisational perspective (SAFs theory) is adopted to look at resilience in terms of the processes through which communities exercise their agency and whether in doing so they challenge dominant resilience discourses. In this case, agency refers to the communities' capacity to influence community affairs (i.e., their development and resilience). This can be examined using a SAFs perspective as SAFs are socially constructed arenas where actors with different levels of resources and power seek to actively shape the SAF through their interactions. Therefore, viewing community resilience as a SAF allows the examination of both actors' actions and discourses, where the concept of social skill becomes central as it is through the adoption of common frames that actors seek to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position within the community resilience SAF. In this sense, the emphasis is placed on looking at how communities play or 'jockey' with the rules of the game when seeking to influence their development in relation to resilience.

3.5 Concluding Remarks

The goal of this theoretical framework chapter was to discuss the relevance and contribution of adopting Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011) as a theoretical lens to address the gap identified from the literature review on resilience. Such approach focuses on understanding communities' interactions and actions within the community resilience SAF. Therefore, it introduced the fields theory by providing an overview of its three main approaches which are; (i) Bourdieu's theory of field and capital (1984;1986), (ii) new institutionalism (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983), and (iii) SAFs (Fligstein and McAdam, 2011; 2012) to understand their interconnections and differences, before focusing on the SAFs theory. Then, the main theoretical building blocks of SAFs were outlined with reference to the positions that actors within a SAF

occupy, the broader SAF environment and the conditions that can stabilise and change a SAF. Also, the chapter demonstrated the applicability of SAFs theory as a theoretical framework within sociology and organisational studies.

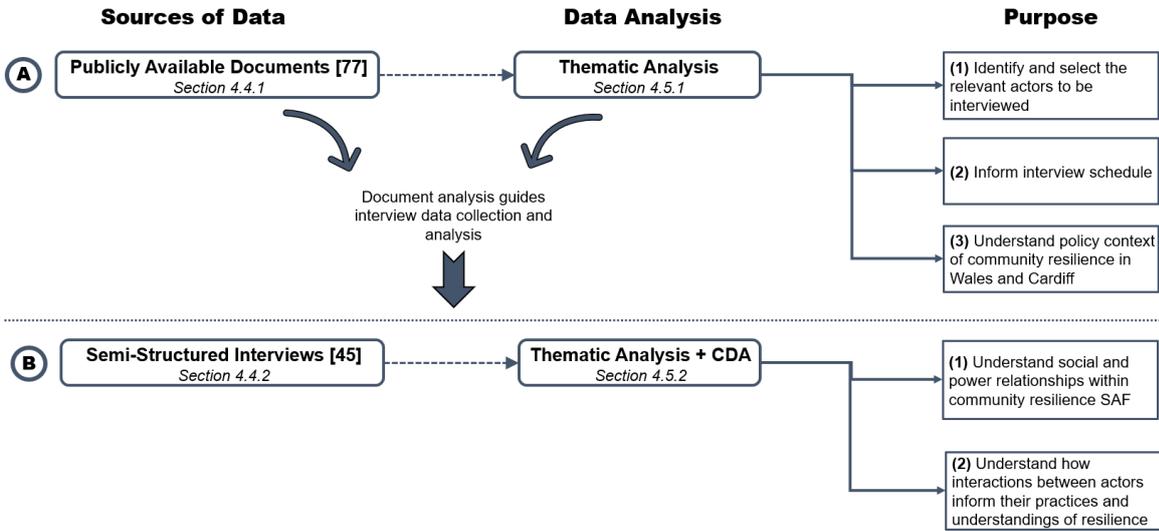
Consequently, this chapter illustrates that by adopting Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011) as a theoretical lens to view community resilience as a SAF, it enables this research to shed light on the otherwise neglected role of actors and their active agency to defend or develop their communities' development and resilience. In addition, using the SAFs theory as a theoretical lens in relation to resilience supports highlighting the power dynamics and discourse struggles that exist within a SAF. Thus, viewing the community resilience as a SAF allows the examination of both actors' actions and discourses, on the basis that through their interactions within the SAF actors actively construct and interpret meaning within the SAF.

4. Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research approach adopted in this doctoral research. Therefore, the research design along with the process of data collection and analysis are presented. Figure 3 below shows an overview of the overall data process, illustrating what types of data are collected as well as how the data is analysed and for what purpose (i.e., why?); signposting the relevant sections for more details.

Figure 3: Overview of the Data Process



Specifically, 77 publicly available documents were collected from different actors involved with community resilience policy in the United Kingdom and Wales. The documents were analysed using a thematic analysis to identify and select the relevant actors to be interviewed and develop appropriate questions to ask, thus informing the interview schedule. At the same time, the document analysis allowed the researcher to consider the policy context of community resilience in Wales and Cardiff. This was important for the CDA analysis of the interviews as there is a need to acknowledge the broader context in order to be able to examine the discourses and power relations embedded in a place. Also, 45 semi-structured interviews were conducted with salient actors from the local authority and community. Then, the interview data was analysed using a combination of thematic analysis and CDA to understand the social and power relationships that exist within the CRSAF and how the interactions between actors inform their practices and understandings of resilience. This entailed an open analysis of interview data using an abductive

approach, allowing the researcher to constantly move between the coding of data and theory to develop new theoretical insights and explanations from the data.

The chapter begins by outlining the underpinning ontological position and the epistemological choices taken to address this research. The following section discusses the selected data collection methods adopted, inclusive of the underlying procedures taken for each method. Then, the process of data analysis is explained in detail, capturing the approach taken. The last part of the chapter discusses the ethical considerations.

4.2 Philosophical Approach

The research approach that researchers select is fundamentally guided by their own ontological and epistemological beliefs, consequently there is a need to firstly recognise the influence of these philosophical bases. This is because how one regards the world has an effect on how one believes knowledge about the world can be gained. This research encompasses both a constructivist and interpretivist approach, adopting the view of social reality as subjective and multiple, in which social actors are central in constructing their own understanding of reality through interactions with their social world, highlighting the subjective meanings and interpretations people assign to their experiences (Bryman, 2016). In this sense, knowledge is constructed rather than discovered, and thus the beliefs about the objects and experiences that researchers engage with are continually modified in the light of new experience (Bazeley, 2021). Both how and why participants construct meanings and actions in specific situations is important to study (Charmaz 2006). Following from this, the research adopts a qualitative approach, aiming to study community resilience as a recent phenomenon, focusing on the interactions of different social actors and their environment. This approach is central in addressing how actors make sense of the world and act upon it. Thus, in line with a constructivist approach, this research is interested in social actors' views, knowledge and perspectives within communities in Cardiff.

This approach is compatible with the chosen theoretical framework of the research (SAFs theory) which is based on the idea that social reality is constituted by SAFs, which are 'socially constructed arenas within which actors with varying resource

endowments vie for advantage' (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012:3). In this sense, the focus is placed on the actors' interactions within the SAF as they seek to influence the SAF and strengthen the position they occupy within the SAF, based on their subjective meanings and interpretations regarding the SAF. Moreover, the data analysis combines thematic analysis with CDA to understand how the interactions between actors inform their practices and understandings of resilience. This is in line with a constructivist approach as it seeks to examine the ways in which events, meanings and experiences are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

4.3 Qualitative Case Study Research

There are various approaches and guidelines when one seeks to conduct a qualitative case study, each influenced by different philosophical positions (Gerring 2007; Hancock and Algozzine 2006; Stake 1995; Yin 2003). The value of selecting the case study as the qualitative methodological approach for this research reflects both the researcher's epistemological commitments, as well as the research aims and the associated research questions. In particular, a case study is useful when the researcher is trying to uncover a relationship between a phenomenon and the context in which it is occurring (Gray, 2018). This is supported by Yin (2003:13) who defined a case study as 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within the real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'. In this research, this refers to developing knowledge about community resilience as a recent phenomenon, embedded around the interactions of different social actors and their environment. At the same time, a case study research method is ideal when a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the researcher has no control (Gray, 2018). This is compatible with this research as it seeks to answer the following two research questions:

- 1) How are actors within communities in Cardiff coming together to influence their communities' development in relation to resilience?
- 2) In doing so, to what extent are actors within these communities challenging existing dominant resilience discourses?

This research follows the approach of Robert Stake's (1995) case study methodology, as it aligns with the epistemological positioning of this research, sitting within a constructionist position. Furthermore, Stake (1995) discusses four characteristics of qualitative research which are valid for qualitative case studies. Firstly, 'holistic' in the sense that researchers should consider the interrelationship between the phenomenon and its contexts, then 'empirical' meaning that is based on the researcher's observations in the field and 'interpretive' based on the researcher's intuition (Stake, 1995; Yazan, 2015). Lastly, 'emphatic' in the sense that researchers reflect the vicarious experiences of the subjects in an emic perspective (Stake, 1995; Yazan, 2015).

According to Stake (1995), the first step for the researcher is one of bounding the case in space and time with the aim of providing an in-depth understanding of that case. This research uses a case study approach to explore and examine community resilience in Cardiff, Wales, during the period between 2020-2023. Therefore, the unit of analysis includes a wide range of actors, including both civil society and state actors, living and operating in the area of Cardiff. Since the research is exploratory, a wide range of actors were selected who are involved with community resilience activities and community engagement in Cardiff (i.e., purposive sampling). For a more detailed account please see section 4.4 as below, which describes the data collection process.

4.3.1 The Case Study Area

Located in the south-east of Wales and in the Cardiff Capital Region, Cardiff is the capital and largest city in Wales, with an estimated population of 362,400 (Office for National Statistics, 2022a). Cardiff has a strong economy, making up nearly 20% of Welsh Gross Domestic Product (GDP), even though the population of Cardiff is around 10% of the total Welsh population (Office for National Statistics, 2002b). For a long time, industry focusing on coal production played an important role in Cardiff's development. In particular, Cardiff's port area, known as Tiger Bay, in the previous century was one of the world's most important coal ports (BBC News, 2003). Whereas today, the main sectors contributing to Cardiff's economic growth are finance, public administration, education, and health sectors.

Despite Cardiff's economic growth during the last 30 years, Cardiff still has some of the most deprived communities in Wales, with almost a third of its residents experiencing material deprivation, with a high percentage of children living in workless and low-income households (Cardiff Council, 2020c). Equally important is that even within Cardiff, there are huge disparities in deprivation in relation to poverty, education, and employment between the more deprived Southern Arc of Cardiff² and the rest of the city (Cardiff Council, 2020c). This is reinforced by the statistics when one looks at those areas that have remained within the top 50 most deprived in Wales, roughly equal to the top 2.6% of small areas, for the last five publications of the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation (WIMD) rankings (Welsh Government, 2019b). For instance, Ely in Cardiff is included as an area of deep-rooted deprivation. More details about the different communities in Cardiff covered in this research are included in section 4.4.2.2 below. Considering that Cardiff is situated within these deep inequalities, it presents an interesting case to focus on to explore community resilience. Beyond this justification, Cardiff has been selected as the focus of the research due to the proximity and ease of access and identification of relevant actors.

4.4 Data Collection

The main sources of data included in the research are publicly available documents and interviews with different actors engaging in community resilience activities within Cardiff.

4.4.1 Documents

According to Bowen (2009), documents can be used in a number of ways throughout the research process, ranging from providing background and context, supplementary data and developing additional questions to be asked, helping the verification of findings from other data resources. In this case, document analysis is conducted initially, allowing the researcher to provide and develop an understanding of the policy context in which community resilience operates in Wales. Specifically, aiming to provide answers to key questions, such as which actors are involved, as well as for instance what areas of resilience community resilience policies are focusing on. Drawing from this, the document analysis informed the interviews both

² The Southern Arc includes the following communities: Adamsdown, Butetown, Caerau, Canton, Ely, Grangetown, Llanrumney, Riverside, Rumney, Splott, Trowbridge.

in terms of selecting interviewees (i.e., selecting the relevant actors to be interviewed) and developing questions to be asked, thus informing the interview schedule. It also provided the context which helped to guide the analysis of the interviews as the document analysis provided a sense of the broader context, key questions and themes around the topic of resilience in the UK as well as the community resilience SAF. Moreover, the use of both document data and interview data together provides a means of triangulation as the researcher seeks convergence and corroboration through the use of different data sources and methods (Bowen, 2009).

The documents used in this research are publicly available and were collected from different actors involved with community resilience policy in the United Kingdom and Wales. Since the research is exploratory, the only criteria to select the documents were (i) availability and access, examining publicly available documents ranging from policy papers, reports, and press releases etc., and (ii) the policy context, focusing on documents discussing community resilience within a policy context. An internet search was completed to identify the relevant documents using different keywords such as *resilience*, *community resilience*, *resilience in Cardiff*, *resilience in Wales*, *resilience in UK*, *emergency crisis*. The techniques of snowballing and saturation were employed to gain knowledge of the resilience context until information started to be repeated (Bryman, 2016). Through this sampling technique the researcher was able to collect a variety of different documents discussing community resilience within a policy context. Therefore, a database of documents was created, distinguishing between three different types of actors: (1) State-related Actors, (2) Civil Society Organisations, and (3) the Media. In total 77 documents were collected prior to the interviews conducted; 57 being from state-related actors, 14 from civil society organisations, and 6 from the media. All documents examined are listed in Appendices 1, 2 and 3 respectively, segmented by the respective type of actor (1) to (3).

When analysing documents as social data, the researcher needs to be aware that documents are socially defined, produced, and consumed. In other words, they are versions of reality, scripted according to various kinds of convention, with a particular purpose in mind, rather than necessarily an accurate portrayal of complex social reality (Coffey, 2014). This also applies to official documents created for example by

an organisation or the state. Therefore, there is a need to focus not only on what the documents might contain in terms of information or content, but also on how they are structured and the functions they seek to serve (Coffey, 2014). This research recognises this consideration, and that is why it uses both document data from multiple sources as well as interview data to gather different perspectives, providing a means of triangulation. Also, in an attempt to engage with the document data in more reflexive ways, the research takes into account the context of the underlying data. Specifically, it is concerned with intended meanings, thus with the authorship and function of documents and received meanings, recognising the importance of audience (Birks and Mills, 2011; Coffey, 2014; Ralph et al., 2014). This process of contextual positioning in which it establishes the 'who, what, when, where and why' of context through targeted questioning is presented in Appendix 4.

4.4.2 Interviews

Coming from a constructivist approach, this research accepts that people's knowledge, views, stories, and interpretations are meaningful properties of social reality that their research questions are designed to explore (Gomm, 2008; Mason, 2018). On the basis that this research is interested in the social actors' views, knowledge and perspectives within communities in Cardiff, one useful way to generate valid data is to engage and interact with people, to ask questions and listen to them (Mason, 2018). In effect, this makes interviews the most appropriate method to use, to examine how actors in Cardiff understand community resilience and how they engage in resilience practices in their everyday lives. Thus, the focus of the interviews was on how different actors are engaging with issues relating to community resilience such as activities supporting their resilience.

In this case, semi-structured interviews are selected as they ensure the covering of specific issues which are central and relevant to the research such as the participants' understandings of community resilience, while allowing for flexibility during the interviews. Specifically, the document analysis informed the interview schedule, making it more relevant in relation to the context as the researcher gained a better understanding of the community resilience SAF and its key issues.

According to May (2011), a semi-structured interview represents an opening up of the interview method to an understanding of how interviewees generate and deploy meaning in social life. Since this research centers around the question of how

participants understand community resilience and influence their communities' development in relation to resilience, semi-structured interviews allow participants to tell their own stories in their own words. This results in richer and more detailed data, gaining an understanding of depth and complexity in situated or contextual accounts and experiences of people (Bryman, 2016).

The flexibility of semi-structured interviews enables the researcher to ask participants specific questions about their experiences, motivations, and perceptions, but at the same time, this process allows sufficient flexibility for participants to raise issues of particular interest to them (Alvesson, 2011; Birks and Mills, 2011; Bryman, 2016). This in turn enables the interviewer to have more latitude to probe beyond the answers, and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewee (May, 2011). This flexibility fosters the generation of new research ideas from interviews. In this sense, the interviewer and interviewee co-construct the data through semi-structured interviews working together to make sense of the research topic (Roulston, 2010). Following that, a topic guide was initially developed and used for the interviews (*please see Appendix 5*).

Although questions asking the participants for their own understanding of community resilience were included in all interviews as they are central to the research, the topic guide differs between the three types of actors, slightly adjusting the questions for each of them. In semi-structured interviews, it is important that the questioning enables interviewers to gather participants' perspectives on their social world, consequently focusing on what the interviewees view as significant in relation to the topic area (Bryman, 2016). Since there are three different types of actors interviewed about community resilience, the topic guide was tailored to each of them to best reflect their perspectives and what they regard as significant based on their position. For example, the questions for the state-related actors focused more on their approach and role in supporting communities build their resilience, influenced by the themes developed from the document analysis. Whereas, for the business actors and civil society actors the emphasis was on their everyday life and activities in relation to community resilience.

Nevertheless, the researcher was appreciative of this flexibility throughout the interview process, revising the guide to include new questions. For example, at the

beginning interviews were focusing on more general questions such as ‘what do you think is needed to build a resilient community?’ or ‘what are some of the features that a resilient community should have?’. Then during the interviews participants started discussing how that depends on the community and factors, like the socio-economic level of a community and how it affects the level of resilience. As a result, the researcher began to probe more specifically into these questions, like, ‘do you believe community resilience looks different in different communities? why is that?’ or ‘do you consider your community resilient? how so?’. This reflects an on-going learning process in which, as Alvesson (2011) described, the curious researcher is open about what seems to characterise the area or topic under study, resulting in being prepared to revise convictions and plans and making sure that they learn not only after, but also during the interview process.

4.4.2.1 Interviews Procedures

All interviewees signed a consent form, as shown in Appendix 6, in line with Cardiff University’s ethics protocols and policy. The consent form declares the academic purpose of the interview and makes clear the recording procedures. Also, a question was added to the consent form, asking if the participant consented to a description of their involvement (which may include reference to their professional status and/ or role). Participants were made aware that they can alter their decision in relation to this point at any stage during the research. For those participants who were concerned, there was an option to remove or alter the description to deter identification by a third-party.

The interviewees received an invitation via email outlining the aims and objectives of the research, the nature of the research project, participants’ input, and initial ethical and privacy considerations. During that time, participants were given the opportunity to request additional information, and/ or ask for clarifications from the researcher, before proceeding with scheduling the interview. Once a positive response from the invitee was received, and the interview was arranged, the participant information sheet and consent form were sent, allowing sufficient time for the participant to read, ask any questions, and return the signed form back, before the actual interview took place.

Interviews were around 45-60 minutes and took place either online via Zoom or Microsoft Teams, or face-to-face, according to the participants' preference and access. Given the choice, most participants preferred to conduct the interview online. Prior to the start of the interview, participants were reminded of the nature of the research, its objectives, and ethical procedures. All interviews were recorded, and at the end of each interview additional notes were produced capturing how the interview went and any other comments that seemed relevant.

4.4.2.2 Interviewees

As mentioned above, three key stakeholder groups have been identified according to the literature and initial document analysis, namely: (1) local state-related actors such as local councillors, (2) local business actors, and (3) local community actors including community organisations, volunteers. Therefore, the initial interviewees were selected based on the document analysis. Since the purpose of the research was exploratory, it employed purposive sampling together with snowballing sampling until data saturation was reached. As a result, enough data to show the participants' perspectives was obtained, while no new themes were emerging. Specifically, purposive sampling allowed to sample participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled were selected in terms of criteria that enabled the research questions to be answered adequately (Bazeley, 2021; Bryman, 2016). In this research, the focus was placed on what communities are doing in relation to their development and resilience, and thus participants were selected on the basis of their involvement and participation in their community, as well as in community resilience activities.

In particular, the inclusion criteria were: (i) participation in community resilience policies and practices, and governance activities, specifically about activities that draw together community resilience policy making, (ii) activity involvement in Wales, (iii) evidence of involvement in collaborative stakeholder activities in the community resilience context or a willingness to engage, and (iv) age, with over-18 and ability to provide full ethical consent for inclusion. The exclusion criteria were (v) under-18 and unable to provide full ethical consent for participant, plus (vi) those actors not currently involved or planning to be involved in community resilience. Nevertheless, once the initial data collection and analysis began, the researcher was continuously guided by this analysis, as to where to go, whom to ask, and what kind of data to collect next. For instance, this allowed the addition of new questions in the interview

guide, after developing a tentative theme about the role of place in influencing community resilience. Thus, new questions about place were added such as ‘is your community a diverse community?’ or ‘what community groups exist in your area, and do they play a role in the area’s resilience?’ to investigate place in more depth when interviewing new participants.

Initially, the researcher began looking at actors associated with resilience policies and practices across Wales. However, through the researcher’s interaction with the interviewees as well as the analysis of the initial interviews, it soon became clear that to better explore the interactions between actors and resilience practices, the focus should be placed on a single specific area of Wales, namely in Cardiff. This would allow for a more detailed and deeper examination of the actors’ interactions in shaping resilience practices on a local level, thus resulting with a deeper depth of data and more closely aligned with the literature gap identified.

Cardiff, as a unitary authority area in Wales, is divided into 36 communities, with six of them having their own community council (Lisvane; Old St Mellons; Pentyrch; Morganstown; St Fagans and Tongwynlais) and the rest (30) governed directly by Cardiff Council³. Cardiff and its communities are graphically shown on the map of Figure 4 as below. Please note that the map of Cardiff as in Figure 4 is designed based on Cardiff’s electoral wards, for simplicity. This simplification is justified because Cardiff is divided into 29 electoral wards with most of the wards having the same boundaries with communities of the same name and only certain wards covering more than one community⁴. The 15 communities denoted by a pin are the ones covered by the interviews conducted for this research⁵. Specifically, the inner

³ Note that Cardiff’s division into the different communities is derived from the The City and County of Cardiff (Electoral Arrangements) Order 2021, Welsh Statutory Instrument, 2021 No. 1160 (W. 285) which is available at the following for more information: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/wsi/2021/1160/made/data.xht>.

⁴ The electoral wards which include more than one community (usually two) are the following: Cathays (Cathays and Castle), Creigiau & St Fagans (Pentyrch-part of Creigiau ward and St Fagans), Llanishen (Llanishen and Thornhill), Pentwyn (Pentwyn and Llanedeyrn), Old St Mellons & Pontprenau (Old St Mellons and Pontprenau), Radyr (Radyr and Morganstown), Riverside (Riverside and Pontcanna), Splott (Splott and Tremorfa) and Whitchurch & Tongwynlais (Tongwynlais and Whitchurch). Therefore, to note that although this map (and the following maps of Cardiff depicted in subsequent figures of this thesis) is designed based on Cardiff’s electoral wards, the map actually refers to the communities of Cardiff.

⁵ As mentioned above, the pins illustrate the communities of Cardiff covered by the interviews and not the electoral wards. Thus, in the case of Cathays, Lisvane, Riverside,

Cardiff (City) areas covered include Cathays as well as Splott, Grangetown, Riverside, and Canton to the South and West. Also, Ely and Fairwater which are in the West of Cardiff, with Rhiwbina, Heath, Llanishen, and Lisvane in the North part of Cardiff. Lastly, Old St Mellons, Rumney, Llanrumney, and Trowbridge which are in the East part of Cardiff. Many of these communities have different characteristics, such as the socio-economic level of each community making it an interesting case to draw comparisons on a neighbourhood level. It is evident from Figure 4 that many communities are covered, with the remaining communities not captured, primarily because of lack of responses from invited participants and time constraints. Nevertheless, this gap of communities was covered by the documents analysed, as well as the interviews, since many interviewees are supporting and working on more than one community in Cardiff (*please see the “level of action” in Table 3 below*).

Figure 4: Map of Cardiff Communities



Regarding the interview participants, Table 3 below lists all interviewees and their assigned codes, their position and role, the level of action, date of the interview and its length. People interviewed are deemed to be the most important and relevant

Splott and Old St Mellons, the interviews cover only those specific communities and not their entire electoral wards.

actors for this research because they represent key members and organisations of each community. This was systematically checked and verified through participants' recommendations for additional participants. Nevertheless, it was possible to identify some limitations within the interviews. For example, although business actors were identified from the document analysis as a relevant group in relation to community resilience, it was only possible to interview one business in Cardiff, due to the lack of responses⁶. Consequently, focusing more on state-related actors and civil society actors. Note that limitations are discussed in Chapter 9 (*please see section 9.3*).

A total of 45 interviews were conducted, with total duration of 2190 minutes, and an average of 49 minutes per interview. The interviews were held between 9th of March of 2022 and 17th of February of 2023.

⁶ Specifically, the researcher sent 10 invitations but only two responses were received, and one business decided to participate at the interview.

Table 3: Interview Participants⁷

#	Code	Participant Role	Description	Organisation Scope	Level of action	Date	Length (min)
1	CSO1	Co-Director	Responsible for managing the organisation and resident of the area. Involved in the set-up of the organisation from the beginning.	Community led organisation focusing on improving the community of Ely in Cardiff by working with local people.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Ely)	28.03.22	70
2	CSO2	Community Organiser	Working with communities to identify and support community leaders and institutions.	Non-profit organisation, supporting alliances of community institutions and leaders and running social justice campaigns.	Local (Cardiff)	09.03.22	50
3	CSO3	Director of Programmes and Grants	Responsible for ensuring their grants have the most impact by addressing key issues affecting people in Wales.	Non-profit organisation focusing on finding and funding local projects that help support and strengthen Welsh communities.	National (Wales)	10.03.22	50
4	CSO4	Director	Director of a voluntary organisation and the creator of this alliance aiming to strengthen the voluntary sector to better support communities.	Alliance of diverse voluntary sector organisations supporting people and communities in Wales.	National (Wales)	06.04.22	50
5	CSO5	Volunteer Manager	Responsible for developing the potential and role of volunteering within health and social care services.	Membership organisation for the third sector and volunteering in Wales.	National (Wales)	18.03.22	60
6	CSO6	Vicar	Involved with supporting the community.	Church holds social events and coffee mornings and serves as a collection of foodbanks donations.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Grangetown)	30.06.22	30

⁷ Please note that the codes are denoted as follows: CSO – Civil Society Organisation; V – Volunteer; R – Resident of a community; LC – Local Councillor; CM – Cabinet Member; SA – State Actor; B – Business Actor. The code (V) refers to volunteers as people who regularly volunteer in their community and are involved in a specific community initiative or local group. Whereas code (R) refers to residents who are generally active in their community and are involved in different community projects over time.

#	Code	Participant Role	Description	Organisation Scope	Level of action	Date	Length (min)
7	CSO7	Community Engagement and Development Officer	Responsible for working and building the capacity of communities to engage more effectively with the local planning process.	Charity focusing on supporting community engagement in the planning system in Wales.	National (Wales)	26.04.22	50
8	CSO8	Executive Director	Responsible for the strategic direction of the organisation.	Non-profit organisation focusing and representing the business community in Cardiff city centre.	Local (Cardiff)	12.05.22	40
9	CSO9	Co-chair and Leader	Started as a volunteer and then took a more leading role.	A local group providing opportunities for young people to engage with activities in Grangetown.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Grangetown)	14.06.22	40
10	CSO10	Trustee	Both a trustee and a volunteer.	A resident led community organisation working to support the Rumney community.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Rumney)	15.06.22	30
11	CSO11	Centre Manager	Responsible for planning and organising the daily operations of the centre.	Community centre provides room hiring, after school clubs and classes, café area and other things.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Heath)	15.06.22	50
12	CSO12	Coordinator	Bringing people and information together to help them collaborate.	Local group of people working together for a connected and thriving community.	Neighbourhood (Old St Mellons)	22.06.22	60
13	CSO13	Trustee	Began as a volunteer and then became trustee.	Local voluntary group set to help vulnerable (elderly) people live a normal life in the community as possible.	Neighbourhood (Llanishen)	03.08.22	60
14	CSO14	Community Connections Development Officer	Supporting third sector organisations to obtain funding so they can work with the communities.	The lead of third sector organisations aiming to support and develop Cardiff's third sector.	Local (Cardiff)	19.08.22	40

#	Code	Participant Role	Description	Organisation Scope	Level of action	Date	Length (min)
15	CSO1 5	Director	Started as a volunteer, became a paid member of staff and then director.	A community interest company that facilitates pop-up events, offering training and advice to encourage communities that want to create a culture of repair and re-use.	National (Wales)	26.08.22	50
16	CSO1 6	Assistant Manager	Helping to manage the day-to-day running of the building, room bookings and organise events.	Community centre providing affordable space-for-hire, and a community-focused café offering employment and training opportunities to local young people.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Grangetown)	31.08.22	40
17	CSO1 7	Director	Has a responsibility to oversee the community resilience hub and manage the team as well as setting the objectives to ensure it delivers against the vision laid out in the plan.	A community resilience hub providing a multi-purpose space for local residents to come together, share skills and develop ideas.	Neighbourhood (Splott)	18.11.22	60
18	CSO1 8	Women's Integration Officer	Responsible for engaging and supporting women and new refugees.	Non-profit charity aiming to help refugees and asylum seekers integrate within their local community.	Local (Splott)	21.11.22	40
19	CSO1 9	Senior Youth Support Worker	Working and supervising a team of youth support workers in the centre.	Community Centre providing rooms for hire for local organisations and youth services.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Ely)	28.11.22	40
20	CSO2 0	Marketing & Communications Manager	Responsible for the development of all marketing and communications strategies for centre.	Community Centre providing a wide range of things from space-for-hire, an arts and crafts facility to a community food hub and a community café.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Llanrumney)	08.12.22	40

#	Code	Participant Role	Description	Organisation Scope	Level of action	Date	Length (min)
21	CSO2 1	Coordinator	Being involved in the centre for a long time in various positions including volunteering. Been living in Riverside community for 30 years.	Community Centre providing spaces for hire, and different local projects and activities to support the community.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Riverside)	10.01.23	100
22	V1	Volunteer	Resident of Splott community and volunteer in community initiative focusing on communications, mostly social media, emails and newsletters.	Community food cooperative supporting the community by making food more accessible and affordable.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Splott)	25.05.22	50
23	V2	Volunteer	Volunteer in a community initiative in Cathays.	A collection of volunteers aiming to reduce landfill waste, and save people some money in the process.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Cathays)	09.08.22	40
24	V3	Volunteer	Resident of Riverside community and volunteer in local voluntary group.	Local voluntary group focusing on litter picking.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Riverside)	02.09.22	40
25	V4	Volunteer	Resident of Grangetown community and volunteer in local voluntary group. Helping with social media and liaising with other volunteers.	Local voluntary group focusing on organising community litter picks and campaigning to raise awareness about littering.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Grangetown)	23.09.22	40
26	V5	Volunteer	Resident of Trowbridge community and volunteer in a food pantry.	A food pantry providing crisis support to the community.	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Trowbridge)	08.02.23	35
27	R1	Resident of Fairwater Community	Involved in community projects and initiatives in Fairwater.		Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Fairwater)	27.05.22	40
28	R2	Resident of Cathays Community	Involved in community projects and initiatives in Cathays.		Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Cathays)	01.06.22	120

#	Code	Participant Role	Description	Organisation Scope	Level of action	Date	Length (min)
29	R3	Resident of Riverside Community	Involved in community projects and initiatives in Riverside. Lived in community a long time.		Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Riverside)	17.06.22	40
30	R4	Resident of Rhiwbina Community	Involved in community projects and initiatives in Rhiwbina.		Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Rhiwbina)	24.11.22	50
31	R5	Resident of Old St Mellons	Involved in two community initiatives in Old St Mellons. Lived in community a long time.		Neighbourhood (Cardiff- Old St Mellons)	07.12.22	50
32	LC1	Local Councillor	Role includes providing individual support to residents, organising and attending community events and attending council meetings.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Canton)	16.03.22	50
33	LC2	Local Councillor	Supporting the people, businesses and organisations within the community.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Cathays)	14.03.22	65
34	LC3	Local Councillor	Communicating with the community and supporting it.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Lisvane)	18.03.22	50
35	LC4	Local Councillor	It involves case work and supporting the residents.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Splott)	22.03.22	40
36	LC5	Local Councillor	Representing constituents and organisations within the community and taking part in the policy formation.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Riverside)	06.06.22	50
37	LC6	Local Councillor	Supporting the community and its residents with different issues.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Ely)	13.06.22	40
38	LC7	Local Councillor	Supporting and representing its residents.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Cathays)	14.06.22	40
39	LC8	Local Councillor	Liaising with the council to make certain improvements that the	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Ely)	22.07.22	30

#	Code	Participant Role	Description	Organisation Scope	Level of action	Date	Length (min)
			residents want and holding different consultation meetings.				
40	LC9	Local Councillor	Serving 21 years as a councillor supporting the community.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Trowbridge)	16.11.22	40
41	LC10	Local Councillor	Enabling and connecting people and being a focal point of the area and the community.	Local authority	Neighbourhood (Cardiff-Llanishen)	07.02.23	30
42	CM1	Cabinet Member		Local authority	Local (Cardiff)	24.03.22	50
43	CM2	Cabinet Member		Local authority	Local (Cardiff)	30.03.22	60
44	SA1	Policy Advisor	Works within the movement for change team and engage with actors (community groups and the public).	Welsh Parliament (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales).	National (Wales)	18.05.22	40
45	B1	Corporate Social Responsibility Manager	Responsible for the social impact in terms of community investment.	One of the big companies in Cardiff.	Local (Cardiff)	21.09.22	50

4.5 Data Analysis

This research follows a thematic analysis as the chosen method of qualitative data analysis, with the purpose of identifying themes and patterns from the documents and interview data. It is a method that is used in qualitative data analysis because of its potential broad application across different research topics (Braun et al., 2019). However, unlike other methods of qualitative data analysis such as grounded theory, thematic analysis is not a method that has a recognisable heritage, or a distinctive cluster of techniques with which it is associated (Bryman, 2016). Indeed, the identification of themes is a process which can be observed in many other methods of qualitative data analysis such as grounded theory or narrative analysis. That is why, Boyatzis (1998) argues that thematic analysis is not as a specific method, but rather a tool to use across different methods. Nevertheless, others such as Braun and Clarke (2006:78) argue that thematic analysis should be considered as 'a method in its own right', highlighting its value as a method of analysing qualitative data in terms of its flexibility because it can be used across a range of epistemologies and research questions. In this case, thematic analysis is conducted in line with a constructivist approach seeking to examine the ways in which events, meanings and experiences are a reflection of a range of discourses operating within society (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Additionally, this research follows an abductive analysis when interpreting data and generating themes, allowing the researcher to constantly move between empirical data and theory to develop new theoretical insights and explanations from the data. This allows for a flexible analysis where themes emerge from the data while still considering the social constructs and interpretations of the participants involved (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

In order to address the absence of clear and concise guidelines around thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke (2006) offer a six-phase guide to performing thematic analysis as well as consider the epistemological assumptions that have to make. The six-phase guide includes the following: (1) familiarising yourself with your data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes and (6) producing the report (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Some of the phases of thematic analysis are almost the same as the phases of other methods of qualitative data analysis thus, these stages are not necessarily unique to thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). For example, coding is an important tool for most methods of qualitative data analysis because it is an effective way to sort data as

through coding researchers are able to raise analytical questions about their data from the beginning of data collection (Charmaz, 2006). Therefore, coding entails a process of labelling and categorising the data to identify different codes and themes (Flick, 2015).

The data analytical process of this research started with the analysis of documents using a thematic analysis to identify and select the relevant actors to be interviewed and develop appropriate questions to ask, thus informing the interview schedule. At the same time, the document analysis allowed the researcher to consider the policy context of community resilience in Wales and Cardiff. This was important for the CDA analysis of the interviews as there is a need to acknowledge the broader context in order to be able to examine the discourses and power relations embedded in a place. Then, the interview data was analysed using a combination of thematic analysis and CDA to understand the social and power relationships that exist within the CRSAF and how the interactions between actors inform their practices and understandings of resilience. This entailed an open analysis of interview data using an abductive approach, allowing the researcher to constantly move between the coding of data and theory to develop new theoretical insights and explanations from the data. The next two sections show in detail this process from coding the data to the development of themes for documents and interviews respectively, as adopted in this research.

4.5.1 Documents

As mentioned above, a thematic analysis was conducted for the document analysis which follows a process of careful, focused reading of the documents, constant comparisons, as well as coding with the purpose of recognising patterns and themes (Bowen, 2009; Bryman, 2016; Coffey, 2014). Since the purpose of the documents was to provide an overview of the policy context in which community resilience operates in Wales, descriptive coding can help answer the 'what questions' such as what areas of community resilience are policies focusing on as well as what actors are involved in the community resilience policy context. Therefore, the thematic analysis of the documents was conducted to inform the interview schedule and gather an understanding of the community resilience context that is essential for the CDA analysis of the interviews. Such analysis is also in line with an abductive approach.

To develop an initial coding frame, 10 documents were selected⁸, each from a different organisation and/ or actor to employ a line-by-line coding strategy, with descriptive codes, generating 65 codes (*please see Appendix 7*). The data was coded using NVivo software, as all documents were imported to NVivo to be coded and analysed. Table 4 shows an example of coding a document with line-by-line coding. The second step was to identify the most frequent or important line-by-line codes while at the same time merging similar codes into focused codes and discarding any irrelevant ones. For example, similar line-by-line codes such as ‘aim of resilience to recover’, ‘aim of resilience to plan and adapt’, ‘community resilience as harnessing local resources during emergencies’, ‘community resilience as standing together during floods’, ‘part of government’s national security strategy’, ‘adversity like floods bringing people together’, ‘emergency support at local level’ and ‘strong community spirit during floods emergency’ were all coded under the focused code *emergency response*.

Similarly, line-by-line codes such as ‘funding from UK government to support communities’, ‘Caerphilly Council and funding’, ‘UK funding areas’, ‘Welsh government providing emergency fund for floods’, ‘selecting bids in line with local priorities’, ‘Wales Coronavirus Resilience Fund’, ‘Welsh government providing emergency fund for floods’ were all coded under the focused code *funding to communities*. Appendix 8 presents the detailed document codebook which describes what each focused code includes together with some examples. Then, the focused codes were used to code the rest of the documents. Table 5 shows an example of coding a document with focused coding. The focused codes were then grouped into two main broad themes: (1) focus of community resilience in policy (*emergency response and strong and cohesive communities*), and the (2) role of national government and local authority in supporting communities (*funding to communities, guidance and information to communities, development of strategies and frameworks*

⁸ The documents selected were (1) Community Resilience Development Framework, (2) Community Renewal Fund, (3) Beyond Resilience : Making the Best out of Post Covid -19 Recovery, (4) Community Resilience, (5) Tackling poverty through unemployment, (6) Wales Resilience Forum: What we do, (7) Communities Building Prosperity, (8) Wales Coronavirus Resilience Fund Reaches £1m, (9) 'Best of Wales': floods bring communities together to recover, (10) South Wales Evening Post Community Awards announce new category to celebrate Covid-19 heroes.

for resilience and design and delivery of local public services) developing an understanding of the community resilience policy context in Wales.

Table 4: Line-By-Line Coding Example (Extract from ‘Community Development Framework’ Document)

Original Text	Line-by-line Coding
To support community resilience, responders partner with the public by sharing knowledge, enabling independent and collective action, and utilising public knowledge and capabilities.	Role of responders during emergencies
Community resilience is enabled when the public are empowered to harness local resources and expertise to help themselves and their communities to:	Public harnessing local resources and expertise
prepare, respond and recover from disruptive challenges, in a way that complements the activity of Category 1 and 2 emergency responders;	Aim of resilience to prepare, respond and recover
plan and adapt to long term social and environmental changes to ensure their future prosperity and resilience.	Aim of resilience to plan and adapt to long term changes
Community resilience requires a participatory approach to emergency management.	Participatory approach to emergency management
This guidance focuses on community resilience development as a process rather than an end state.	Resilience development as process
Activity to support community resilience aims to reduce the impact of emergencies by ensuring that: Individuals, businesses, community networks and voluntary organisations are empowered to prepare, respond to, and recover from emergencies and disasters.	Public to be empowered to prepare, respond and recover from emergencies
Emergency responders understand, enable and integrate the capabilities of the public into emergency planning, response and recovery activity.	Emergency responders integrating with public for emergency planning
The promotion of community resilience is part of the government’s national security strategy.	Part of government’s national security strategy
The UK’s resilience depends on all of us – the emergency services, local and central government, businesses, communities and individual members of the public.	
We will expand and deepen the government’s partnership with the private and voluntary sectors, and with communities and individuals, as it is on these relationships that the resilience of the UK ultimately rests.	Everyone has a role in promoting resilience
We recognise that the response to, and recovery from, an emergency is carried out first and foremost at the local level. As well as the police, fire and rescue and health services, a wide range of organisations could be involved.	Partnership between government and other actors
These include local government, voluntary service organisations, businesses, community groups and individuals.	Emergency support at local level

Table 5: Focused Coding Example (Extract from ‘The National Resilience Strategy: A call for Evidence’ Document)

Original Text	Focused Coding
Resilience has long been an integral part of the UK’s approach to national security and crisis management. We have well-tested risk assessment, risk management, and response and recovery measures in place to cover a wide range of scenarios	<i>Development of strategies and frameworks for resilience</i>
Traditionally, the term 'resilience' refers to an ability to withstand and quickly recover from a difficult situation. This comes hand-in-hand with the idea of ‘bouncing back’, of returning to ‘normal’, of picking up where we left off before whatever difficulty or challenge, we experienced. We need to understand our vulnerabilities, pre-empt challenges before they arise, ensure we are prepared for them, and mitigate the impacts. Then, when events do occur, we should be ready to withstand and recover.	<i>Emergency response</i>
The Civil Contingencies Act 2004 (CCA) is the primary legislation which provides the framework for preparing for and responding to emergencies, informing the UK Government Concept of Operations (CONOPs) for emergency response. It is also the mechanism for making emergency regulations (as set out in part 2 of the Act). The CCA therefore has a central role in how we deliver greater resilience across the whole of the UK.	<i>Development of strategies and frameworks for resilience</i>
However, the Covid-19 pandemic has highlighted that there are elements of our approach to national and local resilience that we need to strengthen. When tested by the wide-ranging and systemic impacts of the pandemic, they did not always deliver, and our preparedness was less complete and coherent than it could have been. The pandemic highlighted areas where roles, resources and responsibilities of those involved in response could have been clearer, and areas in our systems where we could consider a different approach or further investment. Covid-19 also presented opportunities to learn and find new ways to respond. For example, it required us to ask a far wider range of individuals and organisations to take part in the response.	<i>Emergency response</i>
The Cabinet Office will continue to create the frameworks, standards and structures for our resilience, both in terms of direction-setting (working closely with No.10) and organising the structures for central decision-making. This includes: overseeing the collaboration and information sharing between central Government and LRFs, partners and others; developing and maintaining the doctrine and plans for risk management across the risk lifecycle; activating and supporting the smooth running of the Cabinet Office Briefing Rooms (COBR) to drive the collective Government response in times of emergency; and delivering and hosting the UK’s new Situation Centre (SitCen), to provide the best available modelling and analysis to support decision-making.	<i>Development of strategies and frameworks for resilience</i>

4.5.2 Interviews

For the analysis of the interview data, thematic analysis was combined with Fairclough's (2010) method of Critical Discourse Analysis⁹ (CDA) to examine not only the identification of themes and patterns from data but also critically examine how power relations are embedded within discourse. CDA is a qualitative analytical approach for critically describing, interpreting and explaining the ways in which discourses construct, maintain and legitimise social inequalities (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). This in turn, allows the analysis of discourse in actively shaping social realities that can be used to maintain or challenge dominant narratives. To achieve this, Fairclough (2010) provides a three-dimensional framework for discourse analysis, where discourse can be simultaneously seen as (i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) a discourse practice (involving the production and interpretation of text), and (iii) a socio-cultural practice. In this sense, discourse analysis goes beyond text analysis to include the analysis of productive and interpretative processes which involves 'seeing social practice as something which people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures' as well as analysing social practice in relation to broader social structures (Fairclough, 1992:72). Thus, social practices such as interactions and events are not viewed only as actions but involve language and meaning making which is inherently discursive. This is important to this research as CDA helps to understand the social and power relationships that exist within the CRSAF and how the interactions between actors inform their practices and understandings of resilience.

The next sub-section explains the process of coding the interview data, following Saldaña's approach towards coding (2021), as adopted in this research, which divides coding into two major stages: (a) first cycle coding and (b) second cycle coding. This coding approach is in line with an abductive analysis as the interview analysis was flexible, allowing the researcher to constantly move between empirical data and theory to develop new theoretical insights and explanations from the data.

⁹ The research provides a brief overview of Fairclough's CDA in relation to how it is used in this study. Therefore, a detailed examination of Fairclough's CDA as well as a comparison with other types of discourse analysis is beyond the scope of this research.

4.5.2.1 First Cycle Coding

The first cycle of coding happens during the initial coding of data and enables segments of raw data to be broken down into discreet parts (Saldaña, 2021). In this case, the first cycle of coding included a combination of in vivo coding and process coding to give emphasis to the participants' perspectives and actions, allowing for emergent codes to arise without being overly constrained by pre-existing theoretical framework. In particular, in vivo coding allows the researcher to stay close to the data by keeping the focus on what the participants are saying. In this case, this involved trying to explore participants' own perspectives and understandings in relation to resilience and how this is related to their communities' development. At the same time, process coding which uses gerunds encourages researchers to remain focused on process and action (Charmaz, 2006). This is relevant to this research as it seeks to understand how actors within communities come together to influence their communities' development, suggesting a focus on exploring what actors within communities are doing.

To achieve this, a line-by-line coding strategy was initially employed for the first five transcripts, assigning a code for every line of each transcript. The five transcripts (CSO1, CSO12, V1, V3, LC5) cover different type of actors and communities to ensure a good understanding of the initial data from multiple perspectives. The data was coded using the NVivo software, as all transcripts were imported to NVivo to be coded and analysed. This line-by-line coding strategy generated in total 499 codes (*please see Appendix 9*). Table 6 illustrates an extract from CSO1 interview transcript where the participant is talking about his own perspectives on community resilience and its relevance to his role as a co-director of a community led organisation in Ely. Next to each line of the interview there is a code with all in vivo codes placed in quotation marks to be distinguished from process codes.

Table 6: Line-By-Line Coding Example (Extract from CSO1 Interview Transcript)

Original Text	In Vivo and Process Coding
It has been a concept we are aware of it for years on and off and every now and then people sort of critique it and say it feels a bit negative or a bit reactive as resilience only becomes an issue when you have something to be resilient if there is a problem and I kind of get that critique.	“A concept we are aware of it for years”
But it is the concept that is useful, and we certainly understand and use it and it particularly became something that we reflected on at the beginning of the pandemic	“We certainly understand and use it” “Something that we reflected on at the beginning of pandemic”
and thinking this should be interesting and an opportunity to demonstrate how resilient we are and what happens when your resilient depends on things that become impossible because you can't meet together which was the biggest issue for us.	Seeing the pandemic as an opportunity to see how resilient they are
For us it has always been about relationships and connections,	Placing importance in relationships and connections
so a community is resilient if it has strong networks of family, friends and community members who are able to be flexible and look after each other when difficulties arise.	Being resilient if have strong networks of family and friends
For us in a way because of the challenges with poverty and low income that resilience is always necessary;	“Because of the challenges with poverty and low income that resilience is always necessary”
I think in all times in Ely you have got this residual resilience that flows and is very different from the community that I grew up in	“In Ely you have got this residual resilience”
and although resources are scarce, people do look after each other	“Although resources are scarce, people look after each other”
and people are generous and kind and strong sense of identity and connection to the place.	Having a strong sense of identity and connection is linked to resilience
Then the asset-based approach takes those relationships and put it with the physical assets the land and other resources and build infrastructure for community resilience.	Using asset-based approach to build infrastructure for community resilience
For us that is rescuing community buildings that were closing down so our Dusty Forge Centre was close down 6 years and probably would have been knocked down for housing	Rescuing community buildings from closing down
as they are not building new community public spaces that people can meet	“Not building new community public spaces that people can meet”
but build new housing and that means less community infrastructure.	“Less community infrastructure”
So we saved that and expanded and developed it. Then the heritage centre we redeveloped it as it was a church so again, we try to take space that was neglected or ignored and build that in ways that support that community work, efforts and resilience.	Redeveloping heritage centre

Original Text	In Vivo and Process Coding
It is still about relationships; about how local people relate to their resources around them and how they can take responsibility for them and together sort of bring resources in to renew them and build them and make them usable again	Getting local people relate to their resources
so for us that is where resilience is based around local people efforts themselves	"Resilience is based around local people efforts"
and resilience requires hope doesn't it?	"Resilience requires hope"

4.5.2.2 Second Cycle Coding

Second cycle coding attempts to synthesise the analytic work from the first cycle coding by integrating previous codes into richer and condensed forms of meaning (Saldaña, 2021).

4.5.2.2.1 Focused Coding

The second cycle of coding consisted of focused coding, where the most significant and/ or frequent initial codes were constructed as focused codes (Charmaz, 2006). In turn, those focused codes were used to code the rest of the data, that is the rest of the interview transcripts. This process requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense, involving some of the initial codes to be dropped, while new codes are generated by combining initial codes through the process of constant comparisons (Charmaz, 2006). Therefore, it is in this stage that the researcher deepens the analysis by going through the initial codes and looking for patterns. This process was informed and guided by both the literature review and the documents as well as the research questions.

Specifically, the literature review and the document analysis shed light on the policies of community resilience and the associated resilience discourses, while illustrating that there is a gap in the literature in terms of what communities are doing and how they are reacting to those policies. This was further reflected in the research questions, placing the focus on both the actions of the communities (i.e., how are actors within communities in Cardiff coming together to influence their communities' development in relation to resilience?), and their discourses of resilience and how these relate to the dominant resilience discourses found in the policy (i.e., in doing so, to what extent are actors within these communities challenging existing dominant resilience discourses?). Therefore, the researcher was guided by the literature review and the research questions when combining the initial codes that were the most relevant to this research together into clusters, looking to condense the number of initial codes. This is also in line with the abductive approach that this research follows.

As a result of this process 18 focused codes were derived, which were used to code the rest of the interview transcripts, while also being flexible and open to the coding of other data that might be relevant, or significant to the research but did not

necessarily fit into those focused codes. Appendix 10 presents the interview codebook which shows in detail the focused codes, providing a brief description of that code together with some examples of participants quotes. In order to demonstrate this process better, Table 7 below provides an example of how similarly coded data were clustered together to create the focus code *tensions over the use of resilience*.

Table 7: Focused Coding Example (Tensions Over the Use of Resilience)

Interview	Original Text	Line-by-line Coding	Focused Coding
CSO12	I definitely have come across it, is not necessarily something that when we talk about	Not using the word resilience specifically	<i>Tensions over the use of resilience</i>
	community together, we use the word, but I think the meaning of the word we talk about it all the time.	Talking about the meaning of resilience all the time	
	So we do talk about resilience, but we do not call it resilience.	Talking about resilience but do not calling it that	
	We talk about resilience when we put in a funding application but to the degree that is a bit of a buzzword,	Resilience used in funding applications; Thinking resilience is a buzzword	
CSO1	In a way the pandemic moved us into this challenge that is going to be long-term as the pandemic is still ongoing, cost of living increase so how we continue to build that participatory approach and for us that is what community resilience is about,	Viewing community resilience as part of this participatory approach	<i>Tensions over the use of resilience</i>
	those approaches that harness local energy and ethos and build relationships in ways that enable us to work after each other.	Viewing resilience as part of this approach that harness local energy and relationships	
	It is still about relationships; about how local people relate to their resources around them and how they can take responsibility for them and together sort of bring resources in to renew them and build them and make them usable again so for us that is where resilience is based around local people efforts themselves	Resilience based around local peoples' efforts; resilience requires hope	
	and resilience requires hope doesn't it? So there is that spiritual part as well of how people maintain that sort of hope and things can change and they can be involved in that change and don't feel powerlessness.	Resilience requires hope; resilience do not feel powerlessness	
	I don't know because I don't spend much time reading the polices. I wonder what they actually understand and mean by resilience really, I suspect we look at it quite differently.	Believing that view resilience different from government	
	There is a danger for the state that is motivated by resource implications. A lot of the discussion is about we have less money that we had we can't provide the services that we used to 20 years ago	Believing resilience discussion is motivated by lack of money	

Interview	Original Text	Line-by-line Coding	Focused Coding
	and communities needs to step up and do that. And that is a different narrative from what we have.		
LC5	I think it is really interesting that now that I have gone back to local authority as a councillor there is much more emphasis now on how people could do things themselves and pointing people in the right direction to be able to take issues up themselves rather than this 'I will take this up for you...'	Emphasis of local authority for communities to do things for themselves	<i>Tensions over the use of resilience</i>

The next step of the analysis involved examining the focused codes, while starting to consider how the different focused codes may be combined to form overarching themes that capture the main ideas and concepts as expressed by participants. Once the initial themes and sub-themes were identified, there was an ongoing process of reviewing them thoroughly and refining them, ensuring that they accurately represent the data. Figure 5 below shows the results of this process, presenting the main themes and sub-themes of this research. Additionally, Table 8 below describes the four themes identified.

Figure 5: Themes, Sub-Themes, and Focused Codes

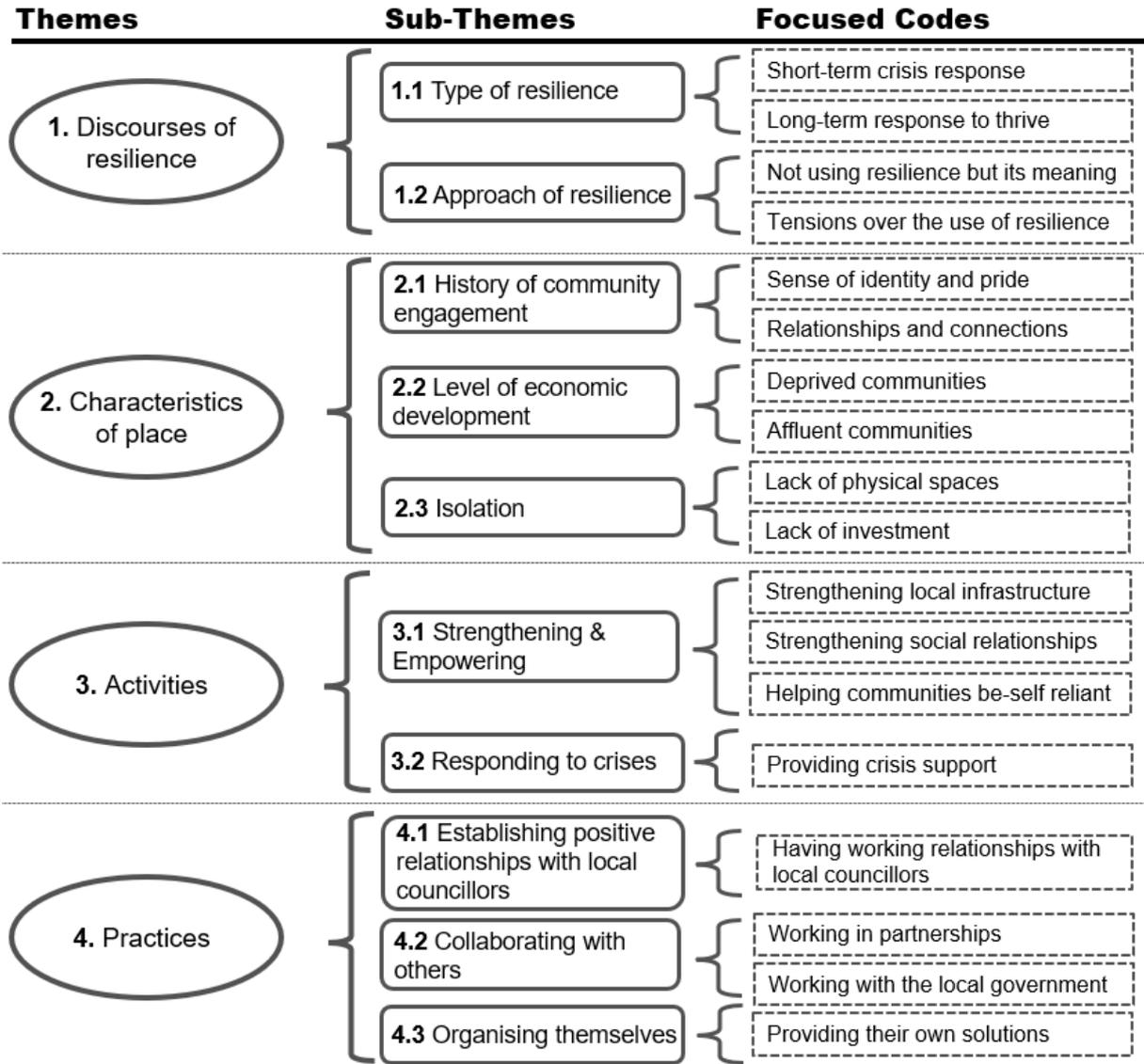


Table 8: Description of Themes

Theme Name	Description
1. Discourses of resilience	Discourses of resilience adopted by actors within communities which include understandings of resilience regarding the type of resilience and approach of resilience adopted. This includes tensions that exist between the actors within communities and the local authority over the view and use of resilience.
2. Characteristics of place	Characteristics of communities impacting how actors within communities seek to influence their communities' development. These include history of community engagement, level of economic development as well as isolation.
3. Activities	Activities undertaken by actors within communities aiming to improve their communities' development focusing on strengthening and empowering their communities as well as responding to crises.
4. Practices	Practices of actors within communities as they engage in collective action with other actors and organisations to access certain resources they need to influence their communities' development. These include establishing positive relationships with local councillors, collaborating with others and organising themselves.

Then, possible relationships between themes and sub-themes were specified as well, aiming to move the analytic story to a theoretical direction (Charmaz, 2006). In this sense, reflection through analytic memo writing was particularly useful in exploring how these themes and sub-themes relate to each other, providing a theoretical understanding or explanation for what is happening within the data. As according to Glaser (1978:83), memos are 'theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst while coding'.

In particular, this process of examining the relationships between the themes and sub-themes illustrated how the discourses that actors embrace and adopt in relation to resilience are connected to what they are doing to influence the development of their communities. This is supported methodologically as CDA allows the analysing of discourse not only in terms of language (i.e., what participants say), but also through discursive practices (i.e., the meanings created in specific social contexts) which is further shaped by broader social and cultural structures. In this case, it seeks to provide an understanding of how discourses of resilience are further

influenced and shaped by what actors are doing within their communities as well as considering their broader socio-economic environment. Such analysis also reveals the power imbalances and struggles that exist between actors within communities and the local authority as communities seek to challenge dominant narratives of resilience.

The first connection established was the relationship between the two themes of discourses of resilience and practices. In particular, how actors within communities attempted to gain access to resources (i.e., practices) was influenced by how these actors consider resilience. Thus, their practices are guided by discourses of resilience specifically relating to the approach¹⁰ the actors have towards resilience. According to Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011), actors seek to gain access to resources and power by mobilising certain frames to gain support for their actions within the SAF. Building on this theory, actors within communities engaged in practices to access resources, mobilise certain discourses of resilience which allows them to gain the support they need to be able to influence their communities' development. For example, when engaging in practices such as organising themselves, actors are adopting the same discourse of resilience as a common frame to mobilise resources. Similarly, when engaging in other practices such as collaborating, they are seeking to convince those actors and organisations to work together by adopting the same discourse of resilience approach.

Additionally, the theme of practices is connected to the theme of activities as actors were engaging in different practices to access different resources they need to be able to undertake activities aimed at improving their communities. In this way, actors were able to shape the development of their communities as they like focusing on the activities they believe are best for their communities. Moreover, the choice of activities was influenced by discourses of resilience specifically relating to the type of resilience¹¹, meaning how these actors were understanding and viewing resilience. For instance, actors viewing resilience as transformational, were involved in activities

¹⁰ The three discourses of resilience related to the approach of resilience were later labelled as participatory, pragmatic and beneficial.

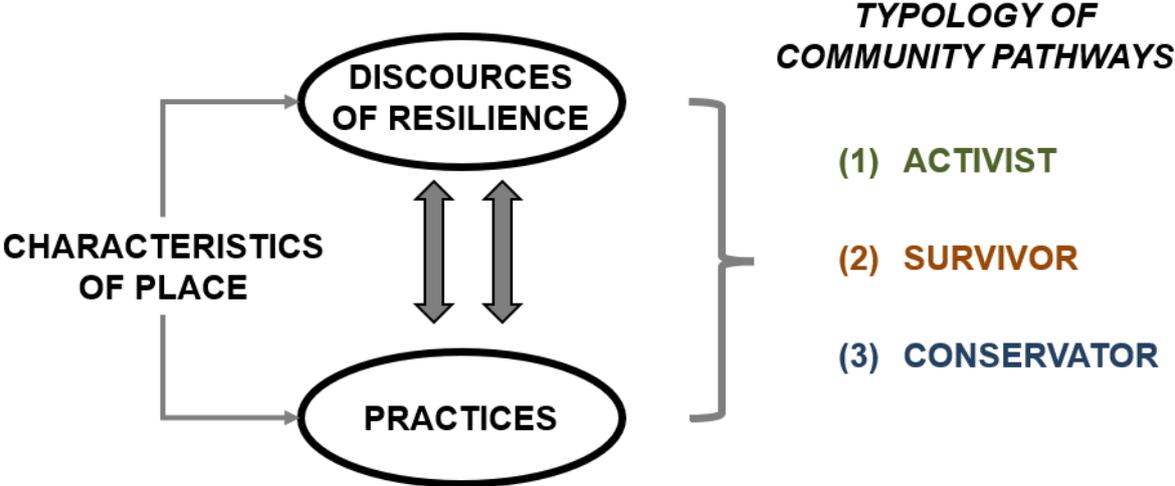
¹¹ The two discourses of resilience relating to the type of resilience were later labelled as crisis resilience and transformational resilience influenced by the distinction that exists in the literature of resilience, distinguishing between the 'bouncing back' type of resilience and 'bouncing forward' type of resilience.

which focused at strengthening and empowering their communities believing that such activities would transform their communities into becoming resilient. In contrast, actors understanding and viewing resilience as crisis, were involved in activities designed to provide support and help during crises, equating their ability to respond and adapt during crises as being resilient. Consequently, the discourses of resilience related to the type of resilience were in line with the discourses of resilience relating to the approach of resilience. Apart from these connections, characteristics of place also play a role in further influencing and shaping the practices and activities of actors within their communities, as well as their associated discourses of resilience. For example, the level of economic development affects how actors engage in different practices as actors within deprived areas may have less access to resources and thus, have to rely more on other actors and organisations for resources. In line with this, their activities would be more focused on providing support to deal with challenges and crises that arise from the high level of deprivation that exists in these communities. This is also illustrated in Figure 6 which shows the connections between the different themes.

Having explored the connections between themes, it became evident that it was the combination of discourses of resilience, practices¹² and characteristics of place together which explains how actors within communities come together to influence their communities' development. This is captured in Figure 6 below which illustrates this process in the form of a community pathway, within which the interplay between discourses of resilience and practices takes place together with the characteristics of place further influencing the community pathway.

¹² The term practices from hereafter encompass the different activities associated with specific practices.

Figure 6: Typology of Community Pathways



Following from this, the researcher developed a typology of three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**), providing a theoretical explanation as to how actors within communities are coming together to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. Each pathway comprises of actors belonging to specific communities that are grouped together because they share certain place-based characteristics and act in a similar way, by engaging in a specific set of practices, while utilising certain discourses of resilience to achieve what they want¹³. A typology is formed by grouping cases or participants into different types on the basis of their common features, with consideration of how each case or individual represents a particular pattern of features (Stapley et al., 2022). In this sense, what is significant in each community pathway is that although some discourses of resilience, practices or characteristics of place may be the same, it is the distinctive combination of all these components that characterise each community pathway.

The next three chapters focus on each community pathway, unpacking these distinctive combinations and thus explaining in detail how this plays out, as actors within communities in each pathway seek to access the resources they need by engaging in a set of practices and in doing so utilising certain resilience discourses to achieve what they want.

¹³ For a detailed breakdown of how practices, discourses of resilience, and characteristics of place were grouped together under the three pathways please see Appendix 11.

4.6 Research Ethics

Ethical considerations constitute a vital and important part of the research process, explaining why a significant part of the literature is concerned with the ethics of research practice (Spicker, 2007; Silverman, 2014; Israel, 2015; Bryman, 2016). Therefore, ethical considerations associated with questions about how a researcher designs the research, including the collection of data, are crucial in this research. There are two main ethical considerations that are relevant to this research, which are related to the interviews conducted as a method of data collection; the issue of informed consent and the maintenance of the participants' privacy.

Initially, ethical approval was sought after and obtained from the Cardiff Business School Research Ethics Committee¹⁴. Then, informed consent was obtained in writing using a consent form (*please see Appendix 6*) that was signed by all participants, explaining that participation was voluntary and that participants had the right to withdraw at any stage of the research process. Also, a participant information sheet was sent electronically via email to all potential participants describing the aims of the research and how the data would be collected and used, as well as what will be requested from participants if they decide to take part in the research.

Apart from this, participants' privacy was important and that meant dealing with issues of anonymity and confidentiality. Most interviews were carried out online following the (Welsh) Government and University's regulations and guidelines in terms of Covid-19. When these regulations changed and face-to-face interviews were allowed, participants were given a choice between scheduling a face-to-face or an online interview. Informed consent was obtained from participants to record the interviews. In turn, recordings were uploaded and stored to Cardiff University's password protected One Drive system. To protect confidentiality and participants' data, interview participants' names were anonymised by the use of pseudonyms and any identifiable features were removed during data transcription. This was done to ensure saved transcripts do not directly identify the participant (Holmes, 2012). The only documents detailing an individual's name are the signed consent forms. Again, transcriptions, consent forms, and the coding key used for anonymising participants were stored securely on Cardiff University's password protected One Drive system.

¹⁴ Note that the School Research Ethics Committee (SREC) reviewed the application corresponding to this doctoral thesis, notifying via email its approval on 31/01/22.

4.7 Trustworthiness

There is a general agreement that all research studies must be open to critique and evaluation with validity, reliability and generalisation being the three most prominent criteria for the evaluation of social research (Flick, 2015; Bryman, 2016; Gray, 2018; Mason, 2018). Mason (2018) suggests that if research is valid, it means you are observing, identifying, or measuring what you say you are, whereas reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable (Bryman, 2016). However, what is less clear, is whether those criteria are appropriate for qualitative research, with some such as Flick (2015) accepting these criteria but modifying them to match more with qualitative research, while others rejecting them altogether and replacing them with new criteria (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Indeed, this research adopts Lincoln and Guba's (1985) proposition of trustworthiness, which is made up of four criteria (credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability), as an alternative way for assessing qualitative research, reflecting the ontological and epistemological position of this research.

Following Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria around trustworthiness, this research uses the following strategies. Firstly, to ensure credibility and reduce bias, triangulation of data was employed as a strategy, combining different methods to construct interpretations, specifically incorporating interviews and documents. Secondly, during data analysis stage the researcher reached out to certain participants asking them to clarify what they meant regarding a particular topic, ensuring that the researcher has understood the participants' interpretations (respondent validation). Thirdly, an audit trail was kept, ensuring that complete records are kept of all phases of the research process from selection of research participants to interview transcripts and data analysis decisions to ensure transparency (Bryman, 2016). Specifically, data analysis including the coding of data was explained in detail, contributing to improvements in the quality of this research.

However, Morse et al. (2002) point to the danger of trying to establish trustworthiness at the end of the research, as it is possible for the researcher to miss serious threats to reliability and validity until it is too late to correct them. Therefore, while strategies of trustworthiness may be useful in an attempt to evaluate rigor, they do not in themselves ensure rigor (Morse et al., 2002). To avoid this danger, critical reflection is adopted throughout the research process meaning that the researcher is aware of

every decision taken and able to defend such decisions, as well as reflecting on the research design and being responsive to new ideas that may emerge. This is also one of the strategies for verification that Morse et al. (2022) propose to ensure validity during the process referred to as the investigator responsiveness together with methodological coherence, theoretical sampling, and sampling adequacy.

4.8 Concluding Remarks

This methodology chapter has started by clarifying the philosophical positioning of this research as it adopts a qualitative case study approach in line with the constructionist view. The selection of data collection methods and the process of data analysis is explained in depth, with additional information detailed in the respective appendices, as signposted above.

5. Mapping the CRSAF in Cardiff

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to map and define the community resilience strategic action field (CRSAF) in Cardiff in terms of the different actors involved as well as provide a description of what is happening within the CRSAF. This includes identifying all the relevant actors (e.g., incumbents, challengers, and governance units) in the CRSAF and consequently, recognising what is at stake for these actors. This is important as within a SAF, actors engage in social action with other actors, having a shared (but not consensual) understanding about the purpose of the field and the relationships of the field, meaning who has power and why (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In this sense, actors seek to gain legitimacy for their actions to influence and improve their position within the CRSAF.

Consequently, this chapter forms part of the analytical path that this research follows in relation to the data analysis, helping position these actors within the CRSAF. This chapter begins by sketching the approach this research follows in terms of focusing on the local level and looking at the CRSAF in a specific geographical location, that of Cardiff. Then, the communities in Cardiff and the Cardiff Council are identified and analysed as the main players within the CRSAF in Cardiff. Also, the chapter demonstrates what is happening within the CRSAF in Cardiff by discussing what is at stake for these actors focusing on access to resources and power. Lastly, it considers the Cardiff Council's approach and view of resilience which is identified as the dominant discourse of resilience with the CRSAF.

5.2 From a National (Wales) to a Local Approach (Cardiff)

This section explains the rationale of this research in moving from looking at Wales as a whole, to focusing on the local level and specifically at Cardiff as the selected case study. This is done with reference to the community resilience policy context in Wales.

5.2.1 Community Resilience at the National Level

This research started out by looking at publicly available documents, discussing community resilience in relation to the policy context in Wales. The goal was to provide and develop an understanding of the policy context in which community resilience operates in Wales. From the policy document analysis, it became evident

that both the UK Government and the Welsh Government have a role to play in creating and developing national strategies and frameworks for community resilience. Indeed, the promotion of community resilience is part of the UK Government's national security strategy, showing the significance of community resilience at a national level (Cabinet Office, 2019). The Community Resilience Development Framework highlights that community resilience is all about *'working with the civil society to create social value and achieve a more resilient UK which is vital for emergencies'* (Cabinet Office, 2019:3). This framework outlines the role and responsibilities of the UK Government in developing community resilience which include establishing the vision for community resilience as an integrated part of policy and activities relating to emergency management, health and wellbeing, climate change adaptation, open government and participatory service delivery (Cabinet Office, 2019). As well as supporting the strategic development of guidance and tools for use by practitioners and communities across the country, facilitating networking and sharing examples of leading practice (Cabinet Office, 2019). In a similar way, the National Resilience Strategy outlines that the Cabinet Office (2021:19) will continue to *'create the frameworks, standards and structures for our resilience, both in terms of direction setting and organising the structures for central decision making'*.

One example of this is overseeing the collaboration and information sharing between the central government and Local Resilience Forums (LRFs) in England and Wales which include organisations coming together in multi-agency partnerships to play an important role in preparing for, responding to and recovering from crises (Cabinet Office, 2021). In Wales, the Welsh Government is responsible for the co-ordination of the Wales Resilience Forum which brings together local responders and government bodies with the aim of promoting good communication and enhancing resilience across agencies and services in Wales (Welsh Government, 2019a). Thus, the goal of this forum is to provide strategic guidance on resilience issues affecting Wales, identify gaps and facilitate preparedness activity (Welsh Government, 2019a). It also considers and discusses issues of resilience in Wales with the UK Government as well as supporting cross-boundary working and information sharing (Welsh Government, 2019a). Specifically, there are four LRFs in Wales, covering the areas of Dyfed-Powys, Gwent, North Wales and South Wales. The LRFs are supported by co-ordinating groups that have been established to develop various capabilities or set

specific targets in strengthening local resilience through multi-agency collaboration (Welsh Government, 2019a).

Besides explicitly discussing community resilience in terms of emergencies, the Community Resilience Development Framework emphasises that *‘the principles underpinning community resilience are also relevant across the whole spectrum of public service delivery’* and thus, *‘emergency resilience activity should be aligned with more general resilience building activity and vice versa’* (Cabinet Office, 2019:3). Similarly in Wales, there are two national policies which underline the importance of building strong and resilient communities, directly linking resilience to their objectives. The first policy refers to the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014, while the other is the Well-being Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 which has the purpose of encouraging the public bodies listed in that Act think more about the long-term and work better with people, communities and each other. Specifically, building strong and resilient communities is identified as an important element to support the delivery of a key part of the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 (Social Care Wales, 2018).

Also, resilience is one of the goals of the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015, highlighting the importance of achieving a resilient Wales (Welsh Government, 2015). However, this goal focuses more on resilience in relation to the natural systems and ecosystems and not so much about community resilience as it is emphasised that a resilient Wales, *‘maintains and enhances a biodiverse natural environment with healthy functioning ecosystems that support social, economic and ecological resilience and the capacity to adapt to change’* (Welsh Government, 2015:7). Instead, having cohesive communities in Wales, is another goal of the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015, which is closer to community resilience as it highlights the significance of having attractive, strong, safe and well-connected communities¹⁵.

¹⁵ This is in line with the focus of this research which is centred around community resilience. Thus, although the policy document analysis also illustrated the relationship between policy and resilience in general regarding different areas such as that of climate change or economic resilience in Wales, this research is only interested in discussing the policy context of resilience which is specifically related to communities and their development.

5.2.2 Community Resilience at the Local Level

Despite the UK Government's and the Welsh Government's roles in communicating and promoting community resilience as part of the national security strategy and more generally across the public service delivery, it is local authorities that interact and engage the most with communities at a local level in relation to their resilience. In this sense, it is local authorities that have a primary role in shaping the community resilience policy context at the local level. This is significant as the level of resilience at a local level (e.g., in a community) affects the ability of that community to prepare and respond to an emergency. This is emphasised by the Cabinet Office (2016:6) which stresses that *'local people who are prepared and able to respond effectively and recover quickly from emergencies show us how successful community resilience can be'*. This is further conveyed in national policy documents which explain the government's participatory approach to emergency management, emphasising the central role of local authorities in this:

*'Local authorities and responder agencies play an integral part in the planning for, response to, and recovery from any emergency, whatever the scale. The **local tier must continue to be the fundamental building block for UK resilience**'* (Cabinet Office, 2021:20).

'The response to and recovery from, an emergency is carried out first and foremost at the local level, involving a wide range of organisations including the local government, voluntary service organisations, businesses, community groups and individuals' (Cabinet Office, 2019:3).

Thus, from a policy perspective, the focus is placed on the local level and the local authorities' role in supporting the resilience of local communities in relation to emergencies. This is highlighted by Ceredigion County Council (no date)¹⁶ which stresses that *'whatever the incident, the role of the County Council is always to provide support to the community, and to ensure a return to normality as soon as possible'*. Similarly, Cardiff Council (no date) states that during emergencies it is responsible for supporting and caring for the local and wider community by using *'its available resources to support the emergency services and mitigate the effects of the*

¹⁶ Please note that no specific page number is included, if the document does not have page numbers.

emergency as well as coordinate the response of partners organisations in emergency management'. The central role of local authorities is further supported by various documents produced by different local authorities in Wales which offer practical guidance to communities on preparing about emergencies:

*'Emergencies happen, and preparing yourself and your family will make it easier to recover from the impacts of an emergency. **Being aware of the risks you might face**, and who in your community might need your help, could make **your community better prepared to cope with an emergency**' (Ceredigion County Council, no date).*

*'**Community resilience is a part of many communities**, and it continually changes and evolves. While the goodwill and initiative that people demonstrate on the day during an emergency is vital, people are now taking steps individually and **collectively to prepare themselves in advance of an emergency** happening. Cardiff Council has prepared **a document to provide guidance to communities on the preparation of community and household emergency plans**' (Cardiff Council, 2020a).*

*'This is not about doing the job of the emergency services. It's about **supporting your community** and those in it by **making sensible preparations for emergencies** and using the **skills and knowledge that the community has**' (Carmarthenshire County Council, 2018).*

This is also the case with the LRFs in Wales which provide additional guidance to communities for dealing with emergencies. One example is the South Wales LRF which offers information and guidance to communities, families, and businesses in South Wales on how to respond to, and recover from crises, emphasising that there will be times when the communities may be affected by an emergency, thus, communities need to know how to help themselves and those around them prepare for, respond to and recover from, the impact of adverse events and emergencies (South Wales Local Resilience Forum, 2019).

Apart from emergency management, local authorities in Wales also have a key role to play in designing and delivering local public services with the aim of supporting

communities to be resilient in a broader way. This is in line with the national well-being goals identified in the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015. For example, Cardiff Council as part of its strategic planning, has set out together with the Cardiff Public Services Board¹⁷ seven local well-being objectives, which are complementary to the national well-being goals (Cardiff Public Services Board, 2018). Thus, Cardiff Council is working towards achieving those local well-being goals which include supporting Cardiff to grow in a resilient way, helping people out of poverty, and building safe, confident, and empowered communities. Additionally, in the Foundation for Success document, Caerphilly County Borough Council (2018:6) provides a framework for the future regeneration of Caerphilly County Borough, ensuring that *'mainstream Council services are orientated to best serve regeneration objectives, whilst linking with the well-being goals identified in the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015'*. This is to ensure the aim of making Caerphilly County Borough a more prosperous, resilient, healthier and equal place with strong cohesive communities (Caerphilly County Borough Council, 2018).

Moreover, the Welsh Government's new approach towards building community resilience and improving community involvement and engagement, depicts the leading role local authorities have together with the Welsh government in supporting communities to be resilient (Welsh Government, 2016). This new approach which focuses on the areas of employment, early years and empowerment, was announced to replace the Communities First programme¹⁸ on 31 March 2018 (Welsh Government, 2016). In particular, in the case of empowerment, the Cabinet Secretary for Communities and Children emphasised that *'resilient communities need to have strong local infrastructure and strong and inclusive leadership. Local Authorities and Public Services Boards must now step into this leadership role. I will engage,*

¹⁷ Established in 2016, Cardiff Public Services Board (PSB) brings together the city's public service leadership and decision-makers including the Cardiff Council to improve the economic, social, environmental and cultural well-being of Cardiff by strengthening joint working across the city's public services. Every 5 years, Cardiff PSB is required, by the Well-being of Future Generations Act 2015, to carry out a local Well-being Assessment and to produce a Well-being Plan. These set out objectives that will contribute to achieving the Welsh Government's 7 Well-being goals. Cardiff PSB is also required to produce an Annual Report that identifies the steps taken to meet the PSB Well-being Plan objectives. For more information, please see <https://cardiffpartnership.co.uk/about-us/>.

¹⁸ Communities First (2001-2018) is a Welsh programme that works with residents, community organisations, business and other key agencies to focus on improving the wellbeing and resilience of communities (Cardiff Council, 2017).

challenge and support them to deliver success' (Welsh Government, 2016). This effectively means that local authorities will need to work together with the Welsh Government and other partners to achieve this. In response to this new approach, Cardiff Council has proposed new arrangements for delivering employment services in Cardiff together with a proposed approach to building community resilience. Specifically, it is proposed that *'the Council should directly provide core employment services across Cardiff, bringing together the various funding streams, including Communities for Work, the Employability Grant and the Council's own into work resources to create one service provided directly by Council employees'* (Cardiff Council, 2017:3). Also, a new city-wide approach to community involvement and engagement is proposed, *'building on the learning from both Neighbourhood Partnerships and Communities First to create a new framework for participation across Cardiff, anchored in the hubs and libraries'* (Cardiff Council, 2017:6). Such an approach will identify local issues and priorities, bringing together the right people to find the solutions, while providing opportunities for community groups and individuals to get involved in their local area (Cardiff Council 2017).

Consequently, within the community resilience policy context in Wales, the emphasis is placed on the local level. In line with this, this research shifted its focus from examining Wales as a whole, to concentrate on the local level and specifically Cardiff, to further explore the relationship between Cardiff Council as the local authority and the different communities¹⁹ in Cardiff in relation to communities' ability in influencing their development and resilience. To achieve this, the research obtains interviews with several relevant actors ranging from state-related actors to civil society actors within Cardiff. As previously explained in the methodology chapter (Chapter 4), Cardiff as an area makes an interesting case to explore community resilience as it is situated within deep income inequalities, having some of the most deprived communities in Wales. The effects of such income inequalities were also evident during the coronavirus pandemic, where deprived areas of Cardiff had been impacted more by Covid-19 than more prosperous areas; especially in terms of direct health outcomes and also economic hardship (Wales Online, 2021).

¹⁹ As shown in Chapter 4, this research covers the following communities in Cardiff: Canton, Cathays, Ely, Fairwater, Grangetown, Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen, Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rhiwbina, Riverside, Rumney, Splott, and Trowbridge.

Indeed, from September 2019 to September 2020, Universal Credit applications increased by 113% in Cardiff, unemployment doubled, and food bank usage increased by 47% (Cardiff Council, 2020b). At the same time, the huge disparities in deprivation between the more deprived communities and the more affluent ones in Cardiff, offer a valuable opportunity for viewing community resilience in Cardiff as a SAF, comprising of various players who have different access to resources, all interacting together. This is further illustrated by the unemployment rates in Ely which are around five times higher than those in Lisvane, with differences in health outcomes being even more pronounced, and a healthy life expectancy gap of between 22 and 24 years between the most and least deprived communities (Cardiff Council, 2020b).

5.3 The CRSAF in Cardiff

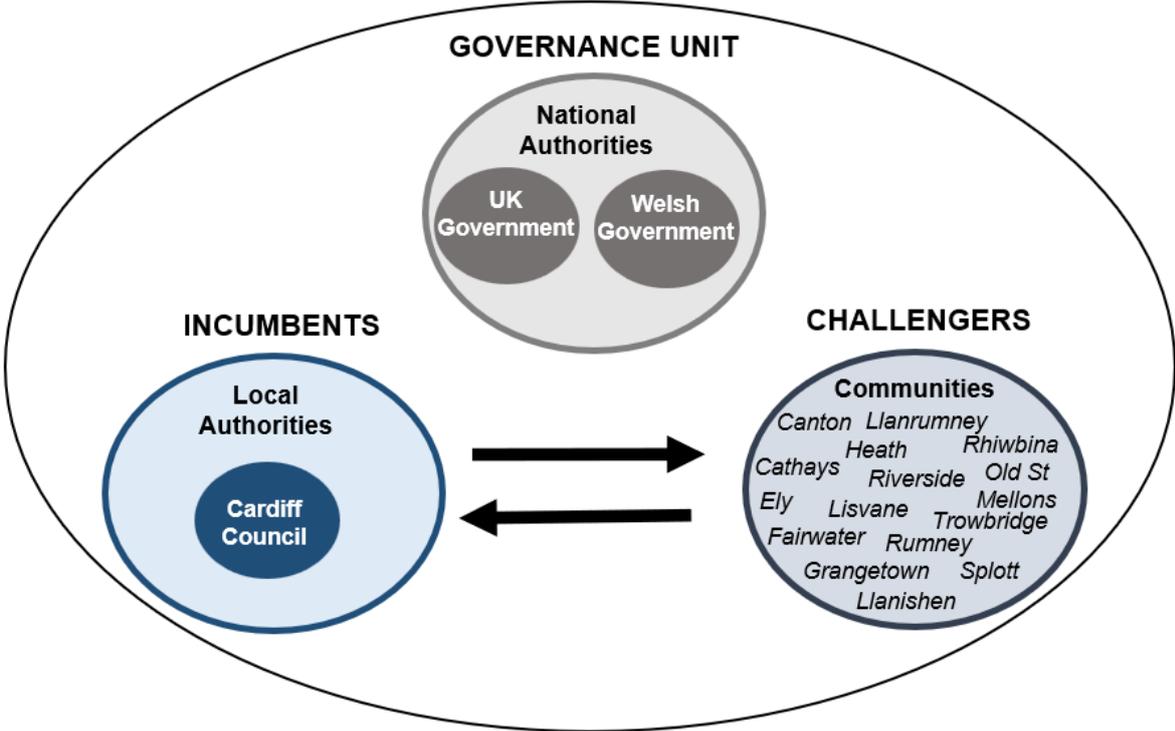
Before exploring how communities in Cardiff seek to influence their own communities' development in relation to resilience through their interactions and strategies, it is important to describe what is happening within the CRSAF by identifying the key players and establishing what is at stake for these actors within the CRSAF. This is because within a SAF, actors engage in social action with other actors, having a shared (but not consensual) understanding about the purpose and the relationships of the SAF, meaning who has power and why (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Consequently, in this case, the CRSAF is understood as a social arena comprised of state-related actors (e.g., Cabinet Members, local councillors) as well as civil society actors (e.g., community organisations and groups, active community members, volunteers) who are involved in activities with the aim of strengthening their communities, in a specific geographical location, that is Cardiff, Wales. Thus, all these actors share a concern to support the development and resilience of their communities.

5.3.1 Identifying the Different Players: Incumbents, Challengers, and Governance Units

According to the SAFs theory, each actor occupies a specific position within a SAF, possessing relatively more (i.e., incumbents) or less power (i.e., challengers) (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In the case of the CRSAF in Cardiff, the Cardiff Council is identified as the incumbent actor, with the communities in Cardiff identified as challengers. This is because the findings from both the policy documents and the

interviews with relevant actors in Cardiff demonstrate that communities have less resources and power to influence decisions regarding their development in relation to Cardiff Council. Nevertheless, it is important to note that not all challengers are the same, as not all communities have the same level of power or access to resources. Apart from incumbents and challengers, both the UK Government and Welsh Government are identified as governance units responsible for communicating and promoting community resilience at a national level as well as allocating relevant funds to the local authorities such as the Cardiff Council. In this sense, they are responsible for overseeing compliance with SAF rules and managing the smooth functioning of the system. Figure 7 below presents the CRSAF in Cardiff, showing how these different players are positioned within the CRSAF.

Figure 7: CRSAF in Cardiff



As demonstrated by Figure 7 above, Cardiff Council as an incumbent is in a better position to shape the CRSAF according to its own interests and construct its view of the world as legitimate, ultimately aiming to preserve or expand its power in the SAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). On the other hand, communities in Cardiff as challengers have less power and influence over the CRSAF and thus, do not occupy the same position to negotiate the game in their own interests (Kumpulainen et al.,

2022). Instead, they learn how to take what the system will give them and improve their positions in the CRSAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). That is why, communities within the CRSAF seek to gain access to different resources they need and the power to be able to influence local decisions regarding their development in relation to resilience and improve their position within the CRSAF, where Cardiff Council as the incumbent actor already holds more power and resources. In this sense, what is at stake for these actors within the CRSAF is both access to resources and power to influence decisions which communities as challengers need in order to influence the CRSAF. This is discussed in detail in the following section.

5.3.2 What is at Stake?

5.3.2.1 Access to Resources

Cardiff Council is the main link between much of the funding coming from the Welsh Government and/ or other national organisations in Wales (e.g., Community Foundation Wales) into the local communities in Cardiff, confirming its position within the CRSAF in relation to access to resources. From the document analysis it was evident that the Cardiff Council is responsible for the overview and distribution of some of the Welsh Government's funding at a local level, targeted to alleviate poverty and support communities in Wales. A director of a community interest company operating in Wales, including Cardiff, further supported this, explaining that although as an organisation they are primarily funded by the Welsh Government through the Circular Economy Fund they, *'are not allowed to apply for it directly as the local authorities have to apply for the fund and then distribute the money to organisations like us... so they are almost like a middleman which often makes things very tricky. They apply for funding and then ask us to do something for example open four repair cafes in their local authority which sounds great but then it goes back to that idea of trying to put the cafes in a community that does not ask them, and it does not work that way'* (CSO15).

This was also the case during the coronavirus pandemic, where Cardiff Council had been responsible for supporting local businesses in Cardiff to receive financial support through the Welsh Government Economic Resilience Fund which was made available (Welsh Government, 2020). The aim was to devote resources to help minimise the adverse impact on the local communities. In particular, the Council also worked closely with officials in Welsh Government to review demand for business

support, *'delivering over 10,000 grants for small businesses, around 800 freelancer grants for the creative sector, as well as 200 grants for new starters'* (Cardiff Council, 2021). In total, *'the Council's Business Rates and Economic Development teams have supported almost 20,000 businesses and paid out over £120 million in financial support over the course of the pandemic'* (Cardiff Council, 2021). This was further confirmed by different state actors in Cardiff who commented that during the coronavirus pandemic, Cardiff Council was supporting the communities through funding coming from the Welsh Government and other organisations:

*'They **oversaw the grants from Welsh Government**, so the business grants, the grants to taxi drivers to help them, lots of different grants were available and came through the Council'* (LC2).

*'They sort of turn around funding schemes, they really try to work hard with other agencies to make sure things were covered, they **set up these schemes so people could access funding**'* (LC5).

*'**Extra funding was made available**, emergency funding to the voluntary sector, that is the main way that I am aware of in terms of the local authority specifically helping on the ground.'* (SA1).

Consequently, the above examples illustrate that Cardiff Council holds control of the financial resources which are related to supporting the communities, highlighting the importance and need of communities to access such resources to be able to influence their development and improve their position within the CRSAF. Indeed, different actors from community organisations recognise the importance of having access to resources, such as funding, as without such access they are limited in terms of what they can do to influence the development of their communities:

*'We did not have a lot of support as a Forum and any funding we had to apply and get it for ourselves. **We struggle with that because we are entirely funded and from donations**'* (CSO10).

*'But all of us, **our finances are really limited** and so to be able to build for the long term you need that investment as you are not just chasing funding or supported for a*

year to do something and then it is gone and some of that is about the community groups to work how we became sustainable' (CSO12).

*'We are a community interest company; **the main challenge we are facing is funding** mainly for core activities **so the bigger we grow the more resources we need to support** all of the these. But also, the security of funding as funding is annual so it runs every year so is tricky when you have to keep **securing funding every year** so that is our biggest organisational challenge' (CSO15).*

*'It pretty much **always coming back to funding**, obviously there is not enough money in the world for everything that we need, but I believe that funding would have made the difference in achieving what this community needs' (CSO20).*

Since the introduction of austerity measures, the access to such resources is even harder and challenging for communities as now there is even less funding available. A local councillor in Ely admitted that *'over the last years we lost a lot of funding and that has an ongoing affect'* (LC8). Moreover, another local councillor in Llanishen agrees that *'one of the difficulties with austerity is that a lot of the ways Councils could help financially through having things like youth services...those disappeared from Llanishen. I have seen that change, once local authorities were able to create initiatives and things for younger people, have services for the neglected part of people, they cannot do that now because financially they do not have the resources so that is a concern'* (LC10). Similarly, a trustee in a local voluntary group in Llanishen emphasised how important having funding was for the group as *'eight years ago that funding stopped coming from the Council for everybody in Cardiff, and we were the only ones that managed to keep going. We had saved our funding, so we kept going and readjusted'* (CSO13).

Even in instances where funding was available and communities managed to access and secure such funding, it could still be distributed in a problematic way, causing tensions between the communities and the Cardiff Council. This was highlighted by the director of a community interest company who explained that *'the funding is there but it is not coming to us in the right way. It would have been better to have the applications and go where there is demand and then have that funding. So just the way the funding is distributed because of that red tape is tricky and obviously local*

authorities are so stretched especially at the moment, they have a real lack of resources which means they are not going to be creative and cannot take any new risks' (CSO15). In a similar way, other actors within the communities point to the problems that arise when local authorities are providing funding for communities as this process is guided by old fashioned traditional targets. As a manager working for a community organisation stressed; *'I have been working in the voluntary sector in Wales almost 40 years now and throughout that period the big discussion has been about evaluation and capturing impact and how do you tell if you put money into that community that there was a difference and is that community more developed or resilient and there has never been a process that done this successfully'* (CSO5). This also demonstrates the struggle over discourses happening within the CRSAF when communities seek to access resources to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position.

Apart from funding, Cardiff Council has access and control over other important resources which communities do not have access to and may need such as land or particular facilities. Indeed, the significance of communities having access to such resources is underlined by two local councillors:

*'Council **sharing the land and the facilities** with the community makes it better. So, the Council has worked with communities in many ways, sometimes sharing public services and assets...'* (LC1).

*'I think the local authority can do more by providing the spaces for that, like you have a knitting or a cooking group within a community, **it is important to have a space** to be able to do that. So if there is a knitting group, where would they go? Mainly they would go to their own houses, but it would be nice if they went out into a **community space** so they can engage more people into that activity'* (LC8).

This is further supported by a resident living in Riverside and a director of the community resilience hub in Splott:

*'There was a perfect space by the river for a market and the Council was very supportive. It was very **important to have their agreement** and let us trade there, **because we are in Council's land** and if they said no, we could not do that'* (R3).

*'We are in an area of multiple deprivation so **if the community decides that they need a particular physical resource (a facility) we do need some external support for that.** The Council for example leases us the land we use for our projects' (CSO17).*

This illustrates again the significance of communities accessing those resources with the support of the Council as without its support, communities would have been unable to have such resources.

5.3.2.2 Access to Power

Communities also seek to gain access to power to be able to influence local decisions regarding their development in relation to resilience and thus, improve their position within the CRSAF in Cardiff. Indeed, as shown by the interviews, one way that communities can influence decisions and policies that affect them is through consultations. In particular, a local councillor in Ely emphasises that the Council supports and formally engages with communities *'through a number of consultations to get the communities' views of what the Council is doing'* (LC1). Similarly, a Cabinet Member of Cardiff Council explains how they do a lot of consultations like for example with their housing development programme, *'we do a number of consultations on even the plans we are drawing to the point that some communities get a bit frustrated, because we talk to them so much before the plans are drawn up and during the plans are drawn up and they just want it done'* (CM1).

However, communities argue that the way consultations are currently designed, they are meaningless and do not have any real value. This is portrayed by residents of Fairwater, Riverside and Old St Mellons:

*'It is about listening to communities and consulting them, and **you should not just have consultations because you have to**, you need to really listen to local communities about what they need'* (R1).

*'We feel there had been consultations on things that we know the **Council has already decided before the consultation'*** (R3).

*'I think once the Council decides they want to do something, they may go out and consult on it, but **I do not think the consultation is completely genuine.** They sometimes think they know best and do not take into account what local people think'* (R5).

This is also expressed by a leader of a local group in Grangetown and a director of the community resilience hub in Splott who explain that the way consultations are done is problematic:

*'I think **the engagement process they have is not very good** and that is just how bureaucratic they operate. They do not really understand the flexibility they need to have in engaging really well with communities. They **do not operate in a way that they value community engagement** and voices at the heart of everything they do, even though this is what they say or comes out it is not reflected on the decisions they make'* (CSO9).

*'We got a lot of requests for surveys that the Council holds but **we do not necessarily ever hear back of what the result said or what the impact for us will be**'* (CSO17).

Therefore, this demonstrates the unequal power that exists between Cardiff Council and the communities as they are unable to influence decisions taken by the Council through the process of consultations. This is further highlighted by a volunteer in Grangetown who express the difficulty of communities becoming involved in influencing decisions as *'in our area there is a new Cabinet Member for active travel and waste, and he has decided to involve the community groups in the development of a strategy so I think that is a good starting point because groups like us we are on the ground, we are residents, we are recipient of services, and we can see where things do not work as well. So, I think involving the community in developing the strategies is a good idea, I don't know how widely it happens'* (V4). Similarly, the director of a non-profit organisation in Cardiff underlines the importance of community involvement in influencing policies arguing that, *'I think there is a need for more people to help influence those policies because I think a lot of those policies are in danger of their local authority and politicians shaping those policies that are*

outmatching what the public needs or wants, there is a need of more representation of communities to help shape policies and strategies' (CSO8).

Consequently, because communities realise the importance of accessing power to influence decisions, they seek to convince Cardiff Council to influence decisions that affect them in other ways as well such as through relationships with their local councillors. Indeed, having the support of Cardiff Council and consequently, the local councillors is essential because *'just from a top-down way they can decide on things that help or hinder the community' (CSO1)*. Thus, *'it makes a difference if the local authority values the contribution of your community and see communities as a source of strength and want to invest in communities' (CSO12)*. Additionally, a volunteer in Riverside emphasised that *'the Council runs most things in the city and without them making good decisions we cannot live good lives, so it takes all of us' (V3)*, showing again the imbalance of power in making decisions. This is further explained by a community organiser in Cardiff who underlines that *'we need to have relationships with power and power is often held with the state or the market. So, building positive working relationships with the Cardiff Council and the different Cabinet Members is really important to us. Partly because depending on what the issue is, there would be a decision maker that could change that issue and that might be the Council. So you need to understand where power lies to make change' (CSO2)*.

5.3.3 Cardiff Council's Approach and View of Resilience

Having established that communities within the CRSAF seek to gain access to resources and the power to influence local decisions regarding their development in relation to resilience; this section focuses on discussing Cardiff Council's dominant view of resilience. This is important to identify because struggle over discourses is also central within the CRSAF as actors seek to access resources and power to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position. Following from this, Cardiff Council as the incumbent actor is in a better position to shape the CRSAF according to its interests and construct its view of the world as legitimate, while communities seek to challenge this (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). This means that Cardiff Council is in a better position within the CRSAF to communicate these dominant discourses of resilience that are in line with its interests.

Both the policy documents and interviews with state-related actors illustrate that Cardiff Council has a specific view of community resilience which is associated with emergencies. Indeed, Cardiff Council defines community resilience as communities and individuals harnessing local resources to help themselves in an emergency, in a way that complements the response of the emergency services (Cardiff Council, 2020a). This is in line with the UK Government's and Welsh Government's view of community resilience which also focuses on the ability of local people to respond and recover quickly from emergencies. Therefore, such view of resilience emphasises the ability of communities to prepare and deal with adversity as well as adapt during crises. As the literature argues, this type of resilience focuses more on recovery and the ability of community to be resilient and 'bounce back' from a shock (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). This is further supported by two local councillors in Ely who discuss resilience in relation to how communities deal with crises such as the pandemic:

'By doing what we were doing, **we were just carrying on as best we could**. We had bingo outside or fundraising, so **they were resilient because we found a way to go around things**' (LC6).

'Resilience to me is when you are **faced with some adversity is about how do you navigate out of it or around it**. And what strategies do you put in place to mitigate the negative impact of an issue or something happening and to demonstrate resilience is about **the strategies you put in place before a crisis**, what do you do in order to reduce the harm' (LC8).

Furthermore, Cardiff Council considers resilience in term of its role in supporting communities during emergencies as well as the responsibilities of communities in being resilient. One example is the Council providing guidance (e.g., community and household emergency plans) to communities to support and help them better prepare for emergencies. Consequently, Cardiff Council (no date) emphasises that '*we have a significant role to play in a major emergency and will need to devote staff and resources to help minimise the effects on the local community*'. This involves some staff undertaking specific tasks during an incident in relation to evacuation, shelter, information and support, while others continuing with their routine duties as the overall aim is to deliver business as usual with minimal interruptions (Cardiff Council,

no date). Additionally, local councillors are identified as having a key role to play in emergencies as they will operate as a hub for advice and information to the local communities.

This was demonstrated during the pandemic where the Cardiff Council was mobilising resources and staff to keep the communities safe. For instance, a Cabinet Member of Cardiff Council explained that *‘the priority was making sure that people were safe in their homes really. Our concentration was to make sure that we are looking over those who are not able to look after themselves and the vulnerable with the hubs closed, so they are not alone and have day-to-day contact even if online. Also, making sure that education for children continue as much as possible and we provided free tablets, so children are equipped to have access to services online’* (CM1). Likewise, another Cabinet Member pointed out that during the pandemic *‘we were using all of our communication tools at our disposal, website, social media, letters to people’* to keep communities informed about the situation. As mentioned earlier, Cardiff Council was also providing financial support to the communities and local businesses in Cardiff in the form of funds and grants during the pandemic.

Indeed, Cardiff Council’s approach towards achieving resilient communities which can respond well during crises and ‘bounce back’, does not only consider the responsibilities of the Council itself but also relies on the communities to help themselves be resilient. This is conveyed by a Cabinet Member of Cardiff Council who underlines that *‘I think resilience takes all of us working together, so the community has to play its part in it, both the voluntary part and the whole community. They need to take some responsibility. I think is making people understand that sometimes the solutions are in their hands and the services we try to provide in the hubs is about making people self-reliant which in turn makes them resilient’* (CM1). This is further indicated by the definition of community resilience as defined by Cardiff Council (2020a) which stress that communities should use their local resources in order to help themselves. Thus, communities themselves have a responsibility to respond to challenges and be resilient. This is similar to the arguments in the critical literature (Reid, 2012; Joseph, 2013; McKeown and Glenn, 2018) which highlight that governments increasingly use the idea of community resilience in policy to reinforce a neoliberal perspective of resilience focusing on the shift of responsibility towards communities. In this sense, communities are

responsible for their own wellbeing and resilience and as a result do not expect the state to help them.

Following from this, a guidance document produced by Cardiff Council (2020a) which provides information about emergency planning and resilience, includes a list of features that communities need to have in order to be recognised as resilient. These include *'being aware of risks and vulnerable people'*, *'having a community champion'* and *'having a community emergency group who is able to influence decision-making in the interest of the community'* as well as *'strive towards partnership working'* and *'be prepared to use ordinary skills in extraordinary circumstances'* (Cardiff Council, 2020a). Such features are consistent with type of resilience that Cardiff Council talks about which focuses on the ability of communities to respond to emergencies. As for instance, being aware of the risks a community might face as well as who in that community might need help and support, could help that community be better prepared for an emergency. In fact, this list of features is shared and adopted by other local authorities in Wales as well. These features of resilient communities also seem compatible with a neoliberal view of resilience which focuses on promoting reflexive self-governance through strategies of awareness, risk management and adaptability (Joseph, 2018; Humbert and Joseph, 2019).

In this sense, communities are expected to *'use their existing skills, knowledge and resources to prepare for, and deal with, the consequences of emergencies working together to complement the work of the local emergency responders before, during and after an emergency'* (Cardiff Council, 2020a). However, such an understanding of resilience raises two issues in relation to what this means for the communities. The first issue relates to the absence of any socio-economic characteristics from this discussion which can affect the communities' risk and resilience. In this way, discussions about resilient communities assume that all communities can be resilient at the same level and can deal well with crises ignoring factors such as poverty. According to Bulley (2013), this inability to recognise poverty and inequality as the number one source of community vulnerability, and lack of resilience illustrates a close proximity between emergent discourses of resilience and contemporary neoliberalism. The second issue relates to what happens if communities do not possess all those specific features to be resilient as communicated by Cardiff

Council. Then, these communities may not be considered resilient enough by the Council's standards and thus, may be criticised for this.

This comes into contrast with how Cardiff Council thinks about resilience in a more general way, in relation to building cohesive and resilient communities. As the Council recognises two other features as important for community resilience. Specifically, the role of social capital and community infrastructure in building strong and resilient communities. This is emphasised by a Cabinet Member of the Council and a policy advisor of the Future Generations Commissioner's office:

*'Having **good neighbours** and infrastructure.... As a resilient community **need access to infrastructure** that makes it cohesive and particular facilities or buildings like libraries or hubs' (CM2).*

*'The primary part is about **people being active in their** community like hobbies, to connect with stuff going on locally and the ability to volunteer is crucial. This is linked to **social capital** and how much people know each other. The third part is **access to key wellbeing services**, all the services you expect to have in a community that contribute to well-being, can you access a library close to where you live?' (SA1).*

To achieve this, Cardiff Council as a local authority is recognised as an important actor in facilitating the development of networks and infrastructure within the communities. As already mentioned, this was demonstrated by both the Well-being Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015 and the Welsh Government's new approach towards building community resilience which stress the leading role of local authorities in help achieving this. Within this context, Cardiff Public Services Board (2018) produced a plan, outlining the priorities for action across the public sector in Cardiff, together with setting out their role in relation to supporting communities be cohesive and resilient. Therefore, there is a clear role for the Council in being supportive and inclusive towards communities to empower them. Specifically, in relation to developing social capital, there is a commitment to promote volunteering via the development of a city volunteering portal to provide opportunities to community groups and individuals to get involved in their local area (Cardiff Public Services Board, 2018). There is also a commitment to *'invest in and involve communities in the delivery of integrated, locally based public services in community*

and wellbeing hubs' as well as *'give people a greater voice in shaping public services through developing and delivering co-created community development plans'* to empower communities (Cardiff Public Services Board, 2018:29).

Unlike the approach that Cardiff Council follows in relation to resilience and emergencies, there is now an acknowledgement of the different demographics, strengths and weaknesses that exist in the communities, indicating that *'public services will need to be designed so that they reflect these differences'*, meaning that the delivery of services would be more focused on addressing the specific needs of each community (Cardiff Public Services Board, 2018). This was also highlighted by a Cabinet Member of Cardiff Council who pointed out that *'years ago the Council set up services which were the same across the city and what we recognised was that each area had different problems, different things that they can be proud of and so our approach has to be different to ensure that the services we provide meets that community's needs'* (CM1). Consequently, this approach towards achieving resilient communities in a broader way, is shown to be more flexible, aware of the different needs of the communities. Nevertheless, it is less clear what the communities' role is in this and what steps communities should take to help themselves be resilient.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

This chapter constitutes the starting point in analysing the CRSAF in Cardiff. Specifically, it illustrates the rationale of this research in moving from looking at Wales as a whole, to focusing on the local level, and specifically at Cardiff as the selected case study. In doing this, it provided an overview of the community resilience policy context in Wales and consequently Cardiff. Additionally, the chapter identifies all the main players (e.g., incumbents, challengers, and governance units) in the CRSAF, establishing Cardiff Council as the incumbent actor and the different communities in Cardiff as challengers. Together with identifying the UK National Government and the Welsh Government as governance units, responsible for setting national policies and allocating relevant funds to the local authorities.

This is based on the argument that Cardiff Council as an incumbent actor possesses more power and influence within the CRSAF, while the communities as challengers have less power and influence over the CRSAF and how it operates. In this sense, access to resources and power are central for communities to gain legitimacy for

their actions and be able to influence their position within the CRSAF. Lastly, this chapter discusses Cardiff Council's dominant view of resilience both in relation to the communities' ability to prepare for and respond to emergencies as well more generally in developing resilient and cohesive communities. This is important to identify because struggles over discourses are also central within the CRSAF as actors seek to access resources and power. In this way, Cardiff Council as the incumbent actor is in a better position within the CRSAF to communicate these dominant discourses of resilience that are in line with its interests.

Having established what is happening within the CRSAF in Cardiff, the next chapters focus on how communities (i.e., challengers) in Cardiff play (i.e., jockey) with the rules of the game as they try to influence their position within the CRSAF. Indeed, by utilising the concept of social skill, this enables the study of challengers as strategic actors, analysing their interactions and communicative skills to mobilise support and alliances to influence local development and advance their interests. In doing so, this allows the possibility for communities as challengers to shape the CRSAF by challenging dominant resilience discourses. Consequently, a typology of three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**) is developed, showing the different ways actors within communities are coming together to influence their communities' development in relation to resilience and achieve what they want. In particular, the pathways demonstrate how actors engage in a set of practices to access specific resources and in doing so utilising their own discourses of resilience through which they seek to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position in CRSAF. Thus, each pathway includes specific communities in Cardiff which are grouped together because they share certain common practices and discourses of resilience, as well as place-based characteristics and overarching aims. The next chapter focuses on the first community pathway (**activist**) and explores the ways communities in the **activist** pathway are accessing the resources they need, while utilising certain discourses of resilience in accessing those resources.

6. Activist Pathway

*'I think the good thing is that a lot of people are **quite active** in our community, you meet a lot of people who are quite supportive and really want to work together with you because they know you and everybody around. So, we are starting from a place where we know who the people are, and you connect with them to **make stuff happen** so there is a **real collaborative sense**' (CSO9).*

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided an overview of the community resilience policy context in Wales and consequently Cardiff, with the aim of mapping and defining the CRSAF in Cardiff.

Therefore, the chapter identified all the relevant actors (e.g., incumbents, challengers, and governance units) in the CRSAF, establishing the Cardiff Council as the incumbent actor and the different communities in Cardiff as challengers. This is because communities have less resources and power to influence decisions regarding their development in relation to the Cardiff Council. Also, the UK National Government and the Welsh Government were identified as governance units, responsible for setting national policies and allocating relevant funds to the local authorities (e.g. Cardiff Council). Thus, communities aim to influence and improve their position within the CRSAF by seeking to mobilise the different resources they have. In this sense, within the CRSAF access to resources and struggle over discourses become central for actors to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position within the CRSAF.

A typology of three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**) is developed to show the different ways actors within communities are coming together to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. In other words, how they are coming together to influence their communities' development and achieve what they want. The pathways illustrate how actors engage in a set of practices to access resources and in doing so utilise their own discourses of resilience through which they seek to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position in the CRSAF.

This chapter focuses on the first community pathway (**activist**) and seeks to unpack the ways communities in the **activist** pathway are accessing the resources they need, while exploring how they are utilising certain discourses of resilience in accessing those resources, and what impact this has. Communities in the **activist** pathway view the local authority as a threat to the local system they have set up in their communities and thus, use their place-based identity and social capital as a resource to organise themselves to retain their autonomy and independence from the local authority. This pathway includes the communities of Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott which are grouped together because they share certain practices, discourses of resilience and objectives of what they aim to achieve. As well as certain place-based characteristics which influence and shape those communities' practices, discourses and ultimately overall this **activist** pathway.

6.2 Communities of Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott

Figure 8 below shows the map of Cardiff, depicting those communities which are grouped together in the **activist** pathway.

Figure 8: Map of Cardiff Communities in the Activist Pathway



The communities of Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott share certain characteristics which are distinctive to their place and play a role in shaping their practices and discourses of resilience. Before exploring the process of how these characteristics affect the communities' practices and discourses of resilience later in the chapter, this section first discusses the two main place-based characteristics of these communities.

The first characteristic is that there is a history of community engagement within these communities. This community engagement exists because most people in these communities have lived there for a long time, thus, they all know each other, and this has led to the creation of strong bonds between them. Therefore, these communities share a place-based identity which is linked to their engagement. This is highlighted by a community leader in Ely who expressed that *'I think Ely has a long history and people been there for generations, strong family connections and networks and families lived in the same house for years, and the people who come to work here get attached to the place and connected and that is different to other communities'* (CSO1). This was further supported by a local councillor in Ely who emphasised that *'we have got people in Ely who have lived there quite a long time, it is an old established community and when I say this, we have got generations living there, grandmothers, mothers, aunties, uncles, cousins, brothers and sisters, so we have got the whole thing. And people are reluctant to move out even if their housing needs change over time and because the housing stock stays as it is, a good majority are reluctant to move, even though they can be physically accommodated somewhere else within the city'* (LC8).

Additionally, people are connected to their area and feel proud living there, therefore they all want to help and support each other and contribute to making their communities better. Indeed, this is supported by the literature which argues that those whose family have lived somewhere for generations can develop a strong sense of place (Hay, 1998; Savage et al., 2005). This in turn, can motivate people to revitalise their communities and thus, play an important part in these communities' resilience (Norris et al., 2008, Buikstra et al., 2010; Ross and Berkes 2014; Zwiers et al., 2018). This was also confirmed by many actors from community organisations who work and live in the communities included in the **activist** pathway who commented about a feeling of pride and connection to their area, highlighting the

importance of place-based identity or place attachment which is linked to the sense of community:

*'There is a real community sense, so all people know each other, and people can connect with each other. There are a lot of groups and community organisations set up in Grangetown to support local needs and events and activities as well. **So we are all proud of living here and being from Grangetown.** I think a strength we have that other places might not have, is that they feel **this is an area they want to be in and feel like they belong and want to contribute to make that happen**' (CSO9).*

'I think Grangetown especially encapsulates that feeling of community and people coming together' (CSO16).

*'**Splott has a really well-connected community**, people know each other well, there is a lot of stuff happening, there is a food cooperative, volunteers, there is a lot of things going on. And then you cross the bridge into Adamstown, and you can literally throw a stone and feels different, a lot more disconnected. And it feels less of a cohesive community, and we had that reflected to us from people living there, that it is really hard to meet people. **We found it really easy in our community in Splott to build volunteer groups**, we do not have any trouble engaging volunteers' (CSO17).*

*'What does exist within Riverside now is an **almost invisible web of relationships and a really strong identity**' (CSO21).*

This was further confirmed by a local councillor in Riverside who expressed that *'a sense of community and a feeling of community is absolutely what people do have in Riverside and that **is more a feeling that they belong somewhere** and feeling that they got neighbours who they can ask help for things, that they have people they know to get their kids to the parks with others and know they are going to be safe'* (LC5). As well as a volunteer living in Riverside who emphasised that *'also **resilience is a state of mind**, when people say where do you live and you say Riverside, if you feel the shame of it, that is something reducing your resilience as an individual. If you feel proud of it, you are likely going to think, hey what other things are going on here? What is needed?'* (R3).

Apart from a high level of community engagement, another characteristic that these communities share is their level of economic development, as these communities are considered to be economically deprived areas. This as described by these communities reinforces this feeling of connection to each other and strengthens the need to come together to address challenges resulting from their economic development level:

*'For us in a way because of the challenges with poverty and low-income **resilience is always necessary**. I think **in all times in Ely you have got this residual resilience that flows** and is very different from the community that I grew up in and although resources are scarce, people do look at for each other and people are generous and kind and strong sense of identity and connection to the place' (CSO1).*

*'I think in **more deprived communities there is a greater sense of community resilience** because there is an awareness that their area is not being developed. Especially when you get deprived areas coming from a government and parliamentary level, I think for a lot of these people there is an awareness that the deprivation they are experiencing is on a much larger scale and is a top-down approach. So when you got areas like Grangetown because there has not been that constant money and development thrown to the community, **you do get people coming together more to make their space more resilient and a nice place to live**' (CSO16).*

*'I think in a sense of community resilience, **sometimes there is a greater strength in deprived communities because there is a greater desire to see change** unless you have given into hopelessness' (CSO6).*

*'From what I have seen **people that are more disadvantaged tend to form stronger communities because they need each other more**, as people who are not that disadvantaged of course they need communities but if there is someone who works in a high pay job and comes from a middle-class family obviously, they have their emotional needs and they want a community however if they did not have the community they will still have a secure life' (V1).*

This is also confirmed by two local councillors, one living in Ely and the other in Riverside:

*'The **more deprivation in an area the more the community spirit is**. When you go in Rhiwbina the one house is not knowing who is living in the next house. But when you go to places like here you can name the 20 people which are around you and they will get together to solve the problems that they are arising at the time'* (LC6).

'The way they interact in Riverside it is much more community focused, and it actually does bring people together' (LC5).

6.3 Practices

This section discusses the practices of communities in the **activist** pathway, exploring how communities of Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott engage in collective action with other actors and organisations to access certain resources they need. Due to their position in the CRSAF, access to resources is significant for communities because as challengers they possess relatively less resources and power to influence the CRSAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). The practices identified below refer to communities (1) organising themselves, (2) coproducing with external partners, and (3) establishing positive relationships with local councillors.

6.3.1 Organising Themselves

The main way that communities in the **activist** pathway are accessing resources for the development of their communities is by organising themselves to pull together their own resources. The aim of that is primarily to address local issues that are affecting them and consequently develop their own solutions to those issues. This was evident in many of the interviews with different actors in Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott where they were expressing how they were coming together and organising themselves in a number of different occasions. One example of this was the creation of a local youth action group in Ely which aims to address issues concerning young people in the community. Specifically, a youth support worker involved in that group illustrated how the local youth action group sought to successfully address the issue of anti-social behaviour during Halloween which has always been a big issue in Ely. This was done by developing a scheme for the evening, where *'we provided an outreach youth bus like a converted bus, and we had*

youth workers running activities on the evening of Halloween and ended up engaging with around 50 young people and from what we saw there has been less anti-social behaviour in the streets compared to the previous years. So that was a good initiative' (CSO19).

Consequently, the group consists of different people working and living in Ely, including high school teachers, local community groups, youth workers, parents, residents and the local police who all share the same interest and concerns for such issues. Since the group is voluntary, they all depend on each other to come together monthly to discuss and address issues that concern them. In order to do this, this requires effort and time from all the people involved in this group. Therefore, in this case, the actors involved in this group are organising themselves to utilise resources in the form of connections and relationships that exist within Ely to be able to create such group. This is what is referred to in the community development literature as social capital which is about the ability and willingness of community members to participate in actions and activities that advance the community's goals, and with individuals engaging collectively in community organisations, groups, and networks (Williams, 2004; Magis, 2010; Markantoni et al., 2019). As Zwiers et al. (2018) argue having a socially supportive environment is important as it helps engage individuals within their community and creates an environment with strong networks of social connections and trust. In this sense, they are using those networks to bring people together who care about such issues and the community and want to actively contribute to do something about it.

Another example that is the result of communities organising themselves was the formation of a litter picking group in Riverside. A volunteer participating in the group explained how the group first came together, *'I saw that Keep Wales Tidy was organising litter picks, I joined one of those and met other people living in Riverside who were talking between them that there was no local volunteer group in our area, despite the need for it. So then I started to look for other people in the area who have been interested in this topic as well and we started the group. From there, we applied for small pots of funding, we got additional volunteers, and we formed a proper committee as well' (V3)*. This demonstrates how residents living in Riverside came together to create the group because they share a similar interest in litter picking and reducing waste which is an issue in their community and consequently, want to make

Riverside a nicer place to live and work. This is further highlighted by another resident in Riverside who underlines that *'we pick litter on our own to keep our community clean. I like the idea that we can look after the streets ourselves'* (R3). Therefore, the residents in Riverside are using their social capital, in other words, the connections and relationships that exist within Riverside to be able to form the group. As the group is voluntary, this means that it is dependent on people within the community coming together, dedicating their time and effort to be able to keep the group going. Together with the desire of people to actively contribute to keep the streets clean of litter and make Riverside a better place to live.

Therefore, they are also drawing upon place attachment as a resource that allows them to act and come together as a group with the aim of improving their community. In particular, this involves the social aspect of place attachment which is linked to the sense of community which involves feelings of belonging, mutual trust, social connections, shared concerns, interests, and community values (Norris et al., 2008). Similarly, in Grangetown a group of volunteers who live and/ or work in Grangetown organises monthly community litter picks and attempts to raise awareness about littering and fly tipping in the community. The group came together again because they want to dedicate their time and efforts to make Grangetown a cleaner, nicer and greener place to live. As a volunteer expressed, *'we exist because people want to do something positive about the community themselves otherwise, we would not exist'* (V4). This again involves using place attachment as a resource drawing from the citizens' efforts to revitalise a community. Consequently, the group relies on each other, and other volunteers too, because it is not a formally constituted group, and thus everything is based upon coordination among themselves.

Moreover, in Spott, a food cooperative emerged during Covid-19 as a solution to the increasing challenges in accessing affordable food in the area. This was the direct result of communities organising themselves, pulling together their own resources to be able to set up the food cooperative. The cooperative operates on a membership model aiming to reduce some of the income inequality that exists in the community, where members with a higher income contribute a higher amount of money into the cooperative and members with a lower income contribute less money. This means that the cooperative is funded entirely by the people who participate in this initiative. Apart from its members who contribute financially, the people who organise and

manage the food stall in the cooperative, as well as communicate this initiative, are all volunteers who live in Splott. This was expressed by a volunteer involved in this community initiative who stressed that, *'the people who are there regularly, they are passionate about it and are there almost every single week despite having a full-time job because of their passion and commitment. And the storage we use is one of our member's own garages so without that member's garage we would not have been able to have this cooperative, so it depends entirely on them'* (V1). In this sense, once again, social capital becomes important as a resource as people involved in this initiative are relying on the community's networks and connections for volunteers to successfully run this cooperative. Particularly, the people they know are connected between them and are willing to contribute to this. Thus, this depicts how the actors involved in this food cooperative are entirely relying on each other for resources, whether this is funding, social capital or a physical resource, like one member's garage.

6.3.2 Coproducing with External Partners

Another way for communities in the **activist** pathway to gain access to resources is by coproducing with external partners and thus, collaborating together in different community initiatives. In this sense, communities are still actively involved in this process but are working together with external partners to obtain resources that they themselves do not have. That was the case with both the development of Grange Pavilion in Grangetown and the Community Resilience Hub in Splott, where these initiatives began by residents' efforts who wanted to make a positive change in their communities. In particular, in both cases, they sought to utilise and redevelop a space in their communities which was until then neglected. For example, the idea of a Community Resilience Hub was initially developed when a community organisation interested in issues regarding the environment was supporting a community group in Splott that was looking to find a new physical site to grow food after the community's local garden was closed down, and then together they discovered a large site which was previously a community playground but now was abandoned. Therefore, as an interviewee working in that community organisation explained, *'this sparked a conversation with the community about how that space could be utilised by the community, leading to this big multi-purposed space we have today providing a free space for the community to use together with a community café, a community garden and other events going on there'* (CSO17). The interviewee further highlighted how

this was *'a slow and often challenging project to get off the ground'* (CSO17) as it was being in planning since 2014. Consequently, it was essential for the community to work collaboratively with the community organisation in order to have the ongoing support of this organisation to make this plan a reality.

In a similar way, the Grange Pavilion was first developed as an idea by residents of Grangetown who came together to create a space in their area that could be used by the community. A manager working in Grange Pavilion emphasised how this was a long and complex process which involved *'the community coming together and formulating the idea, bringing that to the relative parties, seeing how financially feasible this idea was; then having the grants come through, making that an experience lasting around 8-10 years. So it took a dedicated team of people who were volunteers, just local residents to keep pushing that forward, to keep the momentum going'* (CSO16). Also, a vicar living in Grangetown referred to the Grange Pavilion as a good example of a community working collaboratively with other organisations to produce something of value to that community, as *'once the funding was sorted and through working with a number of key partners, the building formally opened about three weeks ago, and that is a great example of how a community has worked together with other partners'* (CSO6).

The key to success as demonstrated here was having a range of different partners involved, including residents, volunteers, local groups and other organisations as in this way the communities can access different resources which are necessary to achieve what they want. For instance, external partners such as the Cardiff University and the Vale College were valuable, since they gave the community access to grants and funds, such as the National Lottery Community Fund, which otherwise it would have been challenging to access. In particular, the Grange Pavilion was a community asset transfer, involving transferring the ownership from Cardiff Council to the community in association with Cardiff University, where as the manager working there explained, *'from 2023 that tie between the Cardiff University and the community will break, and it would be entirely owned by the community'* (CSO16). Together with gaining access to essential resources and expertise which enabled the community to put forward a successful application for funding the building. At the same time, the role of residents and volunteers was also significant in keeping this initiative going.

In Ely, a collaboration was formed between a community led organisation and Cardiff University, specifically the School of History, Archaeology and Religion, along with the community, to coproduce the redevelopment of a local heritage site that was undervalued and unappreciated until then. The co-director of that community organisation conveyed the importance of bringing partners together who possess different skills and strengths and are willing to collaborate, *'it is about knowing from the beginning that both sides have something to contribute to each other equally; as we have the networks and the relationship with a community that is deemed difficult to reach and work with so we can provide that access to the university and the university can bring other skills and expertise as well as funding that we do not have'* (CSO1). This effort also actively involved residents, local schools and other community groups. Consequently, *'it is only through working with a diverse group of people and partners that you are able to achieve more because we as a single group do not have all the skills and resources that are required to do this'* (CSO6). This again portrays the importance of having that commitment from both sides of working together to coproduce something valuable with the community and acquire resources such as funding and expertise which these communities do not have.

6.3.3 Establishing Positive Relationships with Local Councillors

Communities in the **activist** pathway recognise the importance of having positive relationships with their local councillors and that is why they seek to establish such relationships with them. One reason for doing this, is to have the ongoing support of a person in power that can help the community achieve what it wants and push to accomplish this. This is demonstrated by a leader of a local group in Grangetown who explained that as a community they have really good councillors *'who listen and are actively involved in the community, and in this way they make sure the community gets the support it needs on the political side as well'* (CSO9). This is also the case in Splott, where the community has good relationships with their local councillors and in this way, they are able to have the councillors' support with what they might need. This was expressed by the director of the Community Resilience Hub in Splott who said that *'we got lovely local councillors as they are accessible and easy to get a hold of them; they often come along to our community coffee mornings and supports us with what we are doing'* (CSO17). Likewise, a resident in Riverside participating in a community initiative relating to providing sustainable food,

emphasised how important it was *'to have the Cardiff Council's agreement to let us trade there, because we are in Council's land and if they said no, we could not do that. The local councillors were right behind us'* (R3). Therefore, communities seek to have relationships with their local councillors to have them on their side and receive their support in terms of resources.

The other reason communities in the **activist** pathway establish strong relationships with their local councillors is to gain the power needed from a political aspect to be able to influence local decisions which affects them. This was emphasised by a volunteer in Grangetown who explained that as part of a local voluntary litter picking group, they strive to have a relationship and a dialogue with their local councillors as much as they can in order to improve things in their community, *'I think involving the community in developing the strategies is a good idea, however I do not know how widely it happens'* (V4). Therefore, the goal of the group is to be involved in the development of strategies to be able to influence decisions that have an impact on them and their community and ultimately *'maybe see a change in the strategy or a change in the focus, on prevention rather than just picking up litter'* (V4). Another volunteer in a local litter picking group in Riverside agreed that it is important to get to know your local councillors well and establish a relationship with them as then you can have *'those links with political power and be involved in influencing and changing some decisions as well as being able to create some schemes like position new bins in the community'* (V3). In this case, their relationship with their local councillors granted them access to a new strategy group about waste, littering and recycling as they succeeded to be involved in that group, *'so us and a couple of other local community groups will be able to sit around the table with the decision makers of the Council which is what we really wanted'* (V3).

6.4 Discourses of Resilience

This section discusses how communities in the **activist** pathway think about resilience based on their practices and how they adopt and use certain resilience discourses when seeking to gain access to resources. It focuses on two dominant discourses of resilience identified, that of (a) participatory resilience and (b) transformational resilience.

6.4.1 Participatory Resilience

Participatory resilience refers to how communities in the **activist** pathway approach resilience and think about resilience. In particular, communities in the **activist** pathway follow an approach to resilience where the community takes an active role in its own development and resilience, thus it is centred around valuing and utilising local efforts and energy. This process of community development is identified in the literature as a way to build or improve a community's resilience by involving community members mobilising and acting collectively (Cavaye and Ross, 2019). Therefore, the method of community development assists in showing different ways to ensure community action and empowerment. In other words, community development can be considered as a process of engagement, empowerment, and action that fosters community resilience and builds specific aspects of resilience such as adaptive capacity, interactions within overall systems, and equity (Cavaye and Ross, 2019). It was evident from the interviews with the communities that they believe that this is the right approach towards resilience, and this is what they seek and want:

*'We want to be developing those [solutions] ourselves, **we want to be part of this process** and for us that is what community resilience is about, is those approaches that **harness local energy** and ethos and build relationships in ways that enable us to work with each other'* (CSO1).

*'And then people just feeling involved, not having services that are just in the community, but that **people can get really involved and shaped them**'* (CSO19).

*'I think making sure people are **contributing to make things happen** and feel empowered to do this'* (CSO9).

'And it needs to come from local people, local people genuinely do know what their challenges are and are able to specify what they need' (CSO17).

'So the real magic happens when people who have different resources and knowledge come together and say let us learn from each other and make this happen' (V1).

*'In fact **any meaningful change has to happen from inside**. Otherwise, it does not stay and stick and that is resilience, is growing the response from the inside and is how you build relationships as well' (CSO21).*

Therefore, how communities in the **activist** pathway consider and approach resilience is reflected in how these communities are accessing the resources they need (i.e., their practices). Building on from Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) main concept of social skill, which refers to the ability of social actors to secure the cooperation of others by framing their own interests in ways that resonate with others, in this case, communities in the **activist** pathway utilise discourses such as that of participatory resilience to engage in social action with others and mobilise resources. For instance, the fact that communities are organising themselves, shows that they approach resilience as an opportunity to take an active role towards the development of their communities to address issues in their communities. The participatory discourse of resilience is shared among the residents of these communities, allowing them to work together in organising themselves. Consequently, when communities are organising themselves to pull together their resources, whether it is about the creation of a local youth action group in Ely or the formation of a food cooperative in Splott, they are engaging in collective action with each other by collectively adopting this frame of participatory resilience.

Similarly, when communities are collaborating with external partners in different community initiatives to access resources such as funding and expertise, the communities are still actively involved in these initiatives while they are seeking to convince those external partners that it is in their favour as well to adopt the frame of participatory resilience. In this sense, external partners have something to gain too from working together with the community as equal partners. For instance, in one of the projects that was coproduced between the Ely community and Cardiff University, skilled actors from the community organisation involved in that project were able to convince the university to work together as equal partners because in doing so both sides would have something to gain. On one hand, the community organisation has the connections and an established relationship with Ely community that is deemed difficult to reach and work with, that the university can gain access to, and in turn, the university has resources like expertise and funding which are valuable to the community. This access to the university is important as the university is interested in

embracing community engagement as part of its civic mission, committing to improve the health, wealth and wellbeing of local communities in a number of ways. Thus, the university is looking for opportunities to work together with communities and especially deprived communities in different community projects.²⁰ Consequently, through the project of redeveloping a local heritage site in Ely, the university has the opportunity to work together with the Ely community and, at the same time, gain access to that community to be able to establish relationships and connections with them for future partnerships.

Furthermore, it was evident that communities were able to establish positive relationships with their local councillors to gain support in terms of resources and political influence because they were collectively adopting the same frame of participatory resilience, allowing them to engage in social action together. In this way, both local councillors and communities were adopting the same approach towards resilience which is based on valuing and supporting communities' efforts. This means that local councillors were engaging with and supporting the communities in a real collaborative sense, allowing them to work together which was crucial in creating those relationships. Likewise, the two local litter picking groups in Grangetown and Riverside through discussions with their local councillors sought to be involved in local strategy groups, by attempting to convince local councillors that such action would benefit everyone including Cardiff Council. A volunteer from the local group in Riverside emphasised how they were trying through discussions and dialogue to make local councillors, and the Council understand *'the benefit of working with us in a different way as I think this would benefit everyone in the long run, but it is challenging to do this'* (V3).

Apart from that, another volunteer from the local group in Grangetown emphasised how involving them in developing strategies would be beneficial for the local councillors and Cardiff Council as well because *'groups like us we are on the ground, we are residents, we are recipient of services, and we can see where things do not work as well. The Council perspective is that they are delivering a service in this way and that is how it should work whereas on the other side of it this is what it actually happens on the ground and sometimes there are gaps or there are ways to be done*

²⁰ For more information on Cardiff University's involvement in different community projects please see the following <https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/community/our-local-community-projects>.

differently or better' (V4). In this sense the community group's involvement would be valuable to the Council as it can help improve how the Council is working or delivering a service. Additionally, if the Council is supporting local groups like them, that is again mutually beneficial, as it can take away some of the things the local authority has to do themselves as *'although what we do in terms of litter picking is a fraction of what the Council does because they have a full-time team of doing it; it gets the public on the side, it raises awareness about not littering, it gets people thinking about their behaviour and that is good for the Council itself'* (V4). Therefore, building from the SAFs theory, this leads to skilled actors from the community engaging others in collective action by understanding their perspectives and persuading them that it is in their interest to cooperate by adopting common frames of resilience (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

However, it is not always possible for skilled actors in the **activist** pathway to be able to convince other actors to engage in social action and cooperation by adopting a common frame, leading to tension and conflict between these actors. This tension was identified between communities in the **activist** pathway and their local councillors as community leaders from these communities realise that having a positive relationship with their local councillors is not always easy to achieve. It depends on the community and who those councillors are in that community. This is effectively portrayed by the director of the Community Resilience Hub in Splott who admits that *'we are quite lucky in our area as I know in other areas, they do not really see their councillors'* (CSO17). This tension was further explored by a community leader involved in a community organisation in Ely who stressed that *'while we have two councillors in the area who are really supportive of our organisation and Ely in general, other councillors are not interested in this way of working and have this traditional, centralised, top-down view of the role of the Council and themselves and we are not really considered, or we are seen as a threat to that way'* (CSO1).

Thus, even within the same community there may be local councillors who support local efforts and other councillors who may view what communities are doing and want as a threat to their job and prefer to solve community problems themselves rather than engaging with the community in a supportive and participatory way. This supports the local government literature which highlights that how local councillors react to citizen engagement and whether they create such opportunities for

engagement will depend on how they approach their role as representatives and consequently how councillors engage with the communities (Copus, 2003; 2010). Indeed, Cotterill and Richardson (2011) found that there are strong and positive relationships between communities and local councillors when there is a shared understanding between them of the role that the councillors have in relation to supporting and engaging the communities. Thus, when opposite frames of resilience (e.g. top-down vs collaborative) are adopted by local councillors and communities respectively, there is tension arising, preventing cooperation between them.

Additionally, further tension is identified between communities in the **activist** pathway and Cardiff Council because of their different approaches towards resilience. Specifically, communities recognise that the local authority does not have the same approach of participatory resilience which is centred around valuing the community and engaging with the community as partners due to their past relationships with the Council. Although the communities have acknowledged that at some point in the past they had a good working relationship with Cardiff Council, over the years this has changed, as it became clear to these communities that the local authority was no longer willing to work together as equal partners in a way that could be supporting and empowering towards the communities. In particular, communities felt that in the past the local authority have imposed themselves in ways that were unhelpful to the communities and thus, stigmatising the communities as have nothing to offer.

This is highlighted by a community leader in Ely who explains that the Communities First Programme which was targeting the most deprived communities in Wales was essentially about *'throwing money at the communities and bringing professionals in whereas we believe our communities are stronger and can harness a lot of energy and potential to build themselves and that there are things that other communities can learn from us as well'* (CSO1). Likewise, another interviewee working at a community centre in Riverside emphasised the destructive impact that the abrupt end of the Communities First Programme had on the centre itself when *'you spend 11 years building this up and they tell you to get rid of it in 9 months. And all we did in 9 months were making people redundant. It was terribly handled, and it had a big impact as then the money stopped. By this point we had no support from the local authority, they would not even bring their youth service in, so we run our own youth program, but it got to the point where we were just collapsing under our own weight.'*

It shows the damage that governmental action can have on community organisations even though they talk a lot of valuing the third sector, you know they would not invest in it' (CSO21).

Consequently, communities in the **activist** pathway based on their past experiences believe that Cardiff Council does not operate in a way that really values community engagement and voices at the heart of everything it does, *'even though this is what the Council says they do, this is not reflected on the decisions the Council makes. This just shows how bureaucratic they operate. They do not really understand the flexibility they need to have in engaging really well with communities. For example, there is a local park that does not have football goals as it broke, and it has been three months since they said it would be delivered. Things like that they take forever to sort out'* (CSO9). Thus, *'the general feeling in our community is that the Council does not listen to the residents, that things get taken away from residents, as we lost a lot in our area and facilities, and nothing gets given in return and residents are dismissed and seen as inconvenience'* (CSO17). Also, communities feel that *'there had been many consultations, on things that we know the Council has already decided before the consultation'* (R3). This is supported by another community actor in Ely who emphasised how the Ely community found out that although the local authority is proposing a new youth centre in their community, they have not spoken to any local people about it, demonstrating that *'there is very little engagement of what happens within our community, that is led by the community itself'* (CSO1).

That is why, communities in the **activist** pathway do not want to involve the local authority in what they are doing anymore in relation to their community's development and are instead choosing to do things themselves, specialising in organising themselves. That was the case with the food cooperative in Splott which as a member explained they feel that *'the local authority has failed to do its job of providing access to affordable food to everyone, and that is why we have stepped in'* (V1). Hence, many community members have completely lost their faith and trust in the local authority and that is why they are coming together themselves to do this and as a result believe that *'there is really no role for the local authority here'* (V1). This is further highlighted by a leader of a local group in Grangetown who emphasised how their community solves issues themselves *'through local organising and coming up*

with local solutions for local problems as the local authority is terrible at solving such issues, so we just take it up upon ourselves' (CSO9).

Apart from this, communities in the **activist** pathway believe now that the local authority has less resources available, the government is even less willing to work with the communities as equal partners:

*'We often feel that their **agenda is led by their own financial limitations** and concerns, and they are less able now to have a sort of excitement in view of how they may work with communities as partners. A lot of the discussion is about we have **less money** that we had we cannot provide the services that we used to 20 years ago and **communities needs to step up and do that'** (CSO1).*

*'I think their **money is so stretched** already that all that they are doing is just trying to maintain their standard as opposed to excelling in engaging with the community' (CSO16).*

*'I think there probably does **need to be more engagement with the community**, but I think that resources are an issue for the Council. So there needs to be more of a dialogue and education to improve the situation and that sort of direct engagement with the community and it needs to be more of a physical presence of councillor officers like knocking on doors or seen in parks but that takes a resource, money so that is a **big barrier of why the Council cannot do that is because of money'** (V4).*

Therefore, communities in the **activist** pathway believe that the government's agenda is led by its own financial limitations and concerns, and that is why the government is pushing more responsibility towards the communities to do things themselves in order to become more resilient. This is similar to the critical arguments that exist in the literature which highlight that governments increasingly use the idea of community resilience in policy to reinforce a neoliberal perspective of responsibility towards communities, where communities are responsible for their own wellbeing and do not expect the state to help them (Reid, 2012; Bulley, 2013; White and O'Hare, 2014). Whereas communities in the **activist** pathway have a different narrative and motivation for resilience; that of resilience being something positive and

participatory which in turn empowers people within communities and enable them to find their confidence and skills to do things themselves. Thus, the aim is to strengthen their communities and change that negative perception of communities as having nothing to offer. Consequently, communities in the **activist** pathway are aware that they have different motivations and narratives of resilience from the local authority, leading to them not wanting to involve the local authority anymore.

That is why, communities in the **activist** pathway do not want to be dependent and rely on the local authority for support and resources, and instead specialise in organising themselves and engage in other practices of coproducing with external partners and establishing positive relationships with local councillors to access the resources they need. Even if there were instances where the communities needed to access a particular resource owned by the local authority such as a facility or land which otherwise they could not access, they would try to access it indirectly through collaboration with external partners or through their local councillors. This was emphasised with the case of the Grange Pavilion which was a community asset transfer from Cardiff Council to the Grangetown community, as it was done in association with Cardiff University.

6.4.2 Transformational Resilience

Apart from participatory resilience, another discourse of resilience identified is that of transformational resilience. This concerns the type of resilience that communities in the **activist** pathway are referring to and this is significant as the type of resilience adopted is influenced by how communities think about approaching resilience.

Transformational resilience is described in the literature as a 'bouncing forward' type of resilience from external shocks, offering opportunities for local innovation and creativity (Shaw, 2012; Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). Therefore, this type of resilience focuses more on the community's long-term ability to respond to different challenges, aiming at strengthening the community and in turn, having the potential of transforming the community to a better and a more desirable state. This discourse of resilience is reflected through the communities' activities and their aims. This was evident from interviews with different actors within these communities who talked about what they are doing with the aim of strengthening their communities:

*'It is understanding where communities are now and what is stopping them from **thriving further** and when I say thriving, I mean in all sorts of different areas. Communities thrive when things around them are being made easier for them and have real connections'* (CSO9).

*'It is about having a group of people are able to gather to overcome obstacles and become stronger and as a result of their solidarity and strength are able to **creative positive environments where people are able to flourish and grow**'* (CSO6).

'I think it is about the ability of a place or a group of people to thrive, to live well and to be able to handle things that happen to them' (V3).

*'For us that is where **resilience is based, around local people efforts themselves and resilience requires hope**. So how people maintain that sort of hope that things can change, and they can be involved in that change and do not feel powerlessness. So we try to create scenarios that people can act, even if it is a small part and **this leads to people acting together and to a bigger community transformation approach**'* (CSO1).

'Being able to stand up to challenges, be self-reliant and be able to help each other no matter what happens and provide for each other. Tackling something that seems bigger than ourselves and helping each other in the process' (V1).

For communities in **activist** pathway, transformational resilience is reflected in their practices and approach to resilience, valuing activities which aim to strengthen the community's sustainability and self-reliance, local infrastructure as well as social relationships. This is because they believe that all these are important elements to have and are needed to transform their communities into something better and more resilient. Thus, when organising themselves, communities in the **activist** pathway are trying to make their communities more sustainable and self-reliant. One example is the creation of local litter picking groups in Grangetown and Riverside, where community actors are coming together to address local problems such as reducing waste and improving green spaces within their communities and consequently, making their communities more sustainable. This is also the case when communities, such as Splott, are setting up a food cooperative to try to deal with poverty and its

effects in the long run. Thus, it is about creating a sustainable way to access affordable food with an approach that is self-reliant, as the recipients of that help are being involved in this process and contributing as well. Additionally, activities such as redeveloping a local heritage site in Ely, developing Grange Pavilion in Grangetown or the Community Resilience Hub in Splott, have the aim of strengthening the local infrastructure of those communities. This is because having local assets in the community that are used and owned by the community, can make that community strong and self-reliant in the long run. This is in line with how communities in the **activist** pathway are thinking about resilience, as a process in which communities are empowered to create a more positive environment for them to flourish and thrive. This is because empowered communities are more likely to possess the ability to anticipate and adapt to changes, as well as to transform into more desirable states (Skerratt and Steiner, 2013).

Moreover, another part of this transformational resilience is about having and sustaining those strong relationships and connections these communities in the **activist** pathway already have and value. The importance of this is demonstrated by a leader of a local group in Grangetown who highlighted that, *'a success for me if I still live in Grangetown in 15 years is to still get that feeling of being proud to live here and a sense of belonging, even if everything around me change, that I still know people and for me that is resilience'* (CSO9). This is also illustrated by the activities of these communities. For example, having and being involved in strong groups such as the litter groups in Grangetown and Riverside is essential for building a network of support through gaining access to a group of people and different social events. Likewise, by developing their local infrastructure, communities create spaces owned by them which can be used as a meeting space and as a result this further helps sustain those relationships and connections.

In this sense, skilled actors from these local groups and organisations can encourage community activities and events to further build those community relationships (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). This is illustrated by a manager working at the Grange Pavilion who explained how the building is used by the community in a way that is empowering, *'So there was a gentleman who I met last week who wants to start a group here, and he has a background in social projects and social engagement, so he understands what we are doing here but what he is doing is*

using one of our rooms as a space where people can idealise their own projects and he will help everyone go through things like getting grants or getting projects off the ground. So he is using a community building to help the local community do their own community projects which very much encapsulates community because he is using our space just to help people do their own versions of this which I think is fantastic' (CSO16). In a similar way, an interviewee emphasised how the Community Resilience Hub in Splott is about creating a space used by the community where *'people can just literally wander in and know that everybody is welcomed, and you do not need a reason to go there and spend money, you just go there and meet people. That seems to be a barrier if you do not fit into a particular group then you got nowhere to go'* (CSO17).

Consequently, it is significant for communities in the **activist** pathway to have those spaces where relationships and connections can be further developed. This is illustrated by a manager working at the Grange Pavilion in Grangetown who emphasised how important it is for local residents to have such a space within the community centre to use in any way that they like which is free. As *'if the Pavilion decided to invest all its money to private business and it was no longer a charitable affair and was just for profit, I think that would help contribute to gentrification because you will be providing more space to affluent people while denying the less well-off residents and notions like that help to drive gentrification because that would increase the house prices of Grange Gardens which will in turn gentrify corporation road, you would not see things like corner shops. And that is why it is important for a space like this to have that provision for a wide breadth of people to use the space no matter their pricing is'* (CSO16).

However, this view of resilience as transformational seems to be in conflict with the local authority's view of resilience, leading to further tension in their relationship with the communities in the **activist** pathway. This is demonstrated by a community leader in Ely who stressed that the local authority does not view relationships and connections as important to have for community resilience and this is reflected in their funding decisions as *'they might talk community resilience is a good thing, but if is about those networks and relationships and some softer stuff I talked about, you have got a problem as any funding and support you are providing is guided by old fashion traditional targets, as everything is set up for a more traditional top-down*

service delivery model so if you are providing funding as a local authority, you are probably still asking how many people are helped with this issue not how many new relationships are build up or how many people are better able to take control of things because this is risky as how do you measure that?’ (CSO1). Therefore, if a community does not have the features that the local authority believes are needed to be resilient, then resilience can be used in a negative way to criticise a community for not being resilient enough.

Similarly, a volunteer involved in the food cooperative in Splott talked about how initially they received help from the local authority in the form of a grant but *‘felt there were too many restrictions attached to it’* (V1) and that is why they did not apply for a grant again. Thus, again they felt it was too restrictive as they were not letting them do what they like. Consequently, on the one hand, the local authority seems to be giving the responsibility to the communities and communities in the **activist** pathway want to be responsible for their own development and resilience. But, in order to do this, both the local authority and communities in the **activist** pathway need to understand resilience in the same way so that in turn they could be supported (e.g., in terms of funding) and empowered by the local authority to achieve resilience. However, at the moment this is not the case, as the local authority does not give to the communities any support in terms of funding, especially without any restrictions to be able to do what they think is best for the development and the resilience of their communities. This is because for the local authority it is all about maintaining the control of resources and deciding how much money to spend and on what, as giving that away would mean giving up some of its power. That is why communities in the **activist** pathway prefer to organise themselves and not rely on the local authority directly for support and resources.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter focuses on the communities of Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott and explores the ways in which these communities in the **activist** pathway are accessing the resources they need by employing practices such as organising themselves, coproducing with external partners and establishing positive relationships with local councillors. Also, it is shown how communities in the **activist** pathway adopt and utilise two dominant discourses of resilience, that of participatory resilience and transformational resilience, when accessing those resources. In

addition, the chapter discusses certain characteristics communities in the **activist** pathway share such as a high level of community engagement and a similar level of economic development which further influence those communities' practices and discourses of resilience. Consequently, Table 9 and Figure 9 below summarise the different activities of communities in the **activist** pathway which are grouped together as practices, illustrating how particular discourses of resilience are attached to those activities and practices.

The communities of Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott are grouped together in the **activist** pathway because they share certain common practices and discourses of resilience which they utilise in a similar way to achieve what they want, which is to retain their autonomy and independence from the local authority. This is because, as evidenced throughout this chapter, communities in the **activist** pathway approach and understand resilience differently from the local authority resulting in tensions and conflict between them. In this sense, these communities view the local authority as a threat to their local system they have set up in their communities and do not want to put it at risk by being dependent on the local authority for resources and support. Therefore, communities in the **activist** pathway seek to mobilise the resources they need to gain power by specialising in organising themselves as well as coproducing with external partners and establishing positive relationships with local councillors. In doing this, they take an active role in shaping and developing their communities through these practices.

Given the fact that communities in the **activist** pathway are economically deprived areas, it is surprising that the aim of these communities is to retain their autonomy and independence from the local authority. This is because, one would expect that deprived communities would seek to obtain resources that do not possess, especially financial resources from other more powerful actors such as Cardiff Council, which is identified as an incumbent actor (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). However, while communities in the **activist** pathway acknowledge the challenges they face as low-income communities and the fact that the resources they have are scarce, they believe that working with the local authority would mean being restricted and dependent on the local authority for resources as was the case in the past. This in turn, would not allow them to have the autonomy of doing the things they want and believe is best for the development and the resilience of their communities. That is

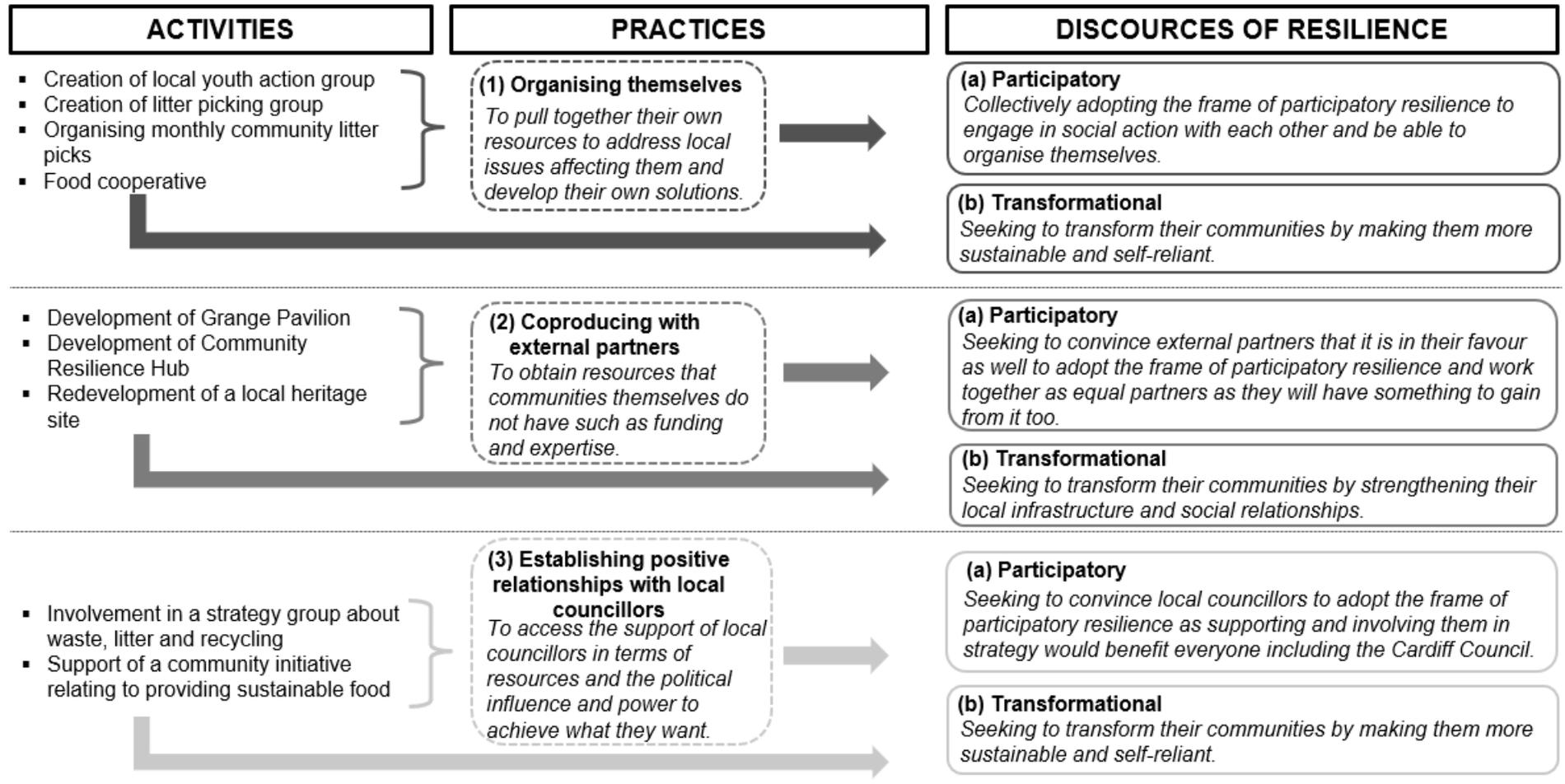
why, they prefer to do things on their own and focus on organising themselves to be able to influence and shape the development of their communities as they like.

They are able to do this successfully due to the history of community engagement that exist in these communities as communities in the **activist** pathway are using their place-based identity and social capital as a resource to come together and do things on their own with the aim of improving and strengthening their communities. In this case, it is not about shifting responsibility towards the communities as the critical literature around community resilience (Reid, 2012; Bulley, 2013; White and O'Hare, 2014) argues, rather it is about communities in the **activist** pathway choosing to have an active role in the development of their communities, to be able to shape them according to how they approach and understand resilience. This demonstrates the agency of these communities as they are deliberately choosing to engage in practices with the aim of retaining their autonomy and independence from the local authority. Consequently, they retain their autonomy to influence the CRSAF by engaging in their own practices according to how they approach (participatory) and understand resilience (transformational). In doing so, they push their own discourses of resilience which challenge other dominant neoliberal resilience discourses.

Table 9: Activist Pathway: Activities, Practices, and Discourses of Resilience

Practices		Description	Activities	Discourses of Resilience	Explanation
1	Organising themselves	<i>To pull together their own resources to address local issues affecting them and develop their own solutions.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of local youth action group • Creation of litter picking group • Organising monthly community litter picks • Food cooperative 	(a) Participatory Resilience	<i>Collectively adopting the frame of participatory resilience to engage in social action with each other and be able to organise themselves.</i>
				(b) Transformational Resilience	<i>Seeking to transform their communities by making them more sustainable and self-reliant.</i>
2	Coproducting with external partners	<i>To obtain resources that communities themselves do not have such as funding and expertise.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of Grange Pavilion • Development of Community Resilience Hub • Redevelopment of a local heritage site 	(a) Participatory Resilience	<i>Seeking to convince external partners that it is in their favour as well to adopt the frame of participatory resilience and work together as equal partners as they will have something to gain from it too.</i>
				(b) Transformational Resilience	<i>Seeking to transform their communities by strengthening their local infrastructure and social relationships.</i>
3	Establishing positive relationships with local councillors	<i>To access the support of local councillors in terms of resources and the political influence and power to achieve what they want.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involvement in a strategy group about waste, litter and recycling • Support of a community initiative relating to providing sustainable food 	(a) Participatory Resilience	<i>Seeking to convince local councillors to adopt the frame of participatory resilience as supporting and involving them in strategy would benefit everyone including the Cardiff Council.</i>
				(b) Transformational Resilience	<i>Seeking to transform their communities by making them more sustainable and self-reliant.</i>

Figure 9: Activist Pathway: Activities, Practices, and Discourses of Resilience



7. Survivor Pathway

*'It is absolutely **resilient here**. I do not think there is anything that will knock out the motivation of the people here, they have been through enough already and the general attitude is **they can deal with what is thrown at them and survive**'*
(CSO20).

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has focused on the **activist** pathway, which includes the communities of Ely, Grangetown, Riverside and Splott. The chapter demonstrated that although communities in the **activist** pathway are economically deprived areas, surprisingly the aim of these communities is to retain their autonomy and independence from the local authority. That is why, communities in the **activist** pathway prefer not to involve the local authority in their activities and specialise in organising themselves to be able to influence and shape the development of their communities as they like. To successfully do this, they use their place-based identity and social capital as a resource. Also, communities in the **activist** pathway are coproducing with external partners and establishing positive relationships with local councillors to access the resources they need to gain power. At the same time, the chapter portrayed how communities in the **activist** pathway utilise two discourses of resilience, that of participatory resilience and transformational resilience, in accessing those resources.

This chapter concentrates on the second community pathway (**survivor**) and investigates the ways communities in the **survivor** pathway are accessing the resources they need, while exploring how they are utilising certain discourses of resilience in mobilising those resources, and what impact this has. Communities in the **survivor** pathway are resource dependent because they have limited resources of their own due to the isolation they face and the high level of deprivation that exist in these communities. As a result of this, they need to engage in multi-sector partnerships in order to access resources and survive. This pathway includes the communities of Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney and Trowbridge which are grouped together because they share certain practices, discourses of resilience and objectives of what they aim to accomplish. As well as certain place-based

characteristics which influence and shape those communities' practices, discourses and ultimately overall this **survivor** pathway.

7.2 Communities of Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney and Trowbridge

Figure 10 below shows the map of Cardiff, highlighting the communities which are grouped together in the **survivor** pathway.

Figure 10: Map of Cardiff Communities in the Survivor Pathway



Like communities in the **activist** pathway, communities in the **survivor** pathway (Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney and Trowbridge) possess their own common characteristics which are tied to their place. This section explores these place-based characteristics which in turn, influence and shape these communities' practices and discourses of resilience.

The first characteristic refers to the geographical location of these communities which as the map above shows, they are located in the East part of Cardiff, right on the edge of the city. As emphasised by different interviewees, there is a lack of investment happening over the years in East Cardiff and this in turn, has an impact on these communities' engagement. For instance, this was highlighted by an interviewee working in the Llanrumney Hall who conveyed how this lack of investment was due to Cardiff East and specifically Llanrumney's location, being right

on the edge of the city, *'I think Cardiff East has notoriously seen a lack of investment in the last 20 years so that is a big issue. I get it, they try to invest their money and work outwards, so they start from the city centre and then Cardiff Bay and so on. And unfortunately, Llanrumney is at the very edge of the city so there is not really much we can do about that. But this lack of investment has a domino effect on everything'* (CSO20). Similarly, a member of a local group in Old St Mellons explained how the constant lack of investment over the years affected their community as *'Old St Mellons is not the only place that that has happened, but we have lost different community buildings over the years. The spaces are not there, there is not the same ownership of those spaces, particularly for local young people they have lost their youth club and even though there is a youth provision happening in the hub, they do not feel it is their building. The impact of that is that a lot of people in Old St Mellons are feeling isolated because there are not a lot of spaces that people can connect'* (CSO12). This demonstrates how the lack of investment translates to a loss in community buildings and spaces for people to meet as well as a loss of support in terms of local groups and projects that exist in the area. This shows the important interplay between different types of capitals, as in this case, the loss of economic capital has an effect on the social capital of these communities in terms of their engagement with their communities.

This was also expressed by other community actors who work and live in these communities who emphasised that on one hand, the result of this loss of economic and social capital is the isolation these communities feel as there is not much support in terms of local groups and facilities. On the other hand, because this situation has existed for a long time, attempts to start something new in the community take time to convince people that it will benefit them:

*'Many people do not drive, they do not want to go into town, and they do not want to get two buses to go somewhere. They want to walk to the end of their road; **they want to go around their corner and see people they know from the schools or shops and have local organisations and groups to support them** as this is important as it breaks down the barriers'* (CSO10).

*'Only because of the **lack of facilities in the area**, so at the moment if something starts up, I do not think people will want to immediately engage with it because they*

are not used to things happening. **So it is going to take a bit of convincing people that there are a lot of good things happening.** For example, there is going to be a new organisation in the area, with more activities available to people and there is someone who is really keen to start up a boxing club and I think that will engage young people and I think if we can start to do that, it will really convince people that we do mean business' (R5).

This was further confirmed by a volunteer living in Trowbridge who emphasised that, **'there is not much going on in Trowbridge in terms of support, it is quite difficult to pinpoint active projects that are going on in Trowbridge as it is being one of those forgotten parts of Wales for quite a while'** (V5). This message was also relayed by a local councillor in Trowbridge who conveyed that **'the other thing is we do not have enough meeting spaces, that is a serious issue in my community. Unless you go to the Beacon Centre there is nowhere to meet in the evenings and that is why we want to build a community hall'** (LC9).

Moreover, another common characteristic of these communities is their low level of economic development, as these communities are considered to be economically deprived areas. Similarly to the deprived communities in the **activist** pathway which were discussed in detail in the previous chapter, the deprivation of communities in the **survivor** pathway can enhance the communities' motivation to come together, overcome challenges and thus, be resilient. However, in this case, such a high level of deprivation also seems to be a barrier to communities in the **survivor** pathway being active and taking action as explained by actors from community organisations:

'Because a lot of people experienced isolation here often because of poverty, people are keenly aware of the importance of those relationships and the value of community and the value of knowing your neighbours and being able to rely on them. So I think there is a real desire from people, but I think there are certain challenges in Old St Mellons that we are sort of overcoming to build community, one of these things is poverty' (CSO12).

'I have heard people say things like there is no point, is only going to fail, or we get forgotten on the East side of Cardiff. It is definitely something that gets said but again for every person saying that who have another person who throws themselves into it

*and give up their time to volunteer and try to connect us with somebody. So there are barriers, and it does deflate peoples' attitudes sometimes, but I think **whenever you find economic hardship in a community you also find motivation and more than anything else, find resilience**' (CSO20).*

This was also highlighted by a volunteer in Trowbridge and a resident living in Old St Mellons:

*'One is **because of poverty and deprivation people do tend to stay in their own neighbourhood or home**, they either cannot or do not feel strong enough to travel that much and the pandemic made that much worse in terms of social exclusion. However, **on the other side there are strong examples of evidence that people look after each other** and enjoy actually activities. So you can see that **there is a vibrant community, but it needs a lot of support**, it is not one of these communities that is just active and evident by itself, it tends to take either a crisis to bring out people to help each other or need to have events for people' (V5).*

*'**Old St Mellons is identified as being one of the most deprived areas in Wales** and that has been the case for a long time. So we realised there was a need [with the pantry] and this would be a good thing to do. Looking at the litter picking group as another example, when we do our picks, it is usually 16 people coming on average and you get lots of people responding to Facebook saying its great or thank you. But they do not necessarily go the extra step to join us. So I think **it is an area which needs a little more waking up in terms of more people being active**, but we are getting there slowly' (R5).*

7.3 Practices

This section discusses the practices of communities in the **survivor** pathway (Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney and Trowbridge), effectively analysing what they are doing in order to gain access to certain resources they need from other actors. Other actors include volunteers, community and voluntary organisations, private businesses as well as the local authority. The relevant practices described below are identified as (1) developing multi-sector partnerships, (2) organising themselves, and (3) establishing positive relationships with local councillors.

7.3.1 Developing Multi-Sector Partnerships

Communities in the **survivor** pathway specialise in developing multi-sector partnerships in order to access resources that they themselves do not possess, especially the resources, such as funding, skills and expertise, needed to be able to support their communities and address some of the communities' local issues. This is particularly important for these communities because they possess fewer resources and less power to influence the CRSAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Indeed, different actors from these communities emphasised the importance of collaborating with multiple organisations and actors from different sectors to successfully access the resources they need and consequently create different community initiatives. One such example was the creation of a food pantry in Trowbridge which is part of the "Your Local Pantry" national network, aiming to provide accessible and affordable food to the community to help mitigate poverty, in addition to offering different activities and advice to support the well-being and welfare of local residents. In order to achieve this, collaboration was necessary with multiple actors and organisations from different sectors. This was illustrated by a volunteer involved in this community initiative who stressed that, *'because of the scale of need and hard work involved in trying to counter what is the problem of poverty and social exclusion at the heart which was exacerbated by the pandemic and the cost-of-living crisis and so on, it means you cannot do this on your own; you have to work with other organisations and partners'* (V5).

Indeed, local partners, such as the Eastern High School and the Trowbridge Community Centre, together with volunteers from the community, help in supporting and managing the pantry. Specifically, the Trowbridge Community Centre offers the space for the pantry to be held, thus it provides a physical resource that is essential for the operation of the pantry. Therefore, the actors involved in this initiative are collaborating and utilising the connections and relationships that exist within Trowbridge to access the support they need. This supports the literature which highlights the important role of social capital in terms of community engagement as community members are willing to participate in actions and activities that advance the community's goals (Williams, 2004; Magis, 2010; Markantoni et al., 2019). Apart from the voluntary sector, collaboration exists between the pantry and supermarkets, such as Sainsbury, Morrisons, and other local businesses that is significant in accessing support and resources in the form of fundraising as well as donations of

food, drinks and other household essentials. Besides this, working and having a strong partnership with Cardiff Council is also necessary and beneficial. In this case, such partnership provides access to resources like expertise in providing professional support and advice in specialised areas that the community itself does not have but requires, in order to be able to support people who are in need of such expertise. For example, the partnership with Cardiff Council enables community members involved in the pantry to refer people to various agencies within the Council, if they need further information or professional support in specialised areas (e.g., domestic abuse or safeguarding). Indeed, a volunteer in Trowbridge further explained how the Council supports them by offering its expertise, with the advice and support they give people suffering fuel poverty at the moment as *'Cardiff Council is in charge of the Welsh Government Fuel Support Scheme, so we work with the Council to inform us and keep us updated regarding when that support is available, when it is going to stop and any problems with that so we make sure that local residents are aware of that information and have access to that particular piece of help'* (V5). Therefore, they work closely with the Cardiff Council as *'we like to keep an eye on how the government can support us and what can do for us'* (V5).

In a similar way, the pantry garden project in Old St Mellons, which is part of the food pantry in Old St Mellons, is another example of a multi-sector partnership which offers an opportunity to its residents to learn about growing food locally. A coordinator from a local organisation in Old St Mellons which is responsible for managing the food pantry explained how this idea of the pantry garden was first formulated, emphasising the initial support they received in terms of funding, *'the pantry garden is a Keep Wales Tidy Scheme which is supported by the Welsh government; thus together with the Cardiff Council they supported us to start the garden, and we developed it from there'* (CSO12). Therefore, the initial support of the government was crucial in making this project happen. Additionally, through a partnership agreement with the community centre in Old St Mellons, people involved in the pantry garden project have access to develop the centre's garden space. In terms of the food pantry, a resident involved in the food pantry highlighted how the pantry relies on the support of volunteers in managing the pantry and on supermarkets and businesses for food donations, *'we actually hold the pantry in a community building called the Beacon Centre and what happens is that we receive deliveries of food which comes from our supply partner organisation called*

FareShare and local supermarkets. And they deliver to us on a Monday so myself and my fellow volunteers we go to the Beacon Centre, and we basically take the delivery once it arrives and sort it all out and put it in the shelves' (R5). Consequently, it is essential for the community to work collaboratively with actors from different sectors to access various resources in order to keep the pantry going.

Another example of a multi-sector partnership is the successful restoration of the Llanrumney Hall building. This initiative was initially driven by the local community, and in particular, the local rugby club together with a local businessman, born in Llanrumney who were interested in restoring the building which was until then in poor condition due to a lack of investment. Following that, a manager now working in the Llanrumney Hall described how *'the businessman approached Cardiff Council back in 2015 about getting their support in trying to renovate it and it took them a few years to get it done, but we finally reopened in August 2019. So he and the engineering company he owned were quite instrumental in putting a bit of money into it and using their resources and staff to get it reopened'* (CSO20). Therefore, the support and funding from the Council were essential in starting the renovation process, as well as the expertise and skills of the engineering business involved.

Together with the support of community and other non-profit organisations which were involved in this process such as a non-profit organisation called the Development Trust Association Wales which provided support to the community during the renovation process, signposting them to other charities undertaking a similar task for guidance. Consequently, in 2016, Llanrumney Hall Community Trust was registered as a new charity, managed by a board of trustees. As a community trust, its focus is on providing services or support to address the needs of the community, operating for the public benefit. Thus, the restoration of Llanrumney Hall building aimed at creating a space to connect people within the community by offering activities and facilities needed in the area such as a community hall and rooms, an arts and crafts facility, a pantry, a community cafe as well as different volunteer programs and local workshops. Therefore, through this example, it is illustrated once again how significant it is for communities in the **survivor** pathway to develop partnerships with different actors and organisations as they depend on them for resources and support.

Moreover, a local group focusing on generating educational opportunities for children and young people in Old St Mellons engages in a multi-sector partnership to gain access to funding, expertise and skills. A coordinator from that group explained that they started as a local community group *'but because we wanted to develop further and the work we were doing needed more support and governance; we needed to find a sort of organisational home for it really. That is why we joined another charity nearly four years ago'* (CSO12). Thus, this collaboration was a necessary step for the group to grow and build their organisational capacity and this in turn, has resulted in increasing their volunteers and enabling them to do more work to support the community as *'we have gone from being a small group of volunteers (eight or nine of us) now with three or four part-time staff or local people and we got about 35 volunteers, and it is really a platform for community action and development'* (CSO12). Apart from this, the group is working together with other local charity groups and organisations, such as the Beacon Centre and the local primary school in Old St Mellons.

In terms of funding, the support from the Cardiff Council and other organisations is necessary for the survival and the growth of the group. For example, in 2020 the group had received funding from the Community Foundation Wales and the Wales Respond and Recover Fund, allowing them to employ a coordinator to overview and support some of their volunteer-led programmes and activities, as well as launch a new initiative to support the community. In particular, *'with the Step Out Scholarship Programme we are able to support five local young people a year into any kind of education or training they want, and it is really aimed at young people where living costs would be a barrier to studying. Along the financial support of the scholarship, we are trying to use the connections in the community to help the scholarship students get them access to work experience or other skills'* (CSO12). This demonstrates that a partnership between multiple actors and organisations is required for communities in the **survivor** pathway to be able to access different resources including social connections, financial resources and expertise.

7.3.2 Organising Themselves

Another way for communities in the **survivor** pathway to access the resources they need for the development of their communities is by organising themselves in order to pull together their own resources. They organise themselves to help and offer

support to people in need to address challenges related to poverty as evidenced by their activities. This differs from communities in the **activist** pathway who specialise in organising themselves by pulling together their own resources to address local issues affecting them and develop their own solutions, with the aim of retaining their autonomy. One example of communities in the **survivor** pathway organising themselves was the development of the St Mellons Mutual Aid Fund, a community-based initiative that provides small grants to local residents that are struggling to meet basic needs such as food, gas, and electricity. As an interviewee of a local group in Old St Mellons explained *'the community started a mutual aid fund during Covid-19 because of its financial impact particularly on low-income households; but given that we are a low-income community there was an underlying need anyway and that is why it would probably continue for the future'* (CSO12). Specifically, the fund is money raised by the community for the community of Old St Mellons with *'100% going back to the community in the form of small one-off grants'* (CSO12). Hence, the community is relying on itself to raise such funds through different ways, like fundraising events or donations. In this sense, local people who want to help and contribute to their community as well as to those who are vulnerable, are coming together to support this. The initiative is also coordinated by local volunteers; thus, the community is utilising its networks and social capital to make this initiative happen.

In Rumney, a local forum was created to provide help and support to people who are struggling to cope with the cost-of-living crisis by providing essential services such as a community fridge, a foodbank and a school uniform exchange. This forum was the result of people within the community coming together and pulling their own resources to help each other. Since this is a resident-led group, it is managed by trustees and volunteers from the community who dedicate their own time and efforts because they want to help and make a difference in their community. It is also funded entirely from donations; therefore, the forum is dependent on the community raising money and donating clothes and other essential household items. Despite actors within the community using their social capital to be able to create the forum and keep it going, there are challenges in sustaining both volunteers and funding. This was expressed by a trustee involved in the forum who highlighted that, *'although some of us are here every day volunteering and a lot of our families help as well, we do struggle a bit with finding volunteers as the need in our community is growing and*

at the same time there are so many volunteer opportunities everywhere' (CSO10). In relation to funding the situation is similar as well as *'we do not have a lot of support as a forum and any funding we have to apply and get it for ourselves, and we struggle with that because we are entirely funded from each other and from donations'* (CSO10). Therefore, this shows the challenges and constraints in terms of what the community can achieve on its own, without any access to resources from other actors.

7.3.3 Establishing Positive Relationships with Local Councillors

Similar to the communities in the **activist** pathway, communities in the **survivor** pathway also acknowledge the significance of having strong relationships with their local councillors and so attempt to establish such relationships with them. The goal is to have the support of their local councillors in relation to helping these communities achieve what they want to do. In this way, they can successfully access that support from key people with power and influence like the local councillors who are advocates of the communities they represent, focusing on the interests and concerns of the communities as well as tasked with communicating those to the Council (Copus, 2003). This is illustrated by a volunteer of a food pantry in Trowbridge who stressed that *'I am a very experienced community worker, and I know that partnership and working relationships with local councillors is really important so we proactively sought a partnership right back at the beginning of the pandemic, as through this we can also find out what the Council can do for the community'* (V5). This was also the case in Llanrumney, where because of the community's good relationships with their local councillors, local councillors and the Council were right behind the community's decision to restore the Llanrumney Hall, providing their guidance and support throughout the process. This was conveyed by an interviewee working in the Llanrumney Hall who highlighted that *'local councillors have been really good to us; they have been really supportive, and we have a good relationship with them. We do our part, but local councillors and consequently the Council has a part to play in helping the community help itself and facilitate the progress'* (CSO20).

Furthermore, a community group in Old St Mellons and Trowbridge holding monthly litter picks explained how the group ultimately seeks to have a partnership with Cardiff Council where the Council does its part in cleaning the streets, and thus the group helps from their side doing their own part in the community. In order to achieve

this, a resident in Old St Mellons who is involved in this group stressed the importance of having positive relationships with local councillors and consequently securing their support as *'we had a meeting with our councillor and that was very positive, and he is doing some communications with the Council that we as a voluntary group do not have the authority to do'* (R5). Apart from this, *'we have also talked to our councillor about more generally what we would like to see the Council do, which is communicating a lot more with the community even if it is not good news. For example, there is a bridge which is basically being out of action now for more than a year; even if it is going to be six more months, tell people it is going to be six more months'* (R5). This was also confirmed by a local councillor in Trowbridge who emphasised how supporting and working together with local groups is vital, highlighting the example of the community litter picking group where *'the group shares some concerns they have; thus we meet together and discuss what they want and need so communication is important'* (LC9). Therefore, through their relationship with their local councillors, communities in the **survivor** pathway receive the support they need and through that, gain access to communicate with the Council which otherwise might not have been easy to establish such communication.

7.4 Discourses of Resilience

This section discusses how communities in the **survivor** pathway consider resilience based on their practices and how they embrace and utilise certain resilience discourses when seeking to gain access to resources. In particular, this section considers three dominant discourses of resilience, that of (a) pragmatic resilience, (b) crisis resilience, and (c) transformational resilience.

7.4.1 Pragmatic Resilience

Pragmatic resilience refers to how communities in the **survivor** pathway approach resilience and think about resilience. Specifically, they adopt an approach towards resilience that is pragmatic and realistic, realising that in order to survive and be resilient, they need the support and resources from other more powerful actors and organisations. Consequently, their approach towards resilience is guided by the need of these communities to survive. Indeed, this need for support from others is illustrated from the interviews with multiple actors living and working in these communities:

*'We do not have a lot of support; we need money and professional help as we are just people who want to help other people, but **we do not always have the skills and recourses we perhaps need to do this**' (CSO10).*

*'I think it is about feeling like there are people and organisations who will support us and knowing that the different challenges we are facing, we have the support of others, and we are **doing that together**. So it is about being able to do things together rather than having to face everything on your own. And I think being able to organise and have more strength and power by being connected and working together. That strength and power **to be able to change things that we cannot change on our own**' (CSO12).*

*'For me it means **partnership and connectivity**; it is about the local authority, organisations and businesses working alongside with the local people, whether they are small independent businesses or big chains like Tesco. It is about recognising what needs to be improved and then key **organisations working together to achieve this**. And I think we are good at that. So when we need help from somebody in order to help the community, we sort of hope they are going to help us, because if they help us and got the resources to, we can help other people' (CSO20).*

*'Again linked to the other challenges, the scale of need and hard work involved in trying to counter what is the problem of poverty and social exclusion at the heart, food and fuel poverty exacerbated by the pandemic and the cost-of-living crisis and so on. **It means you cannot do this on your own, you have to work with other local organisations and the government**' (V5).*

This approach towards resilience is therefore reflected in the practices of these communities, that is in how these communities are seeking to access the resources they need. Indeed, the key practice of communities in the **survivor** pathway is developing multi-sector partnerships, which underlines the resource dependency and need of these communities to interact with multiple actors to be able to survive and be resilient. Hence, communities in the **survivor** pathway are seeking to secure the cooperation of others by convincing them to work together by making themselves more attractive to potential partners and consequently funders. This involves these communities strategically taking what the other actors give them in terms of

resources and support to ensure that those partnerships continue, as they acknowledge their constraints in relation to their position as challengers within the CRSAF. Thus, they take what the system gives them, while they await to exploit any new opportunities that arise to improve their position in the CRSAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Therefore, moving from the SAFs theory, communities in the **survivor** pathway guided by the discourse of pragmatic resilience, are seeking to persuade other more powerful actors to work together by framing their interests in a way that resonates with them (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

In particular, this process of communities in the **survivor** pathway making themselves more attractive to potential partners to gain access to funding, involves those communities finding ways to signal the value of resilience. This entails adopting the same view of resilience that these actors have during funding applications, hoping to secure funding from actors, such as Cardiff Council and other organisations, even if their own view of resilience might be different. In turn, this allows them to be more competitive during this process of applying for funding, resulting in having a better chance of securing the funding they need. This is crucial as most local organisations and groups in these communities do not have enough financial resources to achieve the things they want by themselves, while at the same time the competition for grants and funding in the voluntary sector grows. In this sense, community resilience can be interpreted as a neoliberal project, in which neoliberalism is understood as a rationality of government performed through regimes of subjectification that extend the logic of the market including the principles of competition and inequality to all spheres of human activity (Mavelli, 2019). This is illustrated by a volunteer participating in the food pantry in Trowbridge who explained how they had to use resilience in a specific and narrow sense when seeking to secure funding for their pantry to the point of resilience becoming *'another buzzword, as it tends to be a sort of professional term that agencies use in a particular way. We have to use the term crisis resilience for a while now when asking for support'* (V5).

Likewise, in the case of the group focusing on generating educational opportunities for children and young people in Old St Mellons, gaining access to funding was necessary to sustain and grow the group. Therefore, in order to secure the funding and support from actors, such as Cardiff Council and Community Foundation Wales, the group had to draw attention to resilience in funding applications, with the

coordinator of the group emphasising that *'we talk about resilience when we put in a funding application but to the degree that is a bit of a buzzword'* (CSO12). This demonstrates that to secure the cooperation of others and gain access to resources such as funding, it is necessary for communities in the **survivor** pathway to make themselves more attractive by adopting the same view of resilience when asking for funding from other actors, even if they do not necessarily share that view or are becoming frustrated by the overuse of the term resilience as employed by these actors.

Building from the SAFs theory, to achieve this, it is crucial to have skilled actors who are able to understand the perspectives of other actors and convince them to work together to access resources, such as funding (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). This is demonstrated by the example of Llanrumney Hall, where securing funding and grants were essential not only to the restoration of the Hall but also to keep the building running. Due to skilled actors, from that organisation, it was possible to sustain the partnerships and relationships with other actors and as a result secure the funding they needed. This was emphasised by a manager working in the Llanrumney Hall who pointed out that *'it has not been all easy-going, obviously there is not a great deal of money available so luckily, we got an amazing community development manager, and she handles all the funding and grants for us. She is brilliant and brings loads of money to us and that keeps us afloat as without the funding we get, we would really struggle'* (CSO20). In a similar way, the successful partnership between the food pantry in Trowbridge and Cardiff Council, as well as the local councillors was the result of skilled actors and specifically a volunteer who as an experienced community worker knew how important it was to *'have a partnership and working relationships with the Cardiff Council and local councillors, so I proactively sought such partnership right back at the beginning of the pandemic'* (V5). Thus, it is about skilled actors understanding how necessary such collaborations are and seeking to establish them.

Another important part of communities' approach in the **survivor** pathway is ensuring that these partnerships run as smoothly as possible because they need them. Consequently, communities in the **survivor** pathway take what support other actors can give them and avoid any conflicts that can negatively impact those partnerships even though communities may not be entirely satisfied with their collaboration. This

was particularly evident in the collaboration between these communities and Cardiff Council as although communities recognised that the Council is not really supporting and working with them in the way that they would like ideally, they keep working with the government because they still need any support they could get. This was depicted by many community actors who stressed how important long-term investment would be for their communities as given that their finances are now limited, *'to be able to build for the long-term you need that investment as you are not just chasing funding or supported for a year to do something and then it would be gone. For groups to be depended on funding for two or three years, not knowing whether they would continue something, whereas the impact is across decades you need that commitment in terms of funding and support'* (CSO12). Thus, effectively only with long-term investment would community organisations and groups be really supported and empowered to help the community.

However, communities in the **survivor** pathway recognise that this is not easy to achieve, not only due to a lack of resources, but also because of the Council's current approach towards working with them. Indeed, an interviewee in Old St Mellons highlighted that such investment only comes when you *'have organisations and partners around you that value the contribution of your community and see communities as a source of strength and want to invest in communities, so investment is seen as a way of communities to do things themselves rather than just providing things for communities because that does not strengthen community in itself'* (CSO12). This is also supported by the community resilience literature which emphasises the crucial role for the government in supporting and empowering communities to build their own resilience, especially communities with little or no engagement as collectives such as these communities (Markantoni et al., 2019). In a similar way, a volunteer in Trowbridge expressed his own concerns over how the Council is working with communities as *'when it comes to resilience, how are you [the Council] actually enabling and empowering people to survive and thrive by themselves or with each other? That is the big test, otherwise what you are doing is perpetuating the idea that community is always reliant and depended on Council's services and support. Perhaps that would always be the case to a certain extent, but we still have to ask ourselves to what extent?'* (V5). This illustrates how communities in the **survivor** pathway are limited in terms of what they are able to do themselves,

and how they are always going to be dependent on the local authority for support and resources up to a certain extent.

Furthermore, communities in the **survivor** pathway continue the partnership with the Cardiff Council as they need it, despite knowing that they have different motivations for resilience. Particularly, the government's motivation for resilience is linked to its own financial agenda, negatively impacting how Cardiff Council engages with these communities. This was illustrated by a local councillor in Trowbridge who admitted that *'over the last years we lost a lot of funding and that has an ongoing effect to the communities. In fact, this is one of the worst periods I have known in my time as a councillor'* (LC9). In effect, because there are now less resources available, the local authority is encouraging communities to be more resilient themselves, illustrating how the local authority is now even less willing to engage with communities in an enabling way. Similarly, a resident in Old St Mellons involved in a litter picking group explained how the group acknowledges how the Council has limited resources and that is part of why they are doing these litter picks in their community to help from their side as *'you cannot have councillors working day after day picking up litter or every week putting a lot of resources, instead we want them to use their resources to do other things'* (R5).

At the same time, the group highlights how they still need the support and collaboration of the Council for other things that they themselves cannot do. In particular, residents in Old St Mellons feel that the Council is not using its resources to engage and communicate with the community on issues that matter, resulting in *'making things worse as being silent just reinforces the feeling that local authorities are not interested in engaging with people from the community'* (R5). This is further supported by a trustee working in a community organisation in Rumney who explained that *'it would be nice if they had an engagement officer who came down and visited us and just be in the community, asking how we are doing and if we need any help and support. But I suppose it is all money for the Council, is it not? They do not have the staff now to work with us in that way'* (CSO10). Therefore, the government's motivation for resilience is guided by their lack of resources, pushing responsibility to the communities to be resilient enough and adapt, while not actually working with these communities in a way that would enable and empower them, so that they remain dependent on the government for help and support. Whereas

communities' motivation for resilience is about working in a way to support and strengthen each other to survive and be resilient.

Similarly, when communities in the **survivor** pathway are organising themselves to pull together the resources they need for the development of their communities, they are collectively adopting the same frame of pragmatic resilience, allowing them to engage in social action together. Thus, they approach resilience pragmatically, guided by the need of these communities to help and support each other by coming together and mobilising resources in order to survive. Since resources within these communities are scarce, for communities in the **survivor** pathway to engage successfully in such practice, it was significant for skilled actors to exploit any opportunities that arise and utilise them for their advantage. An example of this was the development of the St Mellons Mutual Aid Fund which was created during the pandemic with the aim of supporting each other in the Old St Mellons community. Such an initiative was only possible because of the willingness of local residents to help each other as well as local volunteers who were contributing their time and efforts into this. As the coordinator of a local group in Old St Mellons explained *'because the Council and bigger organisations did not adjust quickly to the pandemic or did not know what and how to do it, this left space for the community to think what can we do to help ourselves and that is how we started the mutual aid fund'* (CSO12). Therefore, local groups and residents in Old St Mellons utilised the opportunity provided by the pandemic to gather together and connect as a community by being active and collectively pooling their own resources to create such initiatives. This further builds up these communities' social capital as during the pandemic they came together to support each other, strengthening their relationships.

However, in other less successful cases, communities may be limited in terms of what they can achieve on their own when organising themselves to mobilise the resources they need. This is illustrated by the local forum in Rumney which is led and managed by local residents. Despite the community pulling together its own resources, the local forum is struggling to secure the amount of funding and volunteers needed to be able to keep going. Indeed, a trustee from the local forum in Rumney emphasised how they struggle and believe that *'the local authority definitely has a role to play in supporting us, but we do not even see our local councillor'*

(CSO10). Therefore, they realise they need and seek the cooperation of the local authority and their councillor to support them, but such action is unsuccessful as they are unable to convince them to do so. This is in contrast to communities in the **activist** pathway which choose to organise themselves as they do not want to be dependent on the local authority for support and resources. In this case, communities in the **survivor** pathway need and seek the support from the local authority even though they do not receive it.

Apart from organising themselves, communities in the **survivor** pathway are collectively adopting the same approach to resilience to engage in social action with their local councillors. This is because having a relationship with the local councillors depends on both skilled actors from the communities convincing local councillors to work together and on how those councillors engage with the communities. For example, skilled actors from the food pantry in Trowbridge and the Llanrumney Hall managed to successfully establish relationships with their local councillors to gain their support whereas other actors like the Rumney Forum were less successful in doing so. Also, establishing positive relationships with local councillors depends on how councillors understand their own role in relation to supporting and engaging the communities. This was supported by a volunteer in Trowbridge who highlighted that *'there may be councillors in the communities that are more active, go out in their communities and get to know people and other councillors that are less engaged with the communities. So it really does depend on those different dynamics'* (V5).

In the case of the community litter picking group in Old St Mellons and Trowbridge, the successful partnership between the group and their local councillor was partly due to the councillor's approach of engaging with the community. Specifically, the councillor believed that community groups like the litter picking group were important for the community and consequently, wanted to support them, *'one of the things we are trying to do in the area and the funding we have is getting local people more involved and see what interests they have. So we are trying to build those groups as there are not many established groups. It is one of those areas that you really have to work to keep the community groups going'* (LC9). Thus, the councillor was interested in citizen engagement and was trying to create opportunities for such engagement (Copus, 2003; 2010).

7.4.2 Crisis Resilience

Another dominant discourse of resilience is that of crisis resilience, referring to the type of resilience adopted by the communities in the **survivor** pathway. This type of resilience is centred around the community's ability to deal with adversity and adapt during crises. In the literature, this is distinguished from transformational resilience as it focuses more on recovery and the ability of community to be resilient and 'bounce back' from a shock and return to a state that existed before the shock (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). This type of resilience is in line with how these communities approach resilience in a pragmatic way, realising that in order to survive and be resilient, they need support and resources from other actors and thus, seek to work together. This discourse of crisis resilience is further reflected in the communities' activities and aims, as their goal is to support each other to deal with and overcome different challenges in their communities in order to survive and be resilient:

*'Being strong, **being able to adapt from what is happening** and being able to help. I think during the pandemic there was a level of resilience' (CSO10).*

*'In our context, talking about resilience is thinking ahead and talking about **the different challenges we are facing**, again as a low-income community and what we could do together to face those things' (CSO12).*

*'It is a problem-solving attitude, coming together, helping each other. With community you can sort of **face the hardships together** and in the last 3 years between **a pandemic and a cost-of-living crisis** we have seen a great deal of problems that we **try to overcome and be resilient'** (CSO20).*

*'What we try to do is give people help, it is about people learning skills and being confident enough to support themselves and **to be resilient to crises** in that sense. If this happens again then, in the next emergency they have will generally know better how to deal with that but also, hopefully how to prevent it. It is about that **preventative work when it comes to resilience**, so you can find **copng strategies** when it happens **to be able to survive and then bounce back'** (V5).*

*'I certainly hope we contribute to an extent to the resilience of Old St Mellons as that is what we are here for, there are people in this area who are going through tough times especially with **cost-of-living crisis** and we hope that people are **finding the help we give as contributing to be more resilient**' (R5).*

It is evident from their practices that communities in the **survivor** pathway are primarily focusing on activities which aim to offer crisis support to the community. In particular, such activities are centred around tackling food poverty due to the high level of deprivation that exists in those communities, and as a result the increasing need to access affordable food. This is demonstrated by activities such as the food pantry in Trowbridge and the pantry garden project in Old St Mellons which provide accessible and affordable food to people in need, as well as opportunities to learn more about growing food locally. Specifically, a volunteer from Trowbridge explained how important the food pantry was during the pandemic and afterwards in terms of providing crisis support to the community as *'our role is to still try and provide some kind of support, we still give crisis packs to those people who have not been able to go back to work. So our role, even if it is to a lesser extent than before, still is to be a provider of some sort of crisis support but also it is a place where people can come without much money to get groceries. So we got a role there to provide affordable good quality groceries to the community'* (V5). Similarly, Llanrumney Hall, as part of its plan to support the needs of the community and address poverty, provides a food pantry to help people access affordable food and a cafe producing nutritious meals for its residents at a low price.

This is also the case when communities in the **survivor** pathway were organising themselves to support and help each other. One example is the creation of the St Mellons Mutual Aid Fund which was developed during the pandemic by the community to provide support to vulnerable people within their community. Thus, this is again about addressing the needs of the community that are related to fuel and food poverty and help people who are struggling to cope and meet basic needs such as food, gas and electricity. Indeed, a coordinator of a local group in Old St Mellons described how this community initiative was developed, highlighting the financial impact that the pandemic had to their community, *'we are a low-income community so there was an underlying need anyway. Because of the high levels of poor health in the community there were a lot of vulnerable people who were shielding. The*

financial impact was huge and for people receiving benefits, the benefits did not change while living costs increased because you have children all the time at home and you have to feed them or have electricity and gas turned on all the time and there was not an ability to share costs like it used to happen with families gathering around on one house and having shared meals to bring costs down’ (CSO12). This shows how much harder it was for low-income communities to deal with a crisis like the pandemic, and as a result how much more support those communities needed. Another example of providing help and support to people in a similar way, was the creation of a local forum in Rumney, offering help to people who are struggling to cope with the cost-of-living crisis. This involved having a community fridge and a foodbank for the community to access free food.

7.4.3 Transformational Resilience

Apart from crisis resilience, another discourse of resilience identified relating to the type of resilience is that of transformational resilience. Although communities in the **survivor** pathway are primarily interested in crisis resilience as most of their activities focus on providing crisis support to address the needs and challenges that persist due to the high level of deprivation that exist in these communities; they are also concerned with transformational resilience at a later stage (Shaw, 2012; Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). Therefore, communities in the **survivor** pathway realise the potential of transformational resilience and emphasise the importance of strengthening their communities with their activities in the long-term:

*‘For us a lot of what we are saying is about having that kind of resilience when we are together that it increases our personal resilience to know that you got support to be connected and there is a **different kind of power to be able to face challenges**. I think there are so many things in our community where we feel we do not have control over; and **being able to have that power and control over improving our circumstances** is one of the ways we try to work together’ (CSO12).*

*‘But then also I think on another level for us it is not just about surviving, it is that **thriving**, so resilience does not mean just people being able to survive the next time or coming back from a crisis and surviving, is **being able to thrive with new skills and new inner strength**. So it can be a **deep level of resilience** that we experience and try to foster’ (V5).*

*'I think everyone has a role to play, sometimes people do not know what their skills are. It is not that people do not have any, we know they have skills, **is about identifying those skills**. So it is drawing people in, helping them help themselves to find out what they are good at, and I think if we can get to that place, there will be a lot to be gained for everyone's benefit' (CSO20).*

Consequently, communities in the **survivor** pathway are interested in strengthening their communities to enable them to face challenges occurring in their communities in the long-term. While these communities primarily offer crisis support to address poverty in the short-term, they are also concerned with tackling poverty in a way that would transform and improve their communities in the future. Specifically, strengthening those communities by developing new skills and qualifications to increase the prospects for employment. This is particularly important as communities in the **survivor** pathway realise that the lack of investment in East Cardiff over the years has impacted these communities negatively in terms of their income level and level of employment. This was portrayed by a manager working in Llanrumney Hall who explained that this lack of investment *'has a domino effect as this means that not many businesses are coming to set up here so there is a lack of employment opportunities, and this means there is a lack of qualifications to be gained and a lack of skills to build on. It is sort of like a snowball effect and that is where we try to step in, we try to offer qualifications and skills development even if businesses are not coming here, we can help people go to city centre for jobs'* (CSO20). One way these communities do this is by offering volunteering opportunities through which volunteers, many of whom are local students, can develop their employability skills, increase their confidence and include this experience in their resume, helping them via increasing their employability. Similarly, a local group in Old St Mellons interested in supporting children and young people, offers access to work experience, education and other skills through different programmes, training, and volunteer opportunities.

In addition, communities in the **survivor** pathway are trying to make their communities more sustainable and self-reliant to become stronger, and as a result gain some control over improving their circumstances (Skerratt and Steiner, 2013). One such example is the food pantry in Trowbridge and the pantry garden project in Old St Mellons, which apart from providing accessible and affordable food to people

in need during crises, also support people by offering information and other advice around wider issues of poverty, through signposting and referrals. Thus, they are supporting people by encompassing a holistic approach to poverty, recognising the need to address poverty and its multiple dimensions. This is confirmed by a volunteer involved in the food pantry who described the approach they take, *'if you take the different measures with the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation, such as the health and the housing as well as the economic and the employment and the education, we are providing a role through all of those. So for example regarding education, people come and learn with us through activities how to cook healthy food and how to cook on a low fuel appliance'* (V5). Furthermore, the food pantry as a model of providing accessible food differs from a foodbank as its aim is not only about crisis response; but rather it is more of an ongoing effort to tackle food poverty and insecurity that exists in those communities. Therefore, via the food pantry these communities are trying to create a sustainable way to access affordable food, as the recipients of that aid are involved in the process and are contributing as well. This is also the case with the litter picking group in Trowbridge and Old St Mellons which help keep their communities clean. This is achieved because the group seeks to make a positive impact on their communities by reducing waste and looking after their green spaces and parks, and thus, making their communities more sustainable.

Another significant part of transformational resilience is about having strong social relationships and connections within a community. Although communities in the **survivor** pathway acknowledge that this is important, they are also aware of the challenges and difficulties that exist within their communities to establish such relationships. This is because the level of deprivation that exists in these communities has an adverse impact on peoples' motivation to engage within their communities and be active. Consequently, poverty acts as a barrier to the engagement of these communities, and that is why these communities have to make an effort in supporting people and building those relationships and connections. This is further demonstrated by the activities of those communities. For example, becoming involved in strong groups, such as the litter group in Trowbridge and Old St Mellons is crucial for building a network of support. Likewise, from initiatives such as the food pantry in Trowbridge, different events and activities with local partners are organised, where volunteers and members of the pantry can also attend to connect with each other. Thus, building relationships between members of the pantry as well

as volunteers and getting to know each other is key. This is because having a socially supportive environment helps to engage individuals within their community and creates an environment with strong networks of social connections and trust (Zwiers et al., 2018).

An additional challenge for communities in the **survivor** pathway is the loss of local infrastructure and spaces owned by the communities due to the lack of investment. This is illustrated by a coordinator of local group in Old St Mellons who emphasised how important community spaces are as *'we have so few community spaces that people want to connect and often when they do get involved with us, they say that they wanted to be part of the community and be involved for years but they did not have the opportunity to do so as there are no platforms or spaces to connect and actually meet other people'* (CSO12). Consequently, communities in the **survivor** pathway need to have those spaces where relationships and connections can be further developed, but without any significant investment or support, this is not easy to achieve. This is depicted by the successful restoration of the Llanrumney Hall building, which was the result of a multi-sector partnership, a collaboration between many partners to access the resources and support needed to achieve this. Indeed, the building was designed to create a space to connect people within the community and be used as a meeting space to build and sustain those relationships within the community. A manager working at the Llanrumney Hall explained how important it was because of these challenges that exist within the community to show people that there are good things happening in the community that they can take part in and thus, convince people to engage as *'you probably need people to push a positive agenda and showcase development, so I think we are doing a good job here in the hall, of not only make a change but actually advertise this change as well and showcase that'* (CSO20).

7.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter focuses on the communities of Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney and Trowbridge and examines the ways in which these communities in the **survivor** pathway are accessing the resources they need by engaging in a set of three practices: developing multi-sector partnerships, organising themselves and establishing positive relationships with local councillors. Additionally, it is illustrated how communities in the **survivor** pathway utilise three dominant discourses of

resilience, that of pragmatic resilience, crisis resilience and transformational resilience, in accessing those resources. At the same time, this chapter considers certain characteristics these communities share in common, such as their geographical location and their similar level of economic development which further influence those communities' practices and discourses. This is illustrated by Table 10 and Figure 11 below which summarise how the different activities of communities in the **survivor** pathway are associated with the three practices, while portraying how particular discourses of resilience are attached to those practices and activities.

Therefore, the communities of Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney and Trowbridge are grouped together in the **survivor** pathway based on these specific practices and discourses of resilience which they employ in a similar way to achieve their aim (i.e., to survive). In this sense, access to resources such as funding and expertise are crucial for these communities in order to survive and be resilient. However, as evidenced throughout this chapter, these communities possess limited resources of their own due to the isolation they face and the high level of deprivation that exist in these communities. This in turn, means that they are dependent on other more powerful actors, including the local authority, for support and resources and that is why, guided by the frame of pragmatic resilience, they specialise in developing multi-sector partnerships to access the resources they need. Thus, communities in the **survivor** pathway seek to secure the cooperation of others by framing their interests in a way that resonates with them. In doing so, these communities often have to compromise and sacrifice some of their autonomy to take whatever support and resources others give to them to survive.

This is supported by the literature that exists about the impact of resource dependence on non-profit organisations, with studies focusing on how such dependency leads to non-profit organisations struggling to maintain their autonomy from different donors (Benjamin, 2008; Verschurer and de Corte, 2014). Indeed, when non-profit organisations are dependent on government funding, this means that they have to follow the rules of the game specified by this institutional context (Arvidson and Linde, 2021). In this case, this means communities adopting dominant neoliberal resilient discourses, despite having their own discourses of resilience to make themselves more attractive to potential partners and funders. This allows them to be more competitive during the process of applying for funding, resulting in having

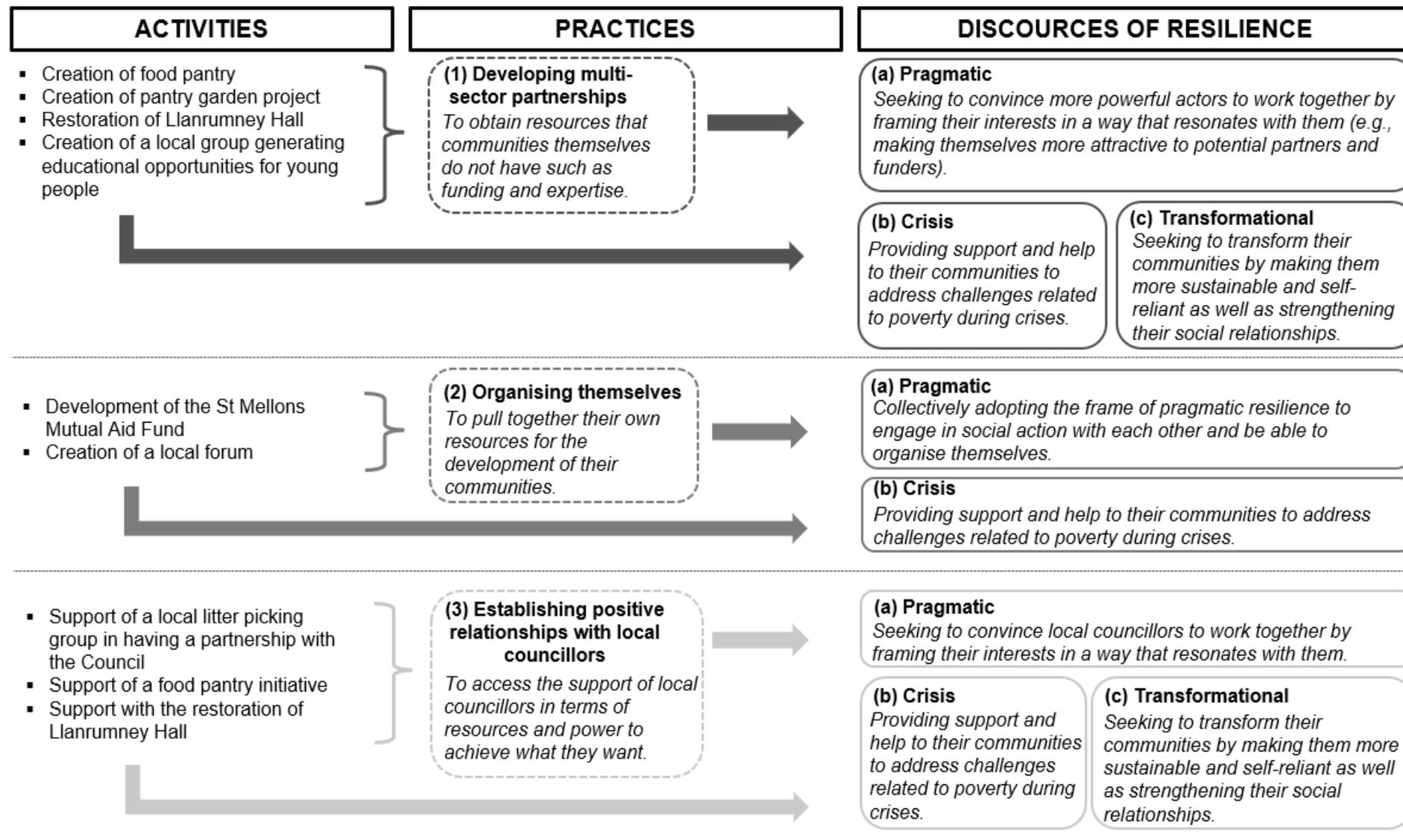
a better chance of securing the funding they need from these actors. At the same time, skilled actors from these communities play an important role in exploiting any opportunities that arise, utilising them for their advantage to improve their position in the CRSAF.

Consequently, communities in the **survivor** pathway realise their position as challengers and attempt to influence the CRSAF by taking what the system gives them and awaiting new opportunities to challenge the structure of the system (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). However, the fact that communities in the **survivor** pathway are limited in terms of what they can achieve with their own resources, highlights the limits of their agency in influencing the CRSAF and improving their position. As up to an extent, they are always going to be dependent on other more powerful actors for resources to survive, illustrating the struggle of these communities to transform into something better. This is because without the necessary resources and support, they would not be able to overcome the challenges that exist in their communities and develop those relationships, connections as well as local infrastructure that would allow them to do that.

Table 10: Survivor Pathway: Activities, Practices, and Discourses of Resilience

Practice		Description	Activities	Discourses of Resilience	Explanation
1	Developing multi-sector partnerships	<i>To obtain resources that communities themselves do not have such as funding and expertise.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of food pantry • Creation of pantry garden project • Restoration of Llanrumney Hall • Creation of a local group generating educational opportunities for young people 	(a) Pragmatic Resilience	<i>Seeking to convince more powerful actors to work together by framing their interests in a way that resonates with them (e.g., making themselves more attractive to potential partners and funders).</i>
				(b) Crisis Resilience	<i>Providing support and help to their communities to address challenges related to poverty during crises.</i>
				(c) Transformational Resilience	<i>Seeking to transform their communities by making them more sustainable and self-reliant as well as strengthening their social relationships.</i>
2	Organising themselves	<i>To pull together their own resources for the development of their communities.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of the St Mellons Mutual Aid Fund • Creation of a local forum 	(a) Pragmatic Resilience	<i>Collectively adopting the frame of pragmatic resilience to engage in social action with each other and be able to organise themselves.</i>
				(b) Crisis Resilience	<i>Providing support and help to their communities to address challenges related to poverty during crises.</i>
3	Establishing positive relationships with local councillors	<i>To access the support of local councillors in terms of resources and power to achieve what they want.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support of a local litter picking group in having a partnership with the Council • Support of a food pantry initiative • Support with the restoration of Llanrumney Hall 	(a) Pragmatic Resilience	<i>Seeking to convince local councillors to work together by framing their interests in a way that resonates with them.</i>
				(b) Crisis Resilience	<i>Providing support and help to their communities to address challenges related to poverty during crises.</i>
				(c) Transformational Resilience	<i>Seeking to transform their communities by making them more sustainable and self-reliant as well as strengthening their social relationships.</i>

Figure 11: Survivor Pathway: Activities, Practices, and Discourses of Resilience



8. Conservator Pathway

*'It is so different here, I call it the **Rhiwbina bubble** sometimes, you know you can come and live here and you **have everything you need here** and you can just exist in your little world and is all really nice and then you go a few miles away and it is a completely different picture' (R4).*

8.1 Introduction

The focus of the previous chapter has been on the **survivor** pathway, which includes the communities of Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney and Trowbridge. The chapter illustrated that communities in the **survivor** pathway possess limited resources of their own due to the isolation they face and the high level of deprivation that exist in these communities. That is why they recognise that the only way to survive is to work together with other actors and organisations to gain the support and resources they need. Thus, they specialise in developing multi-sector partnerships by making themselves more attractive to potential partners and learning to take what the other actors give them, while waiting to exploit any opportunities to improve their position. Additionally, communities in the **survivor** pathway engage in two other practices, that of organising themselves and establishing positive relationships with local councillors to access the resources and support they need. The chapter also portrayed how in accessing those resources, these communities are utilising three discourses of resilience, that of pragmatic resilience, crisis resilience and transformational resilience.

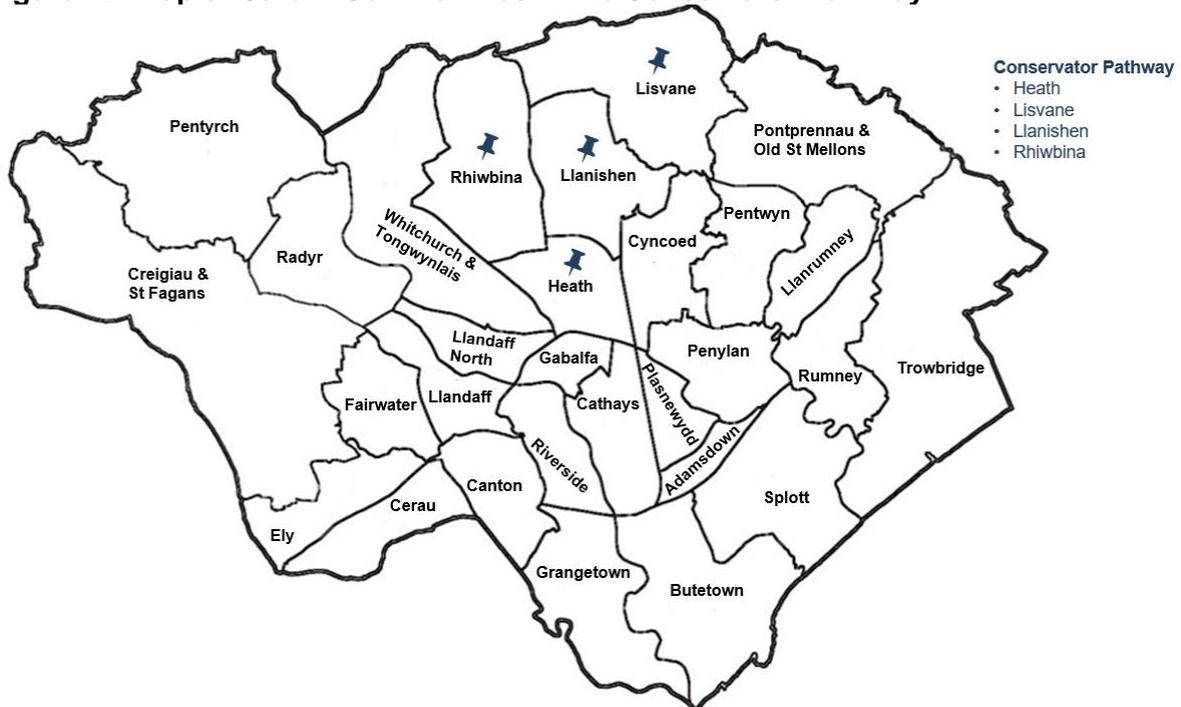
This chapter concentrates on the third community pathway (**conservator**) and seeks to unpack the ways communities in the **conservator** pathway are accessing the resources they need, while exploring how they are adopting and utilising certain discourses of resilience in mobilising those resources. Communities in the **conservator** pathway believe they are resilient the way they are now because of their level of economic development and their current quality of life and thus, there is no need for them to change to become resilient. Consequently, they engage in a range of practices to keep their status quo. This pathway includes the communities of Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen and Rhiwbina which are grouped together because they share certain practices, discourses of resilience and objectives of what they aim to achieve. In addition, they share certain place-based characteristics which influence

and shape those communities' practices, discourses and ultimately overall this community pathway.

8.2 Communities of Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen and Rhiwbina

Figure 12 below shows the map of Cardiff, highlighting those communities that are grouped together in the **conservator** pathway.

Figure 12: Map of Cardiff Communities in the Conservator Pathway



Communities in the **conservator** pathway (Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen and Rhiwbina) have their own characteristics which are connected to their place. Therefore, this section discusses these place-based characteristics which in turn, play a role in shaping these communities' practices and discourses of resilience.

A common characteristic of these communities is their level of economic development, as these communities are considered to be economically affluent areas. As emphasised by these communities, being economically affluent is a factor which contributes to their resilience. This is because in contrast to communities which are economically deprived, communities in the **conservator** pathway have different issues to deal with in their communities which are less demanding and threatening than those associated with poverty:

*'This area of Cardiff is not what is considered to be deprived and poverty stricken like other areas of Cardiff. It is **quite an affluent area**. However, when I speak to people just because somebody may have a nice house or have a better education it **does not necessarily mean they are not affected by other things**. It is just that they are different things. If someone for example has a baby and there is not much support in this area in relation to other areas for the families because it is considered an affluent area, these parents may not need economic support but still need other kind of support regardless' (CSO11).*

*'I think the **communities which are better off**, there are the things which concern these people more like **schools, roads, traffic, state of parks and facilities**. I think for a poorer area, there are probably **more pressing aspects** such as **cost of living, difficulties with poverty and social inclusion**. I am not saying that people in large houses do not have economic problems, they do and people in poorer areas are still concerned about school. But there is a sort of focus if you like' (LC10).*

*'I do not know how well you know Rhiwbina but is **one of the wealthier areas in Cardiff**, so the people that tend to live here are educated, they are aware of issues, there are a lot of families with children. **In terms of an audience, they are aware of the issues and very well placed**. If I was somewhere else in a different area of Cardiff, it would be a lot harder because the **issues facing those people, might be that they need to feed the family for that week** and they are **not worried about plastic because their issues are greater**' (R4).*

Consequently, according to communities in the **conservator** pathway, pressing issues experienced by economically deprived communities can be a barrier to these communities' resilience. This was expressed by a local councillor in Lisvane and a local resident living in Rhiwbina:

*'**Lack of financial security and poverty can undermine the resilience of a community** to respond to a crisis. If you have got a lot of worries in your life, you do not want to think of communities too much, you want to exist and survive. You worry about getting your kids to school and feeding them. You have to have a certain level of economic comfort to take a leading role in the community. **Poverty does not***

mean you cannot take a community role but sometimes it can prevent some people' (LC3).

'It is very easy to be resilient when you got a roof over your head, the bills are paid, and the food is on the table but as soon as you take that away and talking about poverty really it is so hard to maintain resilience, so I think there is a correlation between the two. In places like Ely where there are many issues and so much going on I would imagine resilience is somehow lower' (R4).

Additionally, their level of community engagement is linked to the level of economic development of these communities. Since, as these communities are more affluent, and as a result do not have to worry about surviving, they have more time and energy to dedicate to being involved in different community groups and engage with their communities in whatever way they like, making them in turn more resilient. This is supported by Strauß (2008) who argues that economic insecurity can direct resources such as financial, time and energies being redirected to supporting oneself and immediate family, rather than the wider community. Together with the fact that there are no barriers to community engagement relating to poverty or isolation which can prevent people from being active and taking action, the only barrier in these communities is an individual's personal choice not to become involved in certain aspects of the community. That is why, as explained by communities in the **conservator** pathway, overall, they have a satisfactory level of community engagement with engagement happening naturally within their communities, since anyone who wants to participate can do so, in whatever form they like, and that is sufficient for these communities:

'In terms of response it has always been really positive. I do not have people queuing up to volunteer all the time, however there are enough people that do that and there are people that will quietly support and do what feels appropriate to them. Because not everyone is an extrovert or people have other things going on. But generally everyone is onboard' (R4).

'There are volunteers, but the number goes up and down as some people leave, and we do have to do a recruitment, and it depends on the number of clients we have as well. I suppose people are anxious about socialising with people and meeting

with people they are not familiar with, and this can be a barrier to people. The fear of unknown, if you do not know what to expect, and that is why we try to explain things to people and with trustees, if there is someone thinking about being in the committee, we invite them to a meeting to see what is going on and judge if they like it' (CSO13).

This is also confirmed by two local councillors, one living in Llanishen and one in Lisvane:

*'I think peoples' lives are very different now and people are very busy. There are aspects of communities like the churches that have their own people, we **got a strong Catholic community in Llanishen** that still goes to church, **the scout groups are busy but only for that age group**, schools are busy but only for that age group and **when people move on from those things, they move on to new aspects of the community'** (LC10).*

*'I am sure that **there are people who do not want to participate**, they got busy lives of their own, they are working, have children so they may not have time in their thirties or forties to be as active in the community as when they are in their sixties or seventies. So **it varies in terms of age groups** and how much time people have available. **But I do not think there are any major barriers apart from peoples' choice to take part. But we all contribute in our own ways'** (LC3).*

8.3 Practices

This section analyses the practices of communities in the **conservator** pathway, examining what communities of Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen and Rhiwbina are doing in order to obtain access to specific resources from other community actors and organisations as well as the local authority. As shown in the previous chapters, access to resources such as funding or expertise is particularly important for communities because as challengers, they possess fewer resources and less power to influence the CRSAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). The practices identified below refer to (1) communities organising themselves, (2) collaborating with others, and (3) establishing positive relationships with local councillors.

8.3.1 Organising Themselves

One way for communities in the **conservator** pathway to access the resources they need for the development of their communities is by organising themselves to pull together their own resources. The aim of that is to mobilise and act around issues these communities care about, ensuring that their communities remain protected. This was evident in a number of interviews with different actors from Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen and Rhiwbina, where they conveyed how they were coming together and organising themselves on various occasions. One such case is the community centre in Heath, which was a community asset transfer, involving transferring the ownership from Cardiff Council to the Heath community, specifically to the Jubilee Community Trust. Thus, as a manager working there explained, *'the community centre was previously run by Cardiff Council and the Council was getting rid of the building and there was a group of local residents who fought against this, because the centre was needed within the community and formed a trust which ultimately took over the responsibility for the centre. So that group of people has become responsible for the maintenance and running of the building, while operating for the benefit of the community'* (CSO11). Consequently, this was the direct result of a community mobilising and coming together to save and protect a building in their community that they value.

Additionally, the centre on a day-to-day basis is run by trustees and volunteers who dedicate their time and effort to be able to keep the building running for the community. This is illustrated by the manager of the centre who emphasised that *'we have our own volunteer program as the centre is run by the community for the community. For example, we have volunteers tending to the gardens or they may be here one week to paint the fences as part of our wellbeing project. So our volunteers come locally, and some have been here with us since forever and we are now in the middle of recruiting more volunteers'* (CSO11). This demonstrates how important volunteers are in helping to successfully run the centre. In this sense, they are utilising the community's networks and connections to find and engage with volunteers that assist with the centre, keeping this way the centre operating. In a similar way to keep the building functioning, the group responsible for it, is seeking to raise money in various ways, involving the community. This ranges from renting the different rooms of the building to community groups, renting a pitch they have to local football groups, to offering different classes to the community at the lowest rate

possible. Therefore, they are dependent on people within the community who are willing to come together and support the centre in keeping it in the community.

Moreover, another example that is the result of communities organising themselves was the creation of a community initiative against plastic in Rhiwbina. A resident of Rhiwbina participating in that initiative explained how the initiative was formed when *'I was already active in the community and I got chatting with other like-minded people who like me wanted to do something about the issues of plastic in the community so we got together and began setting up a couple of recycling initiatives around the community to reduce plastic waste'* (R4). This illustrates how residents living in Rhiwbina mobilised to create these initiatives because of their shared interest in reducing plastic waste in their community. In order to successfully create these initiatives, residents involved in them also relied on the support of others within the community, such as local businesses, churches and schools. For instance, one of the initiatives called "Recycle your Christmas Jumper", sees people bringing their donations of Christmas jumpers to specific collection points around the community.

The aim of this is to have a Christmas jumper sale outside one of the local shops which supports this initiative to reduce waste by reusing the Christmas jumpers and consequently save peoples' money. Likewise, another successful initiative was the "Terracycle recycling initiative", which was conditional on the support of the community, and in particular the local library, as it provided the space for free to organise collections of the items people were bringing to recycle. Thus, such initiatives were made possible through the willingness of the community members to come together and support them. This was further depicted by a resident in Rhiwbina who emphasised that *'there is a network of doers, people that get things done in Rhiwbina and even if people may not actually be part of a specific community group, they are happy to help when they can'* (R4).

Similarly, in Llanishen there is a group of active residents who came together to administer and maintain an open space in their community, named Court Field. In particular, local residents first came together to form the group in the late 1980s in order to negotiate with the Cardiff Council who owns that land. Their aim was to secure the future of the field by obtaining the lease of the land and thus, having control of how the field is used. The group continues to exist today, with the objective

of extending and renewing the lease to protect the field and keep it open, and available for residents to use. This was explained by a local councillor living in Llanishen who stressed that, *'the group is protecting a field that was originally attached to a local school but was declared surplus to the requirements by the Cardiff Council 30 or 40 years ago, and a group of residents have taken over the field to basically run it as a community facility, where people can use it'* (LC10). The importance of the group was again explained by the councillor who highlighted that, *'as a chair of the group for over 10 years, I have been trying to get people more involved with it because without the group leasing the land and protecting the field, the field could be under threat from alternative Council plans'* (LC10). Therefore, the group meets regularly to manage the field and arrange for different activities to take place in the field for the community.

This example demonstrates how community actors come together and organise themselves to form a group that takes action around an issue they care about. Besides the group of residents, other community actors are involved in helping to look after the field, such as the local school next to the field and community groups in the area, including the Llanishen Scout Club and the local football club, which also use the field. In this sense, they all depend on each other to come together regularly to look after the field and discuss how the field could be best used by the community. Consequently, they are utilising the networks of social connections that exist in the community to bring people together who care about protecting and keeping the field operating as a community facility and want to actively contribute to do something about it. This again illustrates the significance of social capital as a resource that community members mobilise to collectively work and participate in actions and activities that advance their communities' goals (Williams, 2004; Markantoni et al., 2019).

8.3.2 Collaborating with Others

Another practice of communities in the **conservator** pathway is to engage in collaboration with other, more powerful actors and organisations in order to obtain resources that these communities need, such as funding, skills, and expertise. In effect, such resources will allow these communities to maintain their quality of life, focusing on sustaining their community groups and community facilities. This is evident by looking at a local voluntary group in Llanishen, which supports elderly

people within the community by offering help in terms of shopping, transportation as well as companionship. Since the group is voluntary, they rely on volunteers who dedicate their time and efforts to help, while also become involved in fundraising activities for the group. Indeed, securing funding can be a challenge for the group as it depends entirely on the support and collaboration of others; whether that is in the form of fundraising and receiving donations from the community and local businesses or applying for grants themselves from other organisations who support local voluntary groups like them. Therefore, in order to be able to sustain the group and keep it going, the group collaborates with other actors to obtain the necessary funding. This is illustrated by a trustee of that group who emphasises that such collaboration is often necessary, as *'one of our main contributors appears to be the Llanishen Rotary Club, they are very helpful, every year they do a Santa Sleigh charity collection and give us half of their donations. Also, local churches in the area still support us by giving us donations every year although again it depends on how well their funding goes as well'* (CSO13).

Similarly, the group was recently awarded a grant funded by the Welsh Government and managed by the Wales Council for Voluntary Action which proved to be crucial to the preservation of the group as it gave them the opportunity to increase their organisational capacity. In particular, it enabled the group to expand and offer their services to other nearby areas such as Rhiwbina where there was previously demand but until then, the group could not respond to this because of their limited resources in terms of financing and volunteers. This in turn, allowed them to recruit more volunteers, as well as providing them with additional support and training which again is critical for sustaining the group and keeping it secure in the future. Apart from seeking to establish funding, the group works closely with other charity organisations, as well as the local authority to benefit from their expertise. For example, they work and communicate with Age Connects, a voluntary organisation which supports lonely and vulnerable older people in Cardiff and Vale because, *'they started to do a similar thing to ours, so we do have contacts with them and meet with them to share information and knowledge'* (CSO13). Also, the group is part of the Age Friendly Cardiff Forum, which is facilitated by the Cardiff Council, striving to explore how the lives of older people in Cardiff can be improved. This again provides the opportunity of the group to be part of a network which gathers and shares relevant information and knowledge, benefitting the group.

Another example of communities in the **conservator** pathway collaborating with other actors is the Lisvane Old School Community Centre in Lisvane (LOSCC). This is because Lisvane Community Council owns the freehold land of the LOSCC which is leased to a registered charity, managed by a board of trustees. Specifically, these trustees are members of Lisvane Community Council, Lisvane Community Association and the wider community. Therefore, a collaboration is necessary between them to succeed in keeping the community centre running and providing activities which are beneficial to the community. Additionally, collaboration between Lisvane Community Council, the LOSCC charity and Cardiff Council was needed to obtain funding for the redevelopment of the community centre. The purpose was to keep the original building while making improvements to it, in order to become better and more functional. Indeed, the process of seeking funding driven by the trustees was a long and complex one, and eventually in 2021, Cardiff Council approved funding to be awarded to Lisvane Community Council to redevelop and extend the LOSCC. Together with a community facilities grant from the Welsh Government, on top of community fundraising. Consequently, this redevelopment resulted in the improvement of the community centre, as it included the addition of a meeting room, a cafe and a community library, all facilities to be used and enjoyed by the community. The importance of sustaining the community centre for the community is emphasised by a local councillor in Lisvane who explains that *'a community must have spaces to meet, and Lisvane has those spaces; it specifically has a community centre, where there are many clubs and activities taking place. For example, we have the coffee morning on Wednesday catered by volunteers, to deal with loneliness in the community that does not only include older people'* (LC3).

Furthermore, a free repair cafe has been launched in Rhiwbina targeting the reduction of landfill waste, while also encouraging skills sharing among the community. In order to keep the cafe running, a collaboration was necessary between different community actors and organisations to access the resources and support needed to successfully establish the cafe in the first place. Specifically, the cafe is supported in terms of funding by the Repair Cafe Wales, a community organisation which receives funding from the Welsh Government Circular Economy Fund and the Wales Council for Voluntary Action to support repair cafes across Wales. Also, the community centre in Rhiwbina offered the space for the cafe to be

held, providing a physical resource that is important for the set-up of the cafe. The importance of this was emphasised by a resident of Rhiwbina who is involved in this initiative explaining that *'one of the churches, they got a community centre in the middle of Rhiwbina, and they are really generous, they let us use it if we need to. We set up the repair cafe there and they gave us that space for free on the first Sunday of the month. You need to know who to ask for help in the community as there is always somebody that would lend you a space'* (R4). In terms of managing the cafe, the cafe is run by volunteers who are working together with a community group called the Rhiwbina Eco Team and a local not-for-profit store interested in reducing waste to provide refreshments and information about recycling alongside the repairs. Consequently, the community collaborates with different community actors and organisations in order to be able to establish the cafe and keep it running.

8.3.3 Establishing Positive Relationships with Local Councillors

Another practice of communities in the **conservator** pathway is seeking to establish positive relationships with their local councillors to get their support. Therefore, building from the SAFs theory, this way communities in the **conservator** pathway are able to access the support and help from actors with more power, such as the local councillors, in order to be in a better position to influence the CRSAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). This is demonstrated by a trustee of a voluntary group in Llanishen who emphasised the importance of building relationships with their local councillors by *'attending as part of a community group different community events where councillors are attending as well as Partnerships and Communities Together (PACT) meetings happening every 2 months because you do get councillors attending and you can use such opportunities to get things done'* (CSO13). This was also confirmed by a local councillor in Llanishen who conveyed the significance of working together with the community and thus, *'as a councillor I try to be involved in the community, going to local schools and speaking with local groups, sports teams, really all the aspects of the community'* (LC10). Likewise, a manager working in a community centre in Heath highlighted how the councillors support the centre by *'engaging with us frequently and coming to the centre to support us with what we are doing'* (CSO11). Therefore, communities attempt to form positive relationships with their local councillors to have them on their side and receive their support.

This was also the case in Lisvane, where the community was utilising its good relationships with its local councillors to gain their support and influence to oppose a proposal to build 2,500 new houses between Lisvane and Pontprennau. As a result of this, local councillors organised a meeting with the community to discuss their concerns and issues they have regarding the new development, and at a later stage communicate these concerns to the Cardiff Council. In particular, the residents were concerned about the lack of infrastructure to support such a proposal as well as the impact this will have on the lives of the existing residents. Such concerns were also shared by a local councillor in Lisvane who stressed that, *'this development is a big challenge we have because that means more population and increase of traffic and demand on services, infrastructure and schools that are going to be built and so on. That is one of the biggest pressures that we got on us at the moment'* (LC3). At the same time, the local councillor explained that *'one of the things I have managed to do is at least grab some money from these developments as the developer has to pay a thousand pounds for every unit back at the Council and that comes back to the community. So we manage to construct a building with a coffee lounge for the community with these money'* (LC3). This portrays how beneficial it is for these communities to have the local councillors on their side to ensure that the needs of the community are acknowledged and addressed. Thus, through their relationship with their local councillors, communities in the **conservator** pathway receive the support they need.

8.4 Discourses of Resilience

This section discusses how communities in the **conservator** pathway think about resilience based on their practices and how they adopt and utilise specific discourses of resilience when seeking to gain access to resources. It focuses on two dominant discourses of resilience identified, that of (a) beneficial resilience and (b) crisis resilience.

8.4.1 Beneficial Resilience

Beneficial resilience refers to how communities in the **conservator** pathway approach and think about resilience. In particular, communities in the **conservator** pathway approach resilience in a way that is beneficial and advantageous for them to achieve their aim of maintaining their status quo. Therefore, they use resilience and the fact that they are resilient for their own benefit to avoid any change in their

communities, keeping the quality of life within their communities as it is. In this sense, their approach towards resilience is guided by the aim of maintaining their status quo and thus, is centred around valuing stability in their communities. This was evident from the interviews with different actors from these communities who believe that their communities are resilient the way they are now, due to their existing community groups and facilities as well as their current quality of life. According to these communities all these contribute to making their communities resilient:

*'You heard me describe the sort of **community system we have here in Lisvane**; we have a community association and a community council. The community association looks after some buildings and takes care of the social fabric and groups that are in Lisvane as **there are over 20 community groups** including the women's institute, a garden club and you have got a wide range of things as we have a library, a historical society and a few churches. **So I think you will find that we are a very resilient community**' (LC3).*

*'You got people who are good-natured, with a common goal that they can make a group, whatever that group is and that is going to **help and support the community be resilient, like what we are doing**. Again **the activities we have running in our community are also necessary**' (CSO13).*

*'There are not many issues affecting Rhiwbina. **It is so different here**, I call it the Rhiwbina bubble sometimes, you know you can come and live here, and you **have everything you need** and **you can just exist in your little world** and is all really nice and then you go a few miles away and it is a completely different picture' (R4).*

*'Part of being resilient is people pulling together to make something happen like when a group of local residents fought against the Council **to keep this facility because it was needed within our community**' (CSO11).*

Hence, how communities in the **conservator** pathway approach resilience is reflected in their practices, that is in how these communities are seeking to access the resources they need. For example, when communities are organising themselves, they are collectively utilising the same frame of beneficial resilience to engage in social action with others and mobilise resources. Consequently, building

on Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) main concept of social skill, by collectively adopting the same frame of resilience, communities in the **conservator** pathway are able to mobilise and take action on different issues that would benefit these communities. This in turn, ensures that these communities continue to be resilient. That was the case with both the formation of a group in Llanishen and a group of residents in Heath, where these communities were engaging in a collective action with each other by jointly adopting this frame of beneficial resilience. Thus, such actions were successful because of the willingness of actors, like residents, volunteers, and community groups to come together and act for the benefit of their communities. Specifically, by protecting and ensuring that both the Court Field in Llanishen and the community centre in Heath are kept in the community, as well as controlled and managed by the community for the benefit of the community.

In a similar way, the creation of a community initiative against plastic in Rhiwbina was again only possible because of the willingness of local residents and the rest of the community to help each other as well as contribute their time and efforts into this. This was emphasised by a resident involved in this initiative who explained how valuable such initiative is for the community's engagement and ultimately its resilience as *'I think for resilience is important to being able to do things that people can see an impact and that they can have some involvement in it if they wish to do so. Like with this initiative, people feel they can come to us, and bring their ideas and get involved. So it is about knowing that there is somebody out there, doing something that is accessible to you'* (R4). Therefore, for communities in the **conservator** pathway, mobilising around issues that people care about, such as reducing plastic waste, is beneficial towards these communities' resilience, as it is an opportunity for people to further engage with each other. Such thinking is shared among the community, allowing the community to engage in social action to create such initiatives for the benefit of their community.

Furthermore, when communities in the **conservator** pathway are collaborating with more powerful actors to access resources such as funding and expertise, they are using their resilience to convince those actors to work together to obtain the resources they need to continue being resilient. Specifically, they are using their resilience for their own benefit to get the support and resources needed to sustain their community groups and facilities which they consider to be part of their

resilience, allowing them to maintain their status quo. For instance, in order to successfully keep the community centre running in Lisvane, a collaboration between different actors was necessary. In particular, the community was able to convince Cardiff Council that the community centre was needed in the community as the activities and services that the centre was providing were significant for the resilience of their community. Consequently, the community managed to convince Cardiff Council to approve the funding needed to redevelop and extend the community centre in order to improve it. Likewise, a local voluntary group in Llanishen which focuses on helping elderly people within the community by providing services such as shopping or transportation, has secured the funding needed. This was achieved by successfully managing to convince other actors such as the Welsh Government that such funding was important for keeping the group going. In this sense, receiving the funding needed was beneficial for the community and its resilience to ensure that the group remains active in the community and able to continue to support elderly people within the community.

The communities in the **conservator** pathway are able to convince other actors such as Cardiff Council to engage in collaboration with them by using the frame of beneficial resilience because these communities have a similar understanding and view of resilience to the Council. Thus, in contrast to communities in the **activist** and **survivor** pathways, communities in the **conservator** pathway believe that essentially each community is largely responsible for its own resilience, restricting any role the local authority has in terms of supporting and empowering communities to build their resilience. Indeed, these communities only emphasise the limited role that the local authority has of providing funding to the communities:

*'Our system in the community is **self-generated**. Groups of people taking part in things and that is natural. I do not think the local authority has a role to play particularly, as Cardiff is full of communities. I am sure the Cardiff Council will encourage the thought of a strong community **and the funding of community facilities**, and that is positive and helps but **in terms of making things happen on the ground, this is down to the communities themselves**' (LC3).*

*'For resilience it is **important to have a structure so people can get together** because if you have no people getting together you have no community. The local*

*authority does help and support communities, there is a charity government organisation, and they do help in the ways they can. **And they can always do more in terms of funding*** (CSO13).

*'I think **it is up to the willingness of the communities to contribute to building their resilience** while the **role of the Cardiff Council in supporting communities is very limited**. One of the difficulties with austerity is that a lot of the ways the Council could help financially through having things like youth services, they can no longer do that as those services disappeared from Llanishen'* (LC10).

Consequently, such a view and narrative of resilience is closer to the dominant neoliberal view of resilience which reinforces that communities are responsible for their own wellbeing and should not expect the state to help them. This is similar to arguments in critical studies in policy (Reid, 2012; Bulley, 2013; Joseph, 2013; McKeown and Glenn, 2018) about how governments use community resilience for their own benefit to advance their own neoliberal discourses and agendas. However, the findings demonstrate that such neoliberal discourses of resilience can also be adopted and used by communities themselves for their own benefit. In this case, to show that they are resilient and achieve their aim of maintaining their status quo.

Also, as highlighted by a local councillor in Llanishen communities in the **conservator** pathway do acknowledge that due to austerity the local authority has now less resources available to support the communities in terms of funding as *'I have seen that change; once local authorities were able to fund and create initiatives for younger people and have services for the neglected groups of people, but now they cannot do that because financially they do not have the resources. We need better funding back in the local authorities'* (LC10). Thus, communities in the **conservator** pathway realise that Cardiff Council's limited availability of resources due to austerity, negatively affects its ability to financially support communities. However, in contrast to the other two community pathways, communities in the **conservator** pathway do not believe that the Cardiff Council has any other role to play in supporting communities develop their resilience, apart from providing funding as they believe that communities are largely responsible for their own resilience. Therefore, there is no tension and conflict in relation to the narratives and motivations for resilience between these communities and Cardiff Council. This enables

communities in the **conservator** pathway to successfully collaborate with the Council who they recognise as a powerful actor in the CRSAF, to obtain the funding and support they need for their communities.

In this sense, communities in the **conservator** pathway are using the government's increasing need for communities to be more resilient for their own benefit to keep their status quo. Thus, moving from the SAFs theory, communities in the **conservator** pathway are seeking to persuade Cardiff Council to work together by framing their interests in a way that resonates with them, adopting similar frames of resilience (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). In other words, they are using and adopting a neoliberal view of resilience which is supported by the Cardiff Council as legitimate to signal their own resilience. They do this by demonstrating that they are resilient according to the standards of the Council as they are economically affluent and active in terms of their community groups and facilities, allowing them to be better equipped in terms of responding to adverse situations and crises. Consequently, there is no need for them to change, because they are already resilient. Rather, what these communities need from Cardiff Council, is its support in terms of funding and expertise to ensure that they continue being resilient and achieve their aim of keeping their status quo.

Moreover, when communities in the **conservator** pathway are seeking to establish positive relationships with their local councillors to gain their support and political influence, they are collectively adopting the same frame of beneficial resilience to engage in social action with them. They do this by convincing the local councillors that working together and having their support would benefit their communities, specifically by ensuring that their communities remain resilient as they currently are. That was the case with both the voluntary group in Llanishen and the community centre in Heath, where skilled actors managed to successfully establish relationships with their local councillors to gain their support for the benefit of their communities. Equally important for communities in successfully forming positive relationships with their local councillors, is the local councillors' view of their role in terms of engaging with the communities and supporting them in being resilient. Indeed, both the local councillors in Llanishen and Lisvane have emphasised that it is mostly up to the communities themselves to be resilient and achieve things for their communities locally. Therefore, the local councillors' view of resilience is closer to the neoliberal

view of resilience where communities are increasingly responsible for their own development and resilience.

This was further portrayed by a local councillor in Llanishen who stressed that *'the role of the councillor is changing; I think that now we are more enablers than doers. I have been a councillor for a long time now and it is very different. In those days you had a sense of doing things and making things happen. There is less of that now, we are more as I said enablers and connecting people and being a focal point of the area and the community'* (LC10). This shows that local councillors acknowledge their changing role which occurs within a more general shift in policy and encourage communities to become more responsible for their own well-being. Indeed, the literature recognises the shift in policy from welfare states to enabling states, in which the government takes a new role as facilitator and enabler, rather than provider and manager (Elvidge, 2014). In this sense, the role of local councillor consists of supporting communities to have a more active role in improving their communities, illustrating the shift from being dependent on the state to becoming more self-reliant (Elvidge, 2014; Markantoni et al., 2019). Consequently, such view of their role as councillors and their similar understanding of resilience, allows the communities in the **conservator** pathway to work together with the local councillors in supporting them to continue to be resilient.

This is further illustrated by a local councillor in Lisvane who played a role in supporting the community to oppose a proposal to build a new house development between Lisvane and Pontprennau. In particular, the local councillor helped to communicate the community's concerns for the new development to the Cardiff Council. As the local councillor explained, the residents of Lisvane including himself was worried about the negative impact of the development on the community's infrastructure, by emphasising that right now, *'we are the right number of houses and the right number of people in the community, so not too big or too small, as size is important to the resilience of a community'* (LC3). This shows that the local councillor is supporting the community to oppose a development that can threaten the existing stability and resilience of the community as understood by the community and the local councillor. In other words, the community is adopting the same frame of beneficial resilience to engage in social action with the local councillors to protect their community against something that threatens its resilience.

Similarly in Llanishen, vital to the success of the residents to renew the lease of managing an open space in their community as a community facility, was the support of a local councillor who has been the chair of that group for over 10 years. In fact, the local councillor believes that the group is important for protecting the open space from the Council's alternative plans and that having such space to operate as a community facility, helps in ensuring the resilience of the community. Thus, the local councillor was seeking to strengthen and support the group by encouraging more people within the community to become involved with it to keep the group active. Consequently, the community and the local councillor were once again collectively adopting the same approach towards resilience to engage in action together, believing that such action would benefit the community and would help maintain its resilience.

8.4.2 Crisis Resilience

Apart from beneficial resilience, another discourse of resilience identified is that of crisis resilience. This is related to the type of resilience that communities in the **conservator** pathway often refer to, influenced by these communities' approach towards resilience. Crisis resilience focuses on a community's ability to deal with adversity during crises. This type of resilience highlights the ability of a community to adapt and recover from a crisis, demonstrating its resilience. As the literature indicates, crisis resilience focuses on a community's capability to 'bounce back' from a shock (e.g., a crisis) and return to its previous state before the shock, distinguishing it from other 'bouncing forward' types of resilience (Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). The discourse of crisis resilience is reflected in the activities and aims of communities in the **conservator** pathway. This was illustrated through the interviews with community organisations who emphasised how they were all coming together to support each other in their communities when needed:

*'I am thinking of it as the **community pulling together to support each other and come out of something**. It is about communication and noticing things in the community'* (CSO11).

*'It is how you can **withstand and face hardships** like when Covid-19 hit, we were able to **adapt** to the new situation, so we showed some resilience'* (CSO13).

This was further conveyed by a local councillor in Lisvane and a resident of Rhiwbina:

*'It is about **helping and supporting** people that are in need during the pandemic' (LC3).*

*'So our take is you got to be resilient, you **got to carry on**. There is a lot to be negative about but there is also a lot of positivity and there is a lot we can do to make an impact. **During the pandemic, there was definitely a coming together** and there was something on social media about making sure if there was anybody that was vulnerable, somebody to check on them so in our little street we **make sure that everyone was okay**, and I think that went on in the whole area' (R4).*

Consequently, it is evident that communities in the **conservator** pathway understand their resilience in terms of their ability to adapt and respond during crises. For example, this understanding enabled these communities to view themselves as resilient because of their ability to come together to help and support each other during the pandemic. Indeed, emphasis was placed on the strong community response during the pandemic as the neighbours were checking on each other to make sure they were all okay and supporting those people who belonged in vulnerable groups as well as offering their support and help on different social media groups. This was highlighted by a local councillor in Lisvane who stressed that *'during the pandemic, I was in a vulnerable group and our neighbours from across the road for three months got our food for us and I heard of people throughout Lisvane doing that. The neighbours know who are next to them and which people need help and would call them to ask them if needed help. I think Lisvane is pretty good, and I am not saying that one or two people were not struggling but they have got children or relatives to help them'* (LC3).

Their resilience was further demonstrated in terms of how different community groups were able to adapt their services and activities to provide support within these communities during the pandemic. For instance, the voluntary group in Llanishen found ways to adapt to the new situation in order to continue providing their support to elderly people. This was highlighted by a trustee of the local group who explained

that although the situation was challenging because they were dealing with vulnerable and elderly people and thus, they had to be careful, they did find ways to support people as they were providing unaccompanied shopping *'since we could not get into people houses, they were leaving a note of their shopping list outside their door, so we did the shopping for them and we were leaving the shopping outside, whereas normally we would put their stuff in the fridge'* (CSO13). Also, the way they were offering companionship had to change as well to keep that service during the pandemic because *'it used to be face to face so a volunteer going to someone's house to chat for a bit, but with the pandemic we had to reduce that to a telephone service only, so we were running that, and more people were able to join'* (CSO13). In a similar way, both the community centres in Heath and Lisvane were offering a lot of their activities which were previously taking place in the community centres online, such as their weekly coffee mornings to continue providing an opportunity for people to meet with others and prevent people from feeling isolated and lonely within their communities.

Additionally, a resident involved in a community initiative against plastic in Rhiwbina explained how they used recycling within the community as an activity to bring together and connect people within the community during the pandemic as, *'we used to have recycling collections at the library, to collect things that people were bringing but when the pandemic hit, we could not do that anymore, so we moved the collections in the middle of the community. We did it on the weekends, outside of one of the local shops which provided a little bit of shelter, and we felt that was a bonding experience for all of us because we were all outside and we could do it together as the rest of the community would come to help. It provided them with something to do'* (R4). Therefore, crises such as the recent Covid-19 pandemic provided the communities in the **conservator** pathway with an opportunity to demonstrate their resilience by showing their ability to adapt and respond to adversity. By doing this, they were signalling that the system they have in place within their communities consisting of their community groups and facilities works well as they were able to successfully adapt to provide support to people in need during crises.

This reinforces the communities' argument that they are resilient as they are and thus, there is no need to change to become resilient. This is related to another aspect of crisis resilience which focuses on the community's ability to 'bounce back' from a

crisis and return back to its normal state as this is considered to be desirable. In other words, it is about going back to how things used to be after the crisis has ended, as communities in the **conservator** pathway were doing fine before in terms of their resilience. Therefore, after the crisis has ended, communities returned to how they were before and continued with their activities and aim of ensuring that they maintain their status quo and resilience. This is reflected by these communities' activities and approach to resilience as they are valuing activities which provide stability and continuity in their communities. This is in line with their approach to resilience as they use resilience and the fact that they are resilient for their own benefit to avoid any change in their communities. Thus, activities such as saving the community centre in Heath and Lisvane ultimately aim to protect their communities from losing a community facility that they value and need as the centres provide a wide range of services and activities, as well as a meeting space for the communities. In a similar manner, the creation and maintenance of different community groups is important for the resilience of these communities. For example, in Llanishen, a voluntary group supporting elderly people was collaborating with other actors and organisations to get the resources needed to sustain the group. Thus, the group was necessary to the community as there was high demand for their services with *'100 clients within the community who are using our services regularly, and 200 people using our services occasionally'* (CSO13). Apart from the high demand within the Llanishen community, there was also demand from the surrounding areas, making the contribution of the group to these communities valuable.

This is also the case when communities in the **conservator** pathway were establishing positive relationships with their local councillors to gain their support and influence to protect their communities from any threat to their stability. One example was opposing the new housing development between Lisvane and Pontprennau which threatens the existing infrastructure of the community (Wales Online, 2023). Thus, according to these communities, the development was a threat to their resilient community and the community's stability due to the new changes that would occur, such as an increase in traffic congestion or increased pressure on infrastructure including schools and health centres. That is why the community is opposing such development from happening to prevent any change in their community. In a similar way, a group of active residents was formed in Llanishen to protect an open space in the community and use it as a community space for the benefit of the community.

From the above examples, it is evident that continuity is best understood in terms of conservation for these communities.

8.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter focuses on the communities of Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen and Rhiwbina and analyses the ways in which these communities in the **conservator** pathway are accessing the resources they need by employing practices such as organising themselves, collaborating with others and establishing positive relationships with local councillors. Also, it is shown how communities in the **conservator** pathway utilise two dominant discourses of resilience, that of beneficial resilience and crisis resilience, in accessing those resources. At the same time, the chapter discusses certain characteristics communities in the **conservator** pathway share, such as their similar level of economic development which further influence their practices and discourses of resilience. Table 11 and Figure 13 below summarise how the different activities of communities in the **conservator** pathway are grouped together as specific practices, while showing how particular discourses of resilience are attached to those practices and activities.

Consequently, the communities of Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen and Rhiwbina are grouped together in the **conservator** pathway, based on these specific practices and discourses of resilience which they use in a similar way to achieve what they want, which is to maintain their status quo. This is because, as evidenced throughout this chapter, communities in the **conservator** pathway believe that their communities are already resilient as they are now and thus, there is no need for them to change to become resilient. Unlike the previous two community pathways, communities in the **conservator** pathway do not specialise in any of the three practices to access the resources they need to achieve their aim. Instead, communities in the **conservator** pathway engage in all three practices (organising themselves, collaborating with others and establishing positive relationships with local councillors) to accomplish their aim which is to maintain their position and status quo. Thus, they are interested in keeping their existing position in the CRSAF, and as challengers seek to continue having access to the resources they require.

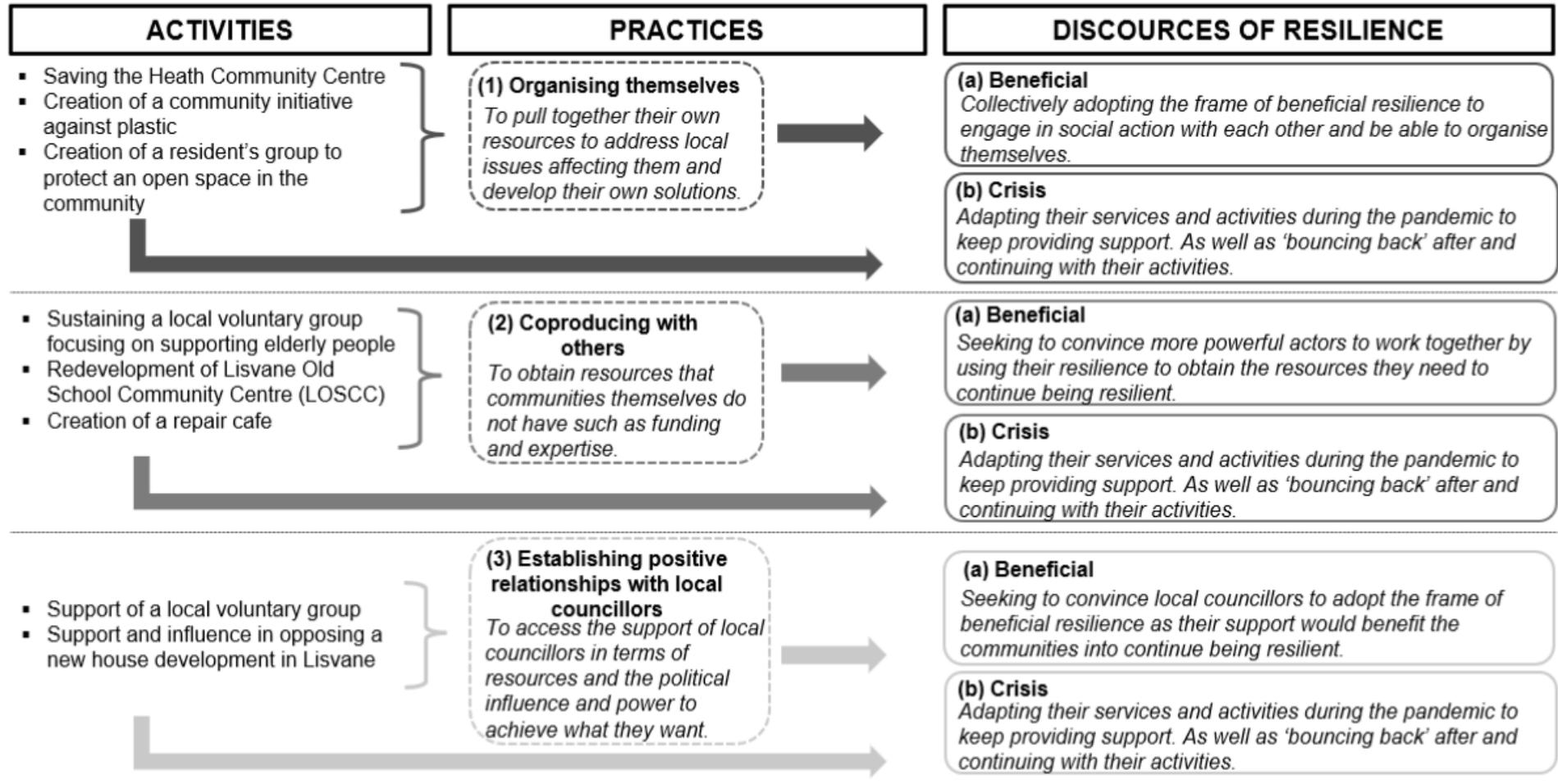
They do this by utilising dominant neoliberal discourses of resilience for their own benefit and advantage. This is in line with how these communities approach

resilience in a beneficial way as they use the fact that they are resilient for their own benefit to avoid any change in their communities, keeping the quality of life within their communities as it is. This is further reflected by these communities' activities as they are valuing activities which provide stability and continuity in their communities. As communities in the **conservator** pathway, they are referring to their resilience in terms of their ability to adapt and respond well during a crisis as well as 'bounce back' and return to its normal state. Therefore, regardless of the practice they adopt, their activities are centred around sustaining their community groups and community facilities, as well as opposing any new development that could threaten their communities' current quality of life and resilience.

Table 11: Conservator Pathway: Activities, Practices, and Discourses of Resilience

Practice		Description	Activities	Discourses of Resilience	Explanation
1	Organising themselves	<i>To pull together their own resources to act around issues they care and ensure that their communities remain protected.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Saving the Heath Community Centre • Creation of a community initiative against plastic • Creation of a resident's group to protect an open space in the community 	(a) Beneficial Resilience	<i>Collectively adopting the frame of beneficial resilience to engage in social action with each other and be able to organise themselves.</i>
				(b) Crisis Resilience	<i>Adapting their services and activities during the pandemic to keep providing support. As well as 'bouncing back' after and continuing with their activities.</i>
2	Collaborating with others	<i>To obtain resources that communities themselves do not have such as funding and expertise.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustaining a local voluntary group focusing on supporting elderly people • Redevelopment of Lisvane Old School Community Centre (LOSCC) • Creation of a repair café 	(a) Beneficial Resilience	<i>Seeking to convince more powerful actors to work together by using their resilience to obtain the resources they need to continue being resilient.</i>
				(b) Crisis Resilience	<i>Adapting their services and activities during the pandemic to keep providing support. As well as 'bouncing back' after and continuing with their activities.</i>
3	Establishing positive relationships with local councillors	<i>To access the support of local councillors in terms of resources, political influence and power to achieve what they want.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support of a local voluntary group • Support and influence in opposing a new house development in Lisvane 	(a) Beneficial Resilience	<i>Seeking to convince local councillors to adopt the frame of beneficial resilience as their support would benefit the communities into continue being resilient.</i>
				(b) Crisis Resilience	<i>Adapting their services and activities during the pandemic to keep providing support. As well as 'bouncing back' after and continuing with their activities.</i>

Figure 13: Conservator Pathway: Activities, Practices, and Discourses of Resilience



9. Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this research is to explore how communities in Cardiff are organising to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. By exploring the communities' point of view, this research addresses the gap that exists in the community resilience literature, regarding how communities react to policies of community resilience and existing discourses associated with those policies. Therefore, the main theoretical contribution of this research is the development of a typology of three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**) to explain how different actors within communities in Cardiff are coming together (i.e., organising) to influence their own communities' development in relation to resilience. The second research contribution is the empirical analysis of the perspectives of communities in relation to how they are organising for resilience. Furthermore, there are two additional research contributions to the SAFs theory. The first is empirically demonstrating that social actors are indeed thinking in SAFs by acting strategically and the second is in relation to place and its role within the SAFs theory. These contributions are discussed in detail later in this chapter.

As discussed in the literature review chapter, few empirical studies have focused so far on the importance of examining the processes through which communities seek to influence community affairs (Wright, 2016; Kumpulainen et al., 2022).

Kumpulainen et al. (2022) is a noteworthy exception who draw attention to the political dimensions of community resilience, by seeking to identify the different local tactics that rural communities adopt to maintain their viability during municipal mergers in Finland. In that way, they demonstrate the importance of considering the active agency of actors to defend or develop their communities' development and resilience. Consequently, this research adopts Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011) as a theoretical lens to view community resilience in Cardiff as a SAF. This enables the analysis of actors' capacity to influence the CRSAF through their interactions and strategies, focusing on their agency, collective action, and power. Emphasis is placed on the constant jockeying happening within the SAF, with actors making moves and other actors having to interpret them, consider their options and then act (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

The methodological approach of this research involved collecting publicly available documents discussing community resilience which were analysed using thematic analysis to: i) develop an understanding of the policy context in which community resilience operates in Wales; and ii) identify and select the relevant actors to be interviewed and develop questions to ask, thus informing the interview schedule. Also 45 semi-structured interviews were conducted with two key stakeholder groups as identified from the document analysis: (1) state-related actors and (2) local community actors, including community organisations and volunteers. The participants were selected on the basis of their involvement and participation in their community, as well as in community resilience activities (i.e., purposive sampling). The interview data was then analysed using a combination of thematic analysis and CDA to identify key themes from the data in order to answer the following two research questions posed in the beginning of this research:

1) How are actors within communities in Cardiff coming together to influence their communities' development in relation to resilience?

2) In doing so, to what extent are actors within these communities challenging existing dominant resilience discourses?

The remainder of this chapter reflects back on the underlying aim of this research by discussing the key contributions to the literature, both theoretical and empirical, derived from this research. Lastly, the limitations of this study are considered, with the conclusion providing directions for further research.

9.2 Research Contribution

This section discusses the key contributions derived from this research, focusing on both empirical and theoretical contributions to the community resilience literature as well as the SAFs theory.

9.2.1 Contributions to the Community Resilience Literature

This research contributes empirically to the community resilience literature, addressing the gap that exists regarding how communities react to community resilience policies and existing discourses associated with those policies. Previous empirical research on community resilience has focused on the communities'

different resources, such as the emergence of collective action, the prevalence of social networks and social inclusion (Kulig et al., 2008; Norris et al., 2008; Buikstra et al., 2010; Magis, 2010; Platts-Fowler and Robinson, 2016). As well as the ways in which these can be developed to build community resilience focusing on empowerment processes (Buikstra et al., 2010; Zwiers et al., 2018; Cavaye and Ross, 2019). There has also been an emphasis on high-level analyses of policy documents which examine resilience as a discourse of governance, looking at how resilience is used for the state's neoliberal agenda, and specifically on what it aims to produce (Bulley, 2013; Joseph, 2013; McKeown and Glenn, 2018). However, such analyses neglect empirical examination of how resilience discourse plays out at the local and community level. In other words, they remain silent about what communities are doing and how they are reacting to such discourses. Indeed, Wright (2016) argues that so far there is a lack of evidence about the extent to which the resilience agenda has been taken up or noticed by the public, or how it is shaped within the broader sociopolitical context.

In order to address the literature gap, this research empirically explores how actors within communities come together (i.e., organise) to exercise their agency in relation to resilience by focusing on a case study of different communities in Cardiff (Wales). It focuses on the ability and capacity of social actors to influence community affairs and defend their communities' development in relation to resilience (Kumpulainen et al., 2022). To do this, the study uses Fligstein's and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011) as the theoretical lens to consider community resilience in Cardiff as a SAF. With important caveats (Revilla et al., 2018; Kumpulainen et al., 2022), there have been limited attempts to understand community resilience as a SAF or a social arena, where actors' interactions with each other and resources are central. For instance, Revilla et al. (2018) were amongst the few scholars who prompted others to shift their attention to consider resilience in terms of the relationship between subjects with agential capacity and the social context in which they live, within which action unfolds. Similarly, according to Kumpulainen et al. (2022), adopting SAFs as a framework can draw attention to the political dimension of community resilience, meaning the adoption of active agency by social actors to defend or develop their communities' vitality, opening the way for strategic action. Indeed, the development of the three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**) show and define community resilience as a relational concept that should focus not

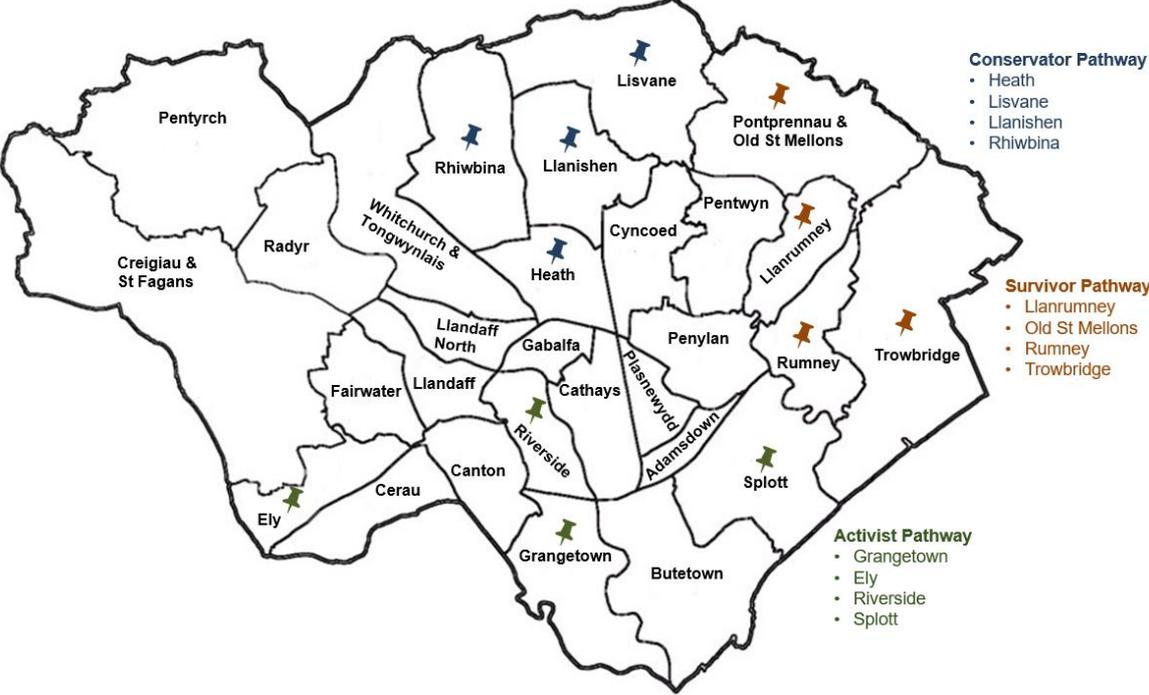
only on the local authorities and/ or public policies, but also the communities that build up such social space.

Another value of using SAFs theory as a framework in relation to resilience is its emphasis on the idea of power. Since SAFs are generally arenas of struggle over advantage and desire to be in power, gain power or resist power, it is essentially 'about who gets what' (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012:3). This is something often criticised in the critical literature of community resilience as many resilience frameworks tend to ignore or simplify issues of power (MacKinnon and Derickson, 2012; Reid, 2012; Bulley, 2013; Walsh-Dilley and Wolford, 2015). Thus, the research highlights the value of using an organisational perspective (SAFs theory) for understanding the jockeying of actors and power dynamics within the SAF of community resilience. This sheds light on how communities are coming together to exercise their agency in relation to resilience. This enables analysis of the actors' capacity to influence the CRSAF through their interactions and strategies, focusing on their agency, collective action, and power. In this sense, within the CRSAF access to resources and struggle over discourses, is central for actors to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position within the CRSAF.

This research also contributes theoretically to the field of community resilience by developing a typology of three community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**), to explain how different actors within communities in Cardiff are coming together (i.e., organising) to influence their own communities' development and achieve what they want. The community pathways illustrate how actors engage in a set of practices to access resources and in doing so utilise their own discourses of resilience through which they seek to gain legitimacy for their actions and influence their position in the CRSAF. Therefore, the research not only unpacks the pathways empirically but also theoretically, with the discourses of resilience, combining them to form the typology of community pathways to resilience. Consequently, each community pathway comprises specific communities grouped together because they share certain common practices and discourses of resilience, as well as certain place-based characteristics; providing a theoretical explanation as to why each pathway has that specific combination of practices and discourses of resilience, explaining ultimately how the typology is developed. Figure 14 below shows a map of

the different communities in Cardiff, grouped together by the community pathways, with each colour representing a different pathway.

Figure 14: Map of Cardiff Communities Included in Each Community Pathway



As detailed in previous chapters, each community pathway is defined by its aim, referring to what the communities included in each pathway want to achieve:

- Communities in the **activist** pathway (Chapter 6) specialise in organising themselves using their social capital and place-based identity as a resource to be able to influence and shape the development and resilience of their communities as they like and believe is best to do. This in turn, allows them to retain their autonomy and independence from the local authority which they view as a threat to the local system they have set up in their communities. In this way, they are able to continue working towards strengthening their communities and potentially transforming their communities into something better. This extends our understanding of social capital and place attachment only as resources which are important to have as a community, to be resilient (Norris et al., 2008, Buikstra et al., 2010; Ross and Berkes 2014; Zwiers et al., 2018). Instead, in economically deprived areas, social capital and place attachment can be used as a resource by actors to be able to influence their communities’ development as they like. Thus, it is used as a substitute for the lack of financial resources in

these communities, allowing them to specialise in organising themselves to retain their autonomy from the local authority.

- Communities in the **survivor** pathway (Chapter 7) specialise in developing multi-sector partnerships to access the resources that they themselves do not possess such as funding and expertise. They do this because their own resources are limited due to the isolation they face as well as the high level of deprivation that exist in these communities, which negatively impact these communities' engagement. Thus, they rely on other more powerful actors including the local authority to access the resources they need to be able to support each other to overcome different challenges that persist due to the high level of deprivation such as food poverty in order to survive and be resilient. At the same time, these communities emphasise the importance of strengthening their communities with their activities in the long-term. However, the fact that communities in the **survivor** pathway are limited in terms of what they can achieve with their own resources, highlights the limits of their agency. This is because, up to an extent, they are always going to be dependent on other more powerful actors for resources to survive, illustrating the struggle of these communities to transform into something better.
- In contrast, communities in the **conservator** pathway (Chapter 8) do not specialise in any specific practice to access the resources they need to achieve their aim. Instead, they engage in a range of practices (organising themselves, collaborating with others and establishing positive relationships with local councillors) to accomplish their aim which is to maintain their position and status quo. This is because they believe that their communities are already resilient as they are now due to their level of economic development, their existing community groups and facilities as well as their current quality of life and consequently, there is no need for them to change to become resilient. Therefore, they use resilience for their own benefit, demonstrating their resilience in terms of their ability to respond and adapt well during crises, while 'bouncing back' after. They do this, to get the support and resources needed to sustain their community groups and facilities which they consider to be part of their resilience, allowing them to maintain their status quo. Consequently,

regardless of the practice they adopt, their activities are centred around providing stability and continuity in their communities.

Figure 15 below illustrates the formation of the community pathways as comprising different layers, with a layer of practices and discourses of resilience interacting with each other, further shaped by an additional layer of place-based characteristics as well as another layer capturing the aim of the community pathway. Additionally, Figure 15 brings together the three community pathways showing their similarities and differences in terms of their practices, discourses of resilience, characteristics of place and their aims, providing an answer to the research question of how actors within communities in Cardiff come together to influence their communities' development in relation to resilience. This supports a detailed comparison of the practices and discourses of resilience of all three community pathways, in order to better understand the distinctions between the community pathways.

Figure 15: Community Pathway Formation and Comparison of Community Pathways



9.2.1.1 Practices

Communities in the three community pathways engage in a set of three practices (organising themselves, collaborating in some form, and establishing positive relationships with local councillors) in order to gain access to certain resources they need from different actors and organisations including the local authority for their development. These resources include social capital, funding, expertise, and skills. Although they engage in the same three practices, there are two crucial differences between the three community pathways in relation to them. The first difference is that communities in the **activist** and **survivor** pathways each specialise in one of the three practices to access resources, making that practice key to each specific pathway. In contrast, in the **conservator** pathway, communities do not specialise in any of the three practices, but rather they engage in all practices to achieve what they want, which ultimately is to maintain their status quo.

As depicted in Figure 15 above, communities in the **activist** pathway specialise in organising themselves, while communities in the **survivor** pathway specialise in developing multi-sector partnerships. Therefore, the communities in these two pathways have become highly skilled in those practices to access resources, connecting this to their aim of what they want to achieve. For example, communities in the **activist** pathway organise themselves using their social capital and place-based identity as a resource to be able to influence and shape the development and resilience of their communities, as they like and believe is best to do. This in turn, allows them to retain their autonomy and independence from the local authority which they view as a threat. The reason for this is that they approach and understand resilience differently from the local authority. Thus, they do not want to risk their autonomy by being dependent on the local authority for resources and support. Contrary to that, communities in the **survivor** pathway are highly skilled in developing multi-sector partnerships by collaborating with multiple organisations and actors from different sectors to access funding and expertise that they themselves do not possess in order to survive and be resilient.

The second difference concerns the practice of collaborating, as although all communities engage in some form of collaboration to access resources, the type of collaboration that exists between the three pathways differs, conditional on their aim. For instance, in the **activist** pathway, the communities are coproducing with external

partners, such as Cardiff University, to obtain resources like funding and expertise that they themselves do not have. Thus, this type of collaboration entails that communities are working together with other actors as equal partners, meaning that communities are still actively involved in this process. This is in line with the aim of this pathway, which involves these communities having an active role in shaping their development and resilience. That also explains why communities in this pathway choose not to collaborate with the local authority as they believe that the local authority is no longer willing to work with them together as equal partners. In contrast, communities in the **survivor** pathway are developing multi-sector partnerships to access the funding they need to survive from other more powerful actors.

This involves collaborating with multiple organisations and actors from different sectors to successfully achieve this. Due to the specific needs and challenges that exist in these communities because of the high level of deprivation, communities in the **survivor** pathway realise that the only way to survive is to convince other actors and organisations, inclusive of the local authority, to work together, because they need them. Consequently, this type of collaboration is different from co-producing with external partners, because communities in the **survivor** pathway have to collaborate with multiple actors from different sectors including the local authority whereas communities in the **activist** pathway, only choose to co-produce and collaborate with partners that consider working with them as equal partners. Equally different is the type of collaboration that exists in the **conservator** pathway, as unlike in the previous two pathways, there is no specific type of collaboration identified tied to the **conservator** pathway. Instead, these communities simply keep collaborating with other actors and organisations in the way that they have previously to continue having access to resources they need, such as funding and expertise to achieve their aim of maintaining their status quo.

9.2.1.2 Discourses of Resilience

Apart from engaging in specific practices, communities in the three pathways embrace and utilise certain resilience discourses when seeking to gain access to resources. In particular, as shown in Figure 15 above, there are two dominant categories of resilience discourses identified in each pathway; (1) one relating to how communities consider and approach resilience and (2) the other referring to the type

of resilience adopted by the communities. Indeed, the communities in each pathway approach resilience differently, with communities in the **activist** pathway following an approach to resilience where the community takes an active role in its own development and resilience, valuing and utilising local efforts and energy. This is reflected in how these communities specialise in organising themselves, utilising discourses, such as that of participatory resilience to engage in social action with others and mobilise resources. Likewise, when these communities are engaging in other practices, such as coproducing with external partners and establishing positive relationships with local councillors, they seek to convince those actors that it is, also in their favour, to adopt the same frame of participatory resilience. However, this was not possible in the case of the local authority, since according to these communities, the local authority's motivation and approach towards resilience differs significantly from them, creating tension and conflict between them.

In the **survivor** pathway, communities adopt an approach towards resilience that is pragmatic and realistic, realising that in order to survive and be resilient, they need the support and resources from other more powerful actors and organisations. Thus, their approach towards resilience is guided by their need to survive by specialising in developing multi-sector partnerships. In this sense, they are seeking to secure the cooperation of others by convincing them to work together and so making themselves more attractive to potential partners and funders. This entails adopting the same view of resilience that these actors have, even if their own view of resilience and motivation for resilience might be different. In the same way, they adopt this approach to resilience to convince local councillors to work together and engage in social action with each other. On the contrary, communities in the **conservator** pathway, approach resilience in a way that is beneficial and advantageous for them to achieve their aim of maintaining their status quo.

Communities in the **conservator** pathway are using resilience and the fact that they are resilient for their own benefit to avoid any change in their communities and keeping the quality of life within their communities as it is. In this way, when communities are collaborating with other actors and establishing positive relationships with local councillors, they make use of their resilience to convince more powerful actors, like the local authority, to work together to continue having access to resources they need to continue maintaining their resilience. They are able

to do this as these communities have a similar understanding of resilience to Cardiff Council regarding the role of the local authority in supporting communities to be resilient. Similarly, when organising themselves, they are collectively utilising the discourse of beneficial resilience to engage in social action with others and mobilise resources for the benefit of their own communities.

In accordance with their approach towards resilience, communities in each pathway also view resilience differently. In particular, communities in the **activist** pathway view resilience as transformational, valuing activities which aim to strengthen and potentially transform their communities into something better in the long-term. Thus, they are focusing on their communities' sustainability and self-reliance, local infrastructure, as well as social relationships. Such a view of resilience as transformational seems to contradict the local authority's view of resilience, which is focused only on the communities' short-term ability to prepare for and deal with crises and adverse situations, leading to further tension in their relationship with these communities. On the other hand, communities in the **survivor** pathway discuss resilience both in terms of crisis and transformational resilience. Since their aim is to survive, they are primarily concerned with supporting each other, in dealing with and overcoming different challenges in their communities, with their activities centred around tackling food poverty. Thus, they are referring to resilience in terms of their ability as a community to deal with adversity during crises.

At the same time nevertheless, they are also interested in improving and strengthening their communities in the long-run by focusing on making their communities more sustainable and self-reliant as well as strengthening their social relationships. In this sense, they are talking about transformational resilience. In the case of **conservator** pathway, communities refer mostly to crisis resilience, as they consider their resilience in terms of their ability to adapt and respond well during a crisis, such as the recent coronavirus pandemic. This type of resilience focuses on a community's ability to 'bounce back' from a crisis and return back to its normal state. This is demonstrated by the communities in this pathway, as after the pandemic ended, they returned to how they were before, continuing with their usual activities, and maintaining their resilience. As such, they value activities which provide stability and continuity in their communities to ensure the maintenance of their status quo.

9.2.3 Contributions to the SAFs Theory

This research also contributes to the Fligstein and McAdam's SAFs theory (2011; 2012) in two ways. The first way is by empirically demonstrating that social actors in SAFs are indeed thinking and acting strategically to influence something, in this case their communities' development and resilience. The development of a typology of the three community pathways to resilience illustrates the different ways communities in each pathway engage in collective action to access the different resources they need, such as social capital (i.e., their practices). Additionally, this research successfully operationalises the concept of social skill by empirically analysing how actors navigate the field, using their social skills to secure the cooperation of others and engage in collective strategic action by framing their own interests in ways that resonate with others. This is important as it is this concept that gives the opportunity to challenger groups to challenge the existing order within the SAF (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). As the analysis revealed, skilled actors in each of the three community pathways identified, utilise and adopt two dominant frames of resilience to engage in collective strategic action. One of the frames relates to the approach these actors take towards resilience (participatory, pragmatic, beneficial) and the other concerns the type of resilience they are interested in (transformational, crisis/transformational, crisis).

This illustrates the contestation that exists regarding the meanings of resilience as adopted by actors within communities as they embrace different frames of resilience regarding (a) the approach and (b) the type of resilience. Similarly to the resilience literature, actors within communities distinguish between two types of resilience, that of early ecology-based 'bounce back' perspectives of resilience (crisis resilience) and notions of transformational resilience which focus on 'bouncing forward' from external shocks (Shaw, 2012; Weichselgartner and Kelman, 2015). Such a distinction, however, contradicts what is happening in policy arenas, as this differentiation between the two types of resilience is often ignored in policy, and even in cases that is not, the focus is only placed on the 'bounce back' type of resilience (White and O'Hare 2014). Moreover, the findings of this research demonstrate that communities in all three community pathways are aware of the local authority's motivations for resilience and approach towards resilience which is compatible with neoliberal rationalities. This is in line with arguments in the critical literature which highlight that governments increasingly use the idea of community resilience in policy to reinforce

a neoliberal perspective of resilience focusing on the shift of responsibility onto individuals and communities. As well as its promotion of reflexive self-governance through strategies of awareness, risk management and adaptability (Joseph, 2018; Humbert and Joseph, 2019).

However, depending on how communities in each pathway approach resilience, they either seek to challenge such neoliberal discourses (**activist**), adopt them (**survivor**) or utilise them for their own advantage (**conservator**). This is related to the second research question which considers the ways in which communities from the three pathways exercise their agency, as well as the limits of their agency, while reflecting on the implications of this in terms of challenging existing and dominant resilience discourses. Thus, this research portrays how communities play (i.e., jockey) with the rules of the game over dominant notions of neoliberal resilience. In other words, the case of resilience highlights the struggle over discourses happening within the CRSAF. For example, as discussed before, the findings show that communities in the **activist** pathway exercise their agency by deliberately choosing to engage in practices with the aim of retaining their autonomy and independence from the local authority which they view as a threat.

Consequently, this leads to the adoption of different frames of resilience, as communities believe that the local authority's motivation for resilience is guided by its own financial limitations. Whereas communities' view of resilience is regarded as something positive and participatory which can empower people within their communities. These communities, despite being economically deprived areas, are able to successfully retain their autonomy and independence from the local authority due to their history of community engagement. Indeed, this reinforces their feeling of connection to each other and increases their motivation to come together to address challenges resulting from their economic status. Thus, they use their place-based identity and social capital as a resource to come together and engage in practices that do not directly involve the local authority. In this way, although these communities as challengers have limited resources, they manage not to be dependent on the local authority for support, which as the incumbent actor holds significant resources and power.

In doing so, they push their own discourses of resilience which often come into conflict with other dominant neoliberal resilience discourses. This is illustrated by the fact that if a community does not have a set of specific features that powerful actors, such as the local authority, believe are needed to be deemed resilient, then they can use resilience in a negative way to criticise a community for not being resilient enough. Such specific features are often compatible with dominant neoliberal resilience discourses. For example, a community leader in Ely stressed that the local authority does not view relationships and connections as important to have for community resilience and this is reflected in their funding decisions as *'they might talk community resilience is a good thing, but if it is about those networks and relationships and some softer stuff I talked about, you have got a problem as any funding and support you are providing is guided by old fashion traditional targets, as everything is set up for a more traditional top-down service delivery model so if you are providing funding as a local authority, you are probably still asking how many people are helped with this issue not how many new relationships are build up or how many people are better able to take control of things because this is risky as how do you measure that?'* (CSO1). Therefore, these communities challenge such discourses by favouring their own resilience discourses with the aim of strengthening and transforming their communities. Consequently, as challengers they are articulating an alternative vision of the CRSAF and their position in it (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012).

Communities in the **survivor** pathway exercise their agency by engaging in practices with the aim to survive and be resilient. However, they are limited in terms of what they can achieve with their own resources, highlighting the limits of their agency in influencing the CRSAF and improving their position. This is because these communities possess limited resources of their own due to being economically deprived areas, while being situated in a particular part of Cardiff that is isolated. This means that they are dependent on other more powerful actors, including the local authority for support and resources in order to survive, such as funding. Therefore, realising their position as challengers in the CRSAF and guided by the frame of pragmatic resilience, these communities specialize in developing multi-sector partnerships to access the resources they need. Consequently, to access funding and expertise, skilled actors from these communities seek to persuade other actors to work together by framing their interests in a way that resonates with them. This

once again illustrates the significance of skilled actors in the **survivor** pathway, who are able to understand the perspectives of other actors and convince them to work together by adopting a common frame of resilience. In doing so, these communities often have to compromise and take whatever support other more powerful actors give to them to survive; even though communities may not be entirely satisfied with this.

In this sense, communities in the **survivor** pathway sacrifice some of their autonomy to access the resources they need to survive. This includes communities adopting dominant neoliberal resilient discourses, despite having their own discourses of resilience to make themselves more attractive to potential partners and funders, highlighting the difficulty of these communities in challenging such dominant resilience discourses. At the same time, skilled actors also play an important role in exploiting any opportunities that arise, utilising them for their advantage to improve their position in the SAF. That was the case during Covid-19, as the pandemic provided an opportunity for these communities to support each other during this crisis by engaging in social action together. Thus, communities in the **survivor** pathway as challengers attempt to influence the CRSAF by conforming to the prevailing order grudgingly, taking what the system gives them and awaiting new opportunities to challenge the structure of the system (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). However, being resource dependent constrains the ability of these communities to really influence the CRSAF and improve their position, as they are always dependent on others for resources to survive, demonstrating the struggle of these communities to transform into something better.

In the case of the **conservator** pathway, communities exercise their agency by engaging in practices to continue having access to resources they need, such as funding and expertise, to maintain their status quo. Consequently, they are interested in keeping their existing position in the CRSAF, and as challengers seek to continue having access to the resources they require. Following from this, the communities approach resilience in a beneficial way as they use the fact that they are resilient for their own benefit to avoid any change to their communities, keeping the quality of life within their communities as is. In this sense, they are collectively utilising the frame of beneficial resilience to engage in a set of practices. These range from engaging in social action with each other to mobilise resources to convincing other actors

including the local authority and local councillors to collaborate and work together to obtain the resources and support they need to continue being resilient. They are able to succeed in doing this because in contrast with the two previous pathways, these communities' discourses of resilience are similar to that of Cardiff Council. Specifically, they share an understanding of resilience that is closer to the dominant neoliberal view of resilience which reinforces a neoliberal focus on communities becoming responsible for their own wellbeing. As a result of this, communities should not expect the state to help them become resilient but rather they should be focusing on doing things themselves. This is significant because Cardiff Council as the incumbent actor has the power to shape the CRSAF according to its interests, while its frames of resilience legitimise and support its privileged position with the CRSAF. Consequently, communities in the **conservator** pathway do not seek to challenge existing neoliberal discourses of resilience, rather they utilise such discourses for their own benefit to achieve their aim of maintaining their status quo. Thus, they show to other actors such as Cardiff Council that they are resilient, by signalling their ability to come together as a community and support each other during a crisis for instance during the pandemic, while 'bouncing back' from it when it is over and returning back to their previous state (crisis resilience). Such a view of resilience is valued by the local authority as it is compatible with its own view of how a resilient community should look like.

The second contribution this research makes to the SAFs theory is in relation to place and its role within the SAFs theory. Although this research does not set out to consider community resilience in relation to place specifically and as a result does not adopt any place theories as a framework, the role of place is evident throughout the empirical analysis. As the findings of this research illustrate, place is also employed as a tool by the communities to navigate the CRSAF. In this sense, the actors' own understandings of place inform the different ways they engage in practices to access resources and in doing so utilise discourses of resilience to navigate the CRSAF. This is the case for each of the three community pathways identified, as each pathway comprises of specific communities in Cardiff which share certain characteristics that are distinctive to their place, consequently playing a role in shaping the practices and discourses of resilience in each of these pathways. For instance, communities in the **activist** pathway despite being economically deprived areas, are able to successfully retain their autonomy and independence from the

local authority due to the history of community engagement that exists in these communities. Thus, they use their place-based identity and social capital as a resource to come together and engage in practices that do not directly involve the local authority. Consequently, this research effectively demonstrates how conceptions of place (i.e., certain place-based characteristics) influence actors' interactions within the SAF, contributing to a better understanding of the SAF and actors' decisions (Cartel et al., 2022).

This has significant implications for the SAFs theory, as SAFs are generally considered as abstract social arenas, not tied to a specific place. However, actors interact with each other within specific places, thus the meanings actors attach to those places influence how they think and act within a SAF. Indeed, drawing on previous work in sociology and human geography, the notion of place has been defined in organisation studies as a unique location, endowed with a material form and a socially constructed set of meanings (Cartel et al., 2022). Therefore, how people in and around organisations experience place and how they practice place affects their actions and interactions with it (Cartel et al., 2022). Even if studies using SAFs theory as a theoretical framework mention place, they do so only as a unit of analysis, referring to a geographical physical location (Candido et al., 2019; Huber and Lorenzini, 2022). Therefore, such studies are not encompassing sufficiently how conceptions of place influence actors' interactions within SAFs.

Consequently, future research should consider this by looking at ways to better integrate thinking about place with SAFs theory. Such an approach is in line with a more general shift happening in organisation studies over the years, which gives more emphasis to how place influences organisational actors, as a response to earlier critiques about the absence of the role of place (Cartel et al., 2022). Indeed, within organisation studies, management theory has historically portrayed organisations and managers as if they were free-floating entities, separate from the natural and social landscapes they occupy (Guthey et al., 2014). Similarly, earlier critiques revealed that the term organisational environment prevents scholars from understanding connections with the natural environment because it puts too much emphasis on the economic, political, and technological dimensions of organisations (Shrivastava, 1994). Thus, the number of organisational studies using place as an analytical frame has increased to understand how place influences organisational

actors. This has been the case in relation to sustainability (Alkon, 2004; Walck, 2004; Guthey and Whiteman, 2009). Similarly, place branding and marketing theories have advanced that locations are more than physical places and involve identities that evoke distinctive meanings to different actors (Zaheer and Nachum, 2011). For example, studies of destination branding, demonstrated the importance of understanding the sense of place as experienced by local residents in destination branding (Cai, 2002; Blain et al., 2005; Campelo et al., 2014).

9.3 Limitations of Research and Further Developments

This section outlines the limitations of this research while also providing directions for further research.

The first set of limitations underpinning this research concerns the data collection process. As discussed in Chapter 4, initial document analysis identified three key stakeholder groups as relevant in relation to community resilience: (1) state-related actors (2) business actors and (3) civil society actors. Although a total of 45 interviews were conducted, it was only possible to interview one business in Cardiff, due to the lack of responses. Consequently, the research shifted its focus to interviewing state related actors as well as civil society actors. Nevertheless, more interviews with business actors could have strengthened this study, as the empirical analysis demonstrated how civil society actors interact with other actors and organisations including businesses to access resources within the CRSAF. Likewise, although different local councillors and cabinet members of the Cardiff Council were interviewed as part of this research, more interviews with state-related actors, such as bureaucrats from the Cardiff Council could have benefited this research, to have their views on how they interact with local communities in relation to their development and resilience. Nevertheless, the focus of this research was placed on the different actors within communities to address the gap identified from the literature of not exploring the communities' point of view in relation to community resilience.

Moreover, although the interviews covered many communities of Cardiff, not all communities were covered. The communities covered are those the researcher was able to access. The accessibility and availability of community actors were affected significantly by Covid-19. The restrictions and prohibiting regulations associated with

Covid-19 impacted negatively the data collection process, as this situation prevented the researcher from going to communities, meeting people and chatting to them. Thus, overall limiting access to certain communities. Indeed, and as mentioned in Chapter 4, most interviews were carried out online, following the Welsh Government and Cardiff University's guidelines to tackle Covid-19. When these regulations changed, lifting restrictions and allowing face-to-face interviews, participants were given a choice between scheduling a face-to-face or an online interview. To address this, the research attempted to include as many communities possible with different characteristics, such as their socio-economic level, making it an interesting case to draw comparisons on a neighbourhood level.

Furthermore, despite the fact that certain communities (Canton, Cathays, Fairwater) contributed to the overall understanding of community resilience context in Cardiff, not enough data was obtained from them to consolidate a pathway (i.e., data saturation). This explains why these communities were not included in the three pathways identified. For instance, there are many different and diverse communities scattered across Cathays such as student communities as well as resident groups. Therefore, the collection of more detailed data was required, capturing the different views from those groups, to support the development of codes (both in quality and quantity) from those communities coming together. This highlighted the need for more data as a consequence, required to understand these communities' practices and discourses of resilience. It should be noted that future research with more in-depth studies on these communities could potentially lead to new pathways.

Similar to this point is the selection of the case study focusing on Cardiff and the implications this has for the feasibility of generalising the obtained findings. As explained in Chapter 3, the selection of Cardiff presented an interesting case to explore community resilience as it is situated within deep inequalities, providing easy access and identification of relevant actors due to its proximity. Although this research recognises that it might be problematic to make generalisations from only one case study, it is not a primary concern for this thesis. This is in line with the qualitative research and social constructionist approach towards generalisation, which is not interested in statistical representativeness but rather considers the question of how far results from one field can be transferred to other fields (Flick,

2015). Therefore, it is the content of the range of views, experiences or outcomes under this study and the factors that shape and influence them, that could be of relevance to other settings (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003). In this way, important patterns can still emerge from this research that can be applied to other similar contexts. Specifically, this research offers a typology of community pathways to resilience (**activist**, **survivor**, **conservator**) that can be useful in understanding how communities organise to exercise their agency in relation to resilience in other similar contexts.

For instance, further research could examine communities in other medium-sized cities in Wales, such as Newport and Swansea, to understand how they organise in relation to resilience using the typology of community pathways. Additionally, a comparative analysis between communities in other parts within the United Kingdom, such as a city in England (e.g., Bristol) and a city in Wales (e.g., Cardiff) offers an interesting angle to investigate if there are any differences regarding the ways they organise to exercise their agency in relation to resilience (i.e., the identification of any additional community pathways). Similarly, the typology of community pathways could be helpful in other contexts such as neighbourhoods with similar place-based characteristics to understand how they influence their development in relation to resilience. As actors in neighbourhoods are aware of these place-based characteristics, utilising them to engage in practices in order to access resources for their development, following that way the approach of community pathways. Subsequent research could also investigate in more depth the role of place in terms of the formation of each community pathway by considering additional characteristics of place and how these influence the community pathway. Alternatively, further research could incorporate theories of place as an additional conceptual framework to examine how actors within communities assign meanings to material and immaterial components of place and how this influences the way they think about resilience and act.

Another limitation of this research relates to the theoretical framework (SAFs theory) adopted and its criticisms around the lack of sufficient discussions on the role of institutional structures in enabling or constraining the actions of actors with the SAF (Goldstone and Useem, 2012; Morgan et al., 2014). As demonstrated in Chapter 3, this research is aware of such critiques and tried to address the theory's limitation by

providing the community resilience policy context in Wales (and Cardiff) to understand how that context is constraining as well as creating opportunities for the actors. In this sense, showing the embeddedness of actors in that context as actors within communities are constrained by that broader context as well as their position within the SAF as they fight for access to different resources. In addition, the research demonstrated how certain institutional or cultural logics influence strategic framing as for example, actors within communities engage with neoliberalism as the dominant market logic, influencing their frames and actions (e.g., how they engage in competition for funds) and consequently, the CRSAF. Therefore, this research attempted to reflect on both the role of structures and agency in shaping the CRSAF, aiming to avoid a field duality that could lead to field being an end in itself (Morgan et al., 2014).

At the same time, this research demonstrated the value of analysing resilience as a SAF bringing a more organisational perspective to resilience studies. In this way, this research opens up the discussion of resilience with SAFs application. Therefore, this research could be extended to explore what led to the emergence of the CRSAF in Cardiff in the first place and/ or how other proximate SAFs such as the national policy field can influence the CRSAF in Cardiff. In addition, this research explores how the CRSAF in Cardiff is shaped during 'settled times' within the context of the increasing use of community resilience in policy. This is because the struggle for position occurs even during stable periods as challengers seek to engage in constant testing of the stability of the field (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Therefore, the focus here is on the constant jockeying of actors, as actors who are more or less powerful are constantly adjusting the conditions in the field, given their position and the actions of others. Consequently, there is an opportunity for further research in examining the CRSAF in Cardiff in relation to an external shock. As SAFs can be destabilised by external shocks originating from other SAFs or large-scale crises such as depression or war (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012). Thus, further research can investigate how specific and more common types of crises such as economic/ financial crises or climate emergency/ crises as well as natural catastrophes, like storms (floods), earthquakes and wildfires can affect and change the CRSAF. Indeed, although not the primary focus of the research, the analysis demonstrated the role of pandemic in shaping some of the actors' interactions to influence their positions within the CRSAF.

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11. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of Documents – State Related Actors

Organisation	Document Title	Year
Ceredigion County Council (L) ²¹	(1) Community Resilience	N/A
	(2) Dyfed Powys Local Resilience Forum - Community Risk Register	N/A
	(3) Emergency Planning	N/A
Cabinet Office (N)	(4) Hospitality Strategy: Reopening, Recovery, Resilience	2021
	(5) The National Resilience Strategy: A call for Evidence	2021
	(6) Community Resilience Development Framework	2019
	(7) Civil Society Strategy: building a future that works for everyone	2018
	(8) Community Emergency Plan Toolkit	2016
	(9) Preparing for Emergencies: Guide for communities	2016
	(10) National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015	2015
	(11) Community Resilience Awards: Recognition for the Contribution made by Community Members	2011
Caerphilly County Borough Council (L)	(12) The role of Local Resilience Forums: A reference document	2011
	(13) A Foundation For Success, Regeneration Strategy 2018-2023	2018
	(14) Community renewal fund	N/A
Cardiff Capital Region (R)	(15) Working with partners in an emergency	N/A
	(16) Beyond Resilience : Making the Best out of Post Covid -19 Recovery	2020
	(17) Continuity and Innovation in the Face of COVID-19 and World Chaos	2020
	(18) Resilience the Watchword in the Challenging Times Ahead	2020
Cardiff Council (L)	(19) Transferable Skills are Key to our Future as a Dynamic and Resilient Region	2020
	(20) DRAFT Greener, Fairer, Stronger City Recovery and Renewal Strategy	2021
	(21) Global Perspectives: Taking Cardiff forward after COVID-19	2021
	(22) Ask Cardiff 2019 Report	2020
	(23) Community Resilience	2020
	(24) Delivering Capital Ambition, Corporate Plan 2021-2024	2020
	(25) Development of a city wide employability provision and a new approach to building resilient communities	2017
	(26) A guide to emergency management in Cardiff	N/A
	(27) Annual Wellbeing Report 2019/20	2019
	(28) Capital Ambition	N/A
Cardiff Public Services Board (L)	(29) Cardiff Well-Being Plan 2018-2023	2018
Cardiff Public Services Board (L)	(30) Emergency Planning	2018
Denbighshire County Council	(31) Annual Performance Review 2019 to 2020	2019
	(32) Denbighshire recognised for economic resilience	N/A

²¹ Level of Action: L-local level, N-national level, R-regional level.

Organisation	Document Title	Year
(L)	(33) Economic Resilience Fund (ERF) Business Support	N/A
	(34) Funding secured for community projects in Denbighshire	N/A
	(35) Tackling poverty through employment	N/A
Flintshire Public Services Board (L)	(36) A Well-being Plan for Flintshire	2021 /2022
	(37) Community Resilience Framework	2017
North Wales Local Resilience Forum (L)	(38) North Wales: Preparing for Emergencies	2020
Public Health Wales NHS Trust (N)	(39) Resilience: Understanding the interdependence between individuals and communities	2019
South Wales Local Resilience Forum (L)	(40) Preparing for Emergencies	2019
The Gwent Local Resilience Forum (L)	(41) Gwent prepared	N/A
Welsh Government (N)	(42) Economic resilience and reconstruction mission	2021
	(43) Building Better Places: The Planning System Delivering Resilient and Brighter Futures	2020
	(44) Community spirit shines on in Wales	2020
	(45) Connected communities: a strategy for tackling loneliness and social isolation and building stronger social connections	2020
	(46) COVID-19 resilience plan for the Post-16 sector	2020
	(47) Wellbeing of Wales: 2020	2020
	(48) Welsh Government Economic Resilience Fund protects 75,000 jobs	2020
	(49) What factors are linked to people agreeing that their local area has a sense of community?	2020
	(50) Community cohesion and safety in the local (National Survey for Wales): April 2018 to March 2019	2019
	(51) Wales Resilience Forum: What we do	2019
	(52) New approach to building resilient communities announced	2017
	(53) Have your say on new approach to building resilient communities	2016
	(54) "New approach needed to build resilient communities" – Carl Sargeant	2016
	(55) Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act The Essentials	2015
(56) Respect and Resilience: Developing community cohesion	2011	
Welsh Local Government Association (L)	(57) Rethinking local recovery in Wales	2020

Appendix 2: List of Documents – Civil Society Organisations

Organisation	Document Title	Year
Bevan Foundation ²²	(58) Transforming the valleys: a manifesto for resilience	2020
Building Communities Trust ²³	(59) Communities Building Prosperity	2021
	(60) Why the next Welsh Government need to prioritise community action	2021
	(61) Building Stronger Welsh Communities	2020
	(62) Community Responses to COVID; what's been going on?	2020
Community Foundation Wales ²⁴	(63) Changing Lives Together 2021/2022: Helping communities recover from the pandemic	2021/2022
	(64) Changing Lives Together 2020/2021: Supporting communities through the pandemic	2020/2021
	(65) Coping with Covid-19: Our response to the Coronavirus pandemic in Wales	N/A
	(66) Loud and Clear: Our big funding conversation with the third sector in Wales	N/A
	(67) Wales Coronavirus Resilience Fund Reaches £1M	N/A
Institute of Welsh Affairs ²⁵	(68) Stepping Up How Covid-19 Tested the Resilience of Welsh Places	2021
Social Care Wales ²⁶	(69) Approaches to community resilience	2018
Talwrn network ²⁷	(70) Building Resilient Communities	2017
Wales Centre for Public Policy ²⁸	(71) Planning for a Prosperous, Equal and Green Recovery from the Coronavirus pandemic	2020

²² A think tank created to strengthen public policy by developing solutions to poverty and inequality in Wales.

²³ A charity providing funding and support to communities to enable them to build on their strengths and take action to make their areas better places to live in Wales.

²⁴ A non-profit organisation supporting charities and community groups with funding to strengthen communities across Wales.

²⁵ A think tank specialising in public policy and debates around the economy, education, environment and health sectors in Wales.

²⁶ Works with people who use care and support services and organisations to lead improvement in social care in Wales.

²⁷ Talwrn is a network of Welsh voluntary organisations who cooperate on a common goal of supporting communities to become resilient and prosperous.

²⁸ A research institution working to improve policy making and public services by supporting ministers and public service leaders to access independent evidence about what works.

Appendix 3: List of Documents – Media

Organisation	Document Title (Article)	Year
Guardian	(72) Link between equality and climate crisis overlooked, Welsh report finds	2021
	(73) 'Best of Wales': floods bring communities together to recover	2020
Wales Online	(74) South Wales Evening Post Community Awards announce new category to celebrate Covid-19 heroes	2021
	(75) Building economic resilience in Wales	2020
	(76) Businesses furious as 'make or break' Welsh Government grant scheme shuts after 36 hours	2020
	(77) The £500k scheme in Neath Port Talbot aiming to revolutionise communities	2019

Appendix 4: Questions for Establishing Contextual Positioning of Documents

Table 12: Questions for establishing contextual positioning

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
(1)	Produced by Ceredigion County Council as part of their emergency planning strategy.	Residents of the Ceredigion County.	To provide information and advice regarding what to do during an emergency and explains the role of community resilience during an emergency to the residents of Ceredigion County.	No date available.
(2)	Produced by Ceredigion County Council as part of their emergency advice.	Residents of the Ceredigion County.	To provide information and advice regarding what to do during an emergency.	No date available.
(3)	Produced by Ceredigion County Council as part of their emergency planning strategy.	Residents of the Ceredigion County.	To provide information about emergency planning and the role of Ceredigion County Council Community Safety and Civil Contingencies Unit.	No date available.
(4)	Policy paper produced by the UK government and specifically the Department for Business and Trade and Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy.	The UK hospitality sector and businesses.	To provide the strategy of how the UK government will work with the hospitality sector as it recovers from COVID-19, to build the sector's longer-term resilience.	The policy paper was published in July 2021 and last updated in March 2023 to include the work that remains, which will continue through the Hospitality Sector Council.
(5)	Consultation produced by the Cabinet Office under the emergency preparation, response and recovery section.	Everyone in the United Kingdom with an interest or a view in the subject of resilience.	To collect evidence to help shape a national resilience strategy.	Published July 2021 and last updated December 2021.
(6)	Guidance produced by the Cabinet Office under the emergency preparation,	Anyone involved in the emergency planning and response including local	To help emergency planners ensure communities are central to emergency planning, response and recovery.	Published September 2019.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
	response and recovery section.	emergency responders, businesses, voluntary organisations and the public.		
(7)	Policy paper produced by the Cabinet Office under the business and industry section.	The civil society in the UK.	To set out how government will work with and for civil society in the long-term to create a country that works for everyone.	Published August 2018.
(8)	Guidance produced by the Cabinet Office under the emergency preparation, response and recovery section.	Individuals, communities and organisations involved in emergency preparation.	To enable individuals, communities and organisations that support them to take part in emergency preparedness activities.	Published September 2016.
(9)	Guidance produced by the Cabinet Office under the emergency preparation, response and recovery section.	Individuals, communities and organisations involved in emergency preparation.	To help the community think how it can be prepared during an emergency including why it is important to be involved and be prepared, what you can do to make it happen in your community and the help available to you to do this.	Published September 2016.
(10)	Policy paper produced by the Cabinet Office under the defence and armed forces section.	Anyone in the UK.	To set out the UK government's approach to national security.	Published November 2015.
(11)	Guidance produced by the Cabinet Office under the emergency preparation, response and recovery section.	Community members engaged with resilience and recovery.	To support individuals who may wish to recognise a community member who has engaged with resilience and recovery.	Published August 2011.
(12)	Guidance produced by the Cabinet Office under the emergency preparation,	Local Resilience Forums (LRFs).	To provide a list of issues and outcomes that Local Resilience Forums (LRFs) can use for self-assessment, peer review and improvement.	Published March 2011 and last updated July 2013.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
	response and recovery section.			
(13)	Strategy produced by the Caerphilly County Borough Council under the corporate strategies, plans and policies section.	Partners, government, neighbouring local authorities, regional bodies, the business community and residents of the Caerphilly County Borough.	To provide a framework for the future regeneration of the Caerphilly County Borough for the next five years up to 2023.	Published 2018
(14)	Produced by the Caerphilly County Borough Council under the grants for communities section.	Communities of the Caerphilly County Borough (although the fund is for all the UK).	To provide information about the UK Community Renewal Fund, aiming to support communities to pilot programmes and new approaches, to support people and communities most in need across the UK focussing on skills, community and place, local business, and supporting people into employment	No date available.
(15)	Produced by the Caerphilly County Borough Council under the emergency planning section.	Residents of the Caerphilly County Borough.	To provide information about how multi agency partners work together during emergencies to provide a coordinated and effective response.	No date available.
(16)	Produced by the Cardiff Capital Region under news & events.	General public.	To discuss the role of resilience in the post Covid-19 recovery.	Published April 2020.
(17)	Produced by the Cardiff Capital Region under news & events.	General public.	To discuss continuity and innovation during Covid-19.	Published December 2020.
(18)	Produced by the Cardiff Capital Region under news & events.	General public.	To discuss the importance of a competitive economy with resilient communities as one of the objectives of Cardiff Capital Region.	Published September 2020.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
(19)	Produced by the Cardiff Capital Region under news & events.	General public.	To discuss transferable skills as a key part to a dynamic and resilient region.	Published July 2020.
(20)	Report produced by the Cardiff Council under strategies, plans and policies.	Residents of Cardiff.	To provide the strategy of the Council for the next five years, based on the three themes of a stronger city, a fairer city, and a greener city.	Published 2022.
(21)	Strategy document produced by the Cardiff Council as part of Cardiff Post-Pandemic Recovery Strategy.	Residents of Cardiff.	To inform its understanding of the potential impact of Covid-19 on Cardiff's trajectory as a city beyond the immediate health challenges confronting the community.	Published 2021.
(22)	Research report produced by the Cardiff Research Centre.	Residents of Cardiff.	To communicate the findings of an online survey.	Produced January 2020.
(23)	Produced by Cardiff Council as part of emergency planning and resilience.	Residents of Cardiff.	To provide information about community resilience and how to prepare for emergencies.	Produced 2020.
(24)	Corporate plan produced by Cardiff Council as part of capital ambition, the new administration's five-year plan for the city.	Residents of Cardiff.	To outline the council's vision for Cardiff to become a leading city on the world stage.	Produced 2020.
(25)	Agenda item produced by Cardiff Council as part of meeting of Cabinet.	Residents of Cardiff.	To communicate proposals for new arrangements for delivering employment services in Cardiff together with a proposed approach to building community resilience.	Produced 2017.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
(26)	Guide produced by Cardiff Council as part of the emergency planning and resilience.	Individuals, communities and organisations involved in emergency preparation.	To provide guidance towards emergency management	No data available.
(27)	Report produced by Cardiff Council as part of Cardiff Council's strategic planning and performance management arrangements.	Residents of Cardiff.	To provide an assessment of the Council's performance against its Well-being Objectives.	No date available.
(28)	Report produced by Cardiff Council as part of the new administration's five-year plan for the city.	Residents of Cardiff.	To outline the council's vision for Cardiff to become a leading city on the world stage.	No date available.
(29)	Plan produced by Cardiff Public Services Board as part of the local well-being assessment.	Citizens and community services in Cardiff.	To set out priorities for action across the public sector in Cardiff.	Produced 2018.
(30)	Produced by Carmarthenshire County Council as part of the emergencies and community safety section.	Residents of Carmarthenshire County.	To provide information and suggestions regarding how to start building community resilience in communities.	Produced and last updated December 2018.
(31)	Document produced by Denbighshire County Council.	Residents of Denbighshire County Council.	To present the council's performance against its priorities in 2019 to 2020 showing the progress of council projects and highlighting the council's progress in managing its risks.	Produced 2019.
(32)	News produced by Denbighshire County Council.	Residents of Denbighshire County Council.	To communicate that the Council's ongoing work in providing help to all business areas to increase resilience in	No date available.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
			the local economy and support communities has been recognised.	
(33)	Produced by Denbighshire County Council.	Businesses, social enterprises and charities in Wales.	To provide information about the Economic Resilience Fund (ERF) to support businesses that experienced a material negative impact because of ongoing COVID-19 restrictions.	No date available.
(34)	News produced by Denbighshire County Council.	Community organisations in Denbighshire.	To provide information about the funding secured for projects ranging from supporting resident well-being to developing skills and employment locally.	No date available.
(35)	Strategy produced by Denbighshire County Council.	Residents of Denbighshire County Council.	To outline the Council's strategic approach to tackling poverty through employment.	No date available.
(36)	Document produced by Flintshire Public Services Board.	Public services and communities in Flintshire.	To set out the challenges the communities of Flintshire face and outline how the collective work of the partnership can protect and improve the quality of life for communities in the future.	Produced 2021/2022.
(37)	Document produced by Flintshire Public Services Board.	Public services and communities in Flintshire.	To provide an overarching plan for how public services in Flintshire aim to inspire resilient communities.	Produced July 2017.
(38)	Document produced by the North Wales Resilience Forum as part of preparing for emergencies across the region.	Anyone involved in the emergency planning and response including local emergency responders, businesses, voluntary organisations and the public in North Wales.	To ensure representatives work together to achieve an appropriate level of preparedness to respond to emergencies that may have a significant impact on the communities of North Wales.	Produced September 2020.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
(39)	Report produced by Public Health Wales.	General public in Wales.	To bring together evidence on individual and community resilience, and the interdependence between the two.	Published 2019.
(40)	Document produced by South Wales Local Resilience Forum as part of emergency planning.	Communities, families and businesses in South Wales.	To provide information and guidance on how to respond to, and recover from, the impacts of events and crises.	Published 2019.
(41)	Document produced by the Gwent Local Resilience Forum.	Communities in Gwen.	To outline the role of Local Resilience Forums during emergencies.	No date available.
(42)	Produced by Welsh Government as part of the business, economy and innovation planning and strategy.	General public Wales.	To outline the plan to recover from the economic damage of the coronavirus pandemic.	Published February 2021.
(43)	Policy document produced by the Welsh Government as part of the national planning policy.	General public Wales.	To set out the Welsh Government's planning policy priorities to assist in taking action in the recovery period after the Covid-19 pandemic crisis.	Published July 2020.
(44)	Press release produced by the Welsh Government Deputy Minister.	Community groups and volunteers in Wales.	To congratulate all the volunteers and community groups who have given hope and help to their local areas, both recently and during the previous national lockdown.	Published October 2020.
(45)	Document produced by the Welsh Government as part of the strategy for tackling loneliness and social isolation.	General public Wales.	To define what loneliness and social isolation mean and describe key priorities and aims in tackling these issues and how all can work together to play a part in building a more connected and inclusive Wales.	Published February 2020

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
(46)	Plan produced by the Welsh government as part of the policy and strategy of further education: coronavirus Post-16 planning and funding.	Communities, employers, higher education stakeholders in Wales.	To set out how the Welsh Government will work with its stakeholders to meet the changing needs of Welsh learners, communities and employers during and beyond the Covid-19 pandemic.	Published May 2020 and last updated December 2020.
(47)	Report produced by the Welsh Government as part of the well-being of Wales.	General Public Wales.	To provide an update on wellbeing in Wales and assess whether progress is made against the seven national wellbeing goals.	Published December 2020.
(48)	Press release produced by Economy Minister.	General Public Wales.	To share that that the Welsh Government's unique Economic Resilience Fund (ERF) has already supported more than 9,000 businesses in Wales, helping them to protect around 75,000 jobs.	Published July 2020.
(49)	Report produced by the Welsh Government based on National Survey Interviews.	General Public Wales.	To outline the factors linked to whether people think their local area has a strong sense of community.	Published March 2020.
(50)	Report produced by the Welsh Government as part of the National Survey for Wales.	General Public Wales.	To look at how satisfied people feel with their local area, whether people feel that they live in a cohesive community, and how safe they feel in their local area for April 2018 to March 2019.	Published November 2019.
(51)	Produced by the Welsh Government as part of the Wales Resilience Forum.	General Public Wales.	To describe the role of the Wales Resilience Forum.	Published 2019.
(52)	Press release produced by Communities and Children Secretary Carl Sargeant.	General Public Wales.	To announce the plans for a new approach to building resilient communities in Wales.	Published February 2017.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
(53)	Press release produced by Communities and Children Secretary Carl Sargeant.	General Public Wales.	To encourage people across Wales to get involved in developing the Welsh Government's new approach to building resilient communities.	Published October 2016.
(54)	Press release produced by Communities and Children Secretary Carl Sargeant.	General Public Wales.	To inform that a cross government approach to boosting prosperity across Wales is key to ensuring the long term future of communities.	Published October 2016.
(55)	Guidance produced by the Welsh Government as part of the Well-being of Future Generations.	Public bodies in Wales.	To provide guidance to the law to improve social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being.	Published June 2015 and latest update June 2021.
(56)	Guidance produced by the Welsh Government as part of safeguarding children.	Schools in Wales.	To provide guidance for schools on the causes of violent extremism and preventative measures.	Published January 2011.
(57)	Press Release produced by Councillor Andrew Morgan, Leader of WLGA.	General Public Wales.	To rethink local recovery in Wales.	Produced July 2020.
(58)	Report produced by Bevan Foundation.	Policymakers and institutions in Wales.	To set out a vision and steps to build a new future in the valleys in the next Welsh Parliament term and beyond.	Published December 2020.
(59)	Manifesto produced by Building Communities Trust, emerging from the Building a New Local Economy in Wales conference.	Communities, organisations, policymakers in Wales.	To share the achievements of people in their localities and to help create the conditions for more people to do similar things in their communities.	Published 2021.
(60)	Blog produced by Building Communities Trust's policy officer.	Government and policymakers in Wales.	To outline why it is important the next Government recognise, respect and invest in Strong Welsh Communities and their organisations.	Published April 2021.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
(61)	Report produced by Building Communities Trust.	Government and public bodies in Wales.	To offer a set of recommendations to how to support the process as community action which is key to building stronger Welsh communities that improve the well-being and of local people.	Published 2020.
(62)	Report produced by Building Communities Trust.	Communities, organisations, policymakers in Wales.	To show the responses of communities to support each other during the pandemic.	Published 2020.
(63)	Report produced by Community Foundation Wales.	Communities, businesses, organisations, partners, donors, funders in Wales.	To showcase what the organisation did in the years 2021-2022 in terms of rebuilding their work after the first year of Covid, reconnecting with their donors and funders, and understanding the different needs of the community groups they support.	Published for the years 2021-2022.
(64)	Report produced by Community Foundation Wales.	Communities, businesses, organisations, partners, donors, funders in Wales.	To showcase how with the help of funders and donors, they provided the support that people needed to get through the pandemic to inspire others to support them.	Published for the years 2020-2021.
(65)	Report produced by Community Foundation Wales.	Communities, businesses, organisations, partners, donors, funders in Wales.	To show how Community Foundation Wales has responded to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on communities across Wales.	No data available.
(66)	Report produced by Community Foundation Wales.	Communities, businesses, organisations, partners, donors, funders in Wales.	To provide information about the support, that community groups and charities in Wales need to improve and develop their communities.	No date available.
(67)	News statement produced by Community Foundation Wales.	Communities, businesses, organisations, partners, donors, funders in Wales.	To thank everyone for the donations and support for the Wales Coronavirus Resilience Appeal fund to distribute to	No date available.

Number of Document	Who? Who created and produced this document?	Who? Who was its production intended to benefit?	What? What stated purpose does the document serve?	When? When was this document produced and updated?
			charities and community groups working in Wales.	
(68)	Report produced by Institute of Welsh Affairs.	Anyone involved in emergency planning.	To share lessons about how Covid-29 taught all of us about the resilience of Welsh places.	Published October 2021.
(69)	Report produced by Social Care Wales.	General Public Wales.	To inform and guide practice in Wales regarding approaches to community resilience, well-being and quality of life.	Published 2018.
(70)	Report produced by Talwrn network.	Local communities, local organisations in Wales.	To provide information about community resilience.	Published 2017.
(71)	Report produced by Wales Centre for Public Policy.	Welsh government, public services and other organisations involved in developing recovery strategies.	To plan for economic and social recovery from the Coronavirus pandemic.	Published July 2020.
(72)	News article produced by Guardian.	General Public.	To report the link between equality and climate crisis which is often overlooked.	Published November 2021.
(73)	News article produced by Guardian.	General Public.	To report how floods bring communities together to recover in Wales.	Published March 2020.
(74)	News article produced by Wales Online.	General Public.	To provide information about the South Wales Evening Post Community Awards.	Published October 2021.
(75)	News article produced by Wales Online.	General Public.	To inform about the role of collaboration in helping Wales recover from the pandemic.	Published November 2020.
(76)	News article produced by Wales Online.	General Public.	To report the reactions of businesses towards the Welsh Government grant scheme shutting after 36 hours.	Published 2020.
(77)	News article produced by Wales Online.	General Public.	To report about a project in Neath Port Talbot which is underway that could revolutionise communities.	Published October 2019.

Appendix 5: Example of Interview Schedule

An exploratory analysis with publicly available documents to develop an understanding of the resilience context in Wales, was employed to frame case the interview schedules.

The criteria to select participants involve relevant actors from communities in Wales that are related to areas of business, civil society and the state.

Table 13: Examples of Actors from the State, Civil Society and Business Areas

Area	Actors
State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Welsh Government representatives ▪ Local authority officials ▪ Community development officers ▪ Local and regional resilient forums
Civil Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Citizens ▪ Community groups ▪ Third sector organisations ▪ Charities
Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Local businesses ▪ Small and medium-sized enterprises

Therefore, below are three examples of interview schedules each one covering a different group of participants. The schedules present an overview of the general topics and questions that the interviews will cover, as interviews will be semi-structured, meaning there is room for flexibility and further development of these questions.

Interview Schedule For State Related Actors

Community resilience:

- Their understandings of the meaning of community resilience.

Approach towards resilience:

- What is the approach of local authority in dealing with resilience?
- What is the role of local authority in relation to building resilience within communities?
- What is their experience or understanding of implementing resilience at local level?
- How does a resilient community look to them?
- If/how has COVID-19 changed their approach towards community resilience?

Interview Schedule For Business Actors

Community and the nature of community:

- Involvement/support in the organisation of public activities and initiatives.
- What is their relationship with communities?

Community resilience:

- Their understandings of the meaning of community resilience.
- Their experiences in everyday life and practices of communities. E.g., How they cope/prepare with a crisis or a shock? What are their strategies? What issues, problems or risks feel are the most pressing where they live?

Support for building resilience:

- What is their role (e.g., funds) in recovering from an emergency and supporting communities/building resilience?

Interview Schedule For Civil Society Organisations

Community and the nature of community:

- Their understandings of the meaning of community.
- Their experiences in terms of a shared sense of belonging to the community and a strong sense of community to deal with shocks such as the pandemic.
- Public engagement with community organised activities and initiatives (community spirit).
- Involvement/support in the organisation of public activities and initiatives.
- Social and physical context. E.g., available services or facilities such as community centres or resources?
- What is their relationship with communities?

Community resilience:

- Their understandings of the meaning of community resilience.
- Their experiences in everyday life and practices of communities. E.g., How they cope/prepare with a crisis or a shock? What are their strategies? What issues, problems or risks feel are the most pressing where they live?
- Challenges. E.g., In their experience, what might enhance or undermine their resilience when faced with a threat? What are the limitations or challenges that people face in developing individual or collective responses to potential emergencies?

Support for building resilience:

- Do communities know where to turn for help and/or information?
- Do they receive any help and support from the government and other organisations?
- How communities engage with the state?
- Are communities aware of funds and projects relating to the area they live?
- Do they know about what the state is doing there and how public policies are shaped?
- What is their role (e.g., funds) in recovering from an emergency and supporting communities/building resilience?

Appendix 6: Example of Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Title of research project: The Power of Community Resilience: a Critical Analysis of Resilience as a Policy Tool in Wales.

Name of Researcher: Panayiota Georgiou

**Please
tick initial
box**

I confirm that I have read the participant information sheet Version 2 dated January 2022 for the above research project.	
I confirm that I have understood the participant information sheet Version 2 dated January 2022 for the above research project and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions and that these have been answered satisfactorily.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary, and I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.	
I consent to the processing of my personal information [position/role of participant as well as the county and the town/city in which participant's live in Wales] which will only be accessible to the researcher and supervisory team. I understand that such information will be held in accordance with all applicable data protection legislation and in strict confidence unless disclosure is required by law or professional obligation.	
* I accept that published work will include descriptions of my involvement in Wales Community Resilience activities in the location that the participant lives in Wales (the county and the town/city). For example, this includes the participant's professional or practical role as well as the involvement/support in the organisation of public activities and initiatives as well as public engagement with community organised activities and initiatives aimed to build community resilience. I understand that these descriptions increase the discoverability of my responses to those with existing insights into Welsh community resilience context.	
I understand who will have access to personal information provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the research project.	
I consent to being audio recorded for the purposes of the research project and I understand how it will be used in the research.	
I understand that anonymised excerpts and/or verbatim quotes from my interview may be used as part of the research publication.	

I understand how the findings and results of the research project will be written up and published.	
I consent to being contacted for follow-up research that relates to the themes of this project.	
I agree to take part in this research project.	

Name of participant (print) Date Signature

Name of person taking consent (print) Date Signature

Role of person taking consent
(print)

*** If you would like identifiers to be removed, altered and replaced then please leave this box blank.**

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN OUR RESEARCH
YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM TO KEEP

Appendix 7: Line-by-Line Document Codes

#	Code
1	Adversity like floods bringing people together
2	Aim of resilience to plan and adapt to long term changes
3	Aim of resilience to prepare, respond, recover
4	Barriers preventing implementing local economy policies
5	Benefits of community resilience
6	Build local economic opportunities in Wales
7	Caerphilly Council and funding
8	Celebrating individuals who give back to community
9	Characteristics affecting communities' risk and resilience
10	Communities' network's role in responding
11	Communities preparing in advance of emergencies
12	Community awards
13	Community champion award
14	Community networks have a role in emergencies
15	Community network's role in preparing
16	Community network's role in recovering
17	Community resilience as harnessing local resources during emergencies
18	Community resilience as standing together during floods
19	Community resilience changes and evolves
20	Covid award
21	During Covid resilient community
22	Emergency responders integrate with public for emergency planning
23	Emergency support at local level
24	Everyone has a role in promoting resilience
25	Focus more locally
26	Funding from UK government to support communities
27	How community prepares for emergencies
28	How to engage with the public
29	Importance of foundational economy
30	Local authorities should organise communities better
31	Many local enterprises in Wales
32	Meanings of community networks
33	Need to go beyond resilience to cultivate re-imagination
34	Need to have strong communities with local economies
35	New strategy to build resilient communities
36	No support from local authorities but each other
37	Role of local actors
38	Pandemic as an opportunity to re-imagine how do things
39	Part of government's national security strategy
40	Participatory approach to emergency management
41	Partnership between government and other actors
42	Promoting community ownership and asset security
43	Public harnessing local resources and expertise
44	Public to be empowered to prepare, respond and recover from emergencies

#	Code
45	Public's role to understand risks and prepare
46	Resilience development as process
47	Resilience meaning carrying on as before
48	Role of community groups during pandemic
49	Role of community members
50	Role of government to support
51	Role of Local Resilience Forum Wales
52	Role of Local Resilience Forums
53	Role of emergency responders
54	Role of local responders
55	Role of responders during emergencies
56	Role of voluntary capabilities
57	Role of Wales Resilience Forum
58	Selecting bids in line with local priorities
59	Strong community spirit during floods emergency
60	UK funding areas
61	Wales Coronavirus Resilience Fund
62	Welsh government providing emergency fund for floods
63	Welsh policy supportive of building local economies
64	Working with civil society to build resilience
65	Working with civil society to create social value

Appendix 8: Documents Codebook

#	Focused Codes	Description	Examples
1	Design and delivery of local public services	Refers to the role of local authorities in Wales to design and deliver local public services to support communities be resilient. This also includes supporting and facilitating communities' involvement and engagement.	<i>'Resilient communities need to have strong local infrastructure and strong and inclusive leadership. Local Authorities and Public Services Boards must now step into this leadership role. I will engage, challenge and support them to deliver success.'</i> (Welsh Government, 2016) <i>'We will invest in and involve communities in the delivery of integrated, locally based public services in community and wellbeing hubs.'</i> (Cardiff Public Services Board, 2018)
2	Development of strategies and frameworks for resilience	Refers to the creation and development of national strategies and frameworks for community resilience by both the UK and Welsh government to enhance and promote resilience.	<i>'Cabinet Office will continue to create the frameworks, standards and structures for our resilience, both in terms of direction setting and organising the structures for central decision making.'</i> (Cabinet Office, 2021) <i>'In Wales, the Welsh Government is responsible for the co-ordination of the Wales Resilience Forum which brings together local responders and government bodies with the aim of promoting good communication and enhance resilience across agencies and services in Wales.'</i> (Welsh Government, 2019a)
3	Emergency response	Refers to how resilience is discussed specifically in relation to emergencies. This includes an emphasis on the community's ability to prepare for emergencies and respond.	<i>'Community resilience is about communities harnessing local resources to help themselves in an emergency, in a way that complements the response of the Emergency Services.'</i> (Cardiff Council, 2020a) <i>'Communities that are resilient use their existing skills, knowledge and resources to prepare for, and deal with, the consequences of emergencies.'</i> (Carmarthenshire County Council, 2018)
4	Funding to communities	Refers to the available funding opportunities as provided by both the national government and local authorities in Wales to support communities and their development. This also includes the extra funding made available during crises such as the pandemic to support communities.	<i>'The Economic Resilience Fund (ERF) will provide support in the form of cash grants for businesses, social enterprises and charities that have experienced a material negative impact as a result of ongoing COVID-19 restrictions.'</i> (Denbighshire County Council, no date) <i>'The Council's Business Rates and Economic Development teams have supported almost 20,000 businesses and paid out over £120 million in financial support over the course of the pandemic.'</i> (Cardiff Council 2021)
5		Refers to the national government and local authorities providing practical	<i>'Councillors will also have a key role to play in an emergency. They will be a hub for advice and information to the local communities.'</i> (Cardiff Council, no date)

#	Focused Codes	Description	Examples
	Guide and information to communities	guidance (e.g. community and household emergency plans) and information to the communities regarding how to prepare for emergencies and deal with emergencies. Emphasis is given to the local authorities.	<i>'It is important to be aware of the risks that could affect your community, and understand how you could be affected by them, in order to improve your community's resilience.'</i> (Cabinet Office, 2016)
6	Strong and cohesive communities	Refers to how resilience is discussed in terms of having strong, cohesive and resilient communities.	<i>'Building resilient communities is the work of Welsh Government as a whole. We are committed to prosperity for all, a strong economy that creates sustainable, quality employment opportunities accessible to all.'</i> (Welsh Government, 2017) <i>'Having cohesive, attractive, viable, safe and well-connected communities in Wales, is another goal of the Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015.'</i> (Welsh Government, 2015)

Appendix 9: Line-by-Line Interview Codes

#	Code
1	A community split causes difficulty involving everyone
2	A group of women in Riverside as an example of community
3	Access to public transport is an issue as not afford to drive
4	Accessing food at affordable prices is difficult
5	Acknowledging community leaders who helped
6	Acknowledging is a difficult of the council to engage well with communities
7	Acknowledging other communities rely for funding from the government
8	Acknowledging the concept of resilience is useful and use it
9	Acknowledging work has to be done in Riverside
10	Advocating for the local people
11	Aim is helping each other in community
12	Aim of people coming together with events
13	Aiming to be self-reliant with no support from government
14	All members have the power to make decisions equally
15	All of the team are local living in the area
16	All the services grown organically and by the community
17	Applying for small funds
18	Asset-based approach see communities as complex and full of opportunities
19	Austerity removing all infrastructure put to support communities
20	Authorities need to talk to people in a way they understand
21	Aware of the concept of resilience
22	Becoming flexible and dynamic to deal with restrictions
23	Beginning local authorities supported them with funds
24	Beginning of pandemic lots of mutual aid groups
25	Believe that traditional places no longer exist
26	Being a diverse community is a strength
27	Being a low-income community meant higher covid cases and death
28	Being a low-income community there was need for mutual aid fund
29	Being a platform for community action
30	Being a poor community is a huge barrier
31	Being able to work together with the council
32	Being diverse in terms of ethnicity
33	Being hard to connect if live on the edge of the city
34	Being in a diverse area nut not having a diverse group of volunteers
35	Being involved in the mutual aid group in terms of recycling
36	Being left on their own creates stronger communities
37	Being on the edge of the city causing issues with transport
38	Being outside meant it could continue during pandemic
39	Being part of the community
40	Being resilient if have strong networks of family and friends
41	Being self-sustained with pantry
42	Being small but active community
43	Believe can have communities of interest
44	Believe change comes when people supported to identify their own interests

#	Code
45	Believe communities are not bad places and need charity help
46	Believe in a place-based approach
47	Believe that communities are changing all the time
48	Believe you can learn from communities
49	Believed the Communities Development Programme throw money and professionals
50	Believes co-op has a great impact on community
51	Believes there are little links between community and policy
52	Believing authorities have a role in empowering communities
53	Believing before people had power and looking after each other
54	Believing community groups are important to have
55	Believing community is about support
56	Believing community is really important
57	Believing co-op role to offer food despite challenges is example of community resilience
58	Believing council does not do enough for people who do not speak English
59	Believing elected members play a role in supporting or hindering local efforts
60	Believing enough spaces in Riverside for people to meet
61	Believing everyone has something to contribute
62	Believing helping each other is short term during pandemic
63	Believing if organisations get out or help communities do more
64	Believing local authority not engaging enough with communities
65	Believing no infrastructure exists anymore
66	Believing no reflection done by government as community groups of the lessons by pandemic
67	Believing people didn't know how to organise
68	Believing people in Splott lose faith in policymakers
69	Believing personal transformation leads to community transformation
70	Believing policy solutions are top down
71	Believing resilience discussion is motivated by lack of money
72	Believing some areas of Old St Mellons are active
73	Believing that communities are stronger and able to build themselves
74	Believing that policy did not integrate people efforts enough
75	Believing that the government didn't know how to engage with local people
76	Believing that view resilience different from government
77	Believing the ideal would be for government to help and co-op not existing
78	Believing the potential of all communities to be resilient
79	Believing the problem is the creation of welfare state rationalising and centralising
80	Believing there is an interested relationship between local authorities and community organisations
81	Believing volunteering linked to resilience
82	Big statutory bodies caught in surprise by covid
83	Bringing people together during lockdown
84	Bringing people together over meals
85	Campaigning for green spaces in Riverside
86	Can be challenging for groups because of how community being perceived
87	Caring for each other important to build resilience

#	Code
88	Causing problems for litter picking as syringes left on streets
89	Challenges connecting people
90	Challenges in building community in Old St Mellons
91	Challenges working with statutory bodies like Council
92	Challenging consultations done online
93	Challenging getting people to volunteer consistently
94	Challenging reaching a diverse group of volunteers
95	Challenging the idea that low-income communities only get help
96	Challenging with all these crises to continue to build participatory approach
97	Charity focused on the community of Old St Mellons
98	Checking on people
99	Collecting prescriptions
100	Collecting prescriptions for their neighbours
101	Coming together to provide what government failed to provide
102	Communities feeling abandoned `during covid
103	Communities finding ways to be more sustainable themselves
104	Communities picking up new roles
105	Communities rising to the occasion unlike statutory bodies
106	Communities seen as problems that need solutions from outsiders
107	Communities stigmatised for many years
108	Community as a feeling of connection
109	Community as a feeling of strength and support to each other
110	Community as being able to organise and have more power together
111	Community as people connected to each other
112	Community as the place you live or street, friends you have
113	Community buildings difficult to find
114	Community can mean different things
115	Community centre in Riverside is long time in the community
116	Community comes together to do something
117	Community doesn't have a shared history or identity to connect
118	Community groups having access to their local councillors important to get more involved
119	Community groups needed structure and resources of statutory bodies
120	Community is about connection
121	Community is about facing challenges together
122	Community meaning many things
123	Community organisations and local authorities need each other
124	Consultations need to happen in the community in a way they understand
125	Council and organisations having difficulty to adapt to covid
126	Council changing the way it was working during pandemic
127	Council engaging with residents in ways they don't understand
128	Council failed to see how communities gathered and responded to pandemic
129	Council having a program that if want to fund do it through hubs
130	Council setting up funding schemes
131	Covid as a good example of community resilience

#	Code
132	Covid changing the usual activities of the group
133	Covid causing delays to repair of social housing
134	Created by the people in the Splott community
135	Creating new community public spaces to meet
136	Creating opportunities for volunteers to continue volunteering
137	Danger to view communities as inherent white working class
138	Dangerous using community to lump everyone together
139	Dealing with issues relating to poverty
140	Delivering food parcels
141	Depending if volunteering links to resilience
142	Desire to connect but no community spaces to do so
143	Despite challenges people look out for each other
144	Different community groups from informal to small charities
145	Different groups or communities with different resources come together
146	Difficult to measure relationships so measure numbers
147	Difficult to reach people less visible in their community
148	Difficulty in trying to understand how Council works
149	Disadvantaged communities need to achieve more than other areas
150	Disadvantaged community having low quality jobs and housing
151	Diverse communities can be an opportunity but has tensions
152	Doing a lot of listening in projects
153	Doing children and youth work
154	Doing many community events
155	Doing regular monthly litter picks
156	Doing things to help and support people
157	Driven by local people and strengthening community
158	During Covid giving equipment to individuals to pick their own litter
159	During Covid it was more work
160	During covid statutory bodies and groups needed each other
161	During pandemic funders gave flexibility and freedom
162	Ely having strong connections and networks
163	Emphasising self-reliance and not needing government
164	Encouraging members to volunteer
165	Failing of government to provide these services
166	Fear of becoming charity rather than community development
167	Fear of gentrification changing the character of Riverside and Grangetown
168	Fed up picking other peoples' litter
169	Feeling as having no control over many things in the community
170	Feeling disadvantaged communities being left on their own
171	Feeling frustrated as situation is not fundamentally changing
172	Feeling in the community they can work in a system that makes them happy
173	Feeling proud that help to improve people's lives
174	Feeling that do not fit as an organisation politically
175	Feeling that they have nothing to offer as a community, the way government does things

#	Code
176	Feeling that welfare and social security system disempowered communities
177	Feeling the agenda of local authority is tied to their financial ability
178	Feeling the local authority engages the community very little
179	Feeling the state does not do a good job of talking about hope
180	Finances of community groups limited and that influences their ability
181	Financial impact of covid huge
182	Finding a problem that resilience differs in communities but need to deliver same service for all
183	Finding there was a need for gardening so got involved
184	Flexibility of funders short-term
185	Focusing on face-to-face relationships with people
186	Follow an asset-based approach
187	Following an asset-based community approach
188	Food pantry as an ongoing response to tackle food poverty
189	Food pantry garden initially supported by Welsh government
190	Formed as a response to the litter in the area
191	Forming a community garden
192	Forming stronger communities if disadvantaged
193	Found it hard for these organisations as based on people
194	Funders being flexible during pandemic
195	Getting funds to provide fuel vouchers
196	Getting local people relate to their resources
197	Getting money from the local authorities that is patchy
198	Getting people together does not work great online
199	Getting to know our councillors well
200	Getting to know their neighbours during pandemic
201	Giving easier access to food is one aim
202	Giving everyone equal weight on decisions
203	Going shopping for the elderly
204	Government doesn't take into account the softer stuff of resilience
205	Government saying resilience is good but not reflected in support and funding
206	Grants having a lot of restrictions
207	Green spaces make people feel good
208	Harder for people struggling to survive
209	Have a pilot project with families and litter
210	Have to make it easier for people who are struggling to contribute
211	Having a Facebook group supporting each other
212	Having a sense of community and belonging in Riverside
213	Having a strong sense of identity and connection is linked to resilience
214	Having communities of interest
215	Having community events
216	Having community lunch in Oasis
217	Having concern of the impact of the developments on the Riverside community
218	Having families from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan living here a long time
219	Having gardening clubs using the space in other community buildings

#	Code
220	Having less volunteers sometimes creates issues
221	Having links with political power through councillors
222	Having lots of places for drugs and alcohol support
223	Having lots of young people in the community
224	Having meetings at the Cathays community centre
225	Having nature club
226	Having online consultations and expecting community to contribute not fail
227	Having organisations valuing your contribution to community
228	Having pantry garden and coffee mornings
229	Having people regularly volunteer who are passionate
230	Having relationships with each other is a sign of resilience
231	Having relationships with many organisations in all sectors
232	Having shared values and shared goals to be able to build resilience
233	Having support from neighbours and knowing each other in community
234	Having the power to face challenges
235	Having volunteers
236	Hearing about local issues through projects
237	Helping food poverty with dignity and choice
238	Helping people who were isolating
239	Helping refugees access food
240	Helping to reduce poverty, injustice, and inequality
241	High crime and anti-social behaviour in South Riverside
242	High turnout of events by different people in community
243	Hoping this good relationship between statutory and community groups continues
244	How we work and what we do impact resilience
245	How you work varies massively in communities in Cardiff
246	Huge community response during covid
247	If disadvantaged needing each other more
248	Important to be part of the community you serve
249	Important to live in the area you work for
250	Increasing access to affordable food and reducing waste
251	Interested in the physical geographical community
252	Interesting journey with local authorities
253	Investing in communities would lead to more local jobs
254	Involved in supporting people in other areas that have no community engagement
255	Involvement is not a paid thing
256	Involving the people in how want to address litter issue
257	Issues of parking, use of community facilities, parks in Pontcanna
258	Know the people and who need help
259	Knowing local people and community leaders
260	Lack of investment causing lack of community spaces to connect
261	Lack of investment makes spaces less accessible
262	Lack of money and time as barrier to community involvement
263	Lacking community investment so need to go to other parts of city
264	Language as a barrier to community action

#	Code
265	Learning from each other
266	Litter picking as being a group of something together
267	Living costs and inflation influencing Old St Mellons community
268	Local authorities guided by old fashion traditional targets
269	Local community group growing and joining another charity
270	Local community spaces no longer exist especially for young people
271	Local groups wanting more involvement
272	Looking to build community from its strengths
273	Losing community buildings
274	Losing their youth club
275	Lots of families living here for a long time
276	Lots of vulnerable people during covid
277	Managing to work successfully with council to change bin collection day
278	Many people experiencing food poverty
279	Many people speaking Arabic in Riverside
280	Many people want to be involved but not having the opportunity
281	Marginalised groups feel government systemically disadvantaging them
282	Measuring community change is bureaucratic so not really their priority
283	Member-led food pantry
284	Middle class communities may still need community but in a different way
285	Middle class people if have no community still have a secure life
286	More emphasis of local authority for communities doing things themselves
287	Most volunteers coming from our community
288	Mutual aid fund as a crisis response to the financial impact of covid
289	Need council to make good decisions as they run everything in city
290	Need the council to understand the value of working with community groups
291	Needing accessible spaces to be inclusive
292	Needing approach to be tailored to each community
293	Needing good relationships of council with local organisations for resilience
294	Needing green spaces in Riverside
295	Needing more community spaces
296	Needing more community spaces to interact
297	Needing more investment and engaging with communities
298	Needing physical spaces to connect with each other
299	Needing policy to be driven by what local people are concerned with
300	Needing the commitment of funding
301	Needing to do things in different languages
302	Needing to understand that community groups fundamental to community
303	Neighbourhoods made up as different communities
304	Neighbours connecting builds strength
305	Neighbours sharing food with each other and shopping
306	New councillor starting a new strategy group and wanting to involve the community group
307	No efforts to embed policy in community
308	No space in Splott to have meetings

#	Code
309	Not being able to afford gas and electricity
310	Not having enough money to pay gas and electricity
311	Not having enough volunteers is a challenge
312	Not just providing things for the communities
313	Not running a foodbank or fundamentally supporting people
314	Not trusting the government
315	Not using the word resilience specifically
316	Not wanting the government involved with that they are doing
317	Not wanting to operate as charity
318	Offering free vegetable boxes
319	Operating as a community with solidarity
320	Opposed to traditional community development model
321	Organisations stepped back giving the opportunities for communities do more
322	Other volunteers' involvement is less, comes and goes
323	Pandemic affecting low-income families
324	Pandemic bringing communities closer together
325	Pandemic changed how they worked
326	Pantry is about having the power and control to improve things together
327	Participating and building community life
328	People can volunteer in several ways
329	People checking on their neighbours in pandemic
330	People doing litter pick because good for their mental health
331	People doing litter picks because cared about their community
332	People ending being involved in other parts of the centre
333	People feeling isolated because of lack of community space
334	People getting involved in their community because of covid first time
335	People having a real desire for community
336	People in Riverside being aware of the community centre
337	People looking after each other during pandemic
338	People relying less in supermarkets to get food
339	People spending all their time at the co-op
340	People supporting each other
341	People talking about communities meaning resilience
342	People wanting to be engaged in the community
343	People who are struggling need to be heard more as they will suffer
344	Personal identities impact how view government's involvement
345	Placing importance in relationships and connections
346	Policies written do not involve understanding communities
347	Pontcanna being a more prosperous area
348	Pontcanna pact meeting did not work as arguing about less important things
349	Poor housing quality
350	Poor-quality housing
351	Poverty as a barrier to community action in Old St Mellons
352	Providing areas to mix and gather
353	Providing housing advice

#	Code
354	Providing opportunity to see diverse people
355	Quality of buildings and green space is poor in Riverside
356	Recognising needing to educate people and have new activities about litter
357	Recognising is about the control of resources
358	Recognising local efforts need resources
359	Recognising the importance of community leaders and local people
360	Redeveloping heritage centre
361	Reflecting 60on resilience in beginning of pandemic
362	Refugees moving from Butetown to edge of city difficult to connect
363	Regular volunteering is based on a process
364	Relationship with local authority worsened with financial problems and cut resources
365	Relationships are important for people being in poverty
366	Relationships were there before Covid and continued
367	Representing constituents and organisations
368	Repurposing volunteers during pandemic
369	Rescuing community buildings from closing
370	Resilience as having the ability to thrive and live well
371	Resilience as people doing things for themselves
372	Resilience based around local peoples' efforts
373	Resilience is about thinking ahead what we can do together
374	Resilience is always necessary for communities with poverty
375	Resilience is flexible to local needs unlike state provision
376	Resilience is key for what they are doing
377	Resilience meaning communities working together to be more sustainable
378	Resilience requires do not feel powerlessness
379	Resilience requires hope
380	Resilience thinking about different challenges facing as a low-income community
381	Resilience used in funding applications
382	Resurrecting the Riverside PACT Meetings which works well
383	Riverside being diverse ethnicities, cultures, and languages
384	Riverside has one of the least green spaces in Cardiff
385	Riverside having a strong identity
386	Riverside having amazing history and one size fits all approach doesn't work
387	Running a food pantry to deal with food poverty
388	Running a food pantry which the need of it increased in pandemic
389	Running a forest school programme with schools
390	Running a local nature club
391	Running a locally scholarship programme
392	Running art and craft projects
393	Running the pantry together gives strength to the community
394	See volunteering as the way through which local people make their contribution
395	Seeing communities as a source of strength and want to invest
396	Seeing social media as good for communicating
397	Seeing social media's nasty side
398	Seeing the local desire to help

#	Code
399	Seeing the pandemic as an opportunity to see how resilient they are
400	Seen resilience as helping each other and supporting
401	Setting up a phone friend scheme
402	Setting up a volunteering group through what's up
403	Sitting with the council to be able to make decisions is what we wanted
404	Solidarity, pride, connection to place differs in communities
405	Some councillors see the organisation as a threat, not interested or top-down view
406	Some councillors support the organisation
407	Some people not wanting to be involved in litter picking
408	South Riverside being a diverse and disadvantaged area
409	Speaking with their councillors to help change things
410	Specific challenges faced by our community
411	St Mellons being a diverse community
412	St Mellons being new community
413	Started a mutual aid fund during covid
414	Starting as a group of local people and volunteers
415	Starting co-op to overcome isolation
416	Starting the group because of the pandemic
417	Starting the group with volunteers interested in litter
418	Starting the mutual aid fund during the pandemic
419	Starting the pantry during the pandemic
420	Statutory bodies needed community groups to keep working
421	Statutory bodies trying to see how they going to organise
422	Statutory organisations caught up with communities
423	Strongest partnership with Cardiff University
424	Struggling with the idea of community consultation
425	Supporting local GP practice with litter picking equipment
426	Supporting organisations in other parts in the city
427	Supporting other organisations
428	Supporting people suffering from poverty
429	Taking part in strategy and policy formation
430	Talking about resilience but do not calling it that
431	Talking about the meaning of resilience all the time
432	Talking to people, attending events
433	The litter picking group was growing in size
434	The way the litter group works feel part of the community
435	Thinking of doing a symbolic strike with other groups in Cardiff
436	Thinking resilience is a buzzword
437	Training and supporting people into work
438	Trying new things online
439	Trying to achieve zero waste
440	Trying to attract diverse group of volunteers
441	Trying to bring different partners with different skills
442	Trying to engage with Welsh government and work with communities
443	Trying to help with a particular need

#	Code
444	Trying to improve and increase green spaces
445	Trying to keep the community centre with hub services in Riverside
446	Trying to reduce income inequality
447	Understanding community as a place
448	Understanding community as a shared geography place and history
449	Understanding not everyone wants to volunteer
450	Using an asset-based approach for community resilience
451	Using investment to allow communities to do their own things
452	Using social media before pandemic to contact people
453	Using those strengths of the community to tackle issues
454	Viewing community as helping each other
455	Viewing community resilience as part of this participatory approach
456	Viewing resilience as part of this approach that harness local energy and relationships
457	Viewing social capital as important
458	Viewing social media as a mixed blessing
459	Viewing the community as a problem is a barrier to change
460	Volunteering comes second if trying to survive
461	Volunteering which is consistent and ongoing helps resilience
462	Volunteering to strengthen their CV
463	Wanting more investment for their communities but do not hope
464	Wanting more with the council, wanting to be involved in strategy
465	Wanting someone to support them and say thank you for litter picking
466	Wanting to be part of the process of developing solutions
467	Wanting to do more litter picks with local groups in future
468	Wanting to harness local energy and celebrate local involvement
469	Wanting to help people create infrastructure
470	Wanting to make Riverside a better place to live and work
471	Wanting to put the state accountable
472	Wanting to rebuild local relationships
473	Watching communities looking after each other
474	What power we have to face together the challenges
475	Willingness to volunteer during pandemic
476	Working around fuel poverty
477	Working full time as barrier to community involvement
478	Working in a way that makes sense to the place and context
479	Working outside of our community in projects
480	Working together in the pantry garden
481	Working together transform individuals
482	Working together with health boards and GPs in the community
483	Working together with local people
484	Working towards a long-term solution to address food poverty
485	Working with council during covid to distribute recycle bags
486	Working with groups using the park and have connections
487	Working with other communities across Cardiff

#	Code
488	Working with other community organisations
489	Working with other organisations and groups
490	Working with people in a positive way
491	Working with people in an inclusive way
492	Working with people with mental health problems by engaging in gardening
493	Working with schools, local mosque
494	Working with Syrian refugees and people with different backgrounds
495	Working with the local authority
496	Working with community centre to give them more sustainable funding
497	Worrying about becoming charities rather than organising local people
498	Youth not feeling they have their own space
499	Youth team struggling to engage young people

The screenshot shows the NVivo software interface for 'In Vivo Coding Process Coding'. On the left is a 'Quick Access' sidebar with categories like Files, Memos, and Nodes. The main area displays a table of codes with columns for Name, Files, Referenc, Created On, and Created B. The codes listed include 'Recognising is about the control of resources', 'Recognising local efforts need resources', 'Recognising the importance of community leaders and local people', 'Redeveloping heritage centre', 'Refugees moving from Butetown to edge of city difficult to connect', 'Regular volunteering needs more process', 'Relationship with local authority worsened with financial problems and cut resources', 'Relationships are important for people being in isolation', 'Relationships were there before Covid and continued', 'Representing constituents and organisations within the ward', 'Repurposing volunteers during pandemic', 'Rescuing community buildings from closing down', 'Resilience as having the ability to thrive and live well', 'Resilience as people doing things for themselves', 'Resilience based around local peoples' efforts', 'Resilience is about thinking ahead what we can do together', 'Resilience is flexible to local needs unlike state provision', 'Resilience is key for what they are doing', 'Resilience meaning communities working together to be more sustainable', 'Resilience requires do not feel powerlessness', 'Resilience requires hope', and 'Resilience thinking about different challenges facing as a low-income community'.

Name	Files	Referenc	Created On	Created B
Recognising is about the control of resources	1	1	30/01/2023 19:1	PG
Recognising local efforts need resources	1	1	30/01/2023 19:2	PG
Recognising the importance of community leaders and local people	1	1	01/02/2023 19:1	PG
Redeveloping heritage centre	1	1	30/01/2023 18:3	PG
Refugees moving from Butetown to edge of city difficult to connect	1	1	01/02/2023 15:3	PG
Regular volunteering needs more process	1	1	01/02/2023 17:2	PG
Relationship with local authority worsened with financial problems and cut resources	1	1	30/01/2023 17:0	PG
Relationships are important for people being in isolation	1	1	01/02/2023 15:4	PG
Relationships were there before Covid and continued	1	1	03/02/2023 12:4	PG
Representing constituents and organisations within the ward	1	1	01/02/2023 12:0	PG
Repurposing volunteers during pandemic	1	1	30/01/2023 17:4	PG
Rescuing community buildings from closing down	1	1	30/01/2023 18:3	PG
Resilience as having the ability to thrive and live well	1	1	03/02/2023 18:3	PG
Resilience as people doing things for themselves	1	1	01/02/2023 12:3	PG
Resilience based around local peoples' efforts	1	1	30/01/2023 18:3	PG
Resilience is about thinking ahead what we can do together	1	1	15/02/2023 16:2	PG
Resilience is flexible to local needs unlike state provision	1	1	30/01/2023 18:4	PG
Resilience is key for what they are doing	1	1	30/01/2023 16:1	PG
Resilience meaning communities working together to be more sustainable	1	1	01/02/2023 12:3	PG
Resilience requires do not feel powerlessness	1	1	30/01/2023 18:3	PG
Resilience requires hope	1	1	30/01/2023 18:3	PG
Resilience thinking about different challenges facing as a low-income community	1	1	15/02/2023 16:2	PG

Appendix 10: Interviews Codebook

#	Focused Codes	Description	Examples
1	Affluent communities	Refers to communities that are economically affluent. These communities believe that because of their economic level they are resilient as opposed to less affluent communities. This is because less affluent communities have bigger and more pressing needs that they need to address.	<i>'If you have got a lot of worries in your life, you don't want to think of communities too much, you want to exist and survive your won pressures and get your kids to school and feed them. You have to get a certain level of economic comfort to take a leading role in the community.'</i> (LC3) <i>'It is very easy to be resilient when you got a roof over your head, the bills are paid, and the food is on the table but as soon as you take that away and talking about poverty really it is so hard to maintain resilience, so I think there is a correlation between the two.'</i> (R4)
2	Deprived communities	Refers to communities that are economically deprived. This can either lead to communities coming together and be resilient because there is a higher need to do so, or poverty can be a barrier to community engagement and resilience.	<i>'So, when you got areas like Grangetown because there has not been that constant money and development, you do get people coming together more to make their space more resilient and a nice place to live.'</i> (CSO16) <i>'So people who are more disadvantaged tend to form stronger communities because they need stronger communities, without being part of these communities they are sort of left on their own.'</i> (V1) <i>'Then there are socio-economic factors, some people simply don't have the time or the money to focus beyond their immediate need and family.'</i> (LC1)
3	Having working relationships with local councillors	Refers to how actors within communities recognise that it is important to have good connections with their local councillors to gain what they need such as power.	<i>'Another example is we get to know some of our councillors really well, so we sort of have those links with political power and with the council through that we have been able to create some schemes like position new bins.'</i> (V3) <i>'I know that partnership and working relationships with local councillors is really important so I proactively sought a partnership right back at the beginning of the pandemic, also finding out what it is that the Council can do for the community.'</i> (V5) <i>'We are quite lucky in our area that our councillors are accessible, they come along to our community coffee mornings.'</i> (CSO17)
4		Refers to taking action to be self-reliant as a community. This	<i>'One of the things with the pantry and pantry members is that we talk about the winter and the fear, but we also have this strength of knowing actually we are</i>

#	Focused Codes	Description	Examples
	Helping communities be self-reliant	involves sharing or learning skills and knowledge through various activities and projects, aiming to empower communities and increase their confidence in their own abilities.	<i>running this pantry together and is nearly self-sustaining and it is something we feel we have control over...</i> (CSO12) <i>'So there is a big void of skill sharing...as they all work together in some of the items and pick up different skills so that is really important to resilience as well, sharing your skills, sharing that knowledge, and having a place that people can tap into those skills as well.'</i> (CSO15)
5	Lack of investment	Refers to the lack of investment and support that exists within communities and how this has an impact on the engagement of these communities.	<i>'I think Cardiff East has notoriously seen a lack of investment in the last 20 years so that is a big issue. This lack of investment has a domino effect on everything.'</i> (CSO20) <i>'There is not much going on in Trowbridge in terms of support, it is quite difficult to pinpoint active projects that are going on in Trowbridge as it is being one of those forgotten parts of Wales for quite a while.'</i> (V5)
6	Lack of physical spaces	Refers to the lack physical spaces within communities and how that leads to a lack of community engagement and connection as well. This is because it is harder to build connections and relationships without having those communities' spaces to be able to come together.	<i>'There is a widespread desire from people in Old St Mellons to be part of community and connect with us and build community but there are no platforms or spaces to connect and actually meet other people because there is lots of housing here and very little community spaces.'</i> (CSO12) <i>'But we do not have many places where you can just go and meet other people without spending money. One gap that we really want to fulfil with our project is a space where people can just literally wander in and know that everybody is welcomed, and you do not need a reason to go there and spend money and just meet people.'</i> (CSO17)
7	Long-term response to thrive	Refers to community resilience being part of a long-term positive response to thrive. This involves a deeper understanding of community resilience, which involves not just the ability of a community to respond to crises but also being able to thrive in the long-term.	<i>'I think part of community resilience is the community having the ongoing ability and to make change ideally not only when there is a crisis.'</i> (CSO2) <i>'But then also I think on another level for us it is not just about surviving, it is that thriving, so resilience does not mean just people being able to survive next time or coming back from a crisis and surviving, is being able to thrive with new skills and new inner strength.'</i> (V5)
8	Not using resilience but its meaning	Refers to how actors within communities may not necessarily use the term community resilience as it is not part of their	<i>'I definitely have come across it, [pause] it is not necessarily something that when we talk about with the community together, we use the word, but I think the meaning of the word we talk about it all the time. So we do talk about resilience, but we do not call it resilience.'</i> (CSO12)

#	Focused Codes	Description	Examples
		everyday language. However, they use the idea of community resilience as it is connected to their work and to what they are doing in terms of supporting communities.	<i>'I mean yes, I don't think it is a term [community resilience] that is used very often among our local community and volunteers, it tends to be a sort of professional term that agencies use.'</i> (V5)
9	Relationships and connections	Refers to the strong relationships and connections that exist within communities. Part of this is because of the community spaces that exist within these communities which bring people together. As well as different activities going on where people can participate. As a result, people know each other and come together to support each other.	<i>'There is a real community sense, so all people know each other, and people can connect with each other. There are a lot of groups and community organisations set up in Grangetown to support local needs and events and activities as well.'</i> (CSO9) <i>'Splott has a really well-connected community, people know each other well, there is a lot of stuff happening, there is a food cooperative, volunteers, there is a lot of things going on.'</i> (CSO17) <i>'What does exist within Riverside now is an almost invisible web of relationships.'</i> (CSO21)
10	Providing crisis support	Refers to what actors within communities are doing to ensure that they can continue to provide support and help people during crises such as the pandemic. The type of support varies depending on the needs of different communities. For example, some communities may focus on addressing food poverty.	<i>'Our role there [with the food pantry] is still to try and provide some kind of support, we still give crisis packs to those people who haven't been able to go back to work. So our role there has been to a lesser extent than before but still a provider of some sort of crisis support.'</i> (V5) <i>'Since we could not get into people houses, they were leaving a note of their shopping list outside their door, so we did the shopping for them and we were leaving the shopping outside, whereas normally we would put their stuff in the fridge.'</i> (CSO13)
11	Providing their own solutions	Refers to how actors within communities come together to support each other and provide	<i>'But the good thing about it is that Grangetown does it itself as it solves issues within itself through local organising and coming up with local solutions for local problems which the local authority is terrible at solving so we just take it up upon ourselves.'</i> (CSO9)

#	Focused Codes	Description	Examples
		their own solutions to issues they concern them.	<i>'Our funding comes from each other and so our core values is to be self-reliant, so we do not think the local authority has a role'. (V1)</i> <i>'We run a mutual aid fund, we started one in covid and probably continue it for the future as it is again local giving and 100% goes back out in small one off grants, they are more crisis response and it is for urgent basic needs, and it is just for people in Old St Mellons and again run entirely by local volunteers.'</i> (CSO12)
12	Sense of identity and pride	Refers to actors having an emotional connection to their place (sharing a place-based identity). Having a strong sense of community, identity and pride results in having higher engagement and forming stronger relationships within a community.	<i>'...people do look at for each other and people are generous and kind and there is a strong sense of identity and connection to the place.'</i> (CSO1) <i>'If you feel proud of it [your community], you are like to say, hey what other things are going on here? What is needed?'</i> (R3) <i>'Success for me is if I still live in Grangetown in 15 years is to still get that feeling of being proud to live here and a sense of belonging.'</i> (CSO9)
13	Short-term crisis response	Refers to community resilience being part of a short-term crisis response. This includes the ability of a community to cope, survive and bounce back from an emergency. This is discussed in relation to different crises such as the pandemic, where communities had to respond and adapt.	<i>'I think resilience is having the capacity to respond with actions quickly and effectively to be able bounce back.'</i> (CSO8) <i>'Resilience to me is when you are faced with some adversity is about how do you navigate out of it or around it.'</i> (LC8) <i>'I think of it in similar ways, so when I think of the pandemic and the community as a whole how it responded to that which was a challenging and adverse experience for everybody.'</i> (LC1)
14	Strengthening social relationships	Refers to what actors within communities are doing as they seek to strengthen social relationships and networks of support. This involves developing various activities and events to bring different people together into the community to connect with each other and actively share a common purpose. This is	<i>'We had other events in 2021 we had a community lunch in Oasis hall so that people who were part of Oasis helped, and anyone could come to show people the benefits of coming together and helping each other without the aim of personal profit and gain'</i> (V1) <i>'Making sure we tap into the right connections, investments, opportunities and make time for each other and it all comes down to building relationships, the more connected you feel to your area the better the chance you feel there is a sense of community resilience.'</i> (CSO9)

#	Focused Codes	Description	Examples
		something done for the long-term as it takes time to develop these relationships.	
15	Strengthening the local infrastructure	Refers to what actors within communities are doing as they seek to strengthen the infrastructure of their community. This involves the development of local assets and spaces owned and controlled by the community.	<i>'Then the heritage centre we redeveloped it as it was a church so again, we try to take space that was neglected or ignored and build that in ways that support that community work, efforts and resilience.'</i> (CSO1) <i>'... but ultimately is about getting people involved to take ownership in their community and we have done that through the capital development, local assets are really important to the community.'</i> (CSO6)
16	Tensions over the use of resilience	Refers to the tensions that arise because actors within communities differentiate between how they use resilience and how government and policy use resilience.	<i>'I wonder what they [government] actually understand and mean by resilience really, I suspect we look at it quite differently. There is a danger for the state that is motivated by resource implications.'</i> (CSO1) <i>'... It wasn't described [community resilience] then or since, it is just a word flowing around. And it can be used as a word quite easily to beat people up with, because there is that notion that you are not resilient enough.'</i> (CSO21)
17	Working in partnerships	Refers to how actors within communities have relationships and partnerships with other organisations and groups, placing importance to engaging with diverse people who have different skills and knowledge.	<i>'So with all of the shops and business we got relationships with them, they are always happy to put up a poster or something in social media.'</i> (R4) <i>'So we have gardening clubs in the week, we have a partnership agreement with the Beacon Centre to develop the garden space they have there.'</i> (CSO12) <i>'We work with other members of the local franchise so Trowbridge pantry, Beacon Centre pantry, and Gladwin church, they are not a pantry, but they have a food program, and we donate a lot of excess to them.'</i> (CSO20) <i>'We have loads of relationships and all sorts of organisations in all sectors really, an example of one of the strongest partnerships we have is with Cardiff University and the School of History, Archaeology and Religion, it has been going about 10 years through the heritage project.'</i> (CSO1)
18	Working with the local authority	Refers to how actors within communities have relationships and work with the local authority	<i>'Cardiff Council have been really good for us; they have been really supportive and have a good relationship with them. The main part is on the community, but the council has a part to play in helping the community help itself and facilitate the progress.'</i> (CSO20)

#	Focused Codes	Description	Examples
		to support them with what they need.	<p><i>'Building positive working relationships with the local council and different cabinet members is really important to us. Partly because depending on what the issue is, there would be a decision maker that could change that issue and they usually sit within the state, might be the local council or the leader of the council.'</i> (CSO2)</p> <p><i>'And then in the public sector in the local level is the Cardiff Council and so we have a strong partnership with them.'</i> (V5)</p>

Appendix 11: Community Pathways to Resilience

Table 14: Activist Pathway (Ely, Grangetown, Riverside, Splott)

Discourses of resilience	Participatory Resilience	<p><i>'We want to be developing those [solutions] ourselves, we want to be part of this process and for us that is what community resilience is about, is those approaches that harness local energy and ethos and build relationships in ways that enable us to work with each other' (CSO1).</i></p> <p><i>'So the real magic happens when people who have different resources and knowledge come together and say let us learn from each other and make this happen' (V1).</i></p> <p><i>'I think making sure people are contributing to make things happen and feel empowered to do this' (CSO9).</i></p>
	Transformational Resilience	<p><i>'It is understanding where communities are now and what is stopping them from thriving further and when I say thriving, I mean in all sorts of different areas' (CSO9).</i></p> <p><i>'Yes, I have, I would say that community resilience means that a group of people are able to gather to overcome obstacles and become stronger and as a result of their solidarity and strength are able to create positive environments where people are able to flourish and grow' (CSO23).</i></p> <p><i>'I think it is the ability of a place or a group of people to thrive, to live well and to be able to handle things that happen to them' (V3).</i></p>
Practices	Organising themselves	<p><i>'But another thing that we do we have youth action group and meets monthly, and it consists of people from different organisations working and based in the area; local high schools teachers and other community groups and organisations, local police and fire services and there is a space where we can discuss those issues that are coming up in the community and have a response to them' (CSO19).</i></p> <p><i>'The food co-op was set up by a few members of the Splott community, people that were neighbours and friends with each other. They started over a year ago during the pandemic for several reasons but mainly because they saw how the pandemic was affecting low-income families...so they decided to come together and do something about it which was mutually funded' (V1).</i></p>
	Coproducing with external partners	<p><i>'We have loads of relationships and all sorts of organisations in all sectors really, an example of one of the strongest partnerships we have is with Cardiff University and the School of History, Archaeology and Religion, it has been going about 10 years through the heritage project' (CSO1).</i></p> <p><i>'We refer to it as a community resilience hub. It grew out of the closure of a local community garden and the fact that we were supporting that community group from the gardens trying to find a new physical site to grow food' (CSO17).</i></p> <p><i>'Once the funding was sorted and through working with a number of key partners, the building formally opened about three weeks ago, and that is a great example of how a community has worked together with other partners' (CSO6).</i></p>
	Establishing positive	<p><i>'We try to have a dialogue as much as we can with the local councillors to try and improve things and make a difference' (V4).</i></p>

	relationships with local councillors	<p><i>'Another example is we get to know some of our councillors really well, so we sort of have those links with political power and with the council through that we have been able to create some schemes like position new bins' (V3).</i></p> <p><i>'We got lovely local councillors; it is easy to get a hold of them and they support us' (CSO17).</i></p>
Characteristics of place	History of community engagement	<p><i>'I think a strength we have that other places might not have been that they feel this is an area they want to be in and feel like they belong and want to contribute to make that happen' (CSO9).</i></p> <p><i>'Splott has a really well-connected community, people know each other well, there is a lot of stuff happening, there is a food cooperative, volunteers, there is a lot of things going on' (CSO17).</i></p> <p><i>'I think Ely has a long history and people been there for generations, strong family connections and networks and families lived in the same house for years, but history and pride and solidarity and people who come to work here get attached to the place and connected and that is different to other communities' (CSO1).</i></p> <p><i>'Riverside has a really strong identity, so we are small area, but it has a strong identity' (V3).</i></p>
	Level of economic development	<p><i>'For us in a way because of the challenges with poverty and low income that resilience is always be necessary I think in all times in Ely you have got this residual resilience that flows' (CSO1).</i></p> <p><i>'So what I would say I think in more deprived communities there is a greater sense of community resilience because there is an awareness that their area is not being as developed' (CSO16).</i></p> <p><i>'The more deprivation in an area the more the community spirit is. When you go in Rhiwbina the one house is not knowing who is living in the next house. But when you go to places like here you can name the 20 people which are around you and they will get together to solve the problems that they are arising at the time' (LC6).</i></p> <p><i>'From what I have seen people that are more disadvantaged tend to form stronger communities because they need each other more...'</i> (V1).</p>

Table 15: Survivor Pathway (Llanrumney, Old St Mellons, Rumney, Trowbridge)

Discourses of resilience	Pragmatic Resilience	<p><i>'For me it means partnership and connectivity; it is about the local authority, organisations and businesses working alongside with the local people, whether they are small independent businesses or big chains like Tesco. It is about recognising what needs to be improved and then key organisations working together to achieve this' (CSO20).</i></p> <p><i>'We do not have a lot of support; we need money and professional help as we are just people who want to help other people, but we do not always have the skills and recourses we perhaps need to do this' (CSO10).</i></p> <p><i>'I think it is about feeling like there are people and organisations who will support us and knowing that the different challenges we are facing, we have the support of others, and we are doing that together' (CSO12).</i></p>
	Crisis Resilience	<p><i>'In our context, talking about resilience is talking about the different challenges we are facing, again as a low-income community and what we could do together to face those things' (CSO12).</i></p> <p><i>'Being strong, being able to adapt from what is happening and being able to help. I think during the pandemic there was a level of resilience' (CSO10).</i></p> <p><i>'What we try to do is give people help, it is about people learning skills and being confident enough to support themselves and to be resilient to crises in that sense' (V5).</i></p>
	Transformational Resilience	<p><i>'But then also I think on another level for us it is not just about surviving, it is that thriving, so resilience does not mean just people being able to survive next time or coming back from a crisis and surviving, is being able to thrive with new skills and new inner strength. So it can be a deep level of resilience that we experience and try to foster' (V5).</i></p> <p><i>'I think everyone has a role to play, sometimes people do not know what their skills are. It is not that people do not have any, we know they have skills, is about identifying those skills. So it is drawing people in, helping them help themselves to find out what they are good at, and I think if we can get to that place, there will be a lot to be gained for everyone's benefit' (CSO20).</i></p>
Practices	Developing multi-sector partnerships	<p><i>'Because of the scale of need and hard work involved in trying to counter what is the problem of poverty and social exclusion at the heart which was exacerbated by the pandemic and the cost-of-living crisis and so on, it means you cannot do this on your own; you have to work with other organisations and partners' (V5).</i></p> <p><i>'Because we wanted to develop further and the work we were doing needed more support and governance; we needed to find a sort of organisational home for it really. That is why we joined another charity nearly four years ago' (CSO12).</i></p>
	Organising themselves	<p><i>'We do not have a lot of support as a forum and any funding we have to apply and get it for ourselves, and we struggle with that because we are entirely funded from each other and from donations' (CSO10).</i></p> <p><i>'We run a food pantry and that has really taken off during covid and they are different from the foodbank model, which is more of a crisis response, this is a more ongoing response of tackling food poverty and insecurity in the community. Is a member-led food pantry so members run the pantry and pay a membership each week and for that do a shop in the pantry so tackling food waste but also increasing access to affordable food' (CSO12).</i></p>

	Establishing positive relationships with local councillors	<p><i>'I am a very experienced community worker and I know that partnership and working relationships with local councillors is really important so I proactively sought a partnership right back at the beginning of the pandemic' (V5).</i></p> <p><i>'Local councillors have been really good to us; they have been really supportive, and we have a good relationship with them. We do our part, but local councillors and consequently the Council has a part to play in helping the community help itself and facilitate the progress' (CSO20).</i></p> <p><i>'The group shares some concerns they have; thus we meet together and discuss what they want and need so communication is important' (LC9).</i></p>
Characteristics of place	Isolation	<p><i>'There is not much going on in Trowbridge in terms of support, it is quite difficult to pinpoint active projects that are going on in Trowbridge as it is being one of those forgotten parts of Wales for quite a while' (V5).</i></p> <p><i>'Only because of the lack of facilities in the area, so at the moment if something starts up, I do not think people will want to immediately engage with it because they are not used to things happening. So it is going to take a bit of convincing people that there are a lot of good things happening' (R5).</i></p> <p><i>'The other thing is we do not have enough meeting spaces, that is a serious issue in my community. Unless you go to the Beacon Centre there is nowhere to meet in the evenings and that is why we want to build a community hall' (LC9).</i></p>
	Level of economic development	<p><i>'...I think whenever you find economic hardship in a community you also find motivation and more than anything else, find resilience' (CSO20).</i></p> <p><i>'One is because of poverty and deprivation people do tend to stay in their own neighbourhood or home, they either cannot or do not feel strong enough to travel that much and the pandemic made that much worse in terms of social exclusion' (V5).</i></p> <p><i>'So I think there is a real desire from people, but I think there are certain challenges in Old St Mellons that we are sort of overcoming to build community, one of these things is poverty' (CSO12).</i></p>

Table 16: Conservator Pathway (Heath, Lisvane, Llanishen, Rhiwbina)

Discourses of resilience	Beneficial Resilience	<p><i>'It is so different here, I call it the Rhiwbina bubble sometimes, you know you can come and live here, and you have everything you need and you can just exist in your little world and is all really nice and then you go a few miles away and it is a completely different picture' (R4).</i></p> <p><i>'You heard me describe the sort of community system we have here in Lisvane...So I think you will find that we are a very resilient community' (LC3).</i></p> <p><i>'You got people who are good-natured, with a common goal that they can make a group, whatever that group is and that is going to help and support the community be resilient, like what we are doing.' (CSO13).</i></p>
	Crisis Resilience	<p><i>'I am thinking of it as the community pulling together to support each other and come out of something' (CSO11).</i></p> <p><i>'It is how you can withstand and face hardships like when Covid-19 hit, we were able to adapt to the new situation, so we showed some resilience' (CSO13).</i></p> <p><i>'So our take is you got to be resilient, you got to carry on. There is a lot to be negative about but there is also a lot of positivity and there is a lot we can do' (R4).</i></p>
Practices	Organising themselves	<p><i>'The community centre was previously run by Cardiff Council and the Council was getting rid of the building and there was a group of local residents who fought against this, because the centre was needed within the community' (CSO11).</i></p> <p><i>'I was already active in the community and I got chatting with other like-minded people who like me wanted to do something about the issues of plastic in the community so we got together and began setting up a couple of recycling initiatives around the community to reduce plastic waste' (R4).</i></p>
	Collaborating with others	<p><i>'One of our main contributors appears to be the Llanishen Rotary Club, they are very helpful, every year they do a Santa Sleigh charity collection and give us half of their donations' (CSO13).</i></p> <p><i>'One of the churches, they got a community centre in the middle of Rhiwbina, and they are really generous, they let us use it if we need to' (R4).</i></p>
	Establishing positive relationships with local councillors	<p><i>'As a councillor I try to be involved in the community, going to local schools and speaking with local groups, sports teams, really all the aspects of the community' (LC10).</i></p> <p><i>'...Where councillors are attending as well as Partnerships and Communities Together (PACT) meetings happening every 2 months because you do get councillors attending and you can use such opportunities to get things done' (CSO13).</i></p>
Characteristics of place	Level of economic development	<p><i>'I do not know how well you know Rhiwbina but is one of the wealthier areas in Cardiff, so the people that tend to live here are educated, they are aware of issues, there are a lot of families with children. In terms of an audience, they are aware of the issues and very well placed' (R4).</i></p>
		<p><i>'Lack of financial security and poverty can undermine the resilience of a community to respond to a crisis. If you have got a lot of worries in your life, you do not want to think of communities too much, you want to exist and survive' (LC3).</i></p>

		<p><i>'This area of Cardiff is not what is considered to be deprived and poverty stricken like other areas of Cardiff. It is quite an affluent area. However, when I speak to people just because somebody may have a nice house or have a better education it does not necessarily mean they are not affected by other things. It is just that they are different things' (CSO11).</i></p>
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