A Jewish Non-Governmental Organization's Jewish Community Resilience in Europe Program: A Post-Structural Analysis

Rozi Levi Gillman

Dr. Limor Samimian Darash (Advisor)

Towards the Thesis Requirement of

Master's in Public Policy, Federmann School of Public Policy and Government

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Abstract

Resilience thinking has taken on new meaning with its increasing use in public policy, policy analysis, and policy implementation. States, governing organizations, as well as non-governmental organizations are producing resilience thinking to as a solution for governing insecurity. Scholarship has started to decipher what resilience thinking produces. Importantly, depoliticization of the governor and politicization at the governed at once has been a recent and critical finding, both as a tool and as an aim of resilience thinking practices. This research utilized grounded theory and studied how resilience was produced through problematized knowledge in European Jewish communities as part of a Jewish Community Resilience program in a global, non-governmental organization. Through a post-structural analysis, I found resilience thinking to be form of maternalistic thinking, which transformed vulnerability from a something to protect (i.e. paternalistic vulnerability), to something to preserve (i.e. maternalistic vulnerability). As a result, maternalistic vulnerability produced by resilience thinking invited the community membership and leadership (as well as the NGO) to care for the vulnerabilities, with metaphysical humility about their own limitations. However, evidence of the politicization of community membership (i.e. subjects) without any clear transfer of decision-making power seemed to have caused a regression back to the paternalistic vulnerability paradigm, and, from its paternalistic perspective, now with new vulnerabilities maternalistic resilience thinking had produced. Further research recommended include the intersection of gender and governing insecurity, as well as exploring advanced psychology research on vulnerability, shame, and resilience in the policy/population realm.

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A Jewish Non-Governmental Organization's Jewish Community Resilience in Europe Program: A Post-Structural Analysis

In 2015, a global Jewish global nonprofit, non-governmental organization ("NGO" hereinafter[1]) initiated a resilience 'program' for Jewish communities in Europe, titled the *Jewish Community Resilience* program (*Jewish Community Resilience*, 2015). This project was not necessarily unique or the first in its field. For instance, it can be argued to be similar to Rockefeller Foundation's 100 Resilient Cities project or Cariplo Foundation's Resilient Communities project (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017; *Resilience in Action: Early Insights into How Cities Are Institutionalizing Resilience*, 2016). The Organization, similarly with the Rockefeller Foundation, started producing resilience deliverables (seminars, roundtable discussions, reports) under the umbrella of a 'program' (*Jewish Community Resilience*, 2015). At the time of this thesis research, Jewish Community Resilience program worked in a few cities (and their Jewish communities) in Europe and with pan-European Jewish organizations (*ibid*). What is in common, is that these nonprofit institutions (Rockefeller, Cariplo, and the NGO) are openly stating their aim to bring resilience thinking into governing bodies – cities, communities, and ultimately, onto the subjects of these governing organizations (*ibid*). This research aimed to take a closer look at the Jewish Community Resilience program to unpack its practices as well as its benefits and consequences under the so-called 'resilience' framework.

Studying Community Resilience

Today, we are faced with these relatively large-scale applications of resilience thought into these smaller units of governance – communities (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017). Whereas those resilience programs in countries, authorities, regions etc. have been studied through a post-

structural analysis (see Brasett & Vaughan-Williams, 2015; Cavelty, Kaufmann, & Kristensen, 2015; Coaffee & Fussey, 2015; Heath-Kelly, 2015; Methmann & Oels, 2015), resilience in a community setting has not been studied in this manner widely, except for one very recent study found on the topic (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017). D'Albergo & Moini (2017) found depoliticization and politicization dynamics between public and collective action, wherein resilience is "shifting responsibility without power unto the governed" and politicizes them, while depoliticizing the government in the process (p.393). This research will hone in on the Jewish Community Resilience program to understand how these socio-political dynamics seem to play out in the Jewish Community sphere.

Therefore, a post-structural analysis, as encouraged and explained by Bacchi (2012a, 2012b), can allow an analysis such as D'Albergo & Moini's (2017) into the Organization's Jewish Community Resilience program. Bachhi (2012b) maintains, studying public policy, politics, and comparative politics through problematizations provides a deeper understanding of assumptions and implicit truths taken for granted. In her words:

> *Problematization as a method (thinking problematically) involves studying problematized "objects" ("problematizations") and the (historical) process of their production. It involves "standing back" from "objects" and "subjects", presumed to be objective and unchanging, in order to consider their "conditions of emergence" and hence their mutability.* (*ibid, p. 4)*

This research did not shy away from asking the most basic questions to the essential assumptions of the program: Why do we need resilience, and what is it? Why is it the solution for Jewish communities? What is the assumed 'problem' in this 'solution' is based off of? Resilience in

Jewish Communities in Europe had different practices as well as social, political, and economic consequences than those that take place in a larger governmental level, and was studied to help those involved academically or in the field understand it better. Additionally, this study can help those involved – subjects, organizations, or governing bodies alike – obtain a deeper understanding of the practices they take on through resilience, and its results.

These practices were initiated by a non-governmental organization which sought to bring resilience thought into the agenda and practices of these smaller units of governance. At the time of the data collection, the program ran in three countries and was integrated into pan-European platforms (seminars, workshops, retreats etc.) The analysis into the program aimed to understand how professionals navigated resilience thought, what practices were brought into these governing bodies, how benefits (and even harmful results) occurred as a result of resilience practices, and how it functioned.

Unpacking Resilience

Before I challenged resilience discourse in this way, I had to understand the roots of the discourse resilience had built. This review is a summary of the discourse I found in the literature on resilience.

"Resilience" comes from *resi-lire*, in Latin, which means "to spring back" (Davoudi, 2012, p. 301; Pizzo, 2015; Simmie & Martin, 2010). However, much literature has focused on how resilience has surpassed this meaning into a metaphor or model towards dealing with insecurity, risk, uncertainty among others. Initial scholarly considerations of resilience, mainly by Holling (1973) analyzed a phenomenon of accepting the unexpected in an obvious and honest way (as cited in Walker & Cooper, 2011).

Through the utilization of what is called systems theory, Holling (1973) established a new school of thought for resilience beyond the resilience of physical materials. This new ecological resilience of ecosystems was made up of the interaction of social and economic (i.e. socioeconomic) systems (1973 & 1996, as cited in Davoudi, 2012; Walker & Cooper, 2011). Holling then went on to found a research organization called "Resilience Alliance" which has produced decades of deliverables, such as journal articles, reports, and resilience-themed projects ("Resilience Alliance - About," n.d.; Walker & Cooper, 2011). Yet, from Bacchi's (2012a, 2012b) problematization perspective, two fundamental questions still remain: what practices does resilience produce, and how does it conceptualize the 'problem' to be?

In this literature review, I will not provide an overview of types of resilience applications through different countries, government projects, in a diverse variety of sectors, as other reviews already exist (e.g. Davoudi, 2012; Malley, n.d.; Walker & Cooper, 2011). Instead, I am interested in understanding the role of resilience as a tool for governing insecurity, and its conceptualization as problematized knowledge.

Resilience: A New Framing for Governing Insecurity

Recent geographic and socio-cultural literature refer to resilience as a new form of governing (in)security (e.g. Cavelty et al., 2015; Heath-Kelly, 2015; Lentzos & Rose, 2009; Methmann & Oels, 2015; Per Olsson, Lance H. Gunderson, Steve R. Carpenter, Paul Ryan, Carl Folke, & C. S. Holling, 2009 among many others). When governing organizations – such as governments, authorities, organizations tasked with 'governing' insecurity – make decisions on how to manage risk, insecurity, and crisis decide to take on a 'resilience' approach, they intrinsically then, accept a reality of ongoing and persistent crisis and risk. Thus, resilience, a

term initially used for physical resistance of materials, now provides new vocabulary, where insecurity, risk, and crisis can 'embrace' (i.e. include) the unexpected, and provide a framework in which the unexpected, too, can be governed.

Furthermore, as Hayek (2007) suggests, no individual or governing organization can make an 'ideal' policy decision, as no they will never have all the 'knowledge' in the field to make such a decision. Resilience provides an overall acknowledgement, or a vocabulary, to communicate Hayek and Holling's admission on the inability of any system to be able to consistently expect the unexpected (Walker & Cooper, 2011). Resilience, then, admits the presence of what is unknown, unexpected, and unprepared for (*ibid*). Governing organizations of all sizes – countries, authorities, municipalities etc. – now utilize this vocabulary (*ibid*). Moreover, resilience also allows those governing insecurity to absorb the shortcomings of ensuring security into the security practice itself, rendering the failure to prepare for crisis, or ensuring security, irrelevant (*ibid*).

Literature that follows also confirms that even all-encompassing, expensive, technologically infused security drills will be shown to be unrealistic, and practically different from what would occur in a real-time crisis -- depicting preparedness activities surrounding governing insecurity or resilience practices, almost useless (Adey & Anderson, 2012). These researchers show that resilience is really a "successful façade," reprogramming governance to encompass seemingly objective measures, manufacturing this new version of governing insecurity to look like a better version of the 'non-resilient' governance structures (Adey & Anderson, 2012, p.22; Brassett & Vaughan-Williams, 2015). That is, shifting the responsibility of security onto subjects (e.g. communities, individuals etc.) relieves the object (i.e. the governing

organizations) from the full responsibility of governing insecurity (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017; Kaufmann, 2016; Lentzos & Rose, 2009; Methmann & Oels, 2015; Walker & Cooper, 2011).

Further, following Pizzo's (2015) point on resilience being a tool for depoliticization, D'Albergo & Moini's (2017) research finds that it is depoliticizing and politicizing at once. They find resilience to emphasize concepts "based on adaptation, partnership, self-reliance and the responsibilization of individuals, as opposed to the state" (*ibid,* p.391). Kaufmann (2016) emphasizes that no matter what, in resilience thought, the subject is put in a position to become an "active citizen" (p. 13). The subject can no longer be protected from risk with inaction, they need to become a part of the new crisis and emergency preparedness structure: they need to be an active participant.

How did the effects of politicization and depoliticization, then, play out in a Jewish Community Resilience program? Is there any relationship with the resilience's depoliticization or politicization within an ethno-cultural group and its interactions with its state and other governmental organizations? Furthermore, what was resilience in this realm? How was it a new framework (i.e. façade) towards governing insecurity, and how (what) are they actually changing (within) the reality on the ground? What are benefits and consequences of governing insecurity through resilience within non-governmental initiatives for ethno-cultural groups, such as a 'Jewish Community'?

Perhaps an analysis of how much resilience changes practices on the ground versus providing a new framing can be helpful to answer: Why resilience? However, one still has to ask: Why now? What is going on in Jewish communities, in Europe, or in the non-profit organizations that calls for resilience practices in the past few years? An overview of recent anti-

Semitic events in Europe can be provided, but that needs to be left to historians and journalists. This research observed the rise of resilience as an initiative through the perspective of politics, and resilience as a problematization in order to "make politics visible" (Bacchi, 2012b, p. 1; Pizzo, 2015).

Resilience as a Window of Opportunity for Problematized Knowledge

As mentioned above, political observations of resilience have found two distinct relationships of resilience to politics: allowing depoliticization and having added value as a political tool at once (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017; Pizzo, 2015; Shaw, 2012). Interestingly, these approaches seem to coexist. Furthermore, a growing theme in literature sheds light on resilience as a tool for depoliticization (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017; Pizzo, 2015) which can allow for a "window of opportunity" for organizations to create initiatives towards creating 'resilient systems' (Per Olsson, Lance H. Gunderson, Steve R. Carpenter, Paul Ryan et al., 2009). Olsson et al.'s (2009) overview of social-ecological system interventions towards building environmental resilience coincides with the same "window of opportunity" metaphor for policy making (Kingdon, 1995). This suggests, resilience discourse may allow for depoliticizing politically-charged domains, and it can be utilized as opportunities for creating and implementing new policies. Further, a more complicated theoretical model can be conceptualized, including governmental and societal dynamics (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017). This research indeed looked at what politically charged domains the Jewish Community Resilience program seeked to navigate, and what opportunities it took advantage of to gain legitimization (and perhaps buy-in, such as through funding or interest) to initiate this program.

The use of windows of opportunities to initiate resilience discourse and influence policy, then, demands a deeper analysis than only looking at the how the program worked on the surface. Also because of this reason, the analysis in this research went beyond unpacking how resilience is in ecological, engineering, urban, psychological, and environmental forms (Davoudi, 2012; Simmie & Martin, 2010; Walker & Cooper, 2011). As Pizzo (2015) touches upon, resilience as a concept utilized for actual operations can have a "normative orientation" (p. 135), and this research sought to see through that layer.

Pizzo (2015) explains resilience from a problematized perspective: "[…] resilience takes the imbalance of our world, and our imperfect knowledge of it as a given, considering flexibility to be the only practical answer to an uncertain future" (p. 136). Hence, as the problem is structured in a certain form to arrive to the resilience 'solution,' all operational solutions provided through resilience thinking will always suggest that all units, –whether they are individuals, communities, cities, countries, or organizations– need to be flexible, accept the unknown, and build solutions from that very resilience thought (Bacchi, 2012a; Pizzo, 2015). Walker & Cooper further add, as resilience thought absorbs its critique within itself – challenging it can only be done through non-normative, or in their words, "counter-systemic" ways (2011, p. 157). Consequently, when looking at resilience, we not only have to unpack practices of resilience thought, but also ways in which the same thread of thought limits the types of solutions that can be offered. That is, we have to analyze resilience with "critical scrutiny" that can explain how the problem can be identified differently (i.e. "problematized"), and thus how different solutions (i.e. instead of resilience) could have been suggested (Bacchi, 2012b, p. 2; Pizzo, 2015).

Further, through Butler's performativity approach, Brasett and Vaughan-Williams (2015) also underscore "political stakes of resilience as a technique of government and the subjects and objects performatively produced in its name" (p. 29; Butler 1993, Butler 2010 as cited, *ibid*). They claim resilience has essentially become a buzzword, legitimizing practices whose full effects are not fully accounted for – intentional and unintentional alike; one of which, unintentional undemocratization, in the case they specifically analyze (Brassett & Vaughan-Williams, 2015). Through their deep dive into a critique of the limitations of resilience as an all-encompassing solution to uncertainty in two cases, they call for taking a closer look into the consequences of performing resilience practices across the board.

This research sought to find how resilience thinking was problematized within the Jewish Community Resilience program, and politicized or depoliticized subjectivities (e.g. Jewish individuals, communities, Jewish Communities).

Methodology

This research interpreted the Jewish Community Resilience program policies and practices through a post-structural analysis, to decipher politicization and depoliticization dynamics as well as to explore new subjectivities and temporalities (Bacchi, 2012b; Cavelty et al., 2015). I employed a grounded theory approach wherein I analyzed data collected in an inductive and structured manner to make inductive (i.e. probabilistic) arguments (Charmaz, 2006; Martin & Turner, 1986).

In the beginning of analysis, I prepared all published materials from the Organization as it relates to the Jewish Community Resilience program (see below for a description), and conduct interviews and transcribe them (see below for more information on the interviews). Following

data collection, I came up with themes and codes (i.e. “initial coding.”) where I selected text in the transcriptions and written material that fit in within the same theme.

I then completed a “focused coding” where I looked for these themes across the data multiple times – including “theoretical coding” to identify relationships between concepts and themes (Charmaz 2006; p. 47, 57, 60). Furthermore, as Wolcott (1990) suggests, much of the analysis occurred through the writing itself. Through writing and gaining feedback from my advisor, I will rethink and go back to layers of coding – theoretical and focused alike – to gain a deeper understanding and offer better analysis on the topic. Finally, I connected the theoretical framework in the literature with the theoretically coded findings; and present my findings and conclusions in this document.

Data Collection

I collected data from the NGO through two main sources. First, I conducted about six in-depth interviews with staff of the NGO involved in resilience thought and its practices through its Jewish Community Resilience program (see Appendix for a list titles they hold in the NGO and/or the program). I approached the interviewees to set up a time to meet with them in a neutral location outside of the NGO (or on video calling for those outside of my geographic vicinity,) and asked them a series of questions in an unstructured manner (See Appendix for a list of possible questions). These served to provide insight onto the activities in the resilience practices, how they understood it, and other topics relating to the program that came up during the interviews (Wainwright, 1997). The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and the recordings will be deleted, as per the Ethical Committee's demands. I also engaged in some note-taking

during the interview to expedite the initial coding process following the interview (Charmaz, 2006; Wainwright, 1997; Wolcott, 1990).

Second, I collected written practical texts of the resilience program, and any other collateral material shared with me by the NGO relating to the program. (see Appendix for a list). As Bacchi (2012a, 2012b) suggests, analyzing 'practical texts' allows researchers and policy makers alike to understand how an issue is presented as a problem and hence changes the subject's (i.e. the population's) experience, assumptions and day-to-day life (Foucault, 1990). These will also include evaluation and media surrounding the program, as long as they relate to descriptions of practices of resilience.

Timetable and Research Process

The preliminary research questions were investigated through a number of ethnographic information sources. About nine interviews with program implementation staff surrounding the Jewish Community Resilience program were conducted over the course of a year. Please see APPENDIX A for guiding questions. The interviews were done in an informal manner. They were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed. All written materials on the program, such as program proposals, reports, internal and external program evaluations, email and other correspondences, PowerPoint presentations and other written material were shared with me, the researcher, and I analyzed them solely for the purposes of this research study.

Findings

Resilience Thinking as a Tool for Restructuring Relationships within and between the Jewish Communities, Leadership and the NGO

As thoroughly discussed in the literature review, research on resilience provides a framework for understanding the theoretical framework behind its use in the resilience program. Yet, I utilize a different area of research in the realm of community to discuss how the NGO produces resilience as problematized knowledge, and touches upon topics and issues of vulnerability and tension through depoliticized methodology, in an effort to shift their relationship with the communities – its leadership and memberships,-- and restructure the communities themselves in the process.

Geva & Rosen (2018) build their research on the relationship between government, communities, and developers. I use this relationship triangle model, per se, to focus on the relationship between leadership of European Jewish communities, the NGO, and the community membership, as it is defined in the Resilience program (see *Figure 1*). As the research data pool constitutes of interviews with the NGO staff, write-ups by the NGO staff, and write-ups by an external researcher, the viewpoint to the relationships is heavily focused through the relationship the NGO has and furthers with the community membership ("membership") and the community leadership ("leadership") of each community through the Resilience program's activities.

This means that this research gives us a better understanding of how the NGO may have repositioned its relationships it has with the two community entities and perhaps impacted the relationship between them. Further, the research provides an understanding of how the NGO reconstructs or reshapes the communities, because they present resilience as a preparedness

framework. We see this in existing resilience literature, because it is a mode of preparedness increasingly involving crisis and trauma as part of reality and therefore never having to be prepared for it, or designing structures to mitigate it. Instead, resilience as policy aims to change the structure and attitude of existing structures to govern insecurity, through accepting and involving vulnerability as part of its reality (e.g. Cavelty et al., 2015; Heath-Kelly, 2015; Lentzos & Rose, 2009; Methmann & Oels, 2015; Per Olsson, Lance H. Gunderson, Steve R. Carpenter, Paul Ryan, Carl Folke, & C. S. Holling, 2009). As one director shared, "unsure if we know whenever really a resilience process actually ends" ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019). That is, resilience thinking continues to produce flexible thinking as suggested by Pizzo (2015), continuously.

In an effort to display how the NGO reshapes the community structure to become more flexible and produce resilience thinking, I will:

- First list the descriptions of the three entities in the triangular relationship model (i.e. NGO, leadership, membership) as it was defined by data collected from interviewees and deliverables prepared by the NGO;
- Then I will describe how the NGO entered these in the relationships between the leadership and the membership and activated resilience thinking within these relationships.
- Then, I will explain how the NGO negotiated between the three entities and in some cases, managed to reshape their structure, specifically the relationships between the three entities, summarizing the findings on the impact of resilience on communities.

Community is a difficult concept to describe by the account of many respondents. One NGO director shares that "the community is something different everywhere -- constituency,

leadership, and so on," implying the variety of participants in a community, while the expert consultant shares that community in the program has multiple different layers to it:

> *"We're talking about a not a geographical community, which is maybe the big difference here. we're talking about a functional community. Not only a functional community but also a belief-based community." ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019; "Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

However, for the purposes of this research, it is important to distinguish between the community membership and leadership. Community leadership includes the people in the steering committee of the program. The resilience consultant clarified the leadership's level of influence in the community:

> *[In] some place[s] it's the board, some place it's what's called a parliament which is something bigger than the board because then it already also includes people in the opposition and the other parts like that. A lot of places it also includes some of the professionals, not only lays. And in some places, they even put in other people that they know are influential that this topic is something that they would like their head and their thoughts and they know that. So, they're very different, the steering committees in different communities. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

That is, although the steering committee of the program can be considered the community leadership, it can also include people who are not elected to lead the community (as, "communities have elections for their leaders") and some communities include the "opposition"

in the steering committee as well ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019). Further, as a director explains,

> *Communities can be a group of, a small group of people, who define themselves as the community. And we work with them and eventually a different place can be a federation or constellation of institutions that represent the community. So it variates. It's sometimes, it's people who are self-organized, sometimes it's a community with a lot of formalities. […] we tend to, for an issue related to impact, we like to work with the umbrella, with the big community, which has representatives from the different sectors, institutions, wider where they see the community as every Jewish people living in town represented by a multiplicity of actors. ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019)*

That is, although the NGO in general and the program in particular was open to working with smaller pieces of a largest version of a community in a geographic location, they were more interested in working with the most influential leadership groups, whether it was a formal or informal entity representative of multiple Jewish organizations in a geographic area, or a collection of those people formed into a steering committee for the resilience program. We can thus argue that the resilience program, by way of requesting a steering committee, requests the community to reveal a group of their true leadership, those who are in leadership positions with influence on community's decision-making, and those who are influential on the community without having formal leadership positions. In fact, one program director that works with communities as a "liaison" of the NGO asserts that understanding the true leadership group is not actually easy:

> *If it's a complex community, if its spread out, if there are divisions within leadership, from until you try and understand you know as they say you know mi neged mi [who is in opposition to another] in a community, can really take you a very long time and it's really never ending. And then to develop those relationships to try and get an understanding of who are the agents of change within a community so that you can work with that person or with that subgroup of people to try and create change in that community, that's in line with what we try to do in communities, that can take a really really long time. And I think resilience allows that to be not only just written on paper but in real time, the communities' there, the leadership is there, it's crystallized, it has an idea of where it wants to go. ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019)*

Meaning, resilience methodology allows for getting the community to define its leadership for the purposes of the NGO's resilience program, and forces them to consolidate them not only by definition of their official positions but level of influence in policy-making and change in the community, bringing "a pretty substantial representation of community leadership on board" in one case ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019). This is why we will utilize this definition of community leadership, as one of the players in the triangle in the leadership – membership – NGO relationship structure. The community membership will be those who are not part of the leadership, and the NGO will constitute of all NGO staff (see *Figure 1* for a visual representation).

As part of the Jewish Community Resilience program, the NGO contacted communities to introduce them to the program, and receive their "buy-in" for presenting them with a resilience

thinking process. I argue that once the communities were part of the program, resilience thinking was this was provided as problematized knowledge, that is, entering through a "problem" and providing a solution for it (Bacchi, 2012a, 2012b).

Because I argue that resilience was provided through problematized knowledge, then the initial question that needs to be asked is: If Jewish community resilience is the solution, what is the problem? I found that there were lots of general language about crisis, emergency, and vulnerability, and more specific language including Antisemitism that was present in the discourse presented by policy text (i.e. deliverables of the program) as well as in interviews with NGO staff:

> *And then we started to be more aware that there were a new set of vulnerabilities in Western Europe that should be explored by NGO that were difficult to kind of conceptualize in the same categories that we used to have in terms of poor people, rich people, poor communities, developed communities. [unclear] or related to facing anti-Semitism. ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019)*

Overall, what appeared was, the problem was defined as emergency, crisis, chaos, uncertainty, and trauma (*Jewish Community Resilience*, 2015; NGO, 2016d, 2016a, 2016c, 2016b, 2017a, 2017b). Specifically:

> *"with the increase in anti-Semitism and with the emerging questions from our [NGO] lay leadership and also our professionals about what would we do, we [i.e. the NGO] began to explore the right framework for NGO response" to the problem ("Interview,*

Participant 2, Director of Planning and Partnerships for Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO," 2019).

Then, the solution the program provided was resilience, and further: "the program focuses on solution," that is, the varied information and activities after the vulnerabilities were discovered through a "mapping" process (discussed later,) the NGO presented the community leadership with a space to come up with projects/activities to "strengthen" the community's more vulnerable resilience capacities ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019).

The problematization of resilience also allowed for NGO to enter communities they were not involved with previously. Before the resilience program, the NGO was,

"mostly working on Eastern Europe, focusing there, mostly due to the fact that there is Jewish poverty, and Jewish communities are financially more dependent. So historically for these reasons, the last 25 years, 30 years, NGO focused on Eastern Europe." ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019)

However, resilience thinking provided a "window of opportunity" to enter communities based on "the threats, perceived need, where NGO there is where NGO and would like to be" ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019; Per Olsson, Lance H. Gunderson, Steve R. Carpenter, Paul Ryan et al., 2009) As another staff member explains:

These are places where we don't do other types of programming because it wouldn't make sense. These are communities, often strong communities. But it's a nice, I think, you need value that NGO can add, because it's a way of thinking because it's a systematic thing that

we designed that has applicability in the Jewish community. ("Interview, Participant 5, Director of Global Program, Information, and Evaluation at NGO," 2019)

While the NGO entered new Jewish communities in Europe with resilience thinking as problematized knowledge, it also took on a role of negotiator between and within the community leadership and membership. This was because resilience thinking provided them with the space to do so, through its methodology (which is also discussed further later.) For instance, as the resilience consultant explains, through the resilience program,

You're asking the community to put a very honest mirror in front of themselves and to look at themselves. It's asking the community leadership to build this picture based only on how they see it but how other stakeholders of the community and especially community members see it. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)

I argue that by the practice of bringing the voice of all the stakeholders involved – regardless of influence, —resilience thinking allowed for a shift in the relationship between the three stakeholders. As Gave & Rosen (2018)'s theoretical model describes the "developer companies" as the negotiator, (in the current case, that would be the NGO,) negotiated between the three entities and in some cases, managed to reshape their structure, specifically the relationships between the three entities.

For example, the resilience consultant described that this was particularly manifested in one resilience "capacity", or category, where there was difference of opinion on perceptions of different community members:

When you talk about the sense of community [in one particular European Jewish community] you have one very strong voice saying that there are two communities that

> *don't have enough connections between them, think differently, act differently, have different value systems, language, [and] different everything. We can't talk [to] them [the other group] […] That's why we don't have a real sense of community. And then you have a second voice that's saying that was true in the 1990s now we're in 2020 and already there's a new generation of people and that people are stuck, a lot of people are stuck in the past but if you really look at it the splits in the community are very really different: Between religious and secular, and between the young and the old ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

When asked how the resilience consultant reconciled those voices in the mapping write-up, he said:

> "You don't reconcile. You bring both voices. You say, here, around the sense of the community there's two voices in the community." ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)

This implies that the relationship within the different community members and leadership was highlighted in the resilience mapping process (further discussed below,) and by way of this emphasis and "honest" description, the voices in the community were presented as equals on the mapping exercise produced through resilience thinking. This methodology put the different "voices" on the same playing field, regardless of level of influence.

Additionally, although the consultant affirmed that no "real surprises" came from those people who the NGO requested to include, those who were the "less affiliated" members of the community, the real shift in the relationship between the leadership and the membership

happened by the fact that the leadership heard from the collective membership, perhaps for the first time, as the consultant explained:

> *Leaders are often more critical and some of the communities were very moved by the feedback they got from the members. They heard about the complaints. And they sometimes were surprised, wow, 80% of the people think the leadership is wonderful. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

The shift in the leaders being somehow evaluated by the membership itself, I maintain, changed the relationship between the leadership and the membership, because the latter could make itself wholly heard. The fact that the leadership was knowledgeable about their expectations "raised expectations" for the leadership to somehow activate them ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019).

One director, who was brought onto be an NGO liaison to a European Jewish community involved in the resilience program described that the program as:

> "a 360, on-on the community done by itself. The community has to do it itself. We enable them to do that, we follow them, we accompany them on that journey. But it's them." ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019).

Which means that the resilience program brought the community leadership and the community membership together into one unit through its practices, and thus shifted their relationship dynamic from decision-maker/leader and participant, to one community analysis which incorporating all the voices.

Further, the NGO's role and relationship to the communities overall has changed through resilience:

> *NGO is a humanitarian organization, basically philanthropy, with funds coming from North America, with a very clear setting of either we save people's lives or build Jewish life. It's somehow binary. Here you are in need and it's mostly [providing] materials, so we give you the package of something. And that covers your need. Or we help you build a Shabbaton […] I'm simplifying, but that's the duality. You are in need; we give you something. You are the client, you want to build your community, we help you build something, and you build something tangible in terms of your community and your identity and so on. Bringing the prism of resilience puts things in different ways, different terms, because when you do with the volunteer capacity, it can be welfare or Shabbaton. So that duality gets completely deconstructed and so how you make your staff and yourself involved to have a different prism where these dualities [are] less relevant, and it's actually not relevant anymore, and you educate yourself and others to look at communities completely differently. ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019)*

That is, resilience thinking itself has changed the purview of the NGOs work to the extent that the NGO has to provide other services than what exists in their toolbox, and "that was intentional" ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019). Resilience thinking shifted the NGOs positioning to one of a consultant and not of a service provider:

> *"[the resilience program] is an opportunity for us to walk with them at eye level and say here, let's go through this, it's going to be okay. We'll help you address the vulnerabilities. We'll help turn this into something proactive, that we can reconstruct [the*

> *community/parts of the community]. ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019)*

Resilience as a policy framework has, in the regional director's words, "deconstructed" their working relationship with communities and produced new areas of services they were previously not mandated to provide. As the director explains, "with the previous [working] model [of the NGO], we would not be working in [Country in Western Europe]." He explains that "[The Western European Country] doesn't need boxes of matzahs," that is, welfare support, "and they don't need to be educated on the importance of celebrating *Shabbat*" that is, community development support – both of which are 'services' the NGO provides to Jewish communities. Resilience thinking allowed the NGO to approach countries that do not need these services with a new product, per se, resilience as problematized knowledge, and provided them the opportunity to enter the communities' full workings and had to take on the role of "connector" to other resources for those services it identified through resilience, but couldn't itself provide to the community ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019). That is, the NGO's relationship with community leadership also actively changed because they couldn't provide the expertise beyond resilience thinking itself, and the NGOs relationship with the community membership changed as well because they could not provide them "welfare" or "community development" – both of which they already had.

Additionally, the community structure itself shifted through resilience, and as a director explains, that was the goal:

> *my […] institutional goal, us as the NGO, […] it's not that we will come, we will help them map, facilitate them mapping, there will two or three activities, activities,*

interventions, trainings, whatever, and then we leave, and that's the program. What we intend to do beyond is changing the mindset. ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019)

This shift was evident in what a community director shared that resilience was (for her):

"a process that triggers something very important […] And it is [that,] we have started it, but it doesn't have an end. It's a process […] but it's not like you start something, you end something. No. You launch something [through the resilience program] and [now] it's all the time on my mind. Because I feel like that it's the future, and this is something that will help us cope with many many things that will come up in the future." ("Interview, Participant 9, Jewish Community Center Director (program coordinator for one of the cities involved in the program)," 2019).

That is, at the very least the community leadership's thinking may have shifted towards the future, through their engagement with resilience thinking.

Additionally, a director shares that the NGO was hoping to change the way the community functions:

So if communities also use the process of mapping and resilience path to have a permanent self-measurement that is integrating the muscle and the DNA of how they think about themselves, then that's the ultimate goal. ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019)

There was a significant intention to utilize resilience thinking to enter the community and change its functioning as well to employ more self-evaluation.

I demonstrated above that, resilience thinking was provided to the communities as problematized knowledge, and as a result, shifted the relationship between the three groups of stakeholders (NGO, leadership, membership.) Given this, I will take on studying the problematization's historical "process of production" to understand its "conditions of emergence", and the conditions it produced, as Bacchi (2012a, p. 4) recommends, when studying problematizations.

Depoliticization of Community Leadership

As discussed earlier, resilience depoliticizes governing bodies, and allows them participate discourse in this depoliticized way (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017). Further, resilience appears in research as a tool for politicization of the subject, where the subject is handed over responsibility without power (*ibid*). I found that the Resilience program at the NGO did indeed accomplish both the depoliticization of the main governing body, which is the community leadership, and at the same time thus allowed them to take on discussion regarding topics which have tension. I will discuss in the next section about how these depoliticized topics/discourse may be producing new vulnerabilities, or identifying existing vulnerabilities, which may be the tense topics being depoliticized between the stakeholders to begin with. However, in this section, I discuss how this depoliticization occurs. I argue that that the resilience process' methodology, that is, the problematization of resilience knowledge as well as the fact that there is a "method" to providing this knowledge, allows for this depoliticization, and distances the subjects – community membership and community leadership – from topics of tension and brings them closer to them at the same time. Although he discusses methodology as accepted to be "objective," I further argue that this is inline with Porter's (1992) assertion that the methodology

itself can decrease the distance between stakeholders, and can bring a sense of trust, while providing credibility to the findings of the methodology themselves.

The resilience consultant to NGO explains the tension from receiving buy-in within the community in the face of many different priorities:

> *So when you go to a local office, and [20]19 is the year of welfare [programming]. [And] this [resilience] program comes. It wouldn't be in conflict [with welfare], but you know people see through that prism [of conflict] and it makes it [the program] more difficult. [Because] this is something wider and different. It's a lot [of work], but this is it's a lot [of work]. [There's] a lot of tension to have somebody that's there on the spot, and can see all that's happening [in the community]. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

That is, the mere fact of bringing in a new priority that can be perceived to be in conflict with the community's predetermined priority could cause conflict. As another director explains, "there are different tensions within the institutions or organizations" ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019) Another director shares that it unpacks the tensions because it "lets open up all the taboos, and lets open the closets and invite the ghosts out" ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019)

And further, the director shares that the resilience program produced an environment where this unpacking was done much more easily than when the existing community leadership – membership relationship before the resilience program activities were taking place:

> It's one thing to do it in that one day off-site [on the program activity], away from the community [location] where things are nice and there's nice catering, and a good

> ambiance. And then I think it's very *very* difficult for people to, for the leadership of communities to keep those conversations on with those people and perhaps really subscribe to those new minds. [And say,] that's going to be the new way we talk. We talk openly, we invite more people to come in, we take a step back, we allow others to pick up the baton. (Geva & Rosen, 2018)

The fact that there is a "method" to providing this knowledge, allows for this depoliticization, and distanced the community membership and leadership topics which cause tension and brought them closer to them at the same time through the methodology produced by the resilience program. Although the Resilience Consultant and a director shared that the program was "subjective," other directors shared there that the "methodology" served as a convener of opinions and perspectives that affords a "a certain level of objectivity," because:

> *It's not just you with your own subjective view of this is my read on this community and this is my own plan […] Here you have several people, you have the Resilience Consultant's input as project lead, you have some people that worked with him, you have the community itself writing its own documentation as part of this program ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019)*

In fact, the resilience "model" was developed in the following way, by the expert consultant and the NGO in the following manner:

> *The model itself is based on eight components. There aren't any there that are revolutionary that don't exist anywhere. That mixture of that eight I imagine you can find it. I haven't found it yet, but I wouldn't be surprised if one day, you would find six of them or that has five of them. This is the eight that we put together that we thought was*

> *especially relevant for Jewish communities facing issues of resilience. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

As a result, in the write-up of the Jewish community resilience model, the authors (NGO staff and the consultant,) explained the following "core capacities" as significant in "building resilience", as part of a "long-term strategic goal"(*Jewish Community Resilience*, 2015): communal leadership, narrative and communications, organizational competence, economic sufficiency, preparedness and security, social capital, sense of community, and shared values (*Jewish Community Resilience*, 2015) (*Please see appendix for a full description and detailed overview of what these "capacities" entail.)* This write up, or "mapping" was:

> *a fully subjective analysis mapping of the community according to the a) capacities that we've identified, and each of them have building blocks, so what do you need to build leadership and what do you need to build your economic sufficiency and what are those building blocks. We will then, [the resilience consultant] will then write this mapping, and we [the NGO staff] will present that mapping to a steering committee [i.e. the community leadership] at the community, which might be eight nine ten people. Some of them are bigger, some of them are smaller. ("Interview, Participant 2, Director of Planning and Partnerships for Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO," 2019)*

These classifications/categorizing of different "capacities" allowed the NGO and the community leadership to explore and uncover tensions between different priorities in the community. The resilience consultant explained it in the following example:

> *There's tension between the different things [i.e. capacities/priorities] and I [the NGO] make them deal with that. There's a summer camp and maybe there's a danger for*

> *having a summer camp. So maybe the security guard and the community will say it's not a good year to have a summer camp. But then on the other side you know that if you don't have a summer camp and the social capital or sense of community is being damaged. They weigh the things together. And that's why it is not easy to be a leader. You have to weigh the different things and reach decisions. If you have a camp you have much better checks or whatever it is. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

Essentially, the "methodology" of resilience allowed for a conversation about topics and conflicts of priority that included tension for one reason or another, providing the opportunity for discussing these issues ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019).

I found that the interviewing, analyzing, writing/mapping, and sharing with the community leadership, as taken on by NGO staff in front of the communities allowed the community leadership to distance themselves from the topics that caused tension, which may have prevented them from speaking about these issues previously. Meaning, this was a sort of depoliticization of the issues, extracting them of the weight of the political tensions caused by various conflicts of opinions/ideas within and between the community leadership and membership (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017). However, once the issues were "out" and shared with them, they were able to come closer to the issues and speak about them. Per the NGO staff's description of these conversations, many angles are discussed:

> *What makes sense? What do they disagree on? What are they proud of? What are they frustrated by? You know. And the idea, they don't have to agree. It's not about*

> *agreement. It's about saying that's what we heard, and you know, some of it might be right, and some of it might be wrong, that's, but what is it they then what to do going forward, right? So let's together identify some areas that are yellow, which is like you know, not great, or red, which are areas of real concern, in their building blocks of resilience we want to work on. ("Interview, Participant 2, Director of Planning and Partnerships for Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO," 2019)*

The mapping allowed for an entry point to set up a time, bring community stakeholders together (literally and figuratively – for the general membership,) and put all issues on the table regarding each "capacity" and its status shared on the mapping.

Further, the NGO produced a language, or in other words, discourse, which changed the way people discussed tense topics:

> *What we were able to do [was, when] we rolled out the model, is [was] give them a framework. [… e.g.] yes, the security initiative builds my resilience because it builds my capacity that's called security and preparedness. And the psychosocial work builds my resilience because it falls into this category [i.e. "capacity"]. It was kind of like we gave them a kind of cupboard that they can hang different initiatives on and see what was developing. That's why the language became so important in the model. Because otherwise everything could be resilience. ("Interview, Participant 2, Director of Planning and Partnerships for Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO," 2019)*

The new language produced resilience thinking, and allowed for the community leadership to speak about their community in categories that could be managed in smaller units, and weigh them against each other as equal parts to a whole. This shift language forced the

community leadership to not only take all voices into consideration – even if they were in tension with one another, -- but also ensure that one "capacity" of resilience did not weigh more heavier than the other just because it was perceived to be heavier by community groups or members. For example, as the resilience consultant shared (see quotation above,) summer camp wouldn't be closed because of security dangers, when its being thought through resilience thinking.

The language itself was also provided through problematized resilience knowledge Yet, beyond that, with the community leadership and memberships themselves, the NGO provided this through the said methodology. All interviewees and documents described this method to the program's community-based approach as a central theme, where once the community agreed to participate in the program, a resilience "expert" who is the resilience consultant to the NGO worked with the community to come up with a steering committee for the program in the community and a point person, and then the expert (sometimes along with other NGO staff) interviewed the community members to come up with a "community mapping" of resilience.

The resilience model was actually developed by the NGO, first with a committee at the NGO board, and then by the expert and NGO staff themselves. The depoliticizing feature of resilience thinking was significantly noticeable in the mapping that the resilience consultant led, as he explained the mapping:

> *It's a collection of perceptions. And sometimes the perceptions are very common, there's a common voice. And sometimes there is a difference in them. Sometimes there's a couple main things. It's very interesting. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

The resilience consultant also shared that the program allowed for voices that were not reconciled – that were presented as they were, as in the example provided on the different perceptions of a sense of community (shared in an earlier section.) Another example was when:

> *[It] came out very strong from the [mapping community] profile that they're [one Jewish community Europe,] a very siloed community. [There are] 30-40 organizations [in the community], and each one is very separate. And from this profile they [the community leadership] decided they wanted to have much more of a common platform. So they spent the past two years building this common platform, getting the buy-in of these organizations, to working together. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

For this community, the documentation also showed that the level of information consolidated in the mapping included "over 20 interviews" from different organizations and reviews of social media pages, and documents/articles on the community for a population of 20,000 people (NGO, 2016a, 2016c). That is, a leadership group consolidated through the resilience program's demand by the NGO, and the mapping of the perceptions of many different groups within the community took place, which resulted in a shifting of priorities based on voices and issues that were methodologically put on paper, that then drove the leadership to cater to the perceptions of the membership more than they would have otherwise. As the consultant added:

> *"It's causing the community to have big talks. That's what it's really really doing […] The profile does that. It puts things outside [i.e. out in the open]. Maybe everybody knew that [issue]. I [the community leadership and membership] never talked about [it].*

And then it's out. For the good and the bad, it's out." ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019).

That is, the "mapping," the mere methodology of the resilience consultant interviewing 20-40 individuals from: the leadership, then from the membership selected by the leadership, and then doing another round of interviews with "less affiliated or less connected [members, which is] often a supplementary step" initiated by the NGO ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019).

Emerging Vulnerabilities: Resilience Thinking as a Form of Maternalistic Thinking (Cohn, 2014)

There is evidence that resilience as policy embraces and/or highlights vulnerability of systems (Collier & Lakoff, 2008). Resilience at its core is a mode of security preparedness that involves the crisis and risk within, and has a blatant acceptance of them (Walker & Cooper, 2011). This can imply that resilience is invincible to criticism, which provides it the space to always succeed. Whereas crisis preparedness or crisis prevention alone can actually fail in accomplishing its task, resilience as a mode of crisis preparedness, will always prevail, because the goal is not to be fully prepared, it is to contain crisis. Or in other words, the goal is to be always in the process, because "if they [the community] really got it, the program never finishes […] So if they really got it, then they will be dealing with these things for the rest of their lives, as a community." ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019).

Therefore, resilience as a mode of preparedness allows the system to cope with crisis in a way that many other preparedness systems cannot, -- by anticipating crisis to be a part of its system to begin with. However, as many researchers show (including Cavelty et al., 2015;

Heath-Kelly, 2015; Lentzos & Rose, 2009; Methmann & Oels, 2015; Per Olsson, Lance H. Gunderson, Steve R. Carpenter, Paul Ryan, Carl Folke, & C. S. Holling, 2009), resilience as policy opens space for more vulnerabilities to emerge. However, this happened differently than one might anticipate, as I argue that vulnerability transformed itself from a paternalistic vulnerability to a maternalistic vulnerability within resilience thinking in the Jewish community program, as theorized by Cohn (2014) and Ruddick (1995).

First, the NGO defined Jewish communities in Europe as "vulnerable groups":

> *And then we started to be more aware that there were a new set of vulnerabilities in Western Europe that should be explored by NGO ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019)*

As Cohn (2014,) discusses, "vulnerable groups" or "vulnerable populations" include the practice of many policy-makers in defining a certain group/population as vulnerable, that is, in need of protection, and therefore without agency. This discourse places these vulnerable groups as (potential) victims of attacks, and their vulnerabilities therefore requiring protection from such attacks. It further places the speaker, the person defining a group as vulnerable, as the protector and also not a vulnerable subject or entity in any way. This further implies that the protected is the "other" (Cohn, 2014).

Following this classification of Jewish communities in Europe being a "vulnerable group," the NGO enters through the "need" for developing solutions to the vulnerabilities of crisis/trauma/emergency (*For a visual representation of the full arguments made in this section, please see Figure 2)*. Much of the written material produced by the NGO described the "problems" that are expected to have resilience as the "solution" as, the following: "Emergency

situations [that] cover a wide range of scenarios," "acts of terror in a community institution, anti-Semitism or even a fatal accident involving children of the community, to those that affect the entire local population including Jews, such as economic depression, natural disaster, and social unrest,"; "crisis, uncertainty, and trauma" , *ibid*, p.5) ; "times of crisis" (appears six times,) "Crises are characterized by chaos, uncertainty, ambiguity and often trauma," "chaos," "emergency," (appears nine times) (*Jewish Community Resilience*, 2015, p. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10). This was only in the initial Jewish community resilience model description of the program. In the community mappings the resilience consultant wrote, there was a whole section on "community risks and challenges" for each community, following the first two (short and nearly similar chapters of) "overview of the community" and "introduction and methodology." Then, the mapping introduced each resilience "capacity" as defined by the model, closed with "Recommendations" for action and appendices. The "risks and challenges" included: "community crises and emergencies," "economic crisis," "demographics," "antisemitism," "natural disasters," and "terrorism" (NGO, 2016b, 2016a, 2017a). Each community had a different summarized description of on how these risks and challenges existed in the "profile of perceptions" of community leadership and membership ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019). That is to say, even in the written deliverables (in addition to the way the process was described in the interviews,) the entrance point was the vulnerabilities crisis, trauma, and emergency. The written discourse mirrored the spoken discourse with regards to the entry point.

The NGO then introduced resilience thinking as problematized knowledge, as discussed thoroughly in earlier sections (Bacchi, 2012a, 2012b). I argue that within the entirety of this

resilience process, resilience thinking manifested itself as a form of "maternal thinking," which transformed the role of and perspective on vulnerability (Ruddick, 1995; Cohn, 2003).

Ruddick (1995) and Cohn (2003) explain “maternal thinking” as an antidote to what would be considered a paternalistic description of vulnerability. This paternalistic description has a duality of the victim and the protector (Carol Cohn, 2014; Ruddick, 1995). I found that through this program, resilience thinking became a tool in transforming this paternalistic vulnerability, to a maternalistic vulnerability. For example, a director described vulnerabilities that were identified or those that emerged as a result of the resilience program as both “stimulating and frightening” with “benefits and downsides” (“Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa,” 2019). I argue that the negative associations to vulnerability, such fear/downsides, come from the paternalistic, victim-protector duality for vulnerability. Whereas, the positive associations to vulnerability, such as stimulation/benefits, come from maternal thinking, because it has an assumption that vulnerability can attract care and not always attack, as Cohn (2014) argues. Another NGO director shares that these vulnerabilities always existed, but now they exist differently, they are no longer taboo – they’ve emerged as a different type of vulnerability:

> *“I think it’s, its everyone always knew that there are vulnerabilities in the community, it was always this way and that way, and we're talking about it now, let’s open up the taboos.” (“Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO,” 2019)*

All interviewees who discussed the shift of perspective from these fearful tendencies towards vulnerabilities towards an almost embracing of the vulnerabilities towards

"strengthening" them, discussed a sense positive associations with vulnerability, for example, of "energy," "excitement," and "reward" ("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019; "Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019; "Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019) *Please see Figure 3 for two lists that associate the resilience program with positive and negative associations.*

That is to say, through resilience thinking, vulnerability transformed from something to protect in these vulnerable groups (i.e. Jewish communities – leadership and membership,--) being seen as active agents that aim to preserve their resilience "capacities". The use of the word preserve is intentional here, to distinguish it from protection, as Cohn (2014) describes that preservation implies "keeping [the subject] alive or intact over the long term, rather than solely in a specific dangerous situation," and providing agency to the subject that would otherwise had been considered the "protected victim," and while aiming to create an environment that is as "safe as possible" (p.64).

In asserting as "safe as possible," Cohn invokes "metaphysical humility" that disperses illusion of control/the myth of achieving absolute invulnerability (Ruddick, 1995; Cohn, 2003). As one director emphasized:

> *There is no perfect community. Every community has areas of weakness where they need to channel some thinking and resources and energy. ("Interview, Participant 4, Director for Strategic Partnerships, Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO," 2019)*

Further, as Ruddick (1995) rejects the "illusion of control," he brings "invisibilized" systems and structures that underlie disadvantages and vulnerabilities into the surface. As a

director explained, the community leaders/members “are mapping things they are not controlling” (Cohn, 2014, p. 60; “Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa,” 2019). For example, another director shared that “this world is very tumultuous, and there’s so much economic insecurity in the world today and in Europe in particular” (“Interview, Participant 4, Director for Strategic Partnerships, Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO,” 2019). Another director shared a whole host of issues the NGO or the community cannot control:

> *If you can’t get from A to Z, because the roads don’t work or if people can’t, you know, communicate or you don’t know train systems whatever, you know, employment, right are all things you deal with on a municipal level. They’re not relevant for, they’re not things we as a Jewish community control. We don’t control the roads. We don’t control the economic context in which the community sits. So, if there’s an economic crisis in [southeastern European country], that’s not something we can work on. Right. We are, that’s just, that’s the context. (“Interview, Participant 2, Director of Planning and Partnerships for Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO,” 2019)*

The resilience consultant explained that this was why resilience thinking and process “requires time, it requires courage; it's a very courageous process” (“Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO,” 2019). Another director shared that “, I think it’s a very important process; I strongly believe in it, because the world is changing and nothing is constant” (“Interview, Participant 9, Jewish Community Center Director (program coordinator for one of the cities involved in the program),” 2019). There was clear evidence that resilience thinking produced maternal thinking in this way, which allowed for seeing "invisibilized"

systems and structures that underlay the disadvantages and vulnerabilities (Coppell, 2011 & Grasso 2012, as cited in Carol Cohn, 2014, p. 60).

Additionally, Cohn (2014) and Ruddick (1990,) suggest, in maternal thinking, there is recognition that vulnerability can elicit care, and not always provoke attack. The crux of why I argue that resilience thinking is a form of maternal thinking lies in this perspective maternal thinking has on vulnerability – that it can elicit care. For example, one activity resilience thinking produced in one European Jewish community was a day of presenting the findings of the resilience mapping and recommendations. A program director explained it in the following way:

> *It [i.e. resilience] demanded a certain amount of exposure and you kind of had to basically come clean to a large undefined population of community and to open your doors really really wide and say, you've gone through a particular [resilience program] process up until now, and we want to share it with you and it involves exposing our vulnerabilities and our weaknesses, but we're doing this so that you can buy into something and we can get you, and just let you know that we need your help, and we want you engaged. […] as community [leadership] you're basically saying we need your help. We want to offer you an opportunity to kind of help us. We've rethought our existence. And so as we do that, we want you to be part of that process. ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019)*

That is, resilience thinking activated community leadership to solicit action from community membership to become active, care about the vulnerabilities, and see them as vulnerabilities to

strengthen in the long term. Further, community membership seemed to have been surprised by this, as the program director explained:

> *There was clearly, there was certain "wow" that I got from people. Like "wow I can't believe this is actually happening" ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019).*

The surprise seemed to have been because the community leadership was exhibiting "honesty, […] transparency" and had "a certain capacity to have a conversation that's honest and that really looks at yourself [the community/community leadership] in the mirror," referring to strengths as well as vulnerabilities that were identified through the resilience program ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019). And the program director added that this was not possible, in his perspective in "every community […] I think definitely not at a community official level" ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019).

This is in line with the recognition that new vulnerabilities that emerged as a result of resilience thinking – which I argue is a form of maternalistic thinking --- aimed to preserve the community, as opposed to protect it. As Cohn (2003) maintains that preservation has a longer-term perspective than protection of a particular risk (though it involves it,) as the program consultant emphasizes: "it's a deep long-term process of trying to have the community moving forward in resilience [thinking]" ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019). Preservation also gives agency to every entity/person and sees every entity/person as potentially vulnerable – in this case, the community leadership as well as the community membership (Cohn, 2014). This means that by way of resilience thinking, all three entities,--

community leadership, community membership, and the NGO,-- exhibited vulnerability to produce new and wide-ranging courses of policy (i.e. action), towards more "partnerships and power-sharing" within communities (its leadership and membership,) as well as the NGO (Carol Cohn, 2014, p. 62).

In one case, following the community day led by the resilience program, where the program, “got 300 members of the community to sit for a day talk about the future of the community and what they want and how they want to turn that in and what they want to do to make that happen” (“Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO,” 2019). A director explained that there was a lot of energy towards “revamping, redefining, reinvigorating our [their] community”:

> *Riled up, amazing, a lot of sort of you know, patting each other’s back, thank you NGO this is amazing, thank you Resilience Consultant you’re amazing, oh my God, we've got five major platform projects that we want to do that are going to revamp, redefine, reinvigorate our community. And I'm like, my God, this is amazing... This is the dream, [because] it’s not about how much these projects cost, its oftentimes about who's behind them. (“Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO,” 2019)*

However, there is literature that shows that resilience can indeed produce new vulnerabilities because responsibility is transferred onto the subjects but not power (Collier & Lakoff, 2008; D’Albergo & Moini, 2017). In fact, the program director continued on to share just that:

> *And then a year a later basically nothing happens, in any of those five [projects]. Nothing. Perhaps, um, perhaps one meeting happens, of a group that’s meant to*

> *spearhead one of those five, or a couple. At best. […] I just began to realize that, that was not-nothing was really happening at all. ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019)*

The initial approach of the community members and leadership that take on this responsibility on producing resilience thinking and the desire to transforming them into actionable projects, is a type of maternalistic vulnerability. This is evident because following the process of resilience thinking, where the community identifies the vulnerabilities of their community, the response is not an effort to protect the community from the vulnerabilities. The response is the preserve the whole. This is further supported by the fact that the main stakeholder groups as I defined them (see *Figure 1*), including the NGO, community leadership and the community membership, did not approach the vulnerabilities that emerged in a paternalistic, protective way through the language produced by resilience thinking. Instead, there was a willingness to care, which produced a reaction to do something about it in a collaborative manner, which includes groups of people who might not have been involved in the community to that degree otherwise.

However, as the program director explains above, the new vulnerabilities that emerged can be due to the subjects – the community membership -- being given more responsibility to act, while not receiving tangible power from the community leadership. This is in line with the finding that resilience appears in research as a tool for politicization of the subject, where the subject is handed over responsibility without power (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017). The program director asked:

> *How do you keep people in the room? I think that's maybe where there was a bit of, a bit of a break down afterwards. ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019)*

In this case, once this transfer of responsibility onto subjects without power occurred, I argue that the community leadership's vulnerability, was seen in a paternalistic way, where it invoked further vulnerability produced by resilience (i.e. maternalistic) thinking, and the NGO staff indeed also saw it from that perspective once resilience thinking left its space to the traditional relationship dynamic between the leadership, membership and the NGO. A director clearly explained this shift back to the paternalistic approach to vulnerability as it manifested in a process with one Jewish community:

> *My message to them really at one point was, […] you've created such a firework show, and now you've basically regressed, you've gone into negative. You've put yourself out there with a sense of vulnerability, and you've exposed yourself, and you've asked people to come in and help you, and you said we've cherished every word here and it's been documented, it's all here etc. And I don't know, maybe they circulated a resilience document to everyone and you've done god knows how many hours of focus groups with people who were out of the fold, in the fold etc. And now silence for a year? Imagine that, it's as if, it's as if, someone, imagine like a friendship where someone says "here, for a year I'm going to be your best friend and then I'm just going to cut it off, because ein li koach [I don't have the energy to], you know, ein li [I don't]. I don't have any capacity, I'm sorry. It was great, thanks a lot for that year, it was really wonderful". I said to the community, imagine what those people who you welcomed in so nicely, you said "wow",*

> *imagine what they're feeling right now: what a bunch of bluffers! You guys have bluffed us for a year. I was, I was so convinced of that, I still am, still am. ("Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO," 2019)*

This resonates with Cohn's (1993; 1987, 2014) assertion that in paternalistic/masculine discourse, speaking about vulnerability delegitimizes the speaker. Because resilience thinking produced discourse centering vulnerabilities, from a paternalistic perspective, it exposed the speaker/protector –that is, the NGO and possibly the community leadership, -- and made it more vulnerable, per se.

Similarly, the resilience consultant shared that the NGO asked one community, after the mapping exercise to "present [mapping findings in a] very *very* small group of the presidents of the community. We [NGO staff] talked to them [community leadership] in the beginning we'd like to share it with the wider group, they pushed back. They felt uncomfortable. They wanted to see it first before, talk about it before they involved a larger group" ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019).

In this case, for the community leadership, vulnerability was devalued, from a paternalistic point of view. However, the same vulnerabilities that emerged through resilience thinking, which I maintain, is a form of maternalistic thinking, were valued and had positive associations to it, as shared by the same program directors and participating communities' membership and leadership.

Additionally, resilience produced new vulnerabilities not only for the communities, but also for the NGO. As one director explained:

> *And then the challenge is that when you go from that model to the resilience model, then you realize that many of the competencies that communities need to advance, you don't have expertise in providing. So you move from a very central place as a professional slash organization to a place of vulnerability because many of the things, a place in which you become necessarily also a connector, you cannot be just a doer, because the expertise, you don't have expertise in, we don't have expertise in security, so if they need to kind of develop anything in that field, we basically need to either let them choose, recommend working partnership, but it's not us.("Interview, Participant 1, NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa," 2019)*

Resilience thinking produced this new vulnerability in the NGO. Whereas once they found different programs to provide services in "welfare, [or] helping community development," now, because of resilience thinking, the NGO has entered different aspects of community's functioning, and then found itself unable to provide services and shift into a "connector" role, as opposed to a service provider or teacher. More, the NGO's other non-programmatic fundraising may have also experience challenges, because "the organization knows how, generally speaking, how to raise money for welfare or for *Limmud*, let's say. But for resilience, which there are intangible elements that are hard to explain, so it's hard. And that's challenging." And although the same director shared that resilience provided new "opportunities and diversity, […] it brings with it some challenging learning, struggling" in terms of fundraising and shifting of the NGO's role into a connector than a service provider/teacher.

Therefore, I conclude that resilience thinking introduced a maternalistic perspective on vulnerability for all stakeholders involved, where its depths were shared and identified, while all

stakeholders continued to switch back-and-forth with the older, paternalistic perspective on vulnerability where it had to be protected.

Moreover, although they can be considered as acute vulnerabilities, crisis and trauma itself was not able to enter the resilience discourse although it was the entrance point of the "problem" of resilience knowledge produced as problematization. That is, there was evidence that when communities were actually in crisis, resilience was no longer relevant as a policy framework:

> There, specifically [in one of the European Jewish communities], because our champion, our point of contact got busy with personal stuff, and he's also very involved with the community, so he also, when we dropped out [of actively running the program,] he also dropped out. Community is in a very deep economic crisis. So the immediate is, again, pushing very hard. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)

Furthermore, when discussing the possibility of bringing resilience thinking in communities that are vulnerable from a paternalistic point of view, many interviewees rejected the idea:

> The communities that are the weakest that maybe need to strengthen resilience the most, are often so weak that they can't [participate in] this [resilience] program, the way it's built, they don't have the strength to do it. ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)

This insinuated that the NGO staff believed –and were in agreement – that you could only have resilience thinking produce maternalistic forms of vulnerability, if, from a paternalistic

perspective, the community didn't need immediate/urgent protection. This was in line with the finding that the "entry point" to the program was crisis/trauma/emergency from a paternalistic point of view; – which defined communities as "vulnerable groups" needing protection. The NGO staff asserted, they could only afford to enter communities that were relatively not *too* vulnerable, that is, from a paternalistic point of view. Specifically, for instance, speaking of a particular community in Europe, the resilience consultant continued on the share that:

> *they're so involved now with dealing with the crisis itself that they do not have the time, effort, energy or capacity to hold this process of building engagement and strengthening the sense of that and then they have to...They're working very much on solutions to problems. They are in the problem solving mode and not in the developmental, community development mode ("Interview, Participant 3, Resilience Program Consultant for NGO," 2019)*

Discussion

Resilience was produced as a mode of security was a governance tool to govern insecurity, utilized by the NGO, in line with previous research (Adey & Anderson, 2012; Chaskin, 2008; Coaffee & Fussey, 2015; Lentzos & Rose, 2009). The NGOs methodological approach to produce resilience, through interviewing, writing, analyzing documents accomplished three things:

1. Consolidated and defined the community leadership – those who have influential formal positions, and informal positions, which would have been harder to define and group as a decision-making group/committee otherwise;
2. Presented the communities with the voices of all membership on equal footing;

3. Held space for the governor (i.e. the community leadership, and somewhat, the NGO) to become depoliticized, allowing for discussion on vulnerabilities.

Resilience thinking also reshaped the relationship between and the roles of the NGO, community leadership, and community membership, mainly through a shift in the vulnerability paradigm. The vulnerabilities uncovered through resilience thinking produced a dichotomy of perspectives within the discourse of the NGO, namely, from a maternalistic approach – where the vulnerability was anticipated to attract care – and a paternalistic approach – where vulnerability was anticipated to elicit attack, or in other words, risk. The resilience invited program invited all community membership and leadership to care and come up with projects about the vulnerabilities uncovered through the program. Resilience thinking, was therefore, a form of maternalistic thinking.

Yet, when the subject, in this case -- community membership, was politicized when presented with responsibility to "care" as a result of maternalistic resilience thinking, with no power handed over to them as well, produced a desire to approach vulnerability as once again, something to protect (i.e. paternalistic) (D'Albergo & Moini, 2017). However, then, the paternalistic victim-protector paradigm found that new vulnerabilities of the "victim" had emerged. The research is limited in its timeline to the year information was collected, and therefore we do not know if the maternalistic approach to vulnerability was once again embraced. However, it is possible to conclude that resilience thinking as a form of maternalistic thinking, produced new vulnerabilities to be cared for, inviting for all participants take part – those governing insecurity and those who were previously the governed alike. A denial of the desire to control all vulnerability, produced deeper paternalistic vulnerabilities, as the

stakeholders became more transparent and honest as they admit their limitations – and this is extremely devalued as Cohn (2014) shares.

Overall, the NGO problematized resilience knowledge which shifted their working relationship with the Jewish communities in Europe as well, and allowed them to enter the area of security preparedness and through that lens, work with all areas of the community that it previously did not work in. This had emerged in the literature (Coaffee & Fussey, 2015 among others). The methodological aspect of the resilience program further developed it as a tool to depoliticize tension in community and use it to further reshape the structure of relationships within communities and the relationship as the NGO became more involved with the community's workings (See *Figure 4*). This was in line with previous research on the topic of resilience as policy, because resilience tends to enter from the topic of security and encompass all areas of living and community.

Conclusion

Through this research, I showed that resilience thinking was indeed provided through problematized knowledge by the NGO, to Jewish community leadership and membership. The NGO entered communities through security preparedness, invoking crisis/trauma/risk as the *problem*, and presented resilience as the solution. The methodology of the Jewish community program allowed for trust and credibility from stakeholders, and brought in voices of different levels of power/influence in the community into equal footing through the mapping exercise of the resilience program. This in turn depoliticized the governor of insecurity, namely, the NGO and the community leadership, allowing all stakeholders to speak about previously taboo topics that caused tension. These topics were consistently described as vulnerabilities. Through

resilience thinking the NGO staff as well as the policy text produced a form of vulnerability that invited stakeholders to care about them, and do something about them. This is why I found that resilience thinking is a form of maternalistic thinking. Resilience thinking involved and accepted crisis, allowing these deeper, new layers of vulnerabilities to emerge, because all stakeholders had a metaphysical humility of admitting that there are things they cannot control.

However, as literature presented, when subjects were politicized without any power transferred to them by the governing body, there was regression back to a desire to protect the new vulnerabilities – which was a regression back to the paternalistic vulnerability, *after* resilience thinking had transformed it to a maternalistic vulnerability.

On the other hand, this research has many limitations. First, it took place over a year, where I received only a glimpse into what resilience thinking produced since the program's inception at the NGO in 2015 until mid-2019, which was the "pilot" years of the program. Therefore, I am unable to strongly assert that the regression back to the paternalistic vulnerability occurred more than once. I am only able to assert that there can be such a regression. Additionally, I observed the way resilience thinking manifested itself mainly through the eyes of the NGO, as all my interviews were with NGO staff, and I did not speak to the community leadership or membership, as the NGO requested to keep them away from further interviews and research at the time. And perhaps most importantly, perhaps also because of my association with the NGO, my place as a researcher was not of a distant observer. Some of the people I interviewed were people that I knew, and others may not have necessarily perceived me solely as a researcher, but also someone with associations to the NGO. This may have impacted the way they represented resilience thinking and what it produced in their statements to me.

This research was in no means all-encompassing, however, a key takeaway that was not present in previous scholarship was that resilience thinking can be considered a form of material thinking. To this end, I recommend further research on the intersections between gender and resilience, and further, the paternal hegemony and resilience thinking. Other research can take on Brown's (2006; 2012) work on the intersection of resilience, shame, and vulnerability from the realm of psychology, and explore how it is performed in resilience thinking on a policy level for units of populations, adding to the discussion presented by Brassett & Vaughan-Williams (2015).

In terms of policy suggestions, this research recommends further and a true integration of resilience thinking into maternalistic thinking. I suggest this particularly for transferring power and building true partnerships with subjects as they are invited to "care" for vulnerabilities that emerge through maternalistic resilience thinking. Although the paternalistic approach to vulnerability is the hegemony by and large, a focused aim to transfer power to subjects to care for vulnerability when governing bodies transfer responsibility to them, can perhaps prevent a regression back to the paternalistic paradigm of vulnerability.

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Interview, Participant 6, Program Director, Europe Department at NGO. (2019).

Interview, Participant 9, Jewish Community Center Director (program coordinator for one of the

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APPENDIX A

Guiding Interview Questions, for interviews with field professionals of the resilience program.

1. Can you tell me about yourself? Your position? Your work?
2. What is resilience? (Probes: What does it do? Is it important? Why? Why now?)
3. How did you get involved with the Task Force on Resilience?
4. What did the Task Force do?
5. What does the Task Force do?
6. What will the Task Force do?
7. How did you decide on what the Resilience program will lok like?
8. What does/did the Resilience program aim to do? How?
9. What was the process like for the Task Force? Can you tell me from the beginning?
10. What was the process like for the community? Can you tell me about it?
11. What is/was the role of the other people working on the project? (Probes: titles of others, board members, consultant, staff, community)

APPENDIX B

List of Interviewees at the nonprofit:

- Participant 1: NGO Regional Director for Europe, Asia, and Africa
- Participant 2: Director of Planning and Partnerships for Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO
- Participant 3: Resilience Program Consultant for NGO
- Participant 4: Director for Strategic Partnerships, Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO
- Participant 5: Director of Global Program, Information, and Evaluation at NGO
- Participant 6: Program Director, Europe Department at NGO
- Participant 7: Program Coordinator/Point person (Country-specific)
- Participant 8: Director for Strategic Partnerships, Europe, Africa, Asia at NGO (another director, different than Participant 4)
- Participant 9: Jewish Community Center Director (program coordinator for one of the cities involved in the program)

APPENDIX C

Proposed List of Documents as Secondary Sources.

- Over a dozen donor reports and proposals since the beginning of the program in 2015.
- About a dozen working memos, powerpoint presentations and published reports on the Jewish Community Resilience program and resilience, developed by the nonprofit. (examples include:
    - http://leatidlatam.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Jewish-Community-Resilience.pdf
    - http://ljrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Community-Resilience-Profile-2017-JDC-part-2.pdf
    - http://www.eajcc.eu/images/David%20Gidron%20-%20Resilience.pdf)
- Evaluation report on the Jewish Community Resilience program. (This evaluation was funded by the Organization and its donors, and it is an internal document that will be shared with the researcher.)
- Print and online media on the Resilience program, developed by the nonprofit or its community partners. (examples include:
    - http://www.jdc.org/press-releases/jdc-resilience-conference-european-jews-must-be-prepared-for-challenges-as-vast-majority-remain-in-place/
    - https://ujf.org/our-stories-from-around-the-world/empowering-jewish-resilience-in-greece-158363
    - https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qVjw565aNbQ)
- Any other resource materials interviewees refer to or suggest.

- If provided access: board meeting minutes.
- If provided access: email correspondence.

APPENDIX D

List of Jewish community resilience program model "capacities" as described in the 2015 deliverable of the program.

Page numbers refer to the following citation: (*Jewish Community Resilience*, 2015).

1. In "Communal Leadership," they include, "lay leaders, elected officials and informal leaders, central institutions and grassroots organizations" who will be responsible for "assessing the situation, making order within chaos, providing for members' physical, emotional and spiritual needs, and being a source of hope and empowerment" (p.5).

2. In "Narrative & Communications," the authors suggest a "shared narrative" and a working method for disseminating information, as "at times of crisis, effective communications and information enable three essential functions: Explaining how to act and behavioral guidelines; Providing valid information about events; Offering support to members" (p.6).

3. Suggested "Organizational Competence" practices include "policy making, decision making mechanisms, operational know-how, and connections […] between the community and outside people of influence, including governmental bodies and agencies, and other Jewish communities and organizations" (p.7).

4. "Economic Sufficiency," for "everyday reality and even more so in crisis" is called for in terms of community "mechanisms to recruit financial resources in times of emergency, both internally (contingency funds, fund raising) and externally (relations with local government and agencies, connections to global Jewish communities and agencies)" (p.8).

5. "Preparedness and Security" encompass a number of "components," such as "security infrastructures and mechanisms, medical care, and the ability to provide for the physical needs of the community; […] formation of emergency management teams and procedures of operation for

different scenarios; […] provide for the psycho-social needs and trauma of the community (during and post event;) Risk communications; […] Training, drills and exercises" (p.9)

6. Building "social capital" is suggested as a means for "community can map out and recruit all existing resources to provide for community members in times of crisis" (p.10).

7. A "sense of community" is mentioned second to last, although it holds the whole assumption of the unit, community, together. In addition to "identifying" with community, this "component" recommends "members feel that their communal and personal needs will be better met through a commitment to being together. That is, do I see the community as a source of support in time of need? Will the community provide me with hope? Do I believe in the community's ability to control its future and to succeed in coping with the challenges it faces? Do I believe in the leadership and capabilities of the community's mechanisms?" (p.11)

8. The final "component," "shared values" can be described as building a continuous temporality – connecting the past, the future, and the present, through "Jewish tradition" (p.12). As the authors place the audience as part of this time continuum, they assert "mutual responsibility, tzedakah [i.e. charity], justice, contribution to society and solidarity" (p.12).

Footnotes

The NGO agreed to having its Jewish Community Resilience program as the subject of this research, yet, asked to stay as anonymous as possible. Of course, given the identifying details of the program that are discussed, complete anonymity is impossible. However, the name of the organization is not written, and instead “NGO” is used to mention it instead, to facilitate a degree of anonymity.

Figures

Figure 1

Conceptual relationship model between key stakeholder groups in the Resilience program, based on model developed by Geva & Rosen (2018)

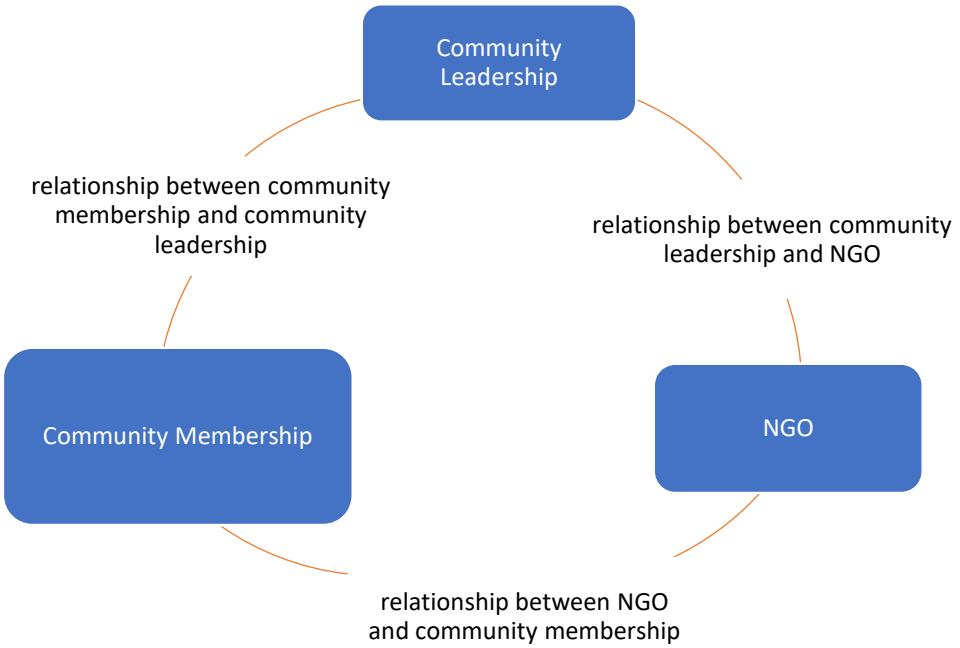

Figure 2

A conceptual, argumentative model on how I found resilience thinking to be a form of "maternal thinking" as described by Ruddick (1995)and Cohn (2014,) which shifted the place of vulnerability from being problematized as requiring protection to preservation (per Cohn's (2014) differentiation between the two.)

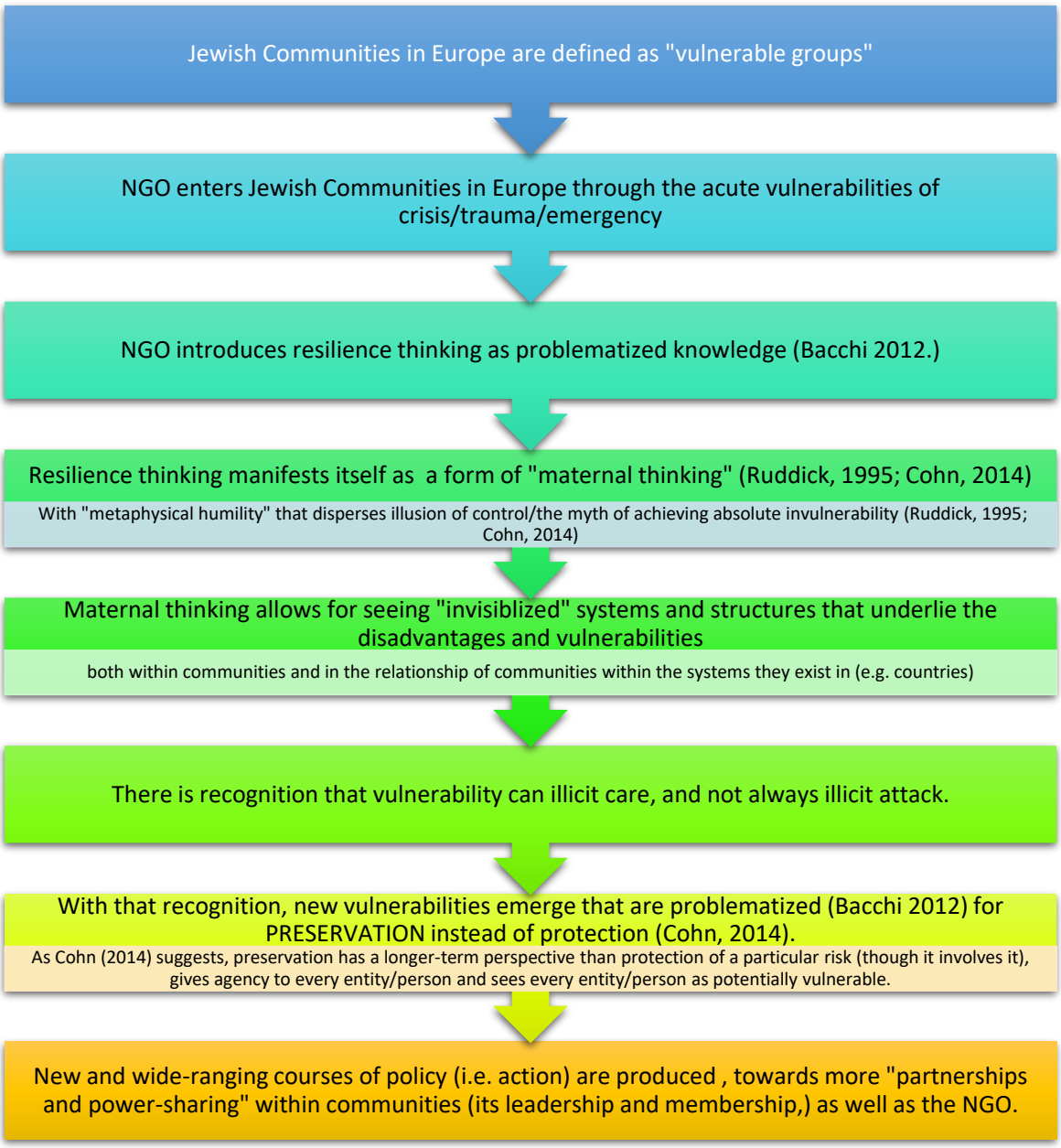

Figure 3

Adjectives about resilience program collected from Interviewees, split into two groups: those that have negative associations, and positive associations.

Please note that these associations are based on my (the author's) classification, and is not standardized in any way. They are a means to making a point about how vulnerability was defined interchangeably throughout the interview process.

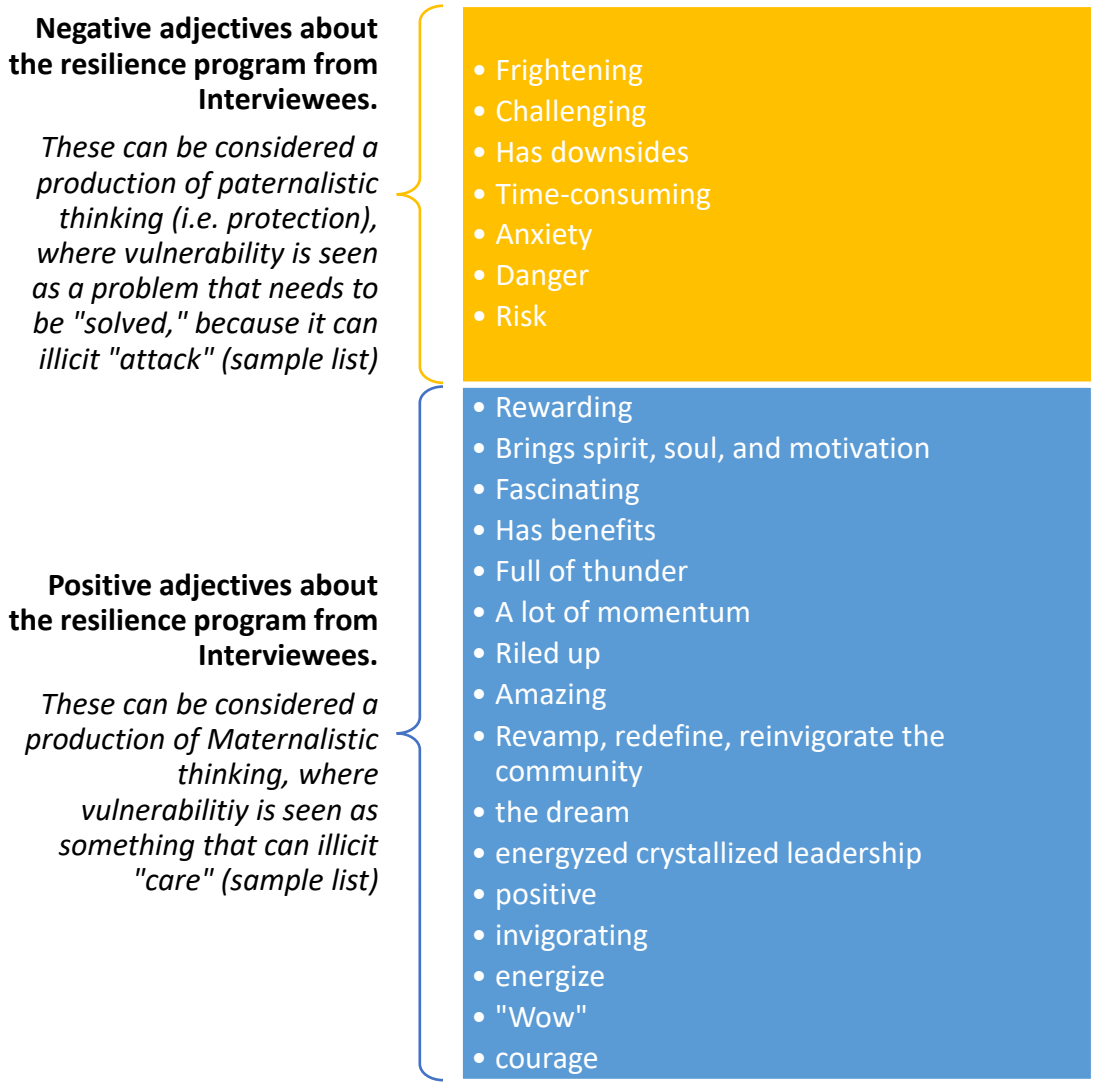

Figure 4

A Model Depicting Resilience Thinking in Jewish Communities in Europe