

Chapter 2

Bridging Versus Bonding Practices: Setting the Context

2.1 Methodological Considerations

2.1.1 *Selecting Organizations and Participants*

The selection of the organizations is as follows. I consulted a database¹ in which information on 15,000 (non-profit and voluntary)² organizations is stored (Vermeulen et al. 2009). This information, in turn, is retrieved from the Registry of the Chamber of Commerce in Amsterdam (for earlier versions and a historical database of organizations in the Netherlands see Van Heelsum's web page).³ By registering, organizations disclose information on their address, activities, and their board so as to be eligible for funding schemes by government agencies and other charities. Registration is also associated with greater transparency of the mission of the organization and who is involved in activities.⁴ Retrieving organizations from an archive such as the Dutch Chamber of Commerce can possibly result in selecting paper or sleeping organizations. That is because disbanded organizations have to wait a few years before the Dutch Chamber of Commerce erases their name from

A volunteer does unpaid work for the organization, such as helping with events and raising money. A participant could be a fee-paying member, if the organization requires that, but mainly participates in the organization's scheduled events. A passive member is one that only pays a fee but does not participate in any event and has no contact with other members in that organization.

¹This database is compiled by researchers at the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) at the University of Amsterdam, which in turn is commissioned by the city council of Amsterdam (Vermeulen et al. 2009). I had access to this database during my research visits at IMES in 2009 and 2010.

²By definition, these organizations have no commercial purpose. This does not, however, mean that they do not have funds. Often activities are not free and organizations ask participants to contribute a fee to cover costs or to raise money for future events.

³<http://avanheelsum.socsci.uva.nl/organisations.html>.

⁴Clandestine organizations are by default not included in this study.

the database. Wherever necessary, for instance, if I could not find an organization, or if the name of the organization had changed, I consulted the Internet or municipality guides to supplement the Chamber of Commerce Registry Data.

I first selected only those organizations that are registered as an “association.” Legally, the board of an “association” is required to hold an annual general assembly. This, in turn, entails that “associations” have members or participants that regularly attend events, whereas “foundations” often do not have any (fee-paying) members. Moreover, their participants could vary per event and this could have created problems for testing the contact hypothesis. Later I had to include some “foundations” in the sample, firstly because there were too few remaining “associations” to contact. I made sure these organizations⁵ had participants who regularly attended events. More importantly, however, even if an organization was registered as a “foundation,” in practice they would still hold a general meeting and could possibly have members. This is often the case with religious organizations such as mosques. “Associations,” on the other hand, sometimes deviated from holding a meeting and only held one as a formality.

The researchers who compiled the database also recorded the ethnicity (country of birth) of the board members for a sample of the organizations. This enabled me to make two groups: an ethnically mixed and an ethnically homogeneous group of organizations. I limited the latter to only one ethnic group: namely, Turkish organizations.⁶ When 30–50 % of an organization’s board members were born in a country other than the Netherlands, the organization is labeled as mixed. Sometimes this resulted in second-generation immigrant organizations being labeled as mixed, although the organization’s activities were clearly aimed at Turkish minorities. Therefore, before surveying their participants I checked whether an organization directed their activities toward a specific ethnic group, even if they were labeled as mixed.

Within each group I first alphabetized the list in order to follow a random selection procedure. I then narrowed down the selection toward different types of activities, such as sports, culture, and women’s activities, in order to include enough participants with different socio-demographic characteristics. The logic is to have sufficient variation in age, gender, income, and educational levels. I also aimed at selecting organizations in different districts so as not to introduce geographical bias. However, I had to exclude mixed associations in the South-East district of Amsterdam since there were no Turkish associations to select in this area. Thus, the exclusion of mixed organizations from this district was driven empirically.

⁵Throughout the book I use association and organization interchangeably, although association has a legal definition. This distinction has, however, no analytical consequences for the results.

⁶Initially, I also contacted Moroccan associations, but the non-response was too high among this group. However, since the Turkish group is relatively more segregated than other minority groups in Amsterdam, this still allows me to investigate the role of interethnic contact in voluntary organizations (see Chap. 1).

Within the Turkish group, I selected organizations whose boards were connected through common board membership as well as isolated organizations—a structural feature to control for (see also Peters 2010). The mixed associations had almost no connections through common board membership. This should not significantly affect the results since overlapping board memberships are not very common. Sixty percent of the organizations in the board member network of both mixed and Turkish organizations consist of isolates (Vermeulen et al. 2009). Finally, when selecting mosques, I aimed at variation in religious denominations (Diyanet and Milli Görüş; the two largest groups). In the selection procedure, I took into account as much relevant variation as possible that had been made available to me in previous studies.

When selecting the organizations I sometimes had to introduce a snowball method in addition to sampling from the database. The snowball method was necessary, firstly, because the list from the database alone included too many sports associations and, for example, too few women's associations. The database also did not contain some of the theoretically interesting organizations such as parent-teacher associations and neighborhood groups.⁷ Secondly, there was the possibility that even though the organization's board members came from different backgrounds, the participants were from a single ethnic group. In comparison to the Turkish group, I included relatively more mixed organizations that I found on the Internet or through informants in the council and other organizations. Most of these organizations (all but four) were, nevertheless, registered at the Dutch Chamber of Commerce.

Before surveying the participants, I made sure mixed organizations were composed of participants of differing backgrounds. The percentage of participants with a minority background in those organizations varies between 15 and 80 %. I would ideally have had access to more mixed organizations with a 50/50 ratio. In general, however, these mixed organizations are rare. So, introducing stricter criteria for selection, even though theoretically desirable, might have not been feasible.

To select the individual members, I visited organized events such as a debate, a festive activity or a service. I then asked a board member to help me identify a varied set of people: volunteers and participants so as to exclude occasional guests. When the organization had a varied audience (in terms of age and gender), I also invited a variety of participants to take part in the paper survey or an online version. Sometimes, visiting an event was not possible because the board did not want me to interrupt an activity. In those rare cases I asked the board to invite as many different participants and volunteers as possible to take part in the survey. The sample included in this study is comprised of participants and volunteers and is not representative of passive fee-paying members. Naturally, even in local organizations

⁷In a study in Utrecht (Dekker et al. 2009), the researchers show that neighborhood groups often have mixed participants. However, I had difficulty finding these in Amsterdam, because they organized events on an ad hoc basis. This would require a very intensive search. With regard to parent-teacher associations, I compiled a list of mixed ethnicity primary schools and contacted them. I had to exclude many of them from the selection because the board and volunteers often consisted mainly of Dutch parents.

with a less formal structure, there are members who do not participate in any event. This is less rare if we consider those people who donate money to an organization but do not attend any activities. This is sometimes the case at mosques and churches and with honorary members of football associations. These passive members are not included here. Therefore, in the analysis in the chapters to follow I will speak of participants rather than members.

2.1.2 *Toward an Interview Guide*

The interview guide is based on questions asked by Maloney, Van Deth and Roßteutscher's (2008) study in different Western European cities. In this study they asked organizations several questions about their structural features, some of which I have repeated here. I added or changed these questions when necessary.

The interview began with a question about when the organization had been founded. This gave the board member an opportunity to warm up and talk freely, although this was not part of the data I needed. Once the interviewee was relaxed, I would then move on to the *activities* of the organization. The latter was then discussed in more detail. If it came up in conversation, I would especially invite the interviewee to talk further about events that were aimed at stimulating interethnic contact. Less attention was paid to abstract goals or the organization's mission statement since they would automatically respond that they were aiming to further integrate the members without providing detailed information on the organizations' activities. Next, I asked a question about the *frequency of activities*. This was necessary in order to see whether the organization offered an opportunity for durable contact between the participants.

I then probed into the management style of the organization. Firstly, the board member was asked to indicate whether they had an official board and how often they would meet. Most organizations (except for a few mixed ones) were selected from the database that, in turn, originated from the Dutch Chamber of Commerce, and therefore they mostly have a registered board. However, in reality it could be the case that some boards rarely meet up or that the organization is run by one person (Uitermark and Van Steenberghe 2006). This would thus indicate a hierarchical organizational structure. I then asked whether the organization was part of an *umbrella* organization, in order to measure external hierarchical ties.

Collaboration opportunities with other organizations were investigated in order to map the external *network* of an organization. Following network studies, I asked the members to name at least three organizations they had collaborated with through organizing an event in the previous 6 months (the so-called "name generator" question) (Marsden 2005). The time frame and number of network partners would limit recall problems. In network terminology focal organizations are called ego, whereas the organization that is named by the focal one is called alter. These ego networks (or the focal organizations' network) are a snapshot of the organization's collaboration efforts. Network studies that have analyzed different data

collection methods conclude that a single name generator results in an actor's 'core' relationships (Marsden 2005). This was sufficient as I also had only one snapshot of the participants' generalized trust attitudes. If there is interest in collaboration over time, archival sources such as the annual reports are better instruments to overcome recall problems in interviews. This section concluded by asking the board member to indicate the location of an alter and its ethnicity or type of organization, which is referred to as 'name interpreting' methods (Marsden 2005). This information would, in turn, be complemented by information from the Internet or other informants to confirm the accuracy of their answer.

Some network studies would also interview the alters of an ego in order to establish whether the tie is reciprocated. However, as collaboration per definition involves the consent of the alter, it seemed unnecessary to do this. Other goals of collecting data on an ego's alter is to expand the network and obtain a more complete network. Since the conclusions of the study cannot be generalized to these organizations, the extra data was not needed. For example, some organizations mentioned governmental organizations as their collaboration partner, such as the police—which is not a non-profit organization. Moreover, I did not collect any attitudinal data at those alter organizations.

The next question elicited the *size* of the organization by asking the board member for the number of members. Larger organizations have typically less opportunity for contact. Following this, I probed the board members to estimate how many of the members undertake *voluntary work* and how many are actively involved in organizing the activities. Here, I asked questions about other characteristics of the participants, namely the level of *diversity* of the organization (see below for a more detailed discussion) and whether the board member knew about their multiple memberships. While the level of diversity is important for the categorization of the organization, the multiple memberships question was only added in order to check the responses of the participants against it. However, unless the organization was very small it was unlikely the board member would have this information. Finally, I asked the board member to indicate whether they collaborated with the local or district government and whether they received any grants. Other sources of funding, such as membership fees and charity funds, were also surveyed.

2.1.3 Sample Size Multilevel Designs

So far the research questions have implied researching multiple organizations and applying an embedded design within each. The appropriate data analysis technique for such a design is a multilevel one since I aim at singling out the effects on generalized trust at the organizational as well as the individual level of analysis. This immediately poses the question of how many organizations and participants I needed for a robust analysis.

Issues of sample size in multilevel analysis are rather complex since there are at least two levels at which one is interested in estimating the percentage of explained variation. The rules of thumb that are developed by analyzing effect sizes are very sensitive to the area of research and dictate sample sizes that are very costly. For instance, some prescribe that a sample size of 30 groups of 30 individuals, which has a total size of 900 (Kreft cited in Scherbaum and Ferreter 2009) are needed. Others go so far as to suggest that one needs 50 groups of at least 20 individuals, resulting in a total sample size of 1000 (Hox 1998). Snijders and Boskers (1993) have developed models which evaluate required sample sizes on the basis of previous research. This type of research, unfortunately, involves having elaborate information on variances at each level and correlations between variables and the mean of each variable. It therefore seemed appropriate for the current project as we have little information about our estimates.

Two recommendations are, however, relevant here. Firstly, we need at least an average of 10 lower level units in order to be on the safe side with higher power or substantive effect sizes for the estimated regression coefficients. Secondly, increasing the number of groups is usually seen to increase the power of the analysis as opposed to increasing the number of individuals within those. The required level 2 units (here, organizations) are approximately 30, if one is interested in variance at that level (Maas and Hox 2004, 2005). Recommendations for organizational research are in line with the latter study as they, too, suggest at least 10 level 1 units for finding strong effect sizes and, when dealing with small effect sizes at level 2, having at least 30 organizations will yield an ‘optimal’ sample size (Scherbaum and Ferreter 2009).⁸ I have thus aimed at researching 40 organizations in total (20 ethnic and 20 mixed) and an average of 10 valid responses within each in order to be able to draw valid generalizations about organizational and individual level effects.

2.1.4 Toward a Questionnaire

The questionnaire is based on several studies that I will describe below. The main dependent variable is generalized trust, which is measured on an ordinal Likert scale (Rosenberg in Wrightsman 1991: 404–6). I have, however, used an 11-point scale (0–10) following the European Social Survey. Attitudes are usually measured on a 5-point scale with the following labels: completely agree, slightly agree, neutral (neither agree/disagree), slightly disagree, and completely disagree. In the 1970s a few researchers experimented with 10- to 20-point scales, with and without a neutral mid-point (Matell and Jacoby 1971). The results suggested that discriminating between more points increased the validity of the results, although above the

⁸Here, ‘optimal’ refers to small standard errors of the estimates.

threshold of 10/11 adding more points had little effect. The increase in the time needed to answer more categories also did not affect the results significantly.

Recently, these arguments have been reinvigorated so as to justify the use of lengthier scales, specifically in life satisfaction research (Cummins and Gullone 2000). The argument goes as follows. Having 10 discrete points for attitude strength is relatively easy as the scale is divided into equal units. People also associate a numerical value to their attitude strength instead of a label, which is intuitive. I have added the midpoint as a neutral category since respondents are usually pleased to be offered such a category, although some researchers argue in favor of forced choices (Robinson et al. 1991a).

Attitude scales on how a person evaluates oneself in relation to others and in relation to participation are especially sensitive to positive response bias. Unfortunately, many solutions to these problems will result in a very lengthy questionnaire or a large sample. One simple solution to this issue is to conduct self-completion questionnaires instead of structured interviews, which reduces interviewer response bias. People do not need to express their opinions to the interviewer and can fill out the questionnaire without feeling someone is judging them. Secondly, researchers who interact with the respondents when distributing and collecting questionnaires are advised to provide an envelope (Robinson et al. 1991a). Returning the questionnaire in a closed envelope reinforces the anonymity of the responses.

Although the generalized trust question is a very popular indicator, there are some measurement problems relating to this question. To begin with, some studies suggest that there is systematic response bias to this question on the basis of how one interprets “most people” (Sturgis and Smith 2010). A project carried out in the UK in 2007 included questions about who the respondents were referring to when answering. Three sorts of answers are interesting to report. A third of the respondents referred to people they knew and they answered mostly *yes* to the question. Another third of the respondents referred to general categories, people they didn’t know or abstract categories such as strangers. This section of the respondents mostly answered *no* to the question. Finally, the last third of the respondents answered that they did not really think about the question or discussed their motivation behind their answer option.

I have thus added 10 separate questions on how much one trusts specific categories of people in order to validate the generalized trust question. I asked the respondents to say how much they trust certain categories of people. Factor analysis gave us information about the dimensionality of how the respondents answered, which is further discussed in Chap. 4. Moreover, I asked the generalized question after the particularized trust questions in order to make the respondents aware of the fact that we were referring to a general situation and that most of these people were not people they knew. In addition, I asked some respondents (30 in total) to report who they were thinking about when they answered the generalized trust question. Only three out of 30 respondents were thinking about specific categories of people when they answered the question. However, none of these categories are people who are very close to them, such as family or friends. These three participants were

thinking about people in the Netherlands or in their city. Although this evidence is slightly anecdotal, since the respondents who were asked to talk aloud about the question were not chosen randomly, the results demonstrate that the question in general taps into trust toward unknown people.

Cross-cultural differences in responses to the generalized trust question may also pose problems since the frame of reference among different groups might be different (Dinesen 2010; Reeskens and Hooghe 2008). This may then affect the results instead of the theoretical differences we are interested in. However, recent evidence shows that the generalized trust question taps into unknown people in most affluent and Western nations (Delhey et al. 2011; Freitag and Bauer 2013). Next to the generalized trust item, these studies take two other items to represent social trust as well. These are: (1) ‘Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?’; and (2) ‘Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?’ (Rosenberg 1956). Although very informative, these results are not directly applicable here since generalized trust is not taken to represent a broader social trust construct in this study, but instead it is taken to represent only one aspect of it, namely trustworthiness of the unknown other. However, in order to test whether there are systematic differences between the Turkish, Dutch, and English-speaking groups, I have controlled for any translation effects in the final model of this book (in Chap. 4). I did not find any statistically significant differences due to language differences.

Other attitudes that I have included in the questionnaire are the following constructs: individualism (Hooghe 2003: 65; Coffé and Geys 2007a: 403); humanitarianism (National election studies 1995); psychological attitudes on self-esteem (Rosenberg in Blascovich and Tomaka 1991: 121–3); and optimism (Scheier and Carver 1985: 225). These attitudes are also measured with the same 11-point format as the generalized trust question. In addition, several items (four in total) are used for each of these constructs in order to tap into different aspects of the construct, as is commonly done to measure complex attitudinal concepts (Saris and Gallhofer 2007). It is generally not advisable to rely on one item as measurement error can bias the results (see Reeskens and Hooghe 2008) unless for theoretical reason one takes the instrument validity of an item as a given. Moreover, in order to ensure their reliability all the items used here have been tested in previous studies through exploratory factor analysis. In case of lengthy scales, wherever available, I only included the items with the highest factor loadings or included the unambiguous items. For example, the optimism scale includes the following proverb: ‘I’m a believer in the idea that “every cloud has a silver lining”’ (Scheier and Carver 1985: 225). Here, a translation would have made the statement incomprehensible. In some cases the items have been slightly reworded in order to emphasize a certain aspect or they have been negatively worded to avoid response set acquiescence (Robinson et al. 1991b).

Socio-demographic characteristics are: age, gender, religious orientation, household income, educational levels, marital status, country of birth, parents’ country of birth, and the length of stay in the Netherlands. Other questions that will

be included in the psychological framework are: perception of safety, perception of discrimination, having been a victim of a crime, life satisfaction, and happiness. These questions are taken from existing Dutch surveys (Amsterdamse Burgermonitor [Amsterdam citizens' survey] 2008; Leefsituatie allochtone stedelingen 2004–2005 [The living condition of urban minorities]; Staat van de Stad Amsterdam 2008 [State of the city Amsterdam]) since these have already been tested in those surveys and their reliability has been established.

The items above were then drafted in Dutch and English by myself and also translated into Turkish by a fellow Ph.D. candidate who is a native speaker. A second Ph.D. candidate (again a native Turkish speaker) who is also fluent in Dutch checked and edited the translation. I then asked several students and other people from various walks of life to fill out the questionnaires in the different languages (such as a Turkish native concierge at a Dutch university). Not only was this useful for evaluating the length of the questionnaire, but it also provided an opportunity to revise ambiguous translations or wordings.

2.2 Organizational Characteristics

In this section I describe organizational characteristics and their distribution across the types of organizations. Apart from ethnic composition other characteristics are rather uniform.

2.2.1 *Ethnic Composition*

There are generally two ways in which ethnic composition is measured (Agirdag et al. 2011; Putnam 2007):

- (1) Ethnic concentration: the proportion of non-native individuals in a given context (school, workplace, neighborhood, organization).
- (2) Ethnic diversity/heterogeneity: based on the total number of ethnic groups, corrected for their size. For example, the Herfindahl index is calculated by:

$$1 - \left[(p \text{ ethnic group } 1)^2 + (p \text{ ethnic group } 2)^2 + (p \text{ ethnic group } 3)^2 \cdots + (p \text{ ethnic group } n)^2 \right] \quad (2.1)$$

where p stands for proportion. The index runs from 0 to 1, where 0 stands for no diversity at all and 1 for total diversity, when an infinite number of groups are present.

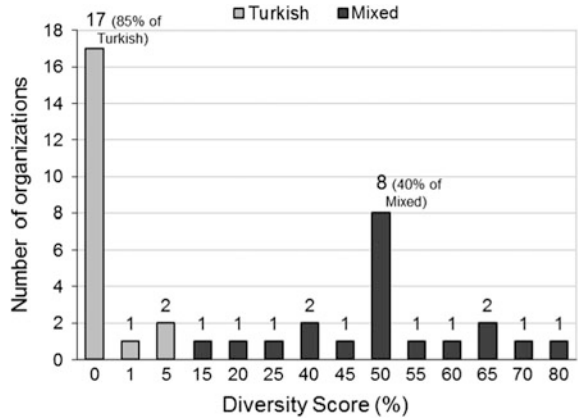
I have operationalized the ethnic composition based on the *diversity* measure in Eq. 2.1 (see also Achbari 2015a, b). Whereas ethnic concentration takes a native/non-native distinction into account, the diversity measure does not. Often, ethnic concentration refers to the proportion of non-Western minorities to natives. In the following chapters ethnic composition is based on a diversity score in order to avoid the normative connotations of the native/non-native and Western/non-Western distinction. If we take diversity to represent ethnic and cultural dissimilarity, it is contentious to assume that Moroccans and Turks would feel closer to each other, and lump them into one group rather than Turks and the Dutch or Moroccans and the Dutch. The Western/non-Western distinction implies, for example, that the Dutch feel closest culturally to Germans and Belgians, and closer to the Spanish compared to Moroccans. These assumptions are rather strong since Moroccans live much nearer to the Spanish and may share more cultural traits with them than with the Dutch.⁹ There is also no compelling argument to expect that interaction among non-Western groups and the Dutch majority population would enhance attitudes in other ways than interaction between the Dutch majority and Western minority groups would do. Such a distinction implies that socialization is different in Western and non-Western cultures, which is a disputable assumption. As such, the focus on national origin as an ethnic category here is not a normative stance but a theoretical one that follows previous research (see also Bloemraad 2013). For these reasons, I take the ethnic diversity of an organization to represent the ratio of individuals from different ethnic groups to any other ethnic group that constitutes the majority.

To measure diversity scores I asked the board member to estimate the percentage of participants from different backgrounds in their organization. I could not estimate this proportion myself, as the respondents were not always from all the different ethnicities that comprised that organization. Calculating a refined Herfindahl index would also mean that I had to have access to membership lists in which both the country of birth of a participant and the participant's parents is recorded. Such data do not exist, even if I had access to membership lists. I employ two types of measures of ethnic composition in the analyses to follow. The first is a dichotomous one: *Turkish* versus *mixed*. The second operationalization of ethnic composition is based on percentages or the ratio of participants with a different ethnic background to any majority group.

In the case of Turkish organizations, 95 % or more of the members are of Turkish descent. Two football associations had members from other backgrounds. There, the level of diversity reached 5 %. A Turkish elderly organization had one Dutch participant, which resulted in a 1 % diversity score. In mixed organizations

⁹Here, I follow the Dutch government's practice of defining ethnicity by someone's country of birth and their parent's country of birth, which is not without detractors. This practice is often labeled as methodological nationalism (Favell 2003; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002). Certainly, someone who is born outside the Netherlands (the first generation) or someone whose parents are born elsewhere (the second generation) might not base their identity on those categories and hence might not be led to act any differently than the majority population.

Fig. 2.1 Level of diversity across Turkish and mixed organizations (Amsterdam 2009–2010)



the level of diversity is the ratio of people from a diverse ethnic background to a given majority group. Often it was straightforward to calculate this as the majority of the members were from Dutch descent and there was only one minority group in the organization. In four of the 20 organizations, the majority groups were Moroccan, Turkish or Polish, and the diversity score there is between 40–60 %. In a very few cases there were more than one minority group in the organization. In those cases I added the proportion of the smaller groups together to calculate the diversity score. Overall, the level of diversity in mixed organizations ranges between 15–80 %. Figure 2.1 summarizes the distribution of diversity among the Turkish and mixed organizations. As we can see, the majority of mixed organizations (40 %) have a 50 % level of diversity, whereas the majority of Turkish organizations (85 %) are not diverse at all.

2.2.2 Type of Organization

Prior to data collection, I had access to the mission statements via the Dutch Chamber of Commerce data which enabled me to describe the typologies of the organizations (see Table 2.1). These typologies such as political, sports, etc. should, however, not matter in the analysis of the generalized trust of the participants of organizations. That is because, strictly speaking, these generic types do not impose theoretical conditions on why and how generalized trust is affected. Most research on the voluntary sector lacks additional data on organizational characteristics and hence takes these types as proxies for other characteristics. For example, political organizations are taken to be hierarchically organized as opposed to cultural organizations (Putnam 2000), which consequently are argued to affect equal status among the participants and enable contact opportunities (see also Van der Meer et al. 2009). In the present context, this distinction is not applicable since most organizations included in the analysis are locally based and relatively small in

Table 2.1 Types of organizations across Turkish and mixed groups (Achbari 2015a: 164)

Type	Turkish	Mixed
Cultural	2	3
Elderly	2	–
Political	2	–
Religious	5	3
Sports	2	4
Women	3	3
Youth	4	1
Neighborhood group	–	4
Social work	–	1
Parent-teacher association	–	1
Total	20	20

Amsterdam (2009–2010)

comparison to, for example, national political parties. Moreover, none of these organizations have solely passive members. In this sense, none are purely interest organizations such as The Automobile Association where members do not meet and interact.

I selected different organizational types within each group (see Table 2.1), but across groups I aimed at including a similar set. Differences in organizational types across the groups do not directly influence the variation in generalized trust, but indirectly they might still have affected the aggregated results. If, for example, a certain organizational type attracts more high-income than low-income groups, the aggregate results are affected not due to the type of the organization but due to the membership composition. Therefore, I used these organizational types in order to introduce variation in individual characteristics such as age, gender, and educational levels within each group. But across the groups I aimed at holding the types constant. As can be read from Table 2.1, the types of organizations do not vary considerably across the two groups. There are a few differences between the Turkish and the mixed group, but these are not statistically significant. For example, I could not find an elderly organization with mixed participants. That is due to the difficulties that first-generation minorities have with the Dutch language. I also did not find small political groups that were composed of a diverse set of members since most people would become members of national or local branches of political organizations, which are typically much larger in size. Secondly, because of the character of the activities of neighborhood groups, their membership reflects the ethnic composition of that neighborhood. Therefore, it is unlikely to find a neighborhood group that only includes Turkish participants, as the level of ethnic diversity in Amsterdam neighborhoods is high. If there are homogeneous neighborhood groups in Amsterdam, they mainly consist of the Dutch majority population. The same goes for social work organizations and parent-teacher associations.

2.2.3 *Location*

I also aimed to select organizations across a wide set of geographical locations in Amsterdam. This was necessary in order to control for district effects.¹⁰ However, there are no Turkish associations in the South-East district of the city. Therefore, I also did not select any mixed organizations there. Mixed organizations in this district have members with South American (former Dutch colonies) and African backgrounds and include a number of religious organizations (Vermeulen et al. 2009). In addition, districts in Amsterdam, although not that different in their policies, might still support organizations to different degrees. Finally, different shares of ethnic minorities in geographical locations also influence the contact opportunities between the groups in these organizations. Therefore, selecting organizations in different geographical locations is desirable.

Figure 2.2 depicts the number of organizations that I have selected in different districts in Amsterdam. It also indicates the percentage of non-Western ethnic minorities per district. The population of Amsterdam consists of 34.5 % non-Western ethnic minorities. The northern and eastern parts of the city also contain between 30–40 % ethnic minorities, whereas this proportion reaches 60 % in western parts of the city. Overall, the location of organizations is equally distributed among the districts. Statistically speaking, this distribution does not differ across the groups, as the correlation coefficient is insignificant. It is important to note that there were, relatively speaking, more mixed organizations in the eastern part of the city than the western part.¹¹ This might be due to increase in funds for mixed organizations from the national government. After the murder of Theo van Gogh, the eastern district where he was killed, received more special funding for civic projects. Other neighborhoods also profited from this, although not to the same extent. These are the so-called ‘Vogelaar’ neighborhoods, named after the minister in charge who passed the law (Integratienota 2007–2011: Zorg dat je erbij hoort! [integration policy: Make sure you belong!] 2007).

The number of organizations selected for this study in each district reflects the general pattern in the city. The northern and some western parts of the city do not have that many organizations compared to other parts (Vermeulen et al. 2009: 24). Although the majority of the organizations are located in the city center, it is most

¹⁰Strictly speaking, one should control for the residential area of the respondent as this and the location of the organization might not necessarily coincide. However, if most people choose to take part only in local leisure, cultural, and religious organizations, one then has to select organizations in different areas.

¹¹This result contradicts findings from Vermeulen et al.’s (2009) study in which they categorize an organization as mixed when the board consists of different ethnic groups born outside the Netherlands. Although I initially selected these organizations from the same database and hence initially followed the same categorization, after an interview with the board, I only included organizations whose participants were also from mixed backgrounds. In addition, through the Internet, local informants, and municipality guides, I found mixed organizations which were not listed in the database and whose boards sometimes did not consist of a variety of ethnic groups.

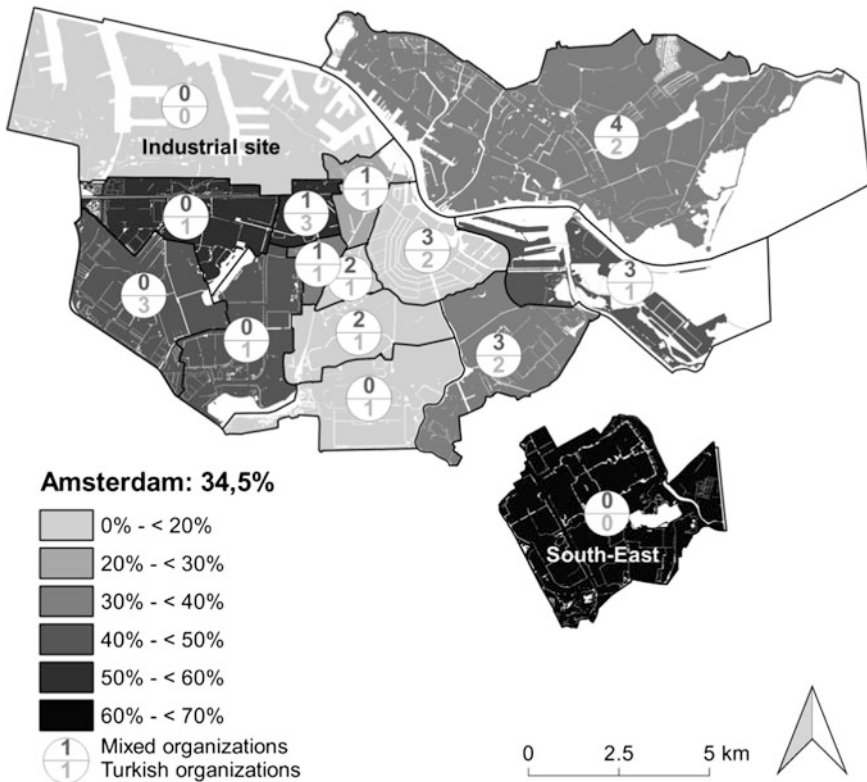


Fig. 2.2 Percentage of non-Western inhabitants in Amsterdam districts and the number of organizations in the sample (Reproduced and adapted from <http://www.os.amsterdam.nl>; With information from http://maps.amsterdam.nl/open_geodata/ and <http://www.kadaster.nl/web/artikel/producten/TOP10NL.htm>)

likely that these are the large tertiary organizations without active participants. Most ethnic and mixed organizations are not based in the city center as this part of the city mostly consists of hotels, offices, and houses of the most affluent, which are often not the target of minority organizations or organizations that comprise mixed ethnic groups. Moreover, the proportion of inhabitants with a non-Western ethnic background reaches only 20 % in the center, which again explains the small number of organizations selected there.

2.2.4 Size

The size of Turkish organizations ranges between 50 and 400 (Standard Deviation = 113.25), while the range for the mixed groups is between 10 and 1,200 (SD = 326.9). One football association has an extraordinary number of members,

namely 1,200, whereas most relatively larger organizations have 350–650 members. However, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) test for differences between the mean size of the organizations compared across the Turkish and mixed groups is not statistically significant. This is reassuring since opportunities for contact should be equally spread across the groups. If the size of the organizations varied across the Turkish and the mixed group, differences in generalized trust between the groups might have been due to the size of the organizations rather than interethnic contact. In addition, this would have imposed extra conditions that I would subsequently have to control for.

2.3 The Spectrum of Activities and Contact Within Organizations

When it comes to describing and analyzing activities in voluntary organizations, empirical studies are rare. This is more so because one then needs to visit them in order to map their activities and not solely rely on the surveys of individuals. Maloney and Roßteutscher's (2007) study of organizational activities and characteristics across six European cities is an exception in this respect.¹² In this edited volume, Lelieveldt et al. (2007) develop a model of the activities of organizations. They distinguish policy and client-oriented activities, which in turn could be outsourced. The organizations they surveyed reported four different types of activities: representation, mobilization, service, and activation. The latter category is the most relevant activity for the contact hypothesis since this involves recreation and ultimately also socialization. However, mobilization might also involve durable and meaningful contact among the participants, whereas representation and service are the types of activities that might be more easily delegated to paid staff. Unfortunately, Lelieveldt et al. (2007) do not empirically link the activities of organizations to the generation of trust.

Nor do many studies on migrant organizations empirically test whether generalized trust is generated in these organizations (see for example Morales and Giugni 2011; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). As regards their activities, they also generally do not describe these. Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan's (2008) edited volume is an exception to this. There, De Graauw (2008), characterizes ethnic voluntary organizations as hybrid as they are usually involved in many different activities (see also Vermeulen 2005). Ethnic organizations are very versatile because they usually fill a void for people who are otherwise segregated from social life. In addition, since these organizations are primarily based on ethnic ties (Fennema 2004), they focus on cultural activities along with their other functions. The organizations included in this study were no exception to this.

¹²In this study, the authors map the organizational landscape of six cities: Aalborg (Denmark), Aberdeen (UK), Bern (Switzerland), Enschede (The Netherlands), Mannheim (Germany), and Sabadell (Spain).

In contrast, the primary mission of mixed organizations is not to bridge ethnic gaps, and only very few actively do this. That is because the ethnic composition of the organizations is often de facto mixed. For example, most sports organizations are not set up to promote diversity, but they attract a mixed membership due to the ethnic composition of a neighborhood. Similarly, a professional expat network attracts mixed members because the nature of its activities attracts professionals who reside outside their birth countries. Interestingly, most organizations that explicitly mentioned promoting diversity and bridging ethnic ties were initially founded as ethnic organizations or were founded by second-generation immigrants. Below, I describe these activities and focus on whether and to what extent they promote contact between their participants and between different groups.

2.3.1 Kinds of Activities of Organizations

Next to their primary activity, organizations in this study reported that they offer participants a very diverse set of activities. The primary activities were described by the type of organizations depicted in Table 2.1, which is based on their mission statement as recorded in the Dutch Chamber of Commerce database. A third of the organizations were either founded later than the database was composed or are not formally registered. I found these organizations on the Internet, through other informants at the council or the organizations that I had already access to. I categorized their activities by consulting their mission statement or labeled them according to the type of activities they offer. Among other things, these activities range from sports, cultural gatherings, neighborhood barbeques, and debates to religious festivities and social work.

The majority of organizations, however, report organizing a variety of activities, which is not reflected in the mission statement. Figure 2.3 depicts these. For example, a Turkish sports association states that they organize Turkish cultural festivities in addition to training, tournaments and matches. The board member said in the interview:

We are more than a football association; we also would like to offer cultural activities to our members. As a foreigner, one cannot do much. We gather Turks together to engage in social and cultural activities.

Most strikingly, Turkish organizations are very versatile in what they offer as activities. Both religious and other festive activities are most commonly reported by Turkish organizations (Fig. 2.3). Some organizations that direct their activities toward women and the youth are partly funded or dependent on volunteers from religious organizations. Therefore, they also take part in religious festivities such as Iftar (breaking the fast during Ramadan). They currently or in the past received funds from transnational charitable Turkish organizations (such as Milli Görüş) or from the

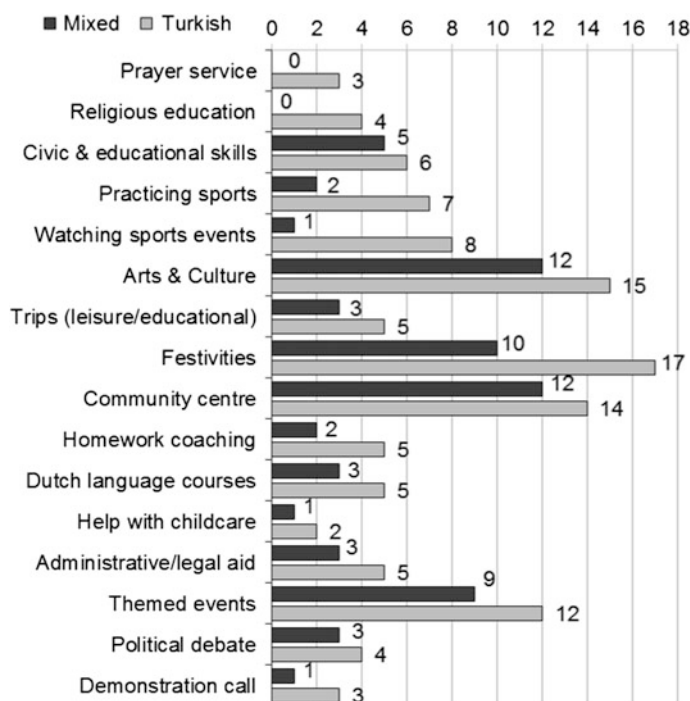


Fig. 2.3 Frequencies of additional activities at Turkish and mixed organizations (Amsterdam 2009–2010)

Turkish government (Diyanet). Quite a number of mixed and Turkish organizations also reported that, although they organize religious festive activities, they also organize barbeques and neighborhood parties with Dutch festive themes. Only two Turkish organizations openly stated that their mission is solely to promote Turkish culture.

Turkish organizations receive funding from local government mainly for providing services. These services range from language training for women, integration courses, and computer lessons for the elderly, to homework assistance and sports activities for the youth. Among Turkish organizations, it seems to be very widespread to offer themed events, too. They provide information on health care issues (e.g., diabetes prevention and psychological care), pension restructuring, and sometimes even debates on domestic violence and gay emancipation. The local councils and social workers are very receptive in providing funding for these kinds of issues and collaborating with Turkish organizations. Equally, some organizations emphasized that by having a function room that is frequently open, they help combat youth vandalism and provide activities that would benefit the whole community. One board member of a Turkish organization said in an interview: ‘We are a neighborhood community center more than a mosque.’ Another board member of a mosque said: ‘Our mosque is not just a prayer house. We gather people together to integrate them and to coexist better with others.’

Local councils often provide Turkish organizations with empty buildings for use as function rooms. Sometimes, they demand that these organizations share those spaces with other ethno-national or mixed organizations. In addition, when a building is offered to an organization, the local council imposes extra conditions on how the space is used. For example, the board member of an elderly Turkish organization said in the interview that they are absolutely not allowed to use the space for prayer. This then means that, in order to go to the nearest mosque for prayers, the organizations' participants, many of whom have difficulty moving about, have to endure a walk of more than 20 minutes.

Politically themed events and calls for demonstrations are rare among both types of organizations, which might again be indicative of funding opportunities. However, some mixed organizations reported they are apolitical and do not wish to participate in political events. The council sometimes promotes the provision of political information to marginalized groups. Hence, some organizations offer information on voting to especially illiterate women and men, but this seems to be more likely among Turkish organizations rather than mixed organizations. When it comes to contacting political parties during or outside election times, Turkish organizations again outnumber mixed organizations. This should not come as a surprise as the migration literature across Europe has often mapped their activities and mobilization efforts around politically themed events (see for example Jacobs and Tillie 2004; Morales and Giugni 2011).

Large nationwide charities seem to assist mixed organizations when the theme is of particular interest for the promotion of diversity or the integration of ethnic minorities. Two organized projects are worth mentioning here. One aims at preventing Islamic radicalism by creating peer groups among Moroccan youth. Another organization distributed magnets with different statements from the Dutch constitution in a neighborhood in order to educate people on the freedom of speech and human rights. Residents of those neighborhoods could win prizes by collecting all the magnets. This supposedly created "contact" among neighbors as they had to exchange the magnets among themselves to collect a full set. In Sects. 2.3.3 and 2.3.4, I elaborate on whether organizations offer their participants an opportunity for durable contact as these events were not repeated and only brought people from different ethnic backgrounds together in a one-off event.

The discussion above might question the extent to which these organizations promote political participation and civic skills. Only five organizations mentioned offer civic education courses, three of which are Turkish. However, 10 Turkish organizations as compared to one mixed organization report currently having or previously having had a board member who is now a politician. Most of these politicians have been a member of a Turkish organization since their teens.

In summary, Turkish ethno-national, more so than mixed organizations, are 'properly conceptualized as multipurpose hybrid organizations rather than as service providers' (De Graauw 2008: 328). Yet, by providing services they function as a partner in governance structures and help overcome inequalities. They give voice to groups of people who would otherwise be marginalized. Mixed organizations are, on the other hand, generally less politicized and hence are less inclined to

mobilize their participants and their claims. This has to do with the fact that many leisure and neighborhood organizations are becoming mixed due to the ethnic composition of the neighborhoods they are located in rather than purposefully being organized around the ideological goal of promoting multiculturalism and diversity.

As the discussion above demonstrates, organizations provide information and services to their participants. Apart from the people who organize those events, this does not seem to be the kind of setting that would encourage the development of generalized trust. The main question of this book is whether Turkish and mixed organizations socialize their participants differently to adhere to trust, which, in turn, could be attributed to the role of interethnic contact at these organizations. In what follows, I will discuss whether the activities of organizations meet the necessary condition of intergroup contact theory. In other words, do these organizations offer participants opportunities for durable contact?

2.3.2 Frequency of Activities

I start with a description of the different levels of activities across the two types of organizations. As Table 2.2 summarizes, there are no major differences between the two groups. These differences are also not statistically significant. Most organizations offer activities to their members, participants, and volunteers on a daily basis. However, the majority of organizations also reported that it is the weekend activities that are most often visited as people then have more time. In addition, even if some organizations offer activities only on a monthly basis, the volunteers who are involved in the run-up to an event tend to meet each other more often than that. These events might then be visited by target groups which visit as a one-off occasion. In these cases, I have limited the survey to volunteers only. Table 2.2 shows that both types of organizations do offer opportunities for durable contact between their participants and volunteers.

2.3.3 Interethnic Contact

Although offering durable opportunities for contact is important for testing the contact hypothesis, what is essential is whether the organizations also differ on the

Table 2.2 Frequency of activities at Turkish and mixed organizations

Frequency activities	Turkish	Mixed	Total
Daily	12 (60 %)	10 (50 %)	22 (55 %)
Weekly	5 (25 %)	8 (40 %)	13 (33 %)
Monthly	3 (15 %)	2 (10 %)	5 (12 %)
Total	20	20	40

Amsterdam (2009–2010)

contact dimension along another dimension. That is to say, do organizations offer opportunities for contact with other ethnic groups through activities? As I argued earlier, if the ethnic composition of the organization varies along the two groups, we can test the intergroup contact theory directly as long as we can control for other relevant factors. During interviews with the Turkish board members, most reported actively promoting contact with other ethnic groups, especially with the Dutch. This is not so surprising as local and central government actively promotes interethnic contact by offering subsidies and grants to organizations (Uitermark et al. 2005; Uitermark and Van Steenbergen 2006). But does this then make a comparison between the Turkish and mixed organizations along the contact dimension possible?

Although most Turkish organizations offer activities in neighborhoods where different ethnic groups can take part, these are mostly annual one-off events such as Iftars, street parties, barbecues or debates around political events or at election times. They do not offer their participants durable contact with other ethnically diverse groups on a regular basis. For example, a board member of a religious youth association said in an interview:

We organize open days [once a year] in order for our participants to have contact with people from other religions, so people can better understand each other... There is too much negative attention about Muslims. This way, others can also acquaint with Islam (interview with a Turkish board member).

Due to language difficulties of the first-generation Turkish participants who constitute the largest proportion of participants in Turkish organizations, it is questionable how much of this short-term contact at these events translates into durable or close ties. For example, as an informant of this study said in an interview:

If we organize an event, we have to make sure we have invited the [Dutch] neighbors. Otherwise, they complain... But they never take part in our activities... the local council also urges us to do this before they commit themselves to financing a project (interview with a Turkish board member).

Turkish organizations also offer activities in which the youth is the target group. One organization said they organized a cultural religious event so that the neighborhood children can get acquainted with Islamic festivities at a young age. Again, these children are not the regular participants of the organizations and have not been the subject of the survey.

In contrast to the above, many mixed organizations actively promote interethnic contact as their primary mission (eight organizations). This is then reflected in the composition of their membership, the board, and the volunteers they recruit. Some of these organizations were either founded by second-generation immigrants or were formerly ethno-national organizations (four organizations). They actively promote contact during projects that are often more than one-off events. Nevertheless, as some of these organizations are “foundations,” without members or regular participants, their participants vary per event. Therefore, in the study,

I included only the volunteers and board members that have regular contact organizing events.

All other mixed organizations, in contrast, are not set up to actively promote contact. They simply bring together people from diverse backgrounds due to the ethnic composition of the neighborhoods they are situated in, or attract diverse participants due to the nature of their activities. That is the case, for example, at an expat network for female professionals. Here, promoting contact is pointless as the members and participants join because they are interested in meeting new people from diverse backgrounds. Networking is essential to the group, although the organization is not set up from an ideological viewpoint to celebrate diversity. Similarly, a parent-teacher association of a mixed school brings together people from a diverse background. Due to the ethnic composition of the neighborhood, some schools are becoming *de facto* mixed. However, mixed parent-teacher associations at these schools are quite rare. Often, when I contacted mixed schools, it would appear that although the school would have liked the involvement of a diverse set of parents, most schools were still not successful in recruiting them. A coordinator of one mixed school explained to me in an interview that this might be due to cultural differences. She said, for example, that minority parents were often not familiar with the structure of voluntary work. They thought that since schools were governmental institutions they did not have to get involved. The school selected here was successful because the board of directors had appointed a coordinator who actively encouraged parents from other ethnic backgrounds to get involved.

The three mixed football associations also reported suffering from the same problem (see also Winkler 2006). All the board members said in interviews that volunteering among ethnic minorities in their organization had been difficult to achieve. They acknowledged that cultural and language barriers were keeping potential members from actively getting involved. This is more so because they require their members, for example, to take part in carpooling, cleaning, and bar service. So, although mixed organizations bring people from different ethnic backgrounds together and create durable contact between them, they are rare, as the existence of ethno-national leisure organizations make it much easier for people to spend their free time with culturally like-minded people. One of the participants of a Turkish football association said: 'I tried playing at a white Dutch association, but I did not feel comfortable there. I was often bullied on the field and if I was even slightly late for something, the Dutch players would hold it against me. That is when I decided to join a Turkish association.'

What about other factors that affect generalized trust across organizations? In the following I will describe whether there are any differences across the samples of Turkish and mixed organizations in the number of volunteers and whether any strong ties have been developed at these organizations.

2.3.4 *Close Ties*

This section on the spectrum of activities will conclude with a discussion of close ties in Turkish and mixed organizations. Developing close ties, especially in mixed organizations, is important in order for durable contact to translate into attitude change. As discussed in the theoretical framework, many contact studies have been set up to find evidence of this link.

I designed two questions in order to measure friendship ties. Firstly, it is important to note that I was not able to ask specific network questions regarding friendships among the participants and members. Many members of Turkish organizations were reluctant to name specific people as part of their network within the organization. Therefore, I asked them to what extent they discuss important personal matters with people in their organization and whether in an emergency situation they would lend money to those people. These measures are then indicative of close ties within the organizations. The logic is that if a participant were a friend of anyone in the organizations, they would also discuss important personal matters with them. In addition, if someone were a very good friend, in an emergency situation they would help the person with financial aid.

Overall, 319 out of 463 people (69 %) report discussing important personal matters with members and participants in their organization. However, 122 people out of the 463 (26.3 %) report never discussing important personal matters with members and participants in their organization and 22 people (about 4.7 %) did not answer this question. The distribution of lending money to members and participants in the organization is more skewed. Of the 463 respondents, 253 (54.6 %) report being willing to lend money to members and participants in their organization, whereas 40.6 % (188 out of 463) would not lend money to a participant or member in an emergency situation. Again, about 5 % left the question unanswered.

The distribution of close ties across the Turkish and mixed organization is presented in Table 2.3. There are slight differences across the two groups in the frequency of discussion of important personal matters within the organization. Participants of mixed organizations more often report never discussing important personal matters than participants of Turkish organizations (13 % difference). The percentage of mixed participants who sometimes report discussing important personal matters is also lower than the Turkish participants (13 % difference). These differences, although statistically significant, are small in terms of effect size (Cramér's $V = 0.15$; $p < 0.01$). The distribution of lending money to participants and members within the organization is more skewed across the groups than the discussion frequencies. Participants of mixed organizations are less willing to lend money to people in their organizations, whereas participants of Turkish organizations are more willing (25 % difference). These differences are statistically significant, although again small in terms of their impact across the groups (Cramér's $V = 0.24$; $p < 0.001$).

Table 2.3 Frequency of close ties in Turkish and mixed organizations

	Turkish	Mixed	Total
<i>Discussing important personal matters with people in the organization</i>			
Never	45 (21 %)	77 (34 %)	122 (28 %)
Sometimes	125 (59 %)	105 (46 %)	230 (52 %)
Often	43 (20 %)	46 (20 %)	89 (20 %)
Total	213	218	441
<i>Lending money to people in the organization</i>			
No	66 (30 %)	122 (55 %)	188 (43 %)
Yes	151 (70 %)	102 (45 %)	253 (57 %)
Total	217	224	441

Amsterdam (2009–2010)

Turkish and mixed organizations vary along the most crucial dimension for the study of intergroup contact hypothesis, namely the ethnic composition of their participants and members. However, as the discussion above demonstrates, there are individual differences in ties that develop out of these contact opportunities. Therefore, in Chap. 3 I will control for the absence or presence of close ties and to what extent this might then affect adherence to generalized trust for participants of mixed organizations.

2.4 Bridging and Bonding Organizational Network Gaps

The final section of this chapter deals with network gaps that arise from collaboration between organizations, in addition to overlapping membership and the volunteering network of participants beyond the organizations that I surveyed. The literature on Turkish organizations has extensively mapped their overlapping board membership and the resulting interlocking network of organizations (Fennema and Tillie 1999, 2001; Peters 2010; Van Heelsum 2002; Vermeulen 2005). I will briefly discuss these results in order to elaborate on why I have not relied on this data and have set out to map collaboration networks of Turkish and mixed organizations. As for the overlapping membership and volunteering network of participants, there was no additional data to rely on. Therefore, I included items in the questionnaire that mapped their voluntary activities beyond the organizations that are sampled for this study.

2.4.1 *Overlapping Board Membership Network*

Vermeulen et al. (2009) describe the overlapping board member network of voluntary organizations in Amsterdam in 2007.¹³ Their data for all organizations is retrieved from the Dutch Chamber of Commerce and only comprises 30 % of the total network. However, as the size of the Turkish network is smaller, their whole network has been retrieved. Across the city, 67.6 % of the organizations included in the study were isolated or were not part of an overlapping board member network in 2007. In contrast, the Turkish organizations are much more integrated with only 54.2 % of them being isolated. However, they mostly sit on the board of another Turkish organization (87.9 %). The mixed network is also less isolated than the citywide network with 59.3 % of isolated organizations, but 37 % of their board members sit on the boards of other mixed organizations. So, connections with other mixed groups are much more widespread than in the case of Turkish organizations. However, when I sampled the organizations I had to include other organizations that were not listed in this database (a few in the case of Turkish organizations, and in the case of mixed organizations, more than half of them). Therefore, I have no information on their position in the board member network. But most importantly, since we can assume that the majority of these organizations are not part of the overlapping board member network, if we are interested in having variation in the data, we need a very large sample. This would be too costly to collect since the main purpose of this book is to find evidence of the role of intergroup contact rather than the network position of organizations in the interlocking network in explaining generalized trust. Moreover, since connections in the interlocking network are so sparse, it is also questionable whether it should matter for the diffusion of trust beyond the organization.

Therefore, I set out to collect collaboration network data that might show more variation and complement the interlocking network. Sitting on another board is often a very risky venture. Many organizations prefer not to share information on the day-to-day business of their group with someone from another organization unless they trust them. Peters (2010: 127) also interviewed some of the organizations included in this study in her project on the networks of Turkish organizations in Amsterdam. She finds that trust and previous knowledge about the board members to be included in an interlock (or joint membership) is crucial for such ties to occur. In addition, since these organizations are competing for the same resources—that is to say, funding from the local government—it is unlikely that they would again become collaborative partners, as common board members would do, unless they share an ideological convention. However, as organizations are pushed by local governments to collaborate and organize events together, it is more likely that the collaboration network would show more variation in terms of network ties.

¹³They also analyze the interlocking connections in 2002, but I only describe the 2007 wave as it is more relevant to the time frame of this study.

I set out to collect this type of network data in order to control for additional sources of trust among the members and board members. A theoretical assumption in the literature is that these channels of communication diffuse the trust bred in one organization to another (see Fennema and Tillie 1999, 2002; Paxton 2007). Yet, if we are interested in finding such a mechanism, we need to have longitudinal panel data that follows organizations and members over time. Without such data any conclusion reached from relating the network position of organizations to their participants' trust levels is very tentative and inconclusive. Nevertheless, with collaboration network data I am interested in looking for variation among the board members in their network partners in order to test whether exposure to ethnically different organizations enhances their generalized trust attitudes. Moreover, as the literature in the theoretical chapter suggests, ethnic organizations (among them Turkish organizations) are argued to be inward-looking (bonding) and do not collaborate with non-likeminded organizations (bridging). Although the study by Vermeulen et al. (2009) above confirms this hypothesis, their data is limited to the interlocking network. Peter's (2010) study is also limited to the contact and mobilization network of Turkish organizations and does not include mixed organizations. With the collaboration networks of mixed as well as Turkish organizations I will test this proposition here, whereas the trust analyses will be carried out in the Chap. 3.

2.4.2 *Collaboration Network*

The data I collected for the purpose of mapping the collaboration network between organizations in this study is based on the individual network of each organization when they coordinate an event with other organizations. In network terminology focal organizations are called ego and the organization that is named by the focal one is called alter. After data on alters was collected, I asked the interviewees (or egos) to classify the ethnicity of these organizations as well as their location. Network terminology calls these questions "name interpreting" questions. Sometimes, the organizations that were named were large institutions such as the police or welfare organizations. In addition to these name interpreting questions, I complemented the classification of alters with information from the Internet in order to find their location and the ethnic composition of the organization.

Figure 2.4 depicts this network, which I have mapped with the software Ucinet (Borgatti et al. 2002). I have removed the names of the organizations for confidentiality reasons. The round-shaped nodes represent mixed organizations, whereas the diamond-shaped nodes represent Turkish organizations. Most organizations named either other ethnic or Dutch organizations as their collaboration partners. A triangle or a square-shaped node, respectively, depicts these. In total, 156 organizations are named as collaboration partners. The total network comprises 154 organizations. The average number of ties in this network is thus 1.01. Reporting the density of the network (or the realized number of ties as a proportion of the total

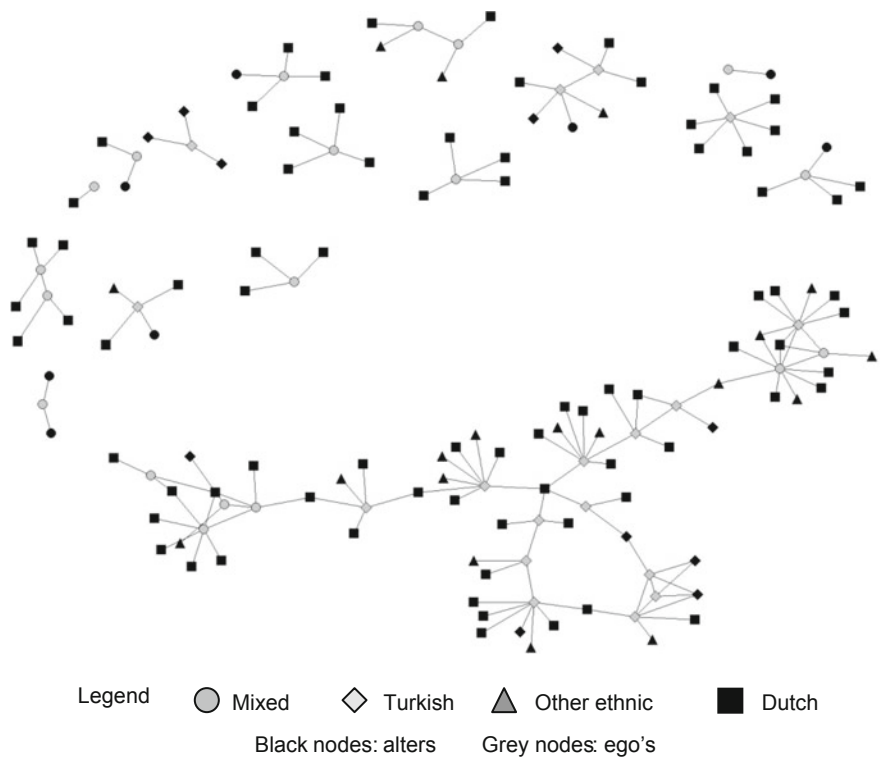


Fig. 2.4 Collaboration network of Turkish and mixed organizations (Amsterdam 2009–2010)

number of possible ties) is not very useful here, as not all organizations were asked about their partners. However, what is interesting about this network is the fact that the majority of organizations name ethnically dissimilar organizations as their collaboration partners. Furthermore, the largest component of this network at the bottom of the figure, which shows a high level of connectivity as compared to the segregated clusters on the top, is largely composed of Turkish organizations. Mixed organizations seem to be more segregated in this collaboration network. This finding runs against the assumptions put forward by Putnam (2000) and others that ethno-national associations are by definition inward-looking.

A more formal way to describe the diversity of each organization with respect to their network partners is the E-I Index (Krackhardt and Stern 1988: 127; see also Peters 2010):

$$\text{E-I index} = \frac{\text{EL} - \text{IL}}{\text{EL} + \text{IL}}$$

This measure indicates the extent to which an organization’s cited alters resembles itself according to a relevant characteristic, for example, ethnicity in this

Table 2.4 Bridging and bonding ethnic ties (E-I Index) among Turkish and mixed organizations

E-I Index	Turkish	Mixed	Total
Bonding	3 (17 %)	2 (11 %)	5 (14 %)
Both bonding and bridging	9 (50 %)	8 (42 %)	17 (46 %)
Bridging	6 (33 %)	9 (47 %)	15 (40 %)
Total	18	19	37

Amsterdam (2009–2010)
Cramér’s V = 0.150, p = 0.660

case. This index takes a value between -1 and $+1$, where -1 represents total similarity (or bonding), 0 stands for as much similarity as dissimilarity, and $+1$ represents total dissimilarity (or bridging). The majority of organizations (15) reported only ethnically bridging network partners. Five organizations reported bonding ethnic alters. So, the remaining 17 organizations scored between 0 and 0.8 on this index. I, therefore, recoded these values to reduce the categories and to be able to compare the index across the two types of organizations. Values of $0-0.5$ were recoded to “bonding,” whereas values of $0.6-0.8$ were added to the category “bridging.” Table 2.4 displays these differences.

Table 2.4 shows that Turkish and mixed organizations do not differ greatly on this dissimilarity index or in the extent to which they bridge ethnic gaps when collaborating to organize events. The size of the correlation coefficient Cramér’s V (0.150) is rather small and not statistically significant due to the small sample size. We might yet question whether it is worth bearing the costs to have more data in order to find such a small effect. However, these results also questions whether we do justice to their collaborative efforts with other organizations by categorizing Turkish organizations as bonding. This reflects the political opportunity structure of the city of Amsterdam described in the introduction to this book in which local councilors and civil servants push organizations to collaborate with ethnically dissimilar organizations.

The network shown in Fig. 2.5 depicts the location of alters with which organizations are reported to work. In the largest connected component at the bottom of the figure, organizations are clustered fairly closely around the same geographical location. The diamond-shaped nodes in the bottom left-hand side represent organizations in the north of the city. On the right-hand side, the square shapes delineate the organizations in the east of the city. The rounded squares depict organizations in the western part of the city. Finally, a circle denotes the organizations in the city center. These are spread across the component. Again, this geographical representation is in line with the policy toward ethno-national organizations, which necessitates them working with dissimilar organizations in those districts. At the top of the graph, there are many mixed organizations that are not interconnected to the same extent. Hence, there are many segregated clusters which do not follow a clear pattern.

In summary, Turkish organizations have as many diverse partners as mixed organizations. However, since there is variation on this index, I will control for

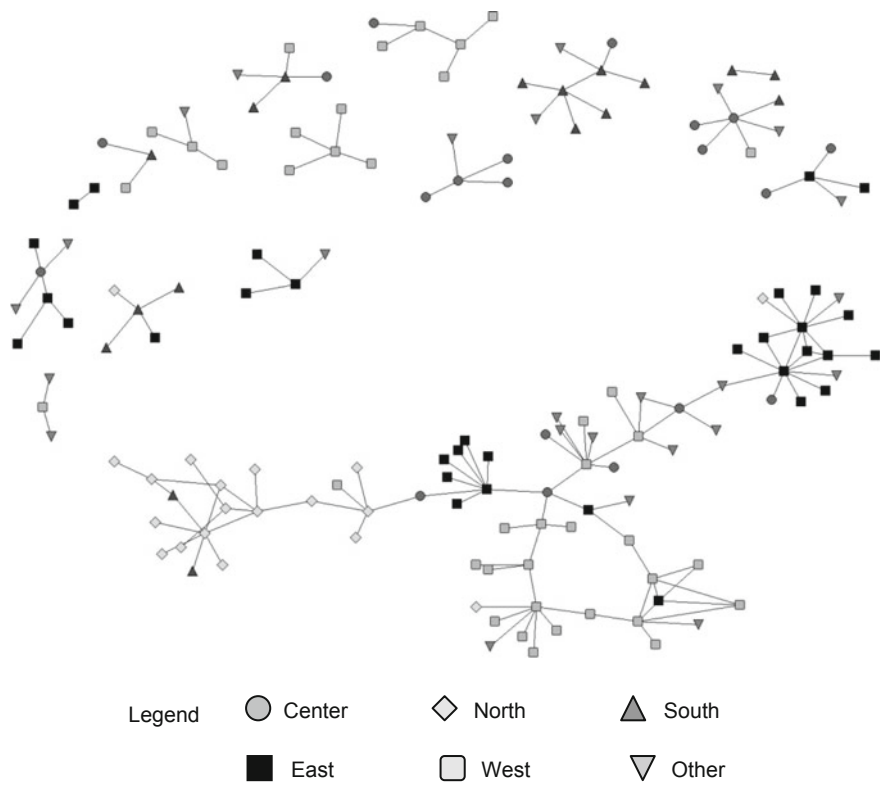


Fig. 2.5 The geographical location of organizations in the collaboration network (Amsterdam 2009–2010)

these connections when examining generalized trust at the individual level. This information will be attached only to the board members and volunteers of Turkish organizations since they, and not their participants, are involved in these networks. It is, however, important to note that only six organizations expose their volunteers and board members to bridging opportunities beyond their organization. In addition, as none of the organizations are isolated in this network, categorizing them along that dimension will not be possible.

2.4.3 Funding

Funding from the local government is the final organizational-level variable to be described in this section. As argued in the theoretical framework, receiving grants represents a working trust between the organization and the local government. Some argue that this might spill over to generalized trust among the participants and

Table 2.5 Funding across Turkish and mixed organizations

Funding	Turkish	Mixed	Total
Yes	9 (50 %)	11 (55 %)	20 (53 %)
No	9 (50 %)	9 (45 %)	18 (47 %)
Total	18	20	38

Amsterdam (2009–2010)
Phi = -0.050, p = 0.758

members (Caulkins 2003). There are 18 organizations that receive grants from either the local or the central council, whereas 20 organizations do not receive any money for organizing events or for their daily business. Table 2.5 summarizes the distribution of funding across the types of organizations. As we can see, the relationship between these two variables is not statistically significant and the size of the correlation is also trivial. It is then highly unlikely that receiving grants from the government, which is arguably indicative of working trust, will be of importance for the top-down spread of trust among the participants. However, I need to emphasize that while this relationship is not statistically significant, its effect size will probably not be affected much by the creation of a larger dataset.

2.4.4 Multiple Memberships and Volunteering

This final section deals with bridging opportunities that arise from multiple memberships. In the questionnaire I asked the members to identify which types of organizations they are a member of in addition to the organization that I went to for an event. First of all, 37 % of the participants reported they were also members of at least another organization. However, some may have confused this question with categorizing the organization that I had visited. This is reflected in the proportion of participants that actually named other organizations of which they are a member. The proportion of participants with an additional membership decreases to 24.2 % of all participants (112). The participants named the organizations they are additionally a member of and I could, hence, check whether this organization is the one that I had visited. They named 211 additional organizations, although three could not be recognized. The maximum number of organizations they named was six. On average, participants with an additional membership named 1.94 organizations (SD = 1.14). This average differs across the participants of mixed and Turkish organizations. Participants of Turkish organizations (40) named, on average, 1.75 additional memberships (SD = 0.90; range = 1–4), whereas participants of mixed organizations (69) named, on average, 2.04 additional memberships (SD = 1.25; range = 1–6). These differences are, however, not statistically significant. Therefore, I will only analyze at the individual level whether a participant that named at least one additional membership adheres more to generalized trust than other participants.

Just 10 multiple memberships exist in organizations surveyed in this study. As for overlapping memberships, 71 of the 211 memberships, or 33 % of organizations, have been named at least twice or more. However, the majority of these overlapping memberships are in large interest groups, unions, and political parties in which contact rarely takes place. That is why I have chosen not to include overlapping memberships in the analysis in the Chap. 3. There are, however, 32 overlapping memberships (15 % of the total) that are in mosques and sport clubs in which people do have contact with other participants. Therefore, for the Turkish participants I identified how many of the additional memberships are in non-Turkish organizations. It might be that for these members generalized trust is affected due to contact to those organizations. However, only 13 of these participants with additional memberships also participate in a non-Turkish organization. I will add this to the model in Chap. 3.

Doing voluntary work for another organization is proportionately not much less than multiple memberships. Twenty-five percent of the participants report doing this, but when asked to name those organizations, the proportion decreases to 21.2 % (98 participants). This is a more accurate figure since some participants categorized the organization that I had visited and reported voluntary work that they were already doing for that organization. There are in total 138 organizations named for which the participants do voluntary work beyond the organization that I visited. The maximum number of organizations named is five—one less than the maximum of multiple memberships. On average, 1.5 organizations are named ($SD = 0.9$). Across the mixed and Turkish groups, there are slight differences in how many organizations are named in which the participants additionally volunteer. Only 30 Turkish participants volunteer beyond their organizations and, on average, they name 1.3 organizations ($SD = 0.6$). There are half as many mixed participants doing voluntary work beyond their organization with an average of 1.6 organizations ($SD = 1.0$). These differences are also statistically significant. I will control for volunteering activity beyond the group in explaining trust.

Only seven organizations have been included in this study among the organizations in which participants are doing additional voluntary work. In addition, overlapping ties in this voluntary work network is rather sparse. Just 15 organizations out of the 138 were named at least twice or more. Again, for the Turkish participants I identified which organizations might bring them into contact with ethnically diverse participants. Only 17 participants out of the 31 who are part of this multiple volunteering network are exposed to bridging opportunities outside the organization I included in this study. In the following chapter I will control for this multiple volunteering in non-Turkish organizations.

2.5 Summary

All data collection attempts were directed at carefully selecting diverse and Turkish organizations for this study in order to test the role of interethnic contact in voluntary organizations. In addition, I made use of the mission statement of organizations to make typologies of the organizations and to let individual socio-demographic characteristics of participants vary, too. Finally, I directed efforts at choosing organizations in different geographical locations in order to control for district and policy effects in Amsterdam. The size of the organization was, nevertheless, not available to me prior to data collection. Turkish and mixed organizations do not vary along this dimension and hence this variable is omitted from the multilevel analyses in the following chapter.

Both mixed and Turkish organizations offer a set of diverse activities to their participants and members. Most importantly, while mixed organizations *de facto* or on ideological grounds offer durable contact among their participants, Turkish organizations are only occasionally successful at promoting interethnic contact. This is likely because the majority of their participants are first-generation Turkish minorities whose Dutch language skills do not always allow them to communicate with people from other backgrounds. Secondly, however, not all interethnic contact translates into close ties within mixed organizations. Participants of mixed organizations report less often that they discuss important personal matters with people in their organizations. They also report less often that they would lend money to people in their organization if someone had an emergency. However, across the organizations, the sizes of these correlations are not that great. In the following chapter I thus control for the existence of close ties in mixed organizations in explaining different levels of generalized trust.

When it comes to collaborative efforts beyond the organization, Turkish and mixed organizations do not differ much in the diversity of their network partners. Both types were equally engaging in bridging and bonding ethnic ties. However, Turkish organizations were more often part of a connected component rather than mixed organizations when organizing events. This reflects the policy in Amsterdam in which ethno-national organizations are pushed to work together with ethnically dissimilar organizations. For the board members and volunteers of these Turkish organizations that bridge ethnic ties, I will control for whether they also show higher levels of generalized trust. Finally, multiple memberships and volunteering networks were discussed. Overlapping ties or bridging as a result of this is rather sparse, which questions previous surveys that only look at bridging organizational types. Even in a geographically close set (for example, neighborhoods in Amsterdam), overlapping ties do not occur that often. However, as individual participants engage in multiple membership and voluntary work outside their organizations, I will control for these effects in explaining generalized trust.

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