Advanced bridge building

Migrant organizations as bonding or bridging social capital in the

participatory society of Nijmegen

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Acknowledgements

Summary

Due to the enduring economic crisis of the past five years, The Netherlands are in a transition from a welfare society to a participatory society. This concept plays a major role in policies today and it was central in the King's speech on 17 September 2013. In The Netherlands, the King's speech is read annually by King Willem Alexander on the third Tuesday of September. In this speech, the plans of the government for the coming year are announced. In the speech of 2013, the King stated that the participatory society is necessary in order to reduce the financial deficit of the government, and therefore, people have to rely more on each other (social bridges) and have to take more responsibility, in particular at the level of the municipality. This transition to a participatory society therefore also takes place in the municipality of Nijmegen. This municipality argues that the participation of all the citizens in a district is desirable. However, it found it hard to reach their immigrant residents in the district. There does not seem to be a clear image of the existing migrant networks that may or may not have a physical location in the district.

This leads to a hot topic in the Dutch policies today, namely immigration and integration. While much has been written and said about national issues related to immigration, for example major events like 9/11, the murders of Theo van Gogh and Pim Fortuyn and the speeches given by the Dutch right politician Geert Wilders which minorities often found offensive, local issues of immigration are less well analyzed in the literature, especially when focusing on districts. However, immigration and integration policies are increasingly locally focused, because it is here where integration happens. For integration policies, it is argued in the literature that migrant organizations can be seen as a mechanism of value, because they can help with the implementation of concrete projects on a local level (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008, 342-343). In line with this ascribed integration-function of migrant organizations, Poppelaars and Scholten (2008, 350) argue that "migrant organizations can thus function as a bridge to different communities in the cities." This is an important aspect for the participatory society, so it can be questioned what role there is for migrant organizations in this transition to this participatory society, especially at the district level.

Therefore, the aim of this research is to contribute to integration and migration studies focused on a local level by researching how the societal and political participation of migrant organizations can be improved on a district level. This research has both scientific and societal relevance. The scientific relevance stems from the lack of insights in the literature about immigration and integration processes at the district level and especially what the role for migrant organizations could be at this level. Furthermore, the involvement of migrant organizations in understanding and developing national and local policies is crucial, because the basis of these policies is often social

cohesion and migrants are frequently seen as a problem in these policies. However, the basis of this research is to see how migrant organizations contribute to social cohesion. This research is societal relevant because, for the participatory society in The Netherlands, the participation of all citizens is needed, and therefore also the participation of immigrants and the organizations in which they may be organized. This will be relevant because a bottom-up society in a good relation to the municipality is desired.

The main question analyzed in this research therefore is: *In what way does social capital (in the form of migrant organizations) have an influence on integration/participation processes in the municipality of Nijmegen, especially when focusing on a district level?*

In order to give an answer to this research question, a qualitative research has been conducted at the municipality of Nijmegen where the problem was raised that the district managers were not familiar with the immigrant networks in their districts. Therefore, a focus has been placed on a district-level, which corresponds to the focus on districts in the Dutch and municipal policies. Two districts were chosen, Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen Oud-West, because most of the migrant organizations known at the time this research started had a location for their organization or their activities in these two districts. No additional districts were selected due to time constraints allotted for this research.

Furthermore, this research has been conducted on the basis of two qualitative methods, namely semi-structured interviews and participant observation. This corresponds to the nature of the research questions, which question the position and responsibilities of both the migrant organizations and the municipality. Interviews were conducted from June 2013 until February 2014. In total, sixteen migrant organizations have been interviewed. Initially, these were selected on the basis of their location in the district and on the basis of the ethnicity they represent in order to get the most diverse research population as possible. Moreover, fifteen professionals were interviewed, who worked for the municipality, in the different districts or people working with migrant organizations. These professionals were chosen in order to research different people with different relationships and points of view with regard to migrant organizations.

These interviews and participant observations resulted in data about the perspective of both the migrant organizations as well as the municipality of Nijmegen. These perspectives were needed to see what role the migrant organizations may play for the participatory society of the municipality and what the municipality can do to promote the participation of these groups in the district. The perspective of the municipality has been broadened by analyzing local as well as national policies regarding integration, diversity and migrant organizations. I argue that the way in which migrant organizations are perceived in the Dutch society developed mainly due to the manner in which migrant organizations are perceived in policies of the government and the municipality. The changes

in the national integration policy since the 1950s reflect this: from migrant organizations being useful for maintaining the culture and language of the people who came here in the 1950s-1970s, to migrant organizations being less useful because there was a strong focus on the individual migrant and self-responsibility in the 1990s-2000s. However, it can be argued that migrant organizations may now be perceived theoretically as useful again, because the participatory society needs a strong civil society, which also consists of migrant organizations.

The participatory society also has a central role in local policies of Nijmegen, especially in the New Social Support Act. In this policy there is a strong focus on the protection of vulnerable groups, self-direction, together reliance (instead of self-reliance), an inclusive society and prevention before problems escalate. Additionally, there is a strong focus on districts in the New Social Support Act, because it is argued in this Act that districts form a manageable scale for cooperation and that it is possible to ensure an integral approach that reflects the specific characteristics of an area. This can also be seen in the district policies of Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen West. However, it can be questioned what role there is for migrant organizations at the district level and if these organizations are focused on the district.

In this thesis, an overview is provided in chapter five of both the migrant organizations in Nijmegen as well as the migrant organizations which are present in the two districts that were researched, namely Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen Oud-West. To understand the perspective of the migrant organizations, three organizations, each different in size, members, goals and activities, were described in detail. Furthermore, the primary goals and activities have been analyzed for all the interviewed migrant organizations, by categorizing them in the categories: bonding, empowering, or bridging goals/activities. It can be seen that migrant organizations are very different in character. Overall, it can be concluded that, although migrant organizations indicate that they do have bridging goals, their activities tend to have a more bonding character. Furthermore, I argue that bonding, empowering and bridging are fluid categories, because, for example, while some goals or activities may seem to have a bonding character, such as supporting each other, this may also lead to the empowerment of people. Additionally, in the literature there is mainly a distinction made between only bonding and bridging social capital, but in this thesis it is argued that a third category has to be added, namely empowering. Activities or goals such as information meetings or emancipation respectively, cannot be categorized as bonding or bridging, they rather tend to have an empowering character.

To make both the perspective of the municipality and the migrant organizations more clear, two cases have been elaborated on to give the problem statement a context. These cases are the district-manager and the *Adviescommissie Allochtonen* (Advisory Committee for Immigrants, ACA), because they both form a link between different actors. The district manager is a link between the

district and the municipality and the ACA is the link between the migrant community of Nijmegen and the municipality. However, a problem is found in that the district-managers do not seem to have contacts with the migrant organizations in 'their' district and it can be questioned what role the ACA has for migrant organizations. Subsequently, both cases were analyzed from both the perspective of the migrant organizations as well as from the perspective of the municipality. It seemed that there are little to no contacts between the district manager and the migrant organizations, which means that, if more collaboration of migrant organizations is desired on a district level, these contacts should be established. Migrant organizations seem to be focused more on the city level, although they did not indicate to have contacts with the ACA.

By providing both the perspectives of the migrant organizations and the perspective of the municipality, a comparison between them can be made, which is done in chapter seven. This comparison gives answer to the question if more collaboration between the migrant organizations and the municipality may be possible. I argue here that both parties tend to have the same goals such as empowerment, integration and participation, which would suggest that more collaboration is possible. Furthermore, it can be argued that their definitions of the term 'participation' are similar to each other, also indicating collaboration. A major difference, however, is that the municipality is focused on the districts, while most of the migrant organizations have a focus on the city level. Nevertheless, I argue that the focus of migrant organizations may change over time and that having the same goals seems to be more important than focusing on the same level.

In conclusion it can be argued that there should be more cooperation between the municipality and the migrant organizations, because they have partially the same goals. This cooperation can be reached by first making clear what organizations are present and active in the municipality. Furthermore, a meeting should be organized in the districts with all the organizations that have a location here. At this meeting, expectations can be exchanged. All migrant organizations researched do have the potential to influence participation and integration processes on a local level because their goals range from supporting each other, to integration which all contribute to a participatory society.

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List of acronyms

ACA – Adviescommissie Allochtonen

CBS – Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek

DHD - Demokratik Halk Dernegi, Democratische Volksvereniging

GAAPA - Gruppo Antiliano Arubano Positivo et Activo

NIM - Nijmeegs Instituut voor Maatschappelijk werk

SMON – Stichting Marokkaanse Ouderen Nijmegen

STON – Stichting Turkse Ouderen Nijmegen

SWON - Stichting Welzijnswerk Ouderen Nijmegen

TCC – Turks Cultureel Centrum

VAN – Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland

VERCAZON - Verenigde Caribische Zelforganisaties Nijmegen

WMO – Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning

WRR – Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid

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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In May 2011, Nijmegen started to build a new bridge over the Waal, called *De Oversteek*. During the last few months of 2013, Nijmegen was captivated by the construction of this new bridge and the bridge has been finished and festively opened on November 23th 2013.The primary goals of this bridge are the improved accessibility of the city and a better distribution of traffic in the city. However, worthwhile this particular effort, Nijmegen is also in need of other kinds of bridges, namely social bridges. These bridges have to be built or reinforced between the municipality, organizations and city dwellers.

These social bridges relate to a new and trending concept in the Dutch society of today, called *participatiesamenleving* (participatory society). Last year (2013), in the annual elections for the word of the year (an initiative of the Dutch dictionary *Van Dale*), the term *participatiesamenleving* even won in the category 'politics'. It is defined by *Van Dale* as: "a society in which a citizen does not depend or only depends on the government for its welfare, but is stimulated to take responsibility for this himself." This concept also played a major role in the speech of King Willem Alexander on 17 September 2013[1], where the term was explained in more detail. In this speech, the King stated that with the enduring economic crisis in The Netherlands during the past five years, unemployment rates and bankruptcies are rising while houses are worth less and purchasing power lags behind. In this speech, the transition from a welfare-state to a participatory society was central, in order to reduce this governmental deficit. Because of this deficit of the government, people have to rely more on each other (social bridges) and have to take more responsibility. Additionally, it has been stated by King Willem Alexander that "when people themselves shape their future, they do not only add value to their own lives, but also to society as a whole" (King's Speech 2013, 1).

The municipality of Nijmegen has followed suit in this development, developing the explicit goal to mobilize the existing power in the districts and to achieve more mutual cooperation among residents and to create a higher level of cohesion and thereby sense of willingness to engage in joint activities in the local district. In other words: to build social bridges and a participatory society. Under

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[1] In The Netherlands the King's speech is annually read by King Willem Alexander on *Prinsjesdag*, the third Tuesday of September. In this speech, the plans of the government for the coming year are announced. This speech is given in the *Ridderzaal* for the members of the First and Second Chamber (which forms the parliament) (Rijksoverheid, http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/koninklijk-huis/positie-en-rol-taatshoofd/troonrede, accessed on 14-08-2014).

the slogan of 'Finding and Binding'[2] the aim is that residents, institutions and entrepreneurs readily find each other at the district level to stimulate and facilitate initiatives. This has to be done in order to increase the resolving power of the district community. Today, a current picture of what is happening in the district is desired, in order to be able to connect this to the municipal policy. According to the municipality of Nijmegen, the participation of all the citizens in a district is desirable, but the municipality has found it hard to reach their immigrant residents in the districts. There is also no clear image about the existing immigrant networks, which may or may not have a physical location in the district.

However, collaboration and good contacts with the immigrant networks seems to be desirable. Immigrant networks, immigration and integration also do not seem to disappear from the political agenda and still is a hot topic in the Netherlands. For example, after the local elections on 19 March 2014, the leader of the far-right *Partij Voor de Vrijheid* (Party for Freedom), Geert Wilders, asked the supporters of his party if they wanted more or fewer Moroccans in their city and country. In turn, his supporters bawled "fewer, fewer, fewer!" to which Wilders answered: "Okay, then we will arrange that" (Boon 2014). Whilst the focus was on Moroccans, other immigrants were hereby also forced to reflect on their position in Dutch society. However, should these persons (being Moroccan, Turkish or Surinam) not be referred to as Dutch? (Umar 2014). Other often heard negative notions with reference to immigration are that the Netherlands is getting too crowded, that immigrants are not adapting to Dutch society and that immigrants are stealing 'our jobs' (Scheffer 2010). However, following on to the statement of Wilders about the Moroccans in the Netherlands, a storm of criticism ensued and 5000 people filed a report against Wilders, on the basis of discriminatory statements. This shows that there are people who support the politician Wilders in his incitement to hatred against Moroccans and thereby other immigrants, but there are also people who are against this incitement of hatred and they encourage a multicultural society.

Much has been written and said about national issues related to immigration, for example because of major events like 9/11, the murders of Theo van Gogh and Pim Fortuyn and the offensive speeches of right-wing politician Geert Wilders. However, in this thesis I will focus on immigration at a local level, because international migration as well as internal migration is shaped on a local level. The Dutch policies as well seem to focus on a local level. Because of the decentralization trend that took off in the 1990s, Dutch municipalities have become increasingly responsible for the development and implementation of different policy topics, such as education and welfare (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008, 342). The Dutch immigration and integration policies were also increasingly locally shaped, which means that every city and municipality should take care of the

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[2] Loosely translated from Dutch: ' Vinden en Verbinden'

integration of their own inhabitants. Migrants themselves also seem to shape their lives on a local basis, because it is important to feel safe in a district and to have a good job (Integratienota 2011, 11).

Because immigration and integration policies are increasingly locally focused, migrant organizations can be seen as a mechanism of value for immigrant integration policy, because they can help with the implementation of concrete projects on a local level. In the design of these projects governments seem to play an active role. These projects are used to implement broad policy programs that address backlogs in employment, language, housing, as well as criminality rates and high educational dropout among certain groups in the Dutch society (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008, 342-343, 349). In this sense, migrant organizations may play an important role in processes of implementing integration policy. As Schrover and Vermeulen (2005, 823)) argue in their article about migrant organizations, "immigrants set up organizations to create, express and maintain a collective identity." By studying these organizations, valuable information can be gathered about the process of settlement of immigrants. The question can be raised if these organizations are also useful for the districts of Nijmegen and in what way they might be used for policy implementation in Nijmegen.

In line with the ascribed integration-function of migrant organizations, Poppelaars and Scholten (2008, 350) argue that "migrant organizations can thus function as a bridge to different communities in the cities". This bridging function is an important element of social capital. Bridging social capital brings people together who are not like one another (Putnam and Goss 2002, 11) and this may be an important function of migrant organizations. Migrant organizations themselves can be an important form of social capital, because social capital is defined as the "social networks and the norms of reciprocity associated with them" (Putnam and Goss 2002, 3). These social networks, inside and outside of their social groups, can be used to gain a position in society (CBS, Ministerie van Justitie and WODC 2007, 13) and in this sense it seems to correlate strongly to participation in society.

However, the question should be raised here if the participation of migrant organizations is increasingly shaped on a city-level or a district level. It may also be the case that these migrant organizations are mainly focused on their country of origin or that they focus on a national level. For example, Henk Jan van Daal (2002, 9) argues that organizations of immigrant people in the Netherlands are often focused on living and surviving within the Dutch society, and with this they are focused on their own group as well as on the Dutch society. Representing the interests of their own group is usually the main objective of these organizations. According to Scheffer (2010, 88), a critic of multiculturalism, this strong focus on the own group hampers the socio-economic integration. A city can bear small isolated communities, but not when half of the urban population decides to live isolated from the broader environment. This focus on the own group represents the bonding

function, which is also an important element of social capital. However, bonding social capital may not only have the negative function of isolation but also the positive function to form a bridge to the more powerful bridging social capital.

While migrant organizations might thus have a bonding as well as a bridging function, it will be interesting to see what the main function of the migrant organizations in Nijmegen is, and if these functions apply to these organizations. Furthermore, because of the recent discussions in the Netherlands about the participatory society and immigration, it will also be interesting to see what the role for migrant organizations is in these two issues. In this thesis, the focus will therefore be on migrant organizations in two districts in Nijmegen, namely Zuid and Oud-West, to see if migrant organizations are focused on the district level (because the participatory society seems to be focused on this level). This has been done by researching the main objectives and activities of migrant organizations, their perception about the concept 'participation' and their relation to the municipality and the district.

1.2 Research relevance

1.2.1 Scientific Relevance

The scientific relevance can be found in the lack of insights in the literature about migrant organizations in the Netherlands and the possible role they may have on the local- or district level. There is quite some literature about migrant organizations in general and migrant organizations with reference to the receiving country or home-country (Lindo (2001), Penninx and Shrover (2001), Schrover and Vermeulen (2005), Rijkschroeff and Duyvendak (2004)), or even some literature on migrant organizations and cities (Fauser 2012). However, literature of migrant organizations and their influence on the local district level seems to be scarce or even does not seem to exist.

Furthermore, this study also aims to make a contribution to the participation and integration literature, by exploring the relevance of selective forms of integration as played out through participation at the municipal level and how the viewpoint of the concept of participation and integration may differ between the municipality and the migrants themselves.

The conceptual value of this research can be found in how crucial the involvement of migrant organizations is in understanding and developing certain policies within municipalities. For these policies it is important to know how people organize their daily lives. This can be based on a district level, but also on a larger level such as a national or even a transnational level. This is also argued by Nina Glick Schiller (2012, 29) who states that migration scholars have been hindered by their ethnic lens (to rely on ethnic boundaries in order to define the unit of analysis) and methodological nationalism ("approaches the study of social and historical processes as if they were contained within

the borders of individual nation-states"). Because of this hindrance, the nation-state is seen as a single homogenous culture and the migrant population is also defined as a homogenous community of culture and identity. This leads to the ignorance of differences between regions of origin, languages, religions, political orientations, gender and sexual orientation (Glick Schiller 2012, 29). This may be one of the shortcomings in migration studies and may also be a shortcoming in policies. The starting point of these policies is often social cohesion and migrants are, as has also been indicated by Paul Scheffer (2010) in the above section, often seen as a problem in these policies. This research, however, has the starting point of how migrants and especially their organizations, contribute to social cohesion.

Van Heelsum (2002, 190) furthermore states that, "the interconnectedness of a (migrant) community is shown by the network of [migrant] organizations." Therefore, it would be scientifically relevant to study migrant organizations and their networks, because something can be said about the interconnectedness of the whole migrant community. Schrover and Vermeulen (2005, 823) also emphasize the relevance of studying immigrant organizations by stating that these organizations are important for the study of integration and participation into the society of the receiving country. Furthermore, they state that "studying immigrant organizations enables us to make better sense of the complex and dynamic developments that take place within immigrant communities" (Schrover and Vermeulen 2005, 823).

While this research is mainly focused on a political level, the line between scientific relevance and societal relevance may become a bit blurred, because policy has to deal with academic or scientific research, while policy has a big influence on society.

1.2.2 Societal relevance

The societal relevance of this research partly came to the fore in the introduction, where the financial deficit of the government is explained as being as result of the economic crisis. To reduce this deficit, there is a transition taking place from a welfare state to a 'participatory society', a society in which people have to rely more on each other and take self-responsibility. For this participatory society, the participation of all citizens is needed, as well as the participation from immigrants and the organizations in which they may be organized. But how emancipated and active is this society already? It will be relevant to see in what way migrants and their organizations participate and to see what their perception is of this concept. This will be relevant because a bottom-up society in a good relationship to the municipality is desired.

The societal relevance is also found in the integration and immigration policies in Dutch society and how immigrants are perceived. According to the Integration note (2011, 2-4) there are still high crime rates, school dropout rates and unemployment rates among immigrants, which has a

major impact on society. More insights in migrants and their organizations are needed for reducing these backlogs some migrant groups may have.

Furthermore, critics like Scheffer (2010) have stated that the multicultural society has failed and that different groups live alongside each other, which may be problematic for social cohesion in a society. This has to do with the different representations of migrant organizations and their participation in the Dutch society. Some right-wing political parties see migrant organizations as a threat for social cohesion because these groups are focused on their own group instead of the receiving country (Roggeband 2010, 960), while other authors think of migrant organizations as useful instruments for local governments (for implementing concrete projects) and they regard migrant organizations as having a possible bridging function between different communities in the city (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008, 349-350). In this research it will be relevant to explore how the migrant organizations are represented in the districts Zuid and Oud-West in Nijmegen. Are they focused on their own ethnic group or do they have a bridging function between different communities?

It is stated in the *Integratienota* (2011, 1) that further steps are needed for more stability and continuity in the Dutch society. Additionally, cities have a more heterogeneous population nowadays, which has led to struggles as to how to deal with this. On a district level, this research would be relevant because it has been argued that participation and social capital are ingredients for a dense civil society, which in turn may be good for the municipality of Nijmegen. An active civil society namely is a necessary condition for a modern liberal democracy (Fukuyama 2001, 11). Furthermore, this research would be relevant for the district itself because "in high-social-capital areas public spaces are cleaner, people are friendlier, and the streets are safer" (Putnam 2000, 307). This means that the districts Zuid and Oud-West would benefit if the migrant organizations that are present in these districts would participate, which may contribute to social capital.

For these given reasons it will be of societal relevance to gain more insight in migrant communities and this can be gained through studying migrant organizations. It will thus be relevant to know how migrant organizations participate in society and the district and maybe reduce these struggles. Furthermore, by gaining more insight in the migrant organizations present in districts, the municipality of Nijmegen can develop more concrete and adequate policies with reference to these organizations. These organizations might be used for implementing and supporting participation and integration initiatives in these districts, which in turn may enhance the livability in these districts.

1.3 Research objective and questions

The objective of this research is: To contribute to integration and migration studies focused on a local level by researching how the societal and political participation of migrant organizations can be improved on a district level. This will be done by providing an analysis on the existing literature about policies and local integration processes and an empirical research among the migrant organizations in the districts Zuid and Oud-West in the municipality of Nijmegen and their participating activities.

In light of this introduction, research relevance and research objective, the research question for this research is:

In what way does social capital (in the form of migrant organizations) have an influence on integration/participation processes in the municipality of Nijmegen, especially when focusing on a district level?

The following sub-questions will help in answering my research question. Additionally, the necessity of each sub-question can be found in an explanation below each question.

- In what way do local and national integration policies differ over time and from each other with regard to migrant organizations?

This question will elaborate on the existing policies and the frictions that may exist between local and national policies. The exploring of policies is relevant in this research because it says something about what the nation-state as well as the municipality expects from migrants. Furthermore, it is important to see what role migrant organizations are ascribed in both national as well as local policy. Expectations and the ascribed roles from the nation-state and the municipality can affect the way migrants organize themselves in migrant organizations and how migrant organizations organize themselves.

- In what way are migrant organizations embedded in the districts Zuid and Oud-West in the municipality of Nijmegen?

This question is aimed at exploring what the role of migrant organizations in these districts is and how they are perceived in the districts. This is of particular importance to the existing district networks; how do these organizations relate to these networks and/or do they want to be a part of this district network? Furthermore, the question can be raised if these organizations are familiar with district facilities like district managers, district councils, district magazines and district websites.

- What contribution do migrant organizations in the districts Zuid and Oud-West make to the livability of these districts?

This question will elaborate on the livability and social cohesion in these districts and how these organizations play a role in enhancing this livability and social cohesion. This question will be useful to explore the activities of these migrant organizations and how these activities contribute to and have a focus on the livability and social cohesion in the district. Furthermore, it will explore the objectives of these organizations and how much these objectives are focused on a district level.

- How is the concept of participation given shape by the migrant organizations and how does this differ from the perspective of the municipality of Nijmegen?

With this question I would like to gain insight in the concept of participation and how this concept is shaped by migrant organizations and the municipality of Nijmegen, and how these perceptions differ from each other. Because participation is such an important and trending topic nowadays, it will be important to know how the municipality and the migrant organizations view participation and what they feel it actually means. When these perceptions differ, misconception can develop. Additionally, the way in which participation is viewed by the municipality and practiced by the migrant organizations may differ, and these two should be in line with each other. More insight is needed to conclude if the perception, expectations and practicalities differ.

- What role can migrant organizations in the districts Zuid and Oud-West play in local integration and participation policies?

This question aims to explore (after having explored what the role of migrant organizations in local and national policies nowadays is and after having explored the role of migrant organizations in the districts Zuid and Oud-West) what role would be desired for these organizations by the municipality of Nijmegen and what role these organizations desire to have themselves. This will be of importance in order to see what may be expected from these organizations and to see if there are improvements to be made. Furthermore, it can be questioned how the possible influence of migrant organizations on integration and participation processes can be made useful with regard to policies.

By first analyzing and elaborating on the national and local policies with regard to migration, integration and migrant organizations, it can be seen what is expected of these organizations by the government and municipalities. This may have an influence on the way the goals and activities of the organizations are getting shaped by the migrant organizations. If the municipality expects the organizations to focus on the districts, will the organizations then focus on the districts? Furthermore, it has become clear from the introduction that the government has the 'participatory' society as one of her main goals. The concept of participation is central in this, but is this concept by both parties understood as the same thing? While migrant organizations may be focused on the

districts or have activities that are focused on participation, it is important to understand whether this meets the expectations of the government and the municipalities. Additionally, if not, what role may there be for migrant organizations in the transition to the participatory society?

1.4 Thesis Outline

In this first chapter, the problem statement that led to this research has been set out, following the relevance, research objectives and research questions. In the next chapter, the theoretical framework on which this research is established will be provided. In this second chapter, the policies with regard to immigration and integration will be discussed to see how migrant organizations have been perceived in the last decades. Additionally, the aims of these policies: social cohesion, civil society and social capital will be elaborated on. Furthermore, migrant organizations will be operationalized and the role they are ascribed in the literature. In the third chapter, the methodology of this research will be described. Following the methodology, the fourth chapter will deal with two case studies to set out the context of the problem stated in chapter 1. These cases are the district-manager and the Advisory Committee for Immigrants (ACA). The fifth and sixth chapter will respectively deal with the perspective of migrant organizations and the perspective of the municipality of Nijmegen. With respect to migrant organizations, an overview of the organizations in Nijmegen will be given and their primary goals and activities will be analyzed. With respect to the municipality of Nijmegen, the most important policies regarding diversity will be explained, along with the policy interventions. Chapter seven contains a synthesis about chapter five and six, and in this chapter the perspectives of both the migrant organizations and the municipality will be compared, in order to see if there is a possible collaboration between the two parties. The conclusions and main findings will be given in chapter eight. In this chapter, the reflections of this research and the recommendations for future research will also be offered. After this concluding chapter, a list of references and the appendix can be found.

2. From migration policies to migrant organizations

2.1 Introduction

After having given the research objective and questions of this thesis, this chapter will provide an overview of the theoretical context in which this research is placed. Furthermore, the aim is to make a beginning in answering the research questions. Therefore, in the first section of this chapter, the Dutch national policies over the last few decades with regard to integration and immigration will be elaborated on, to see how migrant organizations are perceived in these policies. After these national policies, important aspects that came forward in these policies, such as social cohesion, civil society and social capital will be elaborated on, because migrant organizations can be seen as a form of social capital and a part of social cohesion and civil society. Following this, an overview will be given about the existing literature about migrant organizations, with regard to the terminology, their goals and their paradoxical relationship with the term 'integration'. In the last section, a conceptual model will be provided to make the relations between the theoretical concepts more visually clear.

2.2 Dutch policy with regard to integration

When analyzing the participation of Dutch migrant organizations, it is important to first take a look at policies with regard to integration in the Netherlands to see what level of participation is desired. This policy says something about the possibilities offered by the Dutch government and what requirements are placed on integration and participation. Migrant organizations are more often seen as an instrument of governments to implement their integration policy (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008, 349). Therefore it will be relevant to analyze this integration policy with keeping migrant organizations in mind, to analyze if they are seen as an instrument of implementation or as an obstacle for integration. I will give a short overview of how the integration and participation policies of the Netherlands have developed over the past few decades. This overview will be given because it is relevant to see if migrant organizations used to have different functions in older policies in comparison to their function nowadays. The past policies may also have had an influence on how migrant organizations are perceived in today's policy about integration and migrant organizations, so today's policy will also be analyzed.

The last decades, there have been numerous changes in the integration and immigration policies in the Netherlands. For the term integration policy, I will use the same definition as

Duyvendak, Pels and Rijkschroeff (2005, 5) who state that it are "the measures taken over the years by the government vis à vis (categories of) migrants and minorities residing in the Netherlands." However, the term integration policy came into being in the 1990s and it referred to the participation of individuals in institutions and mainstream society (Duyvendak, Pels and Rijkschroeff 2005, 5).

In this section, an overview of the policies regarding integration and participation will be given. In order to understand the roles migrant organizations have played in the Dutch policy, I will begin in the period 1950 till 1970, where integration was not an issue yet, this period will be followed by an analysis of the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. This section will end with the policies regarding integration and immigration of today.

2.2.1 1950s -1970s: State of denial

It is well known that after World War 2, many workers were needed in the Netherlands. In the 1950s and 1960s therefore, many migrants, especially from Italy and Spain, and later on from Turkey and Morocco (Nicolaas and Sprangers 2006, 20) came to the Netherlands in search for work. Beside these migrant workers, there also came Indian-Dutch people and Moluccans to the Netherlands, as an inheritance of the colonial past, because of the independence of Indonesia in 1949 and of the Moluccas in 1951 (Van Amersfoort and Van Niekerk 2009, 323,325,330). According to Penninx (2005, 37), the central idea in the post war period came to be that "the Netherlands is not and should not be an immigration country." Therefore, the immigrants who came in the 1950s and the 1960s were called 'guest workers' or temporary migrants. Since it was assumed that the migrants would stay relatively short, the categorical policy came into being. This policy was focused on maintaining group cohesion (Duyvendak, Pels and Rijkschroeff 2005, 5). Because of the perception of the Netherlands not being an immigration country, there were no integration policies from the 1950s till the 1970s, since migrants were perceived to return to their home country. Migrants did not have to integrate or learn the Dutch language in these years. The main goals of policies in these years were accommodation for guest workers, encouraging remigration, managing labor migration and regulating family migration. It was therefore very important that migrants maintained their own identity, because it was believed that they would return to their country of origin. In 1974 the Netherlands even started a measure called the Mother Tongue and Culture Program, which aimed to make it easy for migrants' children to return to the societies of their parents (Duyvendak, Pels and Rijkschroeff 2005, 5 and Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2007, 12-13).

It can be seen that the Netherlands were focused on immigration and return migration in this period. Migrant organizations may have been of importance in this period for maintaining the culture and language of the immigrants, so it would have been easier for immigrants to return. The focus on migrant organizations was probably not integration of their members, because the Dutch policies

were not focused on this either. Additionally, Rijkschroeff and Duyvendak (2004, 31) argue in their article about the 'controversial meaning of migrant organizations' that the development of migrant organizations had a strong ideological character in this period. Another characteristic of migrant organizations in these days is that they were strongly focused on their country of origin. From this it can also be seen that migrant organizations did not have an integration function in this period, but rather a bonding function.

However, while the Netherlands focused on the return of immigrants, only the Italians and the Spaniards were returning to their country of origin. Instead, with regard to the Turkish and Moroccan people, a phase of family reunification and the formations of families followed on the phase of their own migration (Nicolaas and Sprangers 2006, 21). The groups of Turkish and Moroccan people even began to grow in this period. Because of the economic crisis in the 1970s, the unemployment rates among migrants were rising and due to the arrival of families, political measures were needed. The 'Ethnic Minorities' report of the Scientific Council for Government Policy[3] pleaded to recognize that an amount of immigrant groups had permanently settled in the Netherlands and to start an active integration policy for ethnic minorities in society (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2007, 14).

2.2.2 1980s: Celebrating the multicultural society

In the beginning of the 1980s, the design and implementation of integration policies came to exist, caused by the 'Ethnic Minorities' report of 1979. The aim of the integration policies were stimulating equity and equality of the vulnerable groups (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2007, 12). The new groups in the Netherlands had to become a part of the Netherlands and these groups became culturally and ethnically categorized. It was of importance that minorities felt comfortable in their own communities, hoping that they would emancipate and get a socio-economic equivalent position through their own community (Ham and Van der Meer 2012, 11-12).

Therefore, in 1983 the *Minorities policy* came to exist. The main slogan of this policy was: 'integration with the preservation of their own culture'. This slogan shows the two track of the Minorities policy, which first was the combat of social deprivation, especially with reference to the housing market, labor market and education (socio-economic front). The second track was the creation of space for preserving one's own culture by developing a consultative structure and supporting migrant organizations (the socio-cultural front) (Duyvendak, Pels and Rijkschroeff 2005, 5). Ham and Van der Meer (2012, 12) additionally add to this that this slogan is a product of the

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[3] Loosely translated from Wetenschappelijk Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (WRR)

pillarization in the Netherlands these days. "Integration with preservation of the own culture" fitted in the tradition, but new was the categorization on basis of ethnicity.

Furthermore, according to Ham and Van der Meer (2012, 12) the building and supporting of migrant organizations was an important aspect of this policy. The already existing education in their own language and culture was now legitimized differently, namely community strengthening, because it was of importance that minorities felt comfortable in their own communities. In this policy in the 1980s it can thus be seen that migrant organizations were deemed to be of importance. In this period there was a stronger focus on migrant communities and in this sense there also may have been a stronger focus on migrant organizations. Furthermore, this policy was more focused on integration instead of only immigration, and migrant organizations were seen as possible organizations for helping with integration. Additionally, it seems that the main slogan in this policy, 'integration with the preservation of the own culture', although now a thirty years old, still appeals to many migrant organizations nowadays. *GAAPA*, an Antillean organization, and the *Turks Cultureel Centrum*, a Turkish organization, for example, both call this phrase as being the main purpose of their organization.

However, this Minorities policy did not work. One of the reasons for this was that the different groups were no communities (like the pillars in the Dutch society) because they were too diverse, and they became even more diverse with the growing of the second generation. Therefore, the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) came in 1989 with a new report, called 'Allochtonenbeleid' (Ham and Van der Meer 2012, 12). This came to be the reason for the new policy in the 1990s.

2.2.3 1990s: Allochtoon vs. Autochtoon

Whilst the Minorities policy of the 1980s focused especially on cultural aspects, in the 1990s the focus shifted more to socio-economic aspects. The reason for this was that most of the migrants did not speak Dutch and the unemployment rate among migrants was big. It became recognized that emancipation through their own community did not work and therefore migrants should be recognized as individuals instead of 'a part of a group'. The term minorities therefore came to be replaced by the term 'allochtoon', which was seen as a more neutral term by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) (Ham and Van der Meer 2012, 13 and Duyvendak, Pels and Rijkschroeff 2005, 5-6). The term 'allochtoon' is defined by the Central Bureau of Statistics as "a person from whom at least one parent is born abroad." Furthermore, in this definition, two distinctions are being made: 1. between persons who themselves are born abroad (first generation) or persons who are born in the Netherlands (second generation) and 2. Between Western (Europe (excluding Turkey),

North America, Oceania, Indonesia and Japan) and non-Western migrants (Asia, Africa, South America and Turkey).

In 1994, the first distinct change in policy was founded in the *Contourennota*. The main focus points in this integration policy were self-responsibility and citizenship. This means that every citizen is responsible for him or herself, must be active and has, beside rights, also duties, which made the new policy more obligatory and activating (Fermin 2009, 15 and Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2007, 17). This policy is therefore called 'citizenship policy' by Duyvendak, Pels and Rijkschroeff (2005, 6). Important in this policy, besides the rights and duties for immigrants, are the development of cultural and social capital of immigrants to advance their participation and to advance the stimulation of interethnic contact.

Because of the strong focus on the individual immigrant in this period, migrant organizations gained a less important function. The focus on immigrant groups namely disappeared in these years. However, on a local level, the subsidies for migrant organizations continued to exist in this period (Ham and Van der Meer 2012, 13). From the fact that the municipalities still provided subsidies to migrant organizations, it can be seen that they still were deemed to have an important function on a local level. However, as van Heelsum argues (2004, 31), there is no attention for the objectives of migrant organizations themselves. There are only subsidies for activities which are deemed to be useful for civic engagement. From this it can be seen that migrant organization mainly had a functional role in this period, namely as a 'helper' for civic integration.

2.2.4 2000s: The cultural gap

As stated by Bruquetas-Callejo et al. (2007, 12), in the beginning of the 21st century the dominant view came to exist that social cohesion in the Netherlands was endangered and that integration policies and processes had failed. One of the triggers for this changing view was an article written by Paul Scheffer in a Dutch newspaper on January 29. This article is called 'The Multicultural Drama[4]' and it deals with his critics on the integration policies so far. Because of these critics, Paul Scheffer argues in his article that there should come more of an assimilationist policy that would revive the Dutch norms, values and history (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2007, 19). Ham and Van der Meer (2012, 14) also argue that in this period there was a focus on the cultural gap between the immigrant and the indigenous (*allochtoon* and *autochtoon*), because there were conflicting values and no shared norms. This cultural gap is also confirmed in a letter written by the minister of foreign affairs and integration, Rita Verdonk (2003), and it is stated that this gap is not easily bridged. From this it can also be seen that there was a notion of failed policies.

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[4] Het Multiculturele Drama, article by Paul Scheffer (19-01-2000) ,
http://retro.nrc.nl/W2/Lab/Multicultureel/scheffer.html

Furthermore, in this same letter (Verdonk 2003), it is showed that among the majority of the indigenous population at that time, the image exists that ethnic minorities do not sufficiently adapt to the Dutch society. Ethnic groups react with resentment to this, especially the young people who are successfully gaining their place in society. However, because there exists a notion in this time that there is a social, cultural and economic gap between the immigrants and the indigenous residents, it is deemed necessary to make a new policy. This policy is called 'New Style' (*Integratie beleid Nieuwe Stijl)*. The own responsibility and shared citizenship are paramount in this new policy. These were also the main focus points in the *Countourennota* in the 1990s. In this new policy, there seems to be a stronger focus on cultural adaptation in order to bridge this cultural gap.

Additionally, the civic integration received a more mandatory character because of the Civic Integration Act (*Wet Inburgering*) in 2007 and with their emphasis on the Dutch norms and values, the 'Dutchman' became a super-category. The national integration policy became more focused on civic integration, which was due to the own responsibility of migrants and the decentralization of policy to a local level. Policy had to be for everyone who needed support and policy had to be more generic. Ministers of Integration policy also wanted to get rid of the term 'ethnic minorities' and they started looking for more neutral terms to address problems (Ham and Van der Meer 2012, 15).

In this period again, just as in the 1990s, there is a strong focus on the own responsibility and citizenship, and this still has an individual character. Furthermore, there is a strong focus on cultural adaptation to the Dutch norms and values. Although the position of migrant organizations in this policy period cannot be found in the literature, it seems that their role may not have been as big as in the 1980s, where the policy was focused on integration by means of their own culture and where migrant organizations had an important function. However, it is stated in the letter of Rita Verdonk (2003) that many social contacts- and relationship clubs, work, organizations and this civil society can play a big role in the rapprochement between migrants and the indigenous citizens. The government will play an initiating and encouraging role and organizations of minorities will be stimulated to participate in the debate about the place of minorities in the Dutch society.

2.2.5 Present-day: Participatory society

In the Integration Policy of 2011, more binding elements were introduced for newcomers, like naturalization ('inburgering'), testing of knowledge about the Dutch language and society and renunciation of the non-Dutch nationality by naturalization (Integratienota 2011, 1). The Dutch integration policy states that immigrants may be asked to acquire skills that are necessary to participate in the Dutch society and contribute to the development of this society. From this it can be seen that a great emphasis is put on participation in and contributing to the Dutch society. This means that migrants do not only have to master the language and have to have a job, but also should

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have respect for sharing what is called 'the core values' of the Dutch constitution, namely freedom, responsibility, equivalence, tolerance and solidarity (Integratienota 2011, 6). The integration policy has three principles; first, integration is not the responsibility of the government but of the migrant. Second, it is not the origin but the future that matters. Third, integration is realized if migrants put an effort in integrating and if they are able to integrate (Integratienota 2011, 7).

On the 29th of October 2012, the Dutch government presented a new Coalition Agreement (*Regeerakkoord*). This Agreement includes some changes with regard to the governing of immigration and integration, such as to extend the period in which a non-European Union citizen gets local voting rights from 5 years then to seven years today or tightening the requirements for naturalization[5] . In this new policy there still is an emphasis on responsibility and the contribution immigrants have to make to the development of our society. It is argued by the Dutch government that "our immigration policy is restrictive, righteous and has a focus on integration." This policy thus mainly seems to be focused on the responsibility and effort of immigrants to integrate in the Dutch society.

In 2012, a Report called '*Samenleven bindt verschillen*' (loosely translated: 'living together overcomes differences') was published as a guidance to support municipalities and societal organizations with the development and implementation of contemporary integration policy. It is stated in this Report that many municipalities are focused on inclusive policy for all citizens (Nijmegen as well, as can be seen in chapter 4). Important terms in this inclusive policy are participation and diversity. Furthermore, it is stated that the society of today is a network community in which societal organizations, governments and citizens work together as partners. This has to do with the retreating government, as was also shortly mentioned in the introduction of this thesis; the role of the government has changed in 'caring for' to 'ensure that' and municipalities will be working more demand-oriented (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties 2012, 11, 14).

While the own responsibility and citizenship are still important terms in the integration policy nowadays, the focus on integration in general seems to have disappeared. Nowadays, there is a strong focus on inclusive policy for all Dutch citizens. Furthermore, there is a strong focus on a strong civil society because of a retreating government. This may lead to opportunities for migrant organizations because they are a part of this civil society. What role is there to play for migrant organizations? Although the focus on integration has diminished, there still is a focus on diversity, so there is still room for integration issues like conflicting norms and language problems. Migrant organizations may play an important role in both integration as well as the participatory society, which makes it very relevant to research migrant organizations in this transition from a welfare state

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[5] The Coalition Agreement, in which all changes can be found: http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten-en-publicaties/rapporten/2012/10/29/regeerakkoord.html

to a participatory society. This role migrant organizations may have will be further examined in the fourth and fifth chapter. The local policies in Nijmegen with regard to integration can also be found in these chapters.

2.3 Social cohesion

The immigration and integration policy in the Netherlands seems to have social cohesion as a final goal, which means that the society "hangs together" and that all the parts somehow contribute to and fit in the society's well-being. The integration policy of the Netherlands is focused on 'fitting in a society' and on the responsibility of immigrants to contribute to the development of the Dutch society. Another goal of the integration policy seems to be to reduce the conflicts between the societal goals and groups, which also is a characteristic of a cohesive society (Kearns and Forrest 2000, 996). Furthermore, Kearns and Forrest (2000, 1000) argue that: "it is social networks and support networks of varying kinds which are the essence of social cohesion." There is a belief that a high degree of social interaction within families and communities is a characteristic of a cohesive society and this is maintained at a local level, through socialization processes within the district, or even across the city. Fukuyama (2001, 8) however argues that not all social networks will lead to more social cohesion, for example the mafia and the Ku Klux Klan. They do have social capital but they produce negative externalities for the society at large. This has to do with the level of social cohesion and the concept of *inward vs. outward looking* social capital, on which I will return later in the section about social capital. Social organizations or networks should thus not by definition be seen as contributing to social cohesion. In this research, I will however focus on the social interaction on a local district level.

Another dimension of social cohesion which has proven to be important is common values and a civic culture. A healthy civic culture is a culture in which important political values are debated through popular culture and in a democratic manner and engagement in collective and public affairs are not overshadowed by a culture of privatism (Kearns and Forrest 2000, 997-998). The dimension of common values also has come to the fore in the integration policy, where it has been stated that immigrants also have to respect and share the core values of the Dutch constitutional, which are, as stated before, freedom, responsibility, equivalence, tolerance and solidarity. Social programs which are built around cohesion and citizenship "tend to promote the recognition of one's responsibility to participate in society, learning the skills to do so and to be able to resolve conflict in a democratic manner, and acknowledging the importance of maintaining tolerance and social harmony" (Kearns and Forrest 2000, 997). This responsibility and learning the skills is also emphasized in the Integration Note (2011).

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2.4 Civil society

2.4.1 Defining the concept

Besides social cohesion, another objective of integration and participation policies seems to be an active civil society, especially with the retreating government. In this section I will explore why civil society is such a necessary concept. Furthermore, I will explain an important part of civil society, namely social capital. But first: what exactly is 'civil society'?

The concept of civil society is not easy to define. In this research I will make use of the definition by Newton (2001, 208), who states that the concept of civil society refers to "a social context in which there is a broad range, great diversity, and high density of social networks and formal and informal social organizations. It is a contextual property of societies in which individuals live, not a characteristic which individuals carry around with them." According to Fukuyama (2001, 11), civil society protects individuals from the state's power and civil society balances the power of the state. Potter et al. (2008, 316) also view civil society as a protector of individuals, namely as an agent of change, who cures economic and social ills left by failures in the marketplace or the government. In this sense, besides the marketplace and the government, civil society seems to form a "third sector in which citizens come together to advance their common interests (excluding business)" (Potter et al. 2008, 317). Edwards (2001, in Potter et al. 2008, 316) also argues that civil society is an arena, not a thing. This arena, however, contains conflicting and difficult agenda's and interests and it includes formal as well as informal organizations and associations. In an article of Foley and Edwards (1996, 38), civil society can be understood as the realm of voluntary private association, from interest groups to neighborhood committees. In other words, a dense civil society is produced by an abundant stock of social capital (Fukuyama 2001, 11) and a high density of social organizations and social networks is important. This social capital and various organizations and associations I will focus on in this research and civil society shows their importance.

Civil society has come to be seen as an essential ingredient for the health of established democracies and democratization (Edwards and Foley 1996, 38). Also according to Newton (2001), both a developed civil society and social capital will help to make a good government possible. Good government, in turn, "helps to sustain social capital and the conditions of civil society" (Newton 2001, 211).

2.4.2 Social capital

As has been mentioned before, this research will be focused on networks and organizations of immigrants and not on immigrant individuals. In this thesis, social capital can be seen as an important aspect of civil society, because migrant organizations are perceived as being a form of social capital

and also as a part of the Dutch civil society. Furthermore, as has been stated in the previous section, a high degree of social interaction within communities is a characteristic of a cohesive society and abundant social capital will lead to a dense civil society. Therefore I would like to focus in this section on the concept of social capital and I will use the theory of Putnam.

Social capital is, like also stated in the introduction, "the social networks and the norms of reciprocity associated with them" (Putnam and Goss 2002, 3). Hanifan first coined the term 'social capital' in 1916 to urge the significance of renewed community involvement to sustain development and democracy (Putnam and Goss 2002, 4). Hanifan refers to social capital as "that in life which tends to make these tangible sub-stances count for most in the daily lives of a people, namely, good-will, fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among a group of individuals and families who make up a social unit" (Hanifan 1916, 130). Furthermore, Hanifan states that social capital will be accumulated if an individual may come in contact with his neighbor and they in turn with other neighbors. This may then lead to the satisfaction of social needs and it "may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community" (Hanifan 1916, 30). From this last sentence it can be concluded that social capital is very important for the well-being of a society, because the community as well as the individual benefits from social capital. The community will benefit from the cooperation of all its parts, and the individual will benefit by finding advantages of the help, fellowship and sympathy of his neighbors in his associations (Putnam and Goss 2002, 4). According to Fukuyama (2001, 11), social capital has another important role, because an abundant stock of social capital produces a dense civil society, which in turn is a necessary condition for modern liberal democracy. This important role of social capital is which I will focus on in this research. Since the community as a whole benefits from cooperation of all its parts, it makes sense to see whether or not migrant organizations also fulfill this function of benefitting the community by participating in it.

Furthermore, social capital can be seen through four different lenses, as is argued by Putnam and Goss (2002, 9-11), which I will explain here. The first lens is *formal versus informal social capital*, which refers to labor unions, who are, for example, formally organized and people who gather at the same club, who are informally organized. The second lens is *thick versus thin social capital*. This refers to the fact that some forms of social capital are multi-stranded and closely interwoven, like family, while other forms of social capital are very thin and almost invisible, like nodding to a person you see every day in the elevator. The third lens is *inward looking versus outward looking social capital*. Inward social capital tends to promote the social, political or material interests of the own members. Those groups are commonly organized among class, ethnicity and gender and they exist to strengthen and preserve the bonds of circumstances and birth. Outward looking capital is more focused on the interests outside of their group, like the Red Cross. The last lens is *bridging versus*

bonding social capital, where bonding social capital brings together people who are in important respects like one another and where bridging social capital brings people together who are not like one another. Poppelaars and Scholten (2008, 30) argue that this bridging mechanism becomes particularly important during events that can disturb public order or times of crisis. In the sense of these different lenses of social capital, it will be interesting to analyze in this research which lenses and characteristics of social capital are applicable to migrant organizations in Nijmegen.

2.5 Migrant organizations

As has been argued in the previous section about social cohesion, it is support networks and social networks of varying kinds which are the essence of social cohesion. Furthermore, they are a form of social capital and they are part of a civil society. For these reasons, migrant networks and organizations are interesting in this case. This section will first focus on the terminology of migrant organizations. After this I will elaborate on the main objectives in general of these migrant organizations and how these objectives relate to concepts like integration and participation. In conclusion, it will be examined if the migrant organizations are seen as a 'partner' or 'opponent' of the government.

2.5.1 Terminology: From self-organization to transnational community organization

The organizations of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands carry different names, like, 'self-organizations', 'ethnic self- organizations', 'migrant organizations' and 'allochtoneous organizations', but according to Da Graça (2010, 20) substantively there is hardly any difference. This seems however striking because different ethnic organizations do have different focal points, which does make them substantively different. 'Hometown associations', who are involved in development initiatives around and in their hometowns (Smith and Van Naerssen 2009, 20), do, for example, differ from other migrant organizations who are more focused on their own group within the Dutch society. Another definition of migrant organizations which has to be mentioned here are Transnational Community Organizations (TCOs). These organizations can be defined as locality-based or ethnic networks in countries of settlement that aim to "create a 'home away from home' feeling of risk-sharing and 'social capital'" (Smith and Van Naerssen 2009, 20). Another main objective of TCOs are supporting their compatriots in the adaptation process in the country of arrival, and for this reason TCOs can be fundamental for a successful integration process in the new society. Therefore, migrants remain embedded in networks that connect them to their countries of origin while also becoming part of new networks (Smith and Van Naerssen 2009, 20). Because the main focus in this

research will not be on transnationalism, I will not use the concept of TCOs in this research, but the concept 'migrant organizations'.

When talking about migrant organizations, an often stated term used for these organizations in literature and policies in the Netherlands is 'self-organizations' (Rijkschroeff and Duyvendak 2004, Ham and Van der Meer 2012, Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties 2012). In an article of Bochove, Rusinovic and Engbersen (2009, 33), the term 'self-organizations' is even defined as "an organization led by and focused on migrants". This is striking because the term 'self-organization' does not exclusively deal with migrants. The term is even quite interesting in the sense that this term has its origins in natural science and it officially refers to uncoordinated cooperation, for example, swallows flying in certain flock forms or fish swimming in perfect groups (Huygen, van Marissing and Boutellier 2012, 9). A self-organization in the social sciences can be defined as "a sustainable social initiative of citizens that arose apart from institutions, where the responsibility and organizational capacity largely remain in the hands of the initiators" (Van der Velden 2012). In this sense, self-organizations are the initiatives and organizations of all citizens, and not merely of migrants. However, in this thesis the focus will be on migrants, and, for not making it too confusing, I will use the term migrant organizations because these also refer to 'organizations of migrants'.

For understanding migrant organizations, it will be necessary to explore what is meant in this study with migrants. Migrants are "foreign nationals changing country" (Favell 2003, 136-137). In this research, immigrants are all the people who came to the Netherlands and are staying there at the moment, whatever their reason for arrival may be. This research took first and second generation immigrants into consideration, who in Dutch are called *allochtonen*. 'Allochtoon' is defined by the Central Office for Statistics as a person whom at least one parent is born abroad[6].

However, when is an organization a migrant organization? And are mosques also migrant organizations? Below, a rough visual picture is shown of how different groups are related to migrant organizations, or in fact are migrant organizations. How can different group-categories be understood?

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[6] http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=37
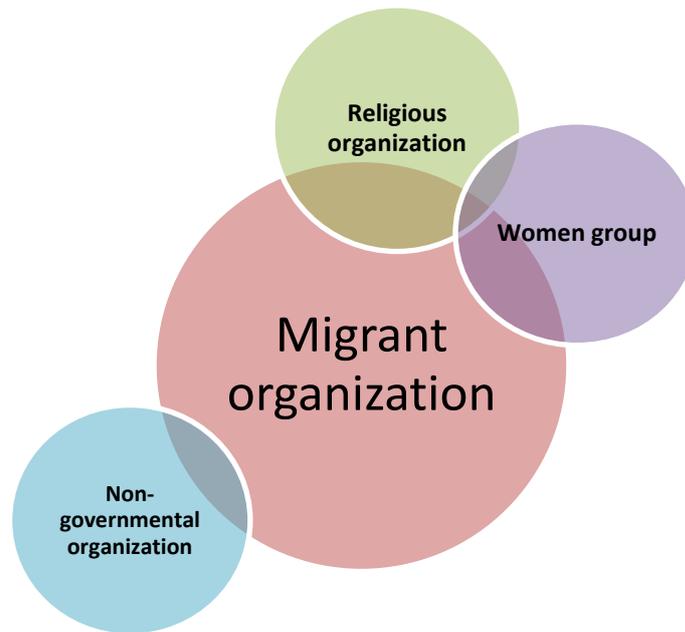
Figure 2.1: The conceptual position of migrant organizations to other organizations

In this Venn-diagram, it can be seen that women groups and religious groups can be seen as separate categories, although these organizations often have many similarities with migrant organizations. All three categories (migrant organizations, women groups and religious groups) often do have migrant members, or are even based on 'being a migrant'. As has been seen in the previous section, migrant organization often seem to organize themselves on the basis on ethnicity, while religious organizations organize themselves on religion and women groups organize themselves on the basis of 'being a woman' (and in this research, 'being a migrant woman'). The main common similarity between these organizations are their activities (which will be dealt with in section 5.4), and the fact that all these organizations are civil society organizations.

Between migrant organizations there seem to exist large differences though. These differences can already be found in the origins of the organizations and the reasons for how the organizations came to exist. Because the origin of organizations is mainly closely related to the objectives of organizations, this will be elaborated on in the next section.

2.5.2 The aiming of migrant organizations

Migrant organizations may have various objectives for their organizations and these are often closely related to the origins of their organizations. Penninx and Schrover (2001, 280) argue that migrants do not organize themselves in the same extent and on the same points. However, in all cases, the socio-cultural and religious organizations are by far the most important, and organizations based on economic or political objectives seem to be rare. Furthermore, the extent and the way in which

migrants organize themselves is dependent on the restrictions and possibilities of the receiving society and on the characteristics of the immigrant communities and these influences are most recognizable in the early stages of the settlement process. The restrictions and possibilities offered by policies can be found in the earlier policy section of this paragraph; while in the 1980s the formation of migrant organizations was supported in the Netherlands, in the 1990s the integration policy gained a more individualistic character which has led to less support. Penninx and Schrover (2001, 281) use the Turkish and Moroccan organization as an example for the changing characteristics of immigrant communities: while the organizations were in the 1960s and 1970s a reflection of the political organizations in their country of origin, in the 1980s they started to see the Islam as their ethnic beacon, and additionally in the 1990s the organizations became more diverse due to the arrival of the second generation of migrants.

Schrover and Vermeulen (2005, 823) argue that immigrants organize themselves to express, create and maintain a collective identity. Van Heelsum (2002, 181) also puts an emphasis on the collective interests and identity and she states that "migrants have established organizations to produce collective goods for their group: ethnic sports organizations, mosques, cultural organizations, political organizations, and interest groups." Penninx and Schrover (2001, 315) seem to agree with this maintaining of the collective identity by stating that migrants organize themselves to "recreate the world they have left". However, they add to this that migrant organizations have a function as 'familiar surrounding' from which the unknown society can be "entered and conquered". This maintaining of a collective identity, as well as surviving in a new society as the main objectives of migrant organizations is also supported by Duyvendak and Rijkschroeff (2004, 24).

Especially the changing character of migrant organizations is emphasized in the literature (Van Heelsum 2004, Rijkschroeff and Duyvendak 2004, Penninx and Schrover 2001). Reasons given for this changing character are the composition of the immigrant communities (number of women and second generation), need for support (second generation can also help) and the income position (less need for poverty aid) (Van Heelsum 2004, 26).

According to Van Heelsum (2002, 181), each of these organizations addresses its supporters and members to work toward a collective goal, which leads to the development of mutual social trust. Social trust will spread to a greater part of the ethnic group if organizations have more contacts, which in turn leads to the development of a community with more social capital. Social capital at the group level therefore can be defined as "the capacity of a group to produce collective goods and pursue common goals" (Van Heelsum 2002, 181). To act externally with success, ethnic self-organizations need their own 'capital', which consists in the form of volunteers, members, knowledge and ethnic networks (Da Graça 2010, 35).

2.5.3 Integration/participation and migrant organizations: a complex relationship

Although participation or integration is not explicitly mentioned as objectives of migrant organizations in the literature, it can be argued that migrant organizations are closely related to these two concepts. For example, the creation of a 'home away from home' and the 'conquering' of the new society both deal with integration and participation. Furthermore, the restrictions and possibilities of the receiving society influence the way in which migrants organize themselves, as argued by Penninx and Schrover (2001, 281). This receiving society and her policies also deal with concepts as integration and participation. According to Fauser (2012, 4), this relationship between migrant organizations and integration has to do with the 'ethnic paradox', which reflects to the fact that organizations contribute to migrants' integration into the receiving country, although these organizations are an expression of an ethnic identity different from the receiving society.

For this reason given by Fauser, it seems logical that there are different views with regard to migrant organizations and the degree of integration and participation in society. On the one hand, there seems to be a negative notion with regard to the relation between integration and migrant organizations. For example, according to Hurenkamp (2006, 23), the societal participation of immigrants is generally focused on preserving their own culture. Therefore, it seems that there is little attention to bridging ties aimed at the community at large. The focus seems to be on bonding social capital because it brings people together who are in important respects like one another. Van Daal (2002, 9) also argues that advocacy for their own group is usually the main objective of migrant organizations and assistance to compatriots is a part of this. Additionally, the populist parties in the Netherlands interpret the organizing of Muslims as signs of separation and radicalization. While other political parties might be more positive, they also warn against the dangers of separate community building (Roggeband 2010, 960). Additionally, Brink, Tromp and Odé (2003, 37), argue that migrant organizations hardly contribute to the participation of their supporters in the wider society. In these perspectives, it can be argued that migrant organization and participation are not necessarily linked.

However, other scholars argue that there definitely is a link between participation/ integration and migrant organizations. Van Heelsum (2004, 34) for example argues that migrant organizations are able to achieve their own goals, while contributing to the integration of immigrants in the Dutch society. Brink, Tromp and Odé (2003, 27), as well, argue that all the migrant organizations in their research contribute in a greater or lesser extent to integration by promoting the knowledge of the Netherlands. This is also supported by Van Heelsum (2004, 34), who argues that organizations help their members in understanding the Dutch institutional landscape. She furthermore argues that participation in an organization stimulates the participation in other areas and many migrant organizations do have integration as their objective. Fennema and Tillie (2001, 38)

also emphasize the positive function of migrant organizations, by arguing that ethnic organizations generate political integration, instead of restraining it. Even ethnic organizations who did not support democratic values, contributed to the democratic process.

Although there are different views with regard to the relation between integration/participation and migrant organizations, it is also argued that this relationship has a changing character. According to Rijkschroeff and Duyvendak (2004, 18), this has to do with the changing definition of the term 'integration' during the past decades. They give an example for this: when integration means "feeling at home", migrant organizations have a more important function in integration than when integration means "having contact with the indigenous population." What on a certain moment is meant with 'integration' influences in this sense the relationship between migrant organizations and integration/participation. Van Heelsum (2004, 35) also argues that this relationship is dependent on the existence of an opportunity structure in which organizations are accepted and supported, and get the opportunity to serve as a point of contact for governments. If this situation of acceptance and negotiation between the organizations and the society is lacking, the isolation may reinforce and organizations may focus on their own particularistic objectives. From this it can thus be seen that the understanding of 'integration' and the 'opportunity-structure' in society are important factors for the relationship between the organizations and integration/participation.

2.5.4 Partner or opponent?

This described relationship between migrant organizations and integration/participation brings another question to the fore: are migrant organization seen as a partner or an opponent of the government, especially with regard to the implementation of integration/participation policies?

It seems that governments are increasingly focusing on these positive sides migrant self-organizations can have for the participation of their members and supporters and these organizations get a 'bridging-function' ascribed. Connie Roggeband (2010, 949) for example argues that governments aim to strengthen the role of migrant organizations in the implementation of policies. This may lead to the expectation that migrant organizations develop and execute projects which are in line with the policies defined by the state. Roggeband (2010, 950) furthermore argues that more migrant women have started their own organizations, due to the granting of generous funding, because the Dutch state policies saw migrant organizations as important vehicles for emancipation and integration. Flip Lindo (2001, 36) also emphasizes the expectation of the Dutch government for migrant organizations to use their infrastructure for the participation of migrants and their descendants in the society. The government, opinion leaders and social institutions even count on migrant organizations for the success of integration policies.

Ham and Van der Meer (2012, 17) argue that integration policies are now shifted to municipalities and municipalities want to get rid of integration. Municipalities are often focused on social and economic participation and reducing nuisance (2012, 29). Although there is thus a switch to more regular policy, municipalities still work together with migrant organizations, which is a specific action. The reason for this collaboration is often that the local level is closer to the problems, which are always complex, and migrant organizations are needed for reaching the target group and their knowledge (2012, 30). From this it can also be seen that municipalities ascribe an important role to migrant organizations and they are often seen as partners, although the municipalities are not focused on integration anymore.

Although it seems to be that migrant organizations are often seen as partners of the government, according to Rijkschroeff and Duyvendak (2004, 21) there are three concepts about the impact organizations can have on their members. This impact mainly decides whether an organization can be seen as a partner or an opponent. The first concept is the *zero-sum* model, which entails that warm feeling for the own group exclude warm feelings for other groups. In other words, this means that one can only have sympathy for one group and if this is the migrant organization, this may not be good for integration. The second concept includes the *compatibility-model*. This model holds that sympathy for the own group is not related to sympathy for other groups. This may be neutral or even positive for integration policies. The third and last concept includes the *win-win model*, an optimistic model. This holds that a strong identification for the own group leads to interest in other groups, and warm feeling for the own group goes well with warm feelings for other groups. The main sentence in this model is: "bonding contributes to bridging" (Rijkschroeff and Duyvendak 2004, 21). These models make the question if migrant organizations should be seen as obstacles for integration and participation or as potential partners of the government for promoting integration a tough one, because different concepts give different answers.

However, when a migrant organization is seen as a partner or an opponent is also dependent on the policies at that moment. As argued in the section about integration policy, the migrant organization were seen as a partner in the 1980s because the notion in that time was that people could get strength in their own organization in order to integrate better into the Dutch society. In the 1990s though, migrant organizations were more seen as opponents of the government. The focus on the own group would be at the expense of integration in the Netherlands (Rijkschroeff and Duyvendak 2004, 18). Just as was the case with the relationship between migrant organizations, their objectives and the concept of integration/participation, here it is also dependent on the ruling policies of how migrant organizations are seen: as a partner or an opponent.

2.6 Conceptual model
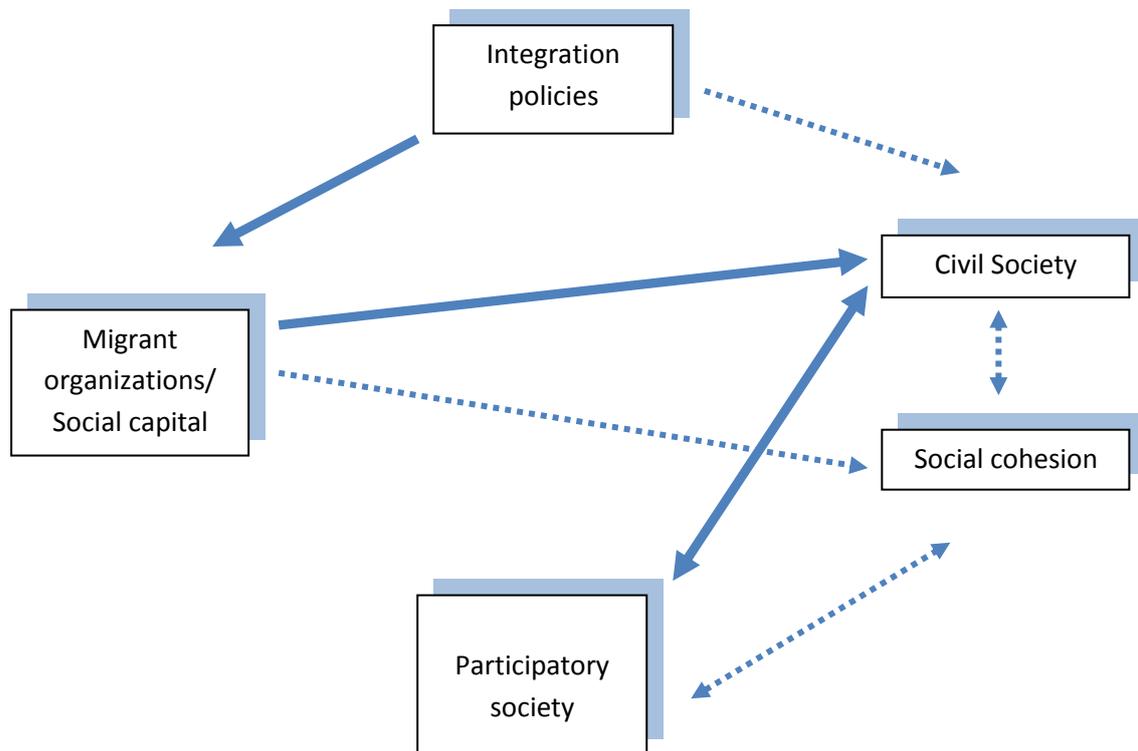
Figure 2.2: Conceptual model

After having analyzed the theoretical framework of this thesis, a conceptual model has been developed. In this model, the relations between the different theoretical concepts were visualized. In this section, the relations and thereby this model are explained. In this model it can be seen that three relations are defined with a bold arrow and four relations were defined with a dotted arrow. In this thesis, the focus is on the bold arrows and these have been specifically researched.

First, in this thesis, a bold arrow can be found between integration policies and migrant organizations. One of the focuses on this research is how migrant organizations are perceived in integration policies, both on a national as well as on a local level. Furthermore, it will be interesting to see how integration policies influence the goals and activities of migrant organizations. Second, a bold arrow can be found between migrant organizations/ social capital and civil society. As argued previously in this theoretical framework, social capital is in this thesis perceived as a part of civil society. It will be researched in this thesis what role migrant organizations have in civil society. This will be necessary because of the third bold arrow: the relation between civil society and the participatory society. While The Netherlands are in a transition from a welfare state to a participatory society, as argued in the introduction, the civil society has a bigger role to play. While

migrant organizations are an important part of civil society, it will be interesting to see what role migrant organizations may play in this transition to a participatory society.

Furthermore, four dotted arrows can be found in the conceptual model. These arrows indicate relations that definitely exist between these theoretical models, but are not explicitly researched in this thesis. A dotted arrow can be found between integration policies and civil society, which follows an arrow pointed both ways to social cohesion. From this it can be seen that social cohesion leads to civil society and civil society leads to social cohesion. Both are an important goal in integration policies. Another dotted arrow can be found between migrant organizations/social capital and social cohesion. However, it can be argued that this dotted arrow has two meanings, because migrant organizations do lead to more intern social cohesion, but, on the other hand, to exclusionary models. The last dotted arrow can be found between social cohesion and participatory society, because social cohesion may lead to a stronger participatory society (people relying more on each other) and a participatory society may lead to more social cohesion (people have to have contact with each other, because they have to rely on each other instead of on the government).

How the above indicated relationships between different theoretical concepts have been researched will be explained in the next chapter, which deals with the methodology of this research.

3. Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives insights in the way I tried to answer the research questions as given in the introduction of this thesis. As can be seen from the nature of my research questions, qualitative research is necessary in order to describe, interpret and explain the behavior and perceptions of migrant organizations and the municipality of Nijmegen in relation to the participatory society (Boeije 2009, 253). While my main question and sub questions are focused on how migrant organizations contribute to integration processes on the district level, how migrant organizations are embedded on a district level, how they contribute to the livability in districts and how the perspective of the municipality and the migrant organizations differed from one another with regard to participation, it is important to understand the point of view of both the migrant organizations and the municipality. Whilst these questions start with 'how' and have underlying dynamics, qualitative research methods were needed.

Another reason for choosing qualitative research methods is the lack of familiarity with the field in which the research is conducted and the will to map this field theoretically (Boeije 2009, 259). Additionally, Manning and Kunkel (2014, 40) argue that "in many ways, qualitative research is a form of art. It involves grounded expression, interpretation, and profound understanding." Additionally, they argue that qualitative research is at the same time a form of science, because it involves empirical findings by flexible, systematic approaches in order to collect information about a certain social scene. These form the origins of my research methods: interpretation and a profound understanding mixed with empirical findings to get more insight in a social scene: the migrant organizations in the districts Zuid and Oud-West in Nijmegen. Furthermore, the opinions from and about migrant organizations were needed to get a thorough understanding of these organizations and their possible role at the district level.

In this chapter I will start with exploring my unit of analysis, and the sampling prior to this. With this, I will also elaborate on one of the difficulties that came across with my unit of analysis, namely being unable to reach members of migrant organizations. Thereafter, the research location, which is Nijmegen and especially two districts in Nijmegen, will be elaborated on. After this, I will discuss the research methods and methods of analysis I have used in order to answer my research question. Last, I will give some reflection about the unit of analysis and my used methods.

3.2 Unit of Analysis

3.2.1 Sampling

The best way to collect data in order to answer my research question is by using purposeful sampling. This is defined by Patton (2002, 230) as "selecting information-rich cases for study in depth". These information-rich cases are cases where one can learn a lot about issues of central importance and the studying of these cases yields in depth-understanding and insights instead of empirical generalizations. Boeije (2009, 261) calls this 'purposive sampling' and argues that from the target population, specific units are selected that represent specific characteristics. In this case my target population is migrant organizations, and I have specifically selected the migrant organizations that had their location or activities based on the districts Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen Oud-West (the choice for these two districts will be explained in section 3.3). Furthermore, my aim was to select migrant organizations by ethnicity if there were many migrant organizations present in the district. However, in Nijmegen Zuid, only seven organizations had a physical location and in Nijmegen West, only five organizations. Therefore, all these organizations have been interviewed and out of these twelve organizations, ten were focused on the Moroccan or Turkish ethnicity.

Furthermore, the method of snowball sampling has been used. This is defined as "seeking information from key informants about details of other 'information-rich cases' in the field" (Suri 2011, 69). Boeije (2009, 263,264) additionally argues that this snowball-sampling (or network sampling) is especially used in research on groups that are hard to reach (which were in my case the members of migrant organizations). I asked all my respondents for tips who I could also interview about this subject or if I could interview the members of their organizations.

In order to gain more insight in the exact nature of migrant organizations in Nijmegen and the districts, I first held three exploratory interviews, to get to know more about these organizations. These three interviews were held with Anneke Voeten (closely works with migrant organizations, official secretary of the *Adviescommissie Allochtonen)*, Hatice Bölek (closely works with migrant organizations, works at welfare organization *Interlokaal)* and Jeanne Janssen (closely works with migrant organizations and works at the municipality, she takes care of the subsidies for migrant organizations). From these interviews I have conducted my sampling. In these interviews and from the list I received from the municipality (a list with all migrant organizations known by the municipality at that moment) my research population was defined, because these two sources (the interviews and the list) knew which organizations were located on what place.

3.2.2 Migrant Organizations

While my research is focused on two districts in Nijmegen, Zuid and Oud-West, it made sense to at least include all the migrant organizations and networks that had a physical location in these districts. The three women I have interviewed helped me with finding these organizations; whom they knew did something in that district or had a location there. However, it turned out that three organizations of whom I thought they had a physical location in Zuid or Oud-West did not have a location here. These are *Club Sierra Leone Nederland* (told in an exploratory interview that they came together in Café Hatert, a café in Nijmegen Zuid. This is partly true because the president of the organization is the owner of this café), *Goshamadeed* (on the list it says that this organizations has its activities in Wijkcentrum Hatert in Nijmegen Zuid, but this appeared not to be) and *Stichting Muhabbat* (this is a Moluccan organization, and while most of the Moluccan community lives in Zuid, the organization did not have a physical location in Zuid).

While I thought the list I received from the municipality at the beginning of my internship was an official list of all migrant organizations in Nijmegen, during the interviews I found out that I was wrong. There were some organizations missing on the list, which became clear by the interviews and conversations with my internship supervisors. These organizations that were missing did however have a location in these two districts, or close to the district (in case of the mosque). These organizations have also been included to my research population, because they are migrant organizations and have a physical location in the district. Another critical point about the list is that there are only non-Western ethnicities on this list, which can say something about how the municipality perceives these migrant organizations. I did not found out why these 'Western' organizations were missing on this list, on which I will reflect in the last section of this chapter.

Furthermore, because the three women who I interviewed at the beginning of my research all work closely with migrant organizations, they could tell me something about the nature and origins of these organizations. The migrant organizations *Anour* and *GAAPA* were defined by them as active and open organizations with a lot of information. I found it interesting to give a more general picture about migrant organizations in the district, and even though these organizations did not have a physical location in the district, I have decided to include them into my research population. This was also in order to make a small comparison and to make sure that the degree of participation on a district-level was not only dependent on the characteristics of the district.

In total, I included thirteen migrant organizations that were present on the list I received from the municipality. Additionally, I included four other migrant organizations that were not present on the list, but do have a location in the districts Zuid and Oud-West. These are *Stichting Sema, Vadergroep Hatert,* the Moluccan community and the mosque *Al Moslimin*. In total, I thus interviewed sixteen migrant organizations/ migrant communities. This number had not been

considered in advance, because before I started my research, I did not know how many organizations would have their location or activities in the two districts and how many organizations were accessible.

Difficulties: the chairmen/women as gatekeeper

Although I will reflect on my methodologies in the last section of this chapter, I would like to give some more information about my unit of analysis and especially the difficulties I encountered with this specific unit of analysis. The main difficulty I encountered was including members in my research population. This difficulty will be elaborated on in the following paragraphs.

One of the greatest difficulties I encountered was getting access to the members of migrant organizations in order to include them to my research population. Although it was my aim to interview members of migrant organizations, it turned out to be harder than I initially thought. This may be both due to myself (not being available on two dates) and the chairmen/women of the migrant organizations.

With regard to the chairmen/women: some of them seemed to have a protective character in relation to their members, although the degree of their protection varied. While some chairmen/women were very reluctant when I asked them if I could interview one of two of their members or if I could see their member list, others seemed to be quite open about this. The chairmen/women that were reluctant gave reasons for their statement as: "this interview with me is enough for your school project" or "no, they cannot speak Dutch" or "no, they do not have time for that". Others answered my question more open by stating that this was possible and that they would e-mail of phone me. Some of these chairmen/women did do this, but many did not. When I e-mailed them again with the question if it was still possible to interview their members, I received no answer. Two chairwomen answered more open and willing to this question and they made it possible for me to interview one or two of their members. However, with both interviews, this chairwoman was present or partly present, which did not benefit the quality and reliability of the interview. With one interview it was also necessary that the chairwoman was present at the interview because the respondent barely spoke Dutch, so the chairwoman acted as a translator.

3.2.3 Professionals

Besides migrant organizations, I also included professionals to my research population. These were sampled through snowball-sampling and purposeful sampling. The district managers and the managers of community centers were sampled by purpose, to get more insight in the two district and her activities. Furthermore, the exploratory interviews and the interview with the interim-president of the *Adviescommissie Allochtonen* have also been sampled on purpose, to get more insight in

migrant organizations from the municipal perspective. The remaining professionals were sampled on the basis of snowball-sampling. This has been done because I wanted more information about the districts and her neighborhoods and I wanted a better municipal perspective on migrant organizations. The people I interviewed could tell me who works at a district level and who works closely with migrant organizations.

In total I included fifteen professionals to my research population. This number has not been considered in advance, just as was the case with the migrant organizations. Beforehand, my aim was to at least interview the district manager, the managers of the community centers (where the migrant organizations organize their activities) and the people who work closely with these organizations.[7]

In total, thirty-one interviews have been conducted for this research. In Appendix 1, a flap-out can be found including all the names of the interviewees. While reading this thesis, this list may be held next to it.

3.3 Research location

As mentioned before in the introduction of this thesis, this research has been conducted on a local basis because integration and immigration policy are locally shaped and immigrants also seem to shape their life on a local basis (Integratienota 2011, 11). Cities are the places where international and internal migration concentrates and cities are being recognized as important places for the political and social changes caused by migration (Fauser 2012, 4). This research has been conducted in Nijmegen, and especially in two districts in Nijmegen, namely Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen Oud-West. The reason why I have chosen these two districts is because in these districts there is the largest number of migrant organizations, compared to other districts, according to the list I received from the municipality of Nijmegen. Nijmegen Zuid as well as Nijmegen Oud-West have five migrant organizations that have a location or organize their activities in these districts. In the exploratory interviews at the beginning of this research, some organizations were added to this five. Another practicality by choosing these districts is the district managers who were my supervisors at my internship at the municipality, because they are the district managers of *Nijmegen Zuid* and *Nijmegen Oud-West*. They were able to give me a great deal of information about these districts and their activities and they have many contacts in these districts.

Furthermore, the districts are interesting in their own respects.

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[7] An overview of all the people I have interviewed can be found in the appendix of this thesis.

Figure 3.1: Nijmegen Oud-West[8]

The district Oud-West has a population of 13.521 and 15,6% of this population is non-Western. The district consists of two neighborhoods, which are the *Biezen* (in figure: top red piece) and the *Wolfskuil* (in figure: lower red piece). Both neighborhoods are considered to be "focus areas", neighborhoods that need specific focus and attention. The district manager of this district is Michiel ten Dolle.

Figure 3.2: Nijmegen Zuid[9]

The district Zuid has a population of 23.029, making it a considerably larger district than Oud-West. From this population, 14,1% is non-Western (a percentage lower than in Oud-West), although this percentage varies largely between the neighborhoods (from 5,2% in Brakkenstein to 19,3% in

[8] Source: woongids.swon.nl
[9] Source: woongids.swon.nl

Hatert). The district Zuid consists of four neighborhoods, which are, according to the district manager Ed van Dael, different in character. The neighborhood *Brakkenstein* (in figure: red piece on the right) is a "maintenance" neighborhood, which means that in this neighborhood, not much has to be done, only upkeep. *Hatertse Hei* (in figure: top red piece in middle) and *Grootstal* (in figure: lower red piece in middle) are "prevention" neighborhoods, which means that problems in this neighborhood need to be prevented and an eye must be kept on this neighborhood. The neighborhood *Hatert* (in figure: red piece on the left) is a "focus area", which means that specific attention is given to this neighborhood.

However, while these two districts were the starting point of this research, I might have chosen a wrong track. Although the municipality has a strong focus on districts, it can be questioned if this focus is relevant for migrant organizations. This will be further elaborated on in the reflection at the end of this thesis.

3.4 Research Methods

3.4.1 Qualitative interviewing

One of my main research methods was qualitative interviewing. A qualitative interview is defined by Gorden (1998, ix) as "a particular form of conversation between two people in which one person tries to direct the conversation to obtain information relevant to some specified purpose." He furthermore argues that, although obtaining information is not the only objective of an interview, it is the most important characteristic that makes interviewing different than other kinds of conversations. From this it can be seen that the interviewer determines the conversation because he has a specific purpose, namely: obtaining information. According to Boeije (2009, 267), there are four elements of an interview that more or less are defined beforehand: 1. content of the questions, 2. manner in which the questions are asked, 3. order in which the questions are asked and 4. possible answers that can be given. If all four elements are fixed, we speak of a standardized or structured interview. If these elements are not fixed or partly fixed, we speak of the free or semi-structured interview.

In this qualitative interview I have chosen to use the last interview technique: the semi-structured interview. According to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006, 315), the semi-structured interview is the most used interview technique in qualitative research and they describe it as an interview that is "generally organized around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee/s." These semi-structured interviews are often scheduled at a designated location and time and mostly take between half an hour to several hours to complete.

In this research, I also scheduled all 33 interviews at a designated location and time. Most of the interviews took place at the location of the migrant organization or professional, a few interviews took place at the community center and two interviews took place in a café. Furthermore, the shortest interview lasted half an hour, while the longest interview lasted for two hours. However, most of the interviews were somewhere in between these lengths. Additionally, in all interviews I was able to ask I the questions that I wanted to ask, which made it unnecessary to interview my respondents more than one time. All my respondents were furthermore interviewed face to face. The period in which my interviews were conducted is quite long, from my first interview at 24-06-2013 till my last interview at 27-02-2014. The reasons for this long period are that 1. My exploratory interviews took place before the summer vacation and in this vacation period it was not possible to interview because almost all organizations had a 'summer-stop', 2. My last interview was quite late because the question for this interview arose during the writing process. Most interviews took however place between September 2013 till December 2013.

Interview strategy

For the interviews I developed an interview guide. This guide has been developed by looking at my research questions and sub-questions. In the interview guide I tried to divide these sub questions into 'sub sub questions'. These questions were more practical and simple, and in that case (hopefully) more simple to answer for the respondents. This interview guide has practically been changed for each interview, although often these were minor changes. The reason for these changes were that I gained more and more information, which made it necessary to ask more about specific subjects, while other subjects were skipped. Furthermore, there were various differences between the interview-guide I used for interviewing migrant organizations and the guide used for interviewing professionals. Additionally, I did not always exactly follow the interview-guide during the interview: sometimes I skipped questions because they were not of importance for the respondent or I added sub questions following an interesting fact told during an interview. An example of an interview guide can be found in appendix 3 of this thesis.

The most common strategy for interviewing was to start with my introduction in which I introduced myself and my research. I also asked my respondents if it was possible to record this interview, and most respondents answered affirmatively on this question (except for four respondents, who preferred I did not record the interview). After the introduction I started with an 'easy' question about the respondents themselves and their function. These 'easy' questions had the aim to create a talkative sphere and to get to know the respondent. After this, a number of open-ended questions followed about various subjects that were put in a reasonable logical order interrupted by planned or unplanned sub questions.

These unplanned sub questions were asked to get more information about a certain object. Gorden (1998, 145) calls these unplanned sub questions probing, which is a boarder term because it also includes for example raising your eyebrow or using an active silence in order to let the respondent tell more. Gorden (1998, 145) favors this probing because he states "[b]road questions stake out the claim and reveal the easy gold lying about the surface, but probes dig deeper to track the vein and extract the nugget." By keeping this in mind, I have used probes as much as possible and appropriate, in order to get more detailed information.

All interviews were held with individual persons, except for one. This was a group-interview with a Turkish women group, called Aktifler. This group-interview was not consciously chosen, but it was still interesting. According to DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006, 315) "[g]roup interviews often take the form of focus groups, with multiple participants sharing their knowledge or experience about a specific subject." The problem with this group interview turned out to be language, because many women had trouble speaking Dutch. In the beginning, some women participated in the conversation and shared their opinion, but in the end, most questions were answered by the chairwoman of the group. Therefore, this interview was also turned into an individual interview.

Network questions

All my respondents were asked one specific question and this question referred to their network. All respondents were asked if they could mark with a cross or a plus if they knew the organizations on the list that I received from the municipality of Nijmegen. In the first interviews, only crosses were put before the organizations they knew at least by name. In the last twenty five interviews I asked if the respondents could place a min for the organizations they did not know, a plus for the organizations which they know by name and two plusses for the organizations with which they collaborated. This question had the aim to gain more insights in the networks between the migrant organizations and how familiar the names of migrant organizations were for the professionals. This network question was of added value because it provided insights in how many contacts there were between the organizations and especially how familiar or unfamiliar migrant organizations are to the respondents. When I only would have asked which migrant organizations the respondents knew, or how many, some organizations might have been forgotten. Furthermore, asking about the networks of the respondents with regard to migrant organizations, relates to the sub question 'in what way are migrant organizations embedded in the districts Zuid and Oud-West in the municipality of Nijmegen?'. The reason for this is that the network question indicated which people in the district were familiar with the migrant organizations. Furthermore, it gave insight in the degree in which a migrant organizations was purely focused on the own organization, or rather collaborated with many other organizations. Although the network of the migrant organizations was not of direct importance

to this research, it was for the municipality. Therefore, an overview of this network of the interviewed migrant organizations is provided in the appendix of this thesis.

3.4.2 Participant observation

As an additional qualitative research method I used participant observation. Although this method is by no means the main method of this research (which are the semi-structured interviews), this method is still worth mentioning because it gave me some additional insights. According to Boeije (2009, 258), besides qualitative interviewing, participant observation also is a method of data collection which enables the acquaintance with the world of the research population. Boeije (2009, 264) also argues that participant observation can be seen as "the primordial form of data collection in qualitative research" and she defines it as "direct observation becomes possible because the researcher participates in the social lives of those involved." According to James Spradley (1980, 53), one of the main scholars with regard to ethnography in which participant observation is one of the main methods, participant observation is similar to the things people do in new social situations. He states that, if you pick an unfamiliar social situation, "you feel like a stranger, because you don't know the tacit rules for behavior, you will fall naturally in the role of participant observer" (Spradley 1980, 53). In this research I was also present in unfamiliar social situations, which made me in that case automatically a participant observer.

In this research I conducted six participatory observations, namely being a volunteer at a district festival called 'Kleurrijk Hatert'[10], being a visitor at 'Wijkenfestival' (an event about participation in the district), being a visitor of a political event organized by a migrant organization called *DHD* and being present at three activities of various migrant organizations.

These various participant observations gave me different insights. For example, the event 'Kleurrijk Hatert' was at the beginning of my research, and can be seen as an exploratory method that time. 'Kleurrijk Hatert' is an annually multicultural event in one of the districts in Nijmegen Zuid which consists of a street fair, multicultural market stalls and performances. This event gave me insight in the district Hatert (in Nijmegen Zuid) and the people who are living here. Furthermore, I got to know various people who are important on a district level. At this event it was interesting to see how many 'migrants' were present and how well everybody got along, so this event also functioned as an eye-opener.

The second event, the 'Wijkenfestival' was also interesting being part of. First I was able to attend one of the sessions in preparation for this event in order to make suggestions how the migrant population of Nijmegen could be reached for this event. During this event it was nice to see

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[10] Loosely translated: 'Colorful Hatert', http://www.kleurrijkhatert.nl

that the mosque *Al Moslimin* (which had a stand) as well as the Moluccan community (who gave a performance) were present. Furthermore, though, there were no other migrant organizations present and there were also few 'migrants' present at this event in my opinion.

The political event organized by the *DHD* was a useful event because it provided me with insights about the migrant community and their wishes on the one hand and on the other hand about the plans and ideas of the political parties of Nijmegen about the migrant community. Furthermore, the relationship between the municipality and the migrant organizations became more clear at this event, particularly their view of one another. This was therefore the most important event I attended with regard to the relationship between the municipality and the migrant organizations and this provided me valuable insights, even though there were only four migrant organizations attending this event.

Additionally, I attended three activities of migrant organizations: an afternoon tea at *Aktifler,* an afternoon tea at *Savarona* and a 'Sinterklaas[11]' activity at *GAAPA.* The first two activities were similar, because both groups were drinking tea and were chatting with each other. For both groups, this was a weekly event. It was interesting to see at these activities that the language spoken was Turkish. The third activity was more of a feast which involved around twenty women and a few small kids. Presents were exchanged and Christmas arrangements were made. Furthermore, the spoken language was sometimes Dutch and sometimes, a language which I expect to be Papiamento. The activities of the migrant organizations were interesting because they gave me insights in how people behave in a certain organization, what language was spoken and what kinds of relations are present in an organization.

3.5 Data Analysis

According to Boeije (2009, 268), the data of qualitative researchers mainly exists of textual material, as was also the case in this research. My textual material existed of transcripts, policy documents, literature, field notes, leaflets of migrant organizations and district magazines. Van Staa and Evers (2010, 5) argue that these large amounts of raw materials should be "systematically decomposed, rearranged, organized and interpreted in order to answer the research questions." In the analysis, there should be room to maintain the meanings and interpretations expressed in words by the investigated (Boeije 2009, 268).

In the literature, two analysis methods are being distinguished: the inductive analysis, in which theories are developed from the data and the deductive analysis, in which the data is used to

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[11] Loosely translated: Saint Nicholas. This is an annual Dutch feast (mainly for children) in which Saint Nicholas brings presents and visits the Netherlands from mid-November till 5 December.

test theories or hypotheses. The starting point of qualitative data analysis is according to Boeije (2009, 268) always the data and the researcher seeks for relevant themes in this data, which corresponds to the inductive analysis method. In this research I also mainly chose for this inductive analysis method, because in this research no hypothesis deriving from the literature has been tested, but existing literature and theories were used to improve the searching strategy (Boeije 2009, 268). However, according to Van Staa and Evers (2010, 10) this distinction between inductive and deductive is artificial and this leads to oversimplification. In each inductive research, at some point deduction takes place and deductive analysis strategies offer space for induction. This will be the same for this research: the development of theories have been tested by using the data that followed.

In this research, the recorded materials have been turned into textual materials. As mentioned before, I was able to record almost all interviews. The four interviews I was not able to record, were worked out as soon as possible after the interview. I also took notes during all the interviews, in order to remind what the respondents had said and ask better sub-question in order to get more in-depth information. Furthermore, the first four recorded interviews were exactly transcribed (by writing out every pause, stutter or 'uh'). This was however not necessarily relevant for my research. Therefore, the remaining interviews have also been transcribed, but more broadly. After each observation, I also worked out the notes I took in the field as soon as possible.

These texts of the interviews and the observations were read thoroughly and while doing the reading I was in search of themes and codes. These themes and codes were included in each document and for this coding I used the computer program EndNote. Whilst this program is primarily intended to make records of references, it also provides the possibility to search for certain themes and codes within texts to link up matching interviews, observations or literature which dealt with this theme or code. In that case, the found data can be placed in relation with the literature and the other way around.

3.6 Methodological reflections

As an inexperienced researcher, I encountered some difficulties while doing research, on which I will reflect in this section. I will start with the reflection on the difficulties I came across during the interviews and observations. Hereafter, I will elaborate on the concepts of objectivity, reliability and validity with regard to this research.

3.6.1 Language and other difficulties

In part 3.2.4 I already mentioned the difficulties I encountered with including members of migrant organizations into my research population. Another difficulty I came across, especially during interviewing, was language. In a few cases it was quite difficult to make an appointment for an interview because I could not make myself clear to the person on the other side of the phone. When conducting the interviews I also encountered language problems. During a few interviews I had the feeling some of my questions were not fully understood by my respondent, by receiving an answer that did not completely correspond to the question I asked. Furthermore, I had difficulties with one interview question in particular, namely: "What does participation mean according to you?" This question had the aim to give me some understanding about their perception of participation. In two cases however, this question was being returned to me: "participation? What does that mean? I do not know the word." This made it impossible for me to get their understanding of this concept.

Another language difficulty is the enormous difference in language levels between the respondents. While the professionals and some presidents of migrant organizations had a high-level of Dutch, other members and presidents of migrant organizations had more difficulties talking and understanding Dutch. Most of the time I did not knew this beforehand, which made my interview guide sometimes too simple and sometimes too hard and in that sense I had to improvise during some interviews.

Furthermore, in a number of interviews and observations with migrant organizations, other languages than Dutch were spoken. This made me sometimes feel like an outsider, but on the other hand I found it very interesting. An example where another language was spoken was in the group-interview with *Aktifler*, where the women talked mainly Turkish and the president translated my questions to the group. These questions may be less reliable because I was not able to verify if these questions were asked in the right way and how the president interpreted my questions. However, only the first three questions were translated to the group, the rest of the questions were answered by the chairwoman herself.

Besides language, I also came across other difficulties. One of these is the paradoxical role I had as an intern of the municipality. On the one hand, this title gave me a reliable profile and the possibility and contacts to talk with people who I otherwise might not have spoken to. On the other hand, I noticed that some people answered the question "What do you think of the municipality?" with more caution, although some people saw me as 'the' way to let the municipality know what they think of them.

Another difficulty was the list I received at the beginning of my internship at the municipality. I was told that this was a list of all the migrant organizations in Nijmegen. Although this list might contain the majority of migrant organizations in Nijmegen, many organizations are missing on this

list. Furthermore, this list only contained non-western migrant organization. By taking this list for granted, which I should not have done, these western organizations were also left out in this research, which is a lack. It will be recommended to include these organizations in future research.

3.6.2 Objectivity, Reliability and Validity

According to Boeije (2009, 273), other researchers need to have enough information in order to judge if the researcher made the right methodological decisions during the research and if his/her conclusions are based on a sound research. In this part I will give some insights in the objectivity, reliability and validity of this research.

First, with regard to objectivity, Van Zwieten and Willems (2004, 38) state that if only the researches in which the role of the researcher would be minimized and every researcher gets the same results would deemed to be objective, qualitative research never would be objective. The reason for this is that "with every qualitative research, also called interpretative research, personal qualities like observation, communication and interpretation are not turned off, but are used targeted." Therefore, to judge if a qualitative research is sound, Maso and Smaling (1998, in Van Zwieten and Willems 2004, 38), use a more broad definition of objectivity : "To strive for objectivity in a research, is to strive for […] doing justice to the object of study: to let the object of study speak, and not to distort." This can also be seen as the most important goal of this research. The role of the researcher should not be minimized, but should be as visible as possible, in order to reduce distortion. Reliability and validity are criteria to measure objectivity (Van Zwieten and Willems 2004, 38).

Reliability refers to reliable methods of data collection and repetition of the observations should lead to similar outcomes. In qualitative research, repetition of the measurements is difficult (Boeije 2009, 274). This will also be the case for this research, because the interviews were semi-structured and not in all interviews the same sub questions were asked. Also the activities in which I participated will not take place in exactly the same way. The reliability of this research has however been increased by: 1. using multiple methods that measure the same subject, like participant observation and interviews, 2. Using member validation (letting respondents read their transcripts (to check the accuracy) and 3. Methodological accountability, which could have been read in this chapter (Boeije 2009, 275).

The concept of validity is by Van Zwieten and Willems (2004, 39) defined as referring to the presence or absence of distortions. The validity of my research has been threatened because I was not able to reach a part of my research population: the members of migrant organizations (Boeije 2009, 274). In the concept validity, a distinction in being made between intern (has one studied what one claims to have studied?) and extern (degree of generalization) validity. The intern validity has

been increased by member validation (Van Zwieten and Willems 2004, 39). There also is a degree of extern validity in this research, as can be seen from a research example given by Boeije (2009, 280). In this example a research is conducted in two districts, which is the same as in this research. Statistical generalization is not at issue, because the districts and the respondents have not been chosen on statistical grounds. However, the research can give important insights for other, similar districts or organizations in the Netherlands, even though they have not been researched.

4. Thinking like a link? Two case-studies

In this chapter, two cases will be elaborated on. These cases are two examples of how the problem as described in the introduction of this thesis comes to the fore in Nijmegen: namely the visibility and role of migrant organizations as part of the civil society and the participatory society. The first case that will be given contains the district manager of Nijmegen. These second case contains the *Allochtone Adviescommissie*. The necessity of these cases will be described in the following two chapters, first from the perspective of migrant organizations and after that from the perspective of the municipality. In the last chapter, these cases will be returned on to make a conclusion about these cases, namely: what is the link between migrant organizations and the municipality and should there be a link?

4.1 The district manager

What is a district manager and what is his or her function? In the interviews with two district managers who work at the municipality of Nijmegen, Ed van Deal and Michiel ten Dolle, the function of district manager was defined as "being the link between the municipality and the district." This has also been stated by Peeters, Van der Steen and Van Twist, who argue that the district manager has the professional task to make a link or connection between the world of the municipal organization and the world of the district (2010, 6). It is argued that these two worlds have their own dynamic and a different kind of logic. In this way, district managers operate in two worlds, "the societal context of 'their' district and the organizational context of the government apparatus" (Peeters, Van der Steen and Van Twist 2010, 15).

Although Nijmegen consists of nine districts and forty-four neighborhoods, Nijmegen 'only' has five district managers. This means that most of them manage more than one district, and one of the district managers even manages three districts. The district manager is defined on the website of the municipality of Nijmegen as followed: "The district manager is responsible for improving the quality of life, safety and social cohesion in the neighborhoods. You can consider a district manager as the person organizing cooperation in the area, with residents, businesses and organizations such as the police, housing corporations, welfare and education.[12]" Some of the important issues district managers have to deal with are also given on the website of the municipality of Nijmegen, and these

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[12] Translated from http://www2.nijmegen.nl/wonen/Wijken/wie/wijkmanagers/taken_wijkmanager: "U kunt een wijkmanager beschouwen als degene die de samenwerking in de wijk organiseert, met bewoners, ondernemers en organisaties zoals politie, woningcorporaties, welzijn en onderwijs."

are: living environment, tackling nuisance and deterioration, facilities for children, youth and elderly and the way people interact with each other in the district or the neighborhood.

The function of the district manager thus seems to consist of various aspects, such as organizing cooperation and improving the quality of life, social cohesion and safety in the districts. Furthermore, the district manager has to know what is going on in his or her district and has to ensure that the signals from the district or neighborhood end up in the right place. Additionally, the district manager ensures that there is a 'community development plan' (*Wijkaanpakprogramma)* every two years, in the districts or neighborhoods where this is needed and he or she supervises the implementation of this program. The last function of the district manager (as described by the municipality of Nijmegen on their website) has to do with subsidies. Residents can apply for a grant at the district management department for resident-activities in the district and district managers assess these applications. This is done in consultation with the resident's organizations that contain budget.

The district management department of Nijmegen has developed a note about participating and doing more in the district[13], and this note has the purpose for district managers to be more effective in working with residents and entrepreneurs. In the districts, many possibilities are considered on improving the livability, even or maybe just in the current social situation with economic stagnation and consequences of aging. This seems to correspond exactly with the participatory society as explained in the first chapter of this thesis. In this note, ten steps were developed to make the district managers more effective. Two of these steps are 'new encounter forms' (enabling and stimulating new forms of encounter and making full use of the potential of information technology but also continue to use the traditional forms of consultation) and 'contact' (not only in the regular district platforms but also beyond). In these two steps, it has been argued that, today, there are little to no entrances with immigrant residents. Therefore, the aim has come to exist to explore and disclose networks of immigrant residents.

From this case, it can be seen that, although the district manager is the link between the district and the municipality, little to no contacts seem to exist between the district manager and the migrant organizations that have a physical location at the district. Why is there no contact? And should there be contact between these two? These question will be answered in the following chapter, where this case is elaborated on from the perspective of as well the migrant organizations as the district managers themselves.

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[13] Translated from: 'MEE(R) DÓÉN in de wijk!'
http://www2.nijmegen.nl/mmbase/attachments/1445832/notitie_Mee(r)_Doen_13_januari_2013.pdf

4.2 The ACA

First, let's start at the beginning: What is the ACA and what is their purpose? The ACA is an abbreviation for *Adviescommissie Allochtonen,* or in English: *Advisory Committee for Immigrants.* The committee has a maximum of ten members and the members have to be immigrants and have to have a non-Western background. The committee strives to reflect the migrant community in Nijmegen, which means that at least 40% of the committee should be woman, there must be a good distribution by country of origin and a good distribution of age. Furthermore, the committee is accompanied by Anneke Voeten, the official secretary. She describes her function as follows: "I accompany them. I make sure that they receive all the important documents on time. I analyze what happens to policy development within the municipality and then I explore if it is of importance to give advice about this."

As Anneke Voeten and Cengiz Yildrim, interim chairman of the ACA, argue: "the committee gives solicited and unsolicited advice to the Board of Mayor and Aldermen on matters affecting migrants in general. When the municipality does not do anything, but could do something." Cengiz Yildrim adds to this that the ACA sees it in a wider context. Nijmegen is the community area where the policy takes place and in this community area there are also immigrants. The ACA thus focuses on a broader context than immigrants alone. He argues that it can be seen as a game played in a social context: Nijmegen; and you cannot separate yourself (Yildrim, interview 27-02-2014). With this it is meant that immigrants cannot be seen separately from the context of Nijmegen. The ACA was set up by the municipality and it is a municipal body. According to Cengiz Yildrim, this makes the matter of their position difficult sometimes: serving the municipality or serving the immigrants? He argues that you should serve both. The municipality is served in the sense that the committee provides comments and advice, so that municipal policies adjust better and policies become result-oriented. This may be beneficial for the migrant population, and in this way the immigrants are served. Cengiz Yildrim, however, emphasized that they do not stand up for immigrant groups, because they are in the first instance a committee set up by the municipality.

It is mostly the case that a reaction is given or input is provided for new policy proposals or policy adaptations. Beforehand there is often a discussion and the advices are jointly written often through e-mail ("modern times, huh!") by also making use of their networks. Subsequently, these advices are always in writing send to the Alderman. In turn, they receive a reaction from the Alderman, stating what he or she thought of the advice and what they did with it.

Besides giving advice, Anneke Voeten argues that the ACA also has two other functions, namely a signaling function and being a link between the immigrant population of Nijmegen and the municipality. The signaling function means that if there is something that is bothering immigrants

and this is not considered by the governing bodies, the ACA knows how to bring this to the attention of the government. Anneke Voeten deems this link between immigrants and the municipality as one of the most important functions of the ACA. But how does this link come to the fore?

One of the ways in which this link becomes apparent is the activity which I will describe at the beginning of the following chapter: a meeting where political parties could present their program at a migrant organization. The ACA gave advice to the migrant organization *DHD* on how they could organize an event like this and with this they fulfilled a bridging function. The question can be raised if there are other organizations with which the ACA has contact? And how is the ACA perceived by the migrant organizations and the municipality? Are they the link between these two parties, or the possible link to be?

4.3. Discussion

Several things can be concluded from these cases. First of all, both cases seem to form a link: the district manager is a link between the districts and the municipality and the ACA is a link between the migrant population of Nijmegen and the municipality. Second of all, these two cases expose a number of developments about the position of a district manager, who has to open up networks in their districts and involve people in the participation in their neighborhood, and the position of the ACA, which is argued to be a link between the municipality and the migrant population and has a signaling function. When talking about the relationship between the migrant organizations and the municipality and between the migrant organizations and the district, it seems that there already are relationships between these different actors who can promote this. It can however be questioned how strong these links are and if they need to be stronger in order to enhance the relationships between the migrant organizations and the municipality and the districts. How do these links (the district manager and the ACA) work? Does this fit to the position of the migrant organizations? And does this fit to what the municipality thinks about participation?

To answer these questions, these two cases elaborated on in this chapter will be further analyzed in chapter five, from the perspective of migrant organizations, and chapter six, from the perspective of the municipality. In these two chapters it will become clear how strong these links. In the conclusion, I will return to these two cases and elaborate on the question if these two links may get stronger and how this can be done.

5. Thinking like a migrant organization

"You have contact with us now, before the municipal elections, but how will this contact with migrant organizations be maintained?" (Can 2014)

5.1 Introduction

The aim in the following two chapters is to get more insight in the migrant organizations in Nijmegen and the policies of the municipality of Nijmegen that are focused on these migrant organizations. These policies namely influence the way in which migrant organizations are perceived in Nijmegen and how the organizations organize themselves; what restrictions and possibilities are offered by the municipality. To explain the value of this possible collaboration between the municipality and the migrant organizations, I start off this chapter with an account of a meeting I attended with political parties of the municipality, several migrant organizations, their members and other interested visitors. The political parties at the meeting show exactly where the following chapters are about: participation (but not only in the sense of work), the focus on districts and the collaboration between the municipality and migrant organizations

Sunday, 09-02-2014, 13.00-15.30 – Community center Hatert

On January 30 I received an invitation to attend a meeting organized by the migrant organization DHD and the *Adviescommissie Allochtonen* at which political parties would present their program for the coming municipal elections (19-03-2014). When I arrive at the community center at February 9th at 1 o'clock, it is very busy. I enter the community center with, I interpret to be, only Turkish people and I get offered a cup of coffee. At the coffee table there are all sorts of Turkish delights like baklava and Turkish cookies. I enter the next room with my cup of coffee and I feel quite uncomfortable because I seem to be one of the only non-migrant girls around here. There are particularly Turkish people (or I expect them to be Turkish) who generally talk in a language unknown to me. There is one other girl of my age who also seems to be a non-migrant (but she is there with her mom) and when the meeting starts she is introduced by the presenter of the meeting, Nevzat Cingöz, as Sophie who has just started a research about Turkish organizations. Next to me there are two women who ask me who I am and what I am here for and they tell me that they are from the *Vrijwilligerscentrale.* When the meeting actually starts we are welcomed by the presenter and by the chairwoman of the *DHD*, Melek Can, whom I have also interviewed. The language spoken is Dutch. After these short introductions the political parties come forward, one by one, to present their political programs in three minutes. For all the political parties the availability of work seems to be one of the most

important focus points. Other focus points are investing in districts, lowering the housing rent, working together with migrant organizations and fighting discrimination (especially on the labor market). After the presentations, the speaker of each political party is invited at the table in front of the audience. The audience is given the possibility to ask the political parties questions, but there were too many questions. Therefore it is proposed that the questions can be asked per migrant organization. It seems that there are four migrant organizations present at this meeting: the *DHD* (the Turkish organization who hosted this event)*, STON* (a Turkish organization for elderly people)*, GAAPA* (an Antillean organization) and the *Alevitische Vereniging* (an organization based on an Islamic movement). One of the most relevant questions came from Melek Can, the chairwoman of the *DHD* when she asked: *"You have contact with us now, before the municipal elections, but how will this contact with migrant organizations be maintained?"*

This question seems to be quite hard to answer, if going by the ignoring and unclear answers that followed this question. Some parties argued that they were pro migrant organizations, while other parties seemed to give no answer on the question at all. Only GroenLinks answered this question a bit clear by stating that they are against subsidizing migrant organizations but they are pro subsidizing activities of migrant organizations.

Various things thus have to be explained about this relationship between the municipality and migrant organizations. By making time for this meeting, the political parties seem to understand the importance of migrant organizations and maybe see them as a platform where they can spread their ideas for the election. From this question, however, it can be seen that the *DHD* wants to have more contacts with the municipality (otherwise, they would not ask about it) but it seems to implicate that the municipality has to approach them. From the unclear answers to no answers at all that are given by the political parties, it can be concluded that the parties are not so sure about the role of migrant organizations themselves. This role might be unclear because migrant organizations are not that obvious organizations like companies (who only have the goal to make as much money as possible) or sport clubs. This role of migrant organizations may even be paradoxical because the organizations unite people of the same foreign culture but at the same time help them with integrating in the Dutch culture.

This chapter will start with an overview of the migrant organizations that are active in the city of Nijmegen. Following this overview, a more in depth set of portraits will be provided for three migrant organizations in order to give a clearer picture of who these organizations are and how they differ. After this I will analyze the goals and activities of these organizations by making a classification between bonding, bridging and empowering goals and activities. Furthermore, a closer look will be taken to see if the organizations are focused on a local or a district level, by focusing on the organizations that have a physic location in Zuid or Oud-West. Thereafter, the integration policy of

Nijmegen and the district policies of Zuid and Oud-West will be elaborated on, to see what restrictions and possibilities are given to migrant organizations in Nijmegen. In the last section, the relation between the local government, districts and migrant organizations present in the districts will be analyzed, to see if this relationship can be identified as 'clashing', 'past each other' or 'loving'.

5.2 Migrant organizations in Nijmegen: an overview

This research started with a list of migrant organizations, but this is an informal list, which means that the organizations on this list are not all of the migrant organizations in Nijmegen. On this informal list, which is a snapshot of the organizations the municipality had contact with in June 2013, there are twenty-six 'migrant organizations' and fourteen women groups. The term migrant organizations can be put in quotes because, for example *Muhabbat* is not a migrant organization but an individual initiative and A. Salaam does not exist anymore (Zouay, interview 21-11-2013), although they are both on the list. Furthermore, *GAAPA*, *SOLAAN* and *NOS KOTO* have merged into one foundation, named VERCAZON since the beginning of 2014. This leaves us with 22 migrant organizations and one individual initiative, though *Muhabbat* rather calls itself a network organization (Rinsampessy, interview 16-10-2013). Besides this informal list, three more names of organizations were raised during the interviews, which are two mosques and *Stichting Sema*. In the following table therefore, forty-three organizations are present.

Ethnicity/nationality	Migrant organizations	Women groups	Other groups	Total
Turkish	5	4	2	11
Moroccan	2	2	3 (incl. mosque)	7
International	0	7	0	7
Somalia	1	1	0	2
Indonesia	2	0	0	2
Afghan	2	0	0	2
Moluccan	0	0	2	2
Other nationalities	10	0	0	10

Figure 5.1: Overview of migrant organizations in Nijmegen by ethnicity

Several things can be mentioned about this table with migrant organizations in Nijmegen, both substantive and about the lay-out. First, when starting with the lay-out, this classification is based on ethnicity/nationality. The reason for this is that most organizations have a reference to their ethnicity in the name of their organizations. The ethnicity of only a few organizations has been asked for in interviews, when the nationality or ethnicity of this organization was not clear. Ethnicity may

therefore be the factor on which the organizations distinct themselves from other organizations and it is the basis on which most organizations have come to exist. Although it might seem logical, ethnicity is one of the main factors for migrant organizations. However, there are also migrant organizations that have an international character, and these are categorized under the heading 'international'. Examples of these organizations are *Wereldvrouwen* and *Bottendaalse Beppies*. The basis on which these organizations tend to organize themselves is on 'being a migrant' rather than one ethnicity or nationality.

Second, there is a distinction being made in the table between 'non-national' and 'remaining'. Migrant organizations who argue to be non-national or international are covered by the 'non-national' heading. On the list, for example, these are groups like *Wereldvrouwen* (World women), groups were nationality does not seem to matter. The organizations with the heading 'remaining' are the ethnicities that only have one group or organization in Nijmegen.

Third, there is a distinction made between 'migrant organizations', women groups and other groups. Migrant organizations are all the organizations on the list, except for *Stichting Muhabbat*, which is an individual initiative. The women groups I will elaborate on in the next section. These groups do also have a separate heading on this list. Other groups are migrant organizations who I have interviewed or whom I know of, who are not present on the list. Some examples of these are: *Sema*, the two mosques in Nijmegen West (*Al Moslimin* and *Abi Bakr*), *Het Mozaïek*, *Vadergroep Hatert* and the Moluccan community. The groups are either or 1. no migrant organization or 2. they have not applied for a subsidy, or 3. they are not in contact with the municipality of Nijmegen. However, because they may be of importance for their community in Nijmegen, I have also taken these groups or organizations into account in this research.

Beside these comments about the lay-out, some things need to be said on the contents of this table. First, as can be concluded from this table, the Turkish migrants are a very organized community in Nijmegen. From all the nationalities and ethnicities present on this list, the Turkish people have the most groups, namely eleven. The Turkish people are followed by the Moroccan people, who have seven groups if the *father group* in Hatert and the mosques in Nijmegen West are included. However, these groups do not define themselves as Moroccan, although the majority of the people visiting these groups or organizations are of Moroccan descent. This majority of Turkish and Moroccan organizations is further confirmed by Anneke Voeten, official secretary of the *ACA (Advisory Committee for Immigrants):* "Turkish and Moroccan people do have the most organizations and they are the best organized (…) and Moroccans come together in mosques" (interview 25-06-2013). The majority of Turkish and Moroccan organizations seems to be consistent with the number of Turkish and Moroccan people that lives in Nijmegen. This can be seen in the following pie chart on the population divided by ethnicity. The green part represents the Turkish population and the blue-

green part represents the Moroccan population. These two parts are larger than the Antillean and Surinam part.

Bevolking naar etniciteit (7kl) [%] 2014
Gemeente: Nijmegen

Legend:
- Nederland
- Suriname
- Antillen/Aruba
- Turkije
- Marokko
- westerse landen
- overig niet-westerse landen

Pie values: 75,1 · 12,0 · 5,4 · 2,1 · 3,2 · 1,2 · 0,9

Bron: Gemeentelijke Basisadministratie, Gemeente Nijmegen
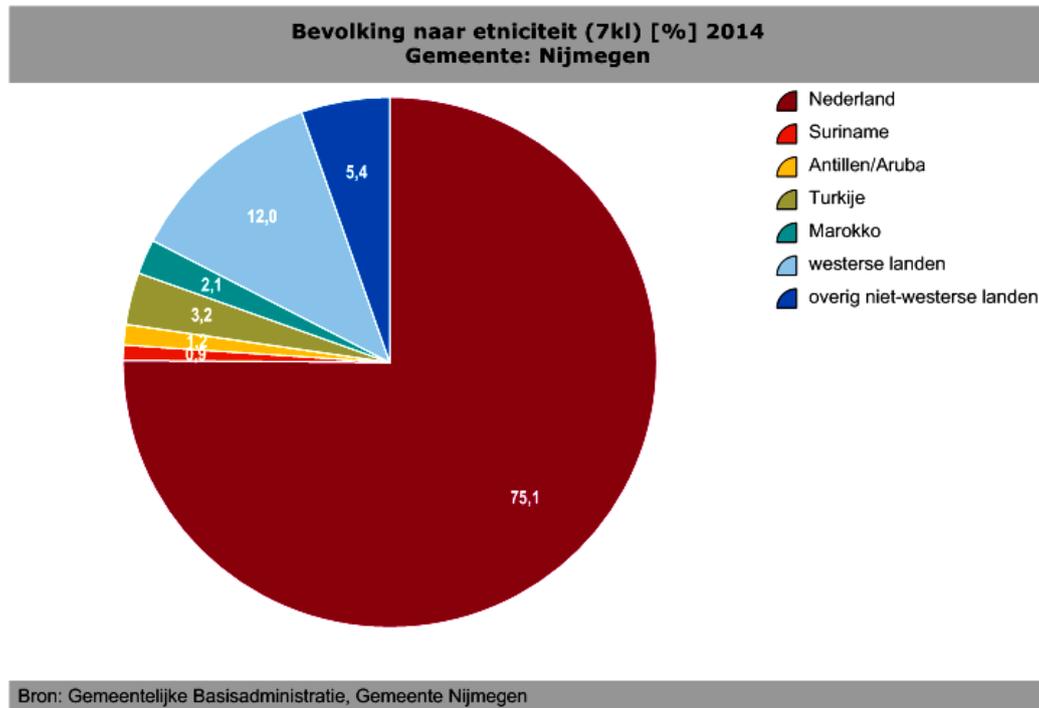
Figure 5.2: Population of Nijmegen by ethnicity[14]

When looking at numbers of organizations, the Turkish and Moroccan organizations are followed by some international groups. Striking about this is that there are only international women groups and no international migrant organizations. Although this is purely interpretative, this may say something of the willingness of women to found or join international groups and their willingness to meet new or different people. However, these women groups are all supported by Tandem (a welfare organization in Nijmegen), so the choice for international groups may also be due to the policies of Tandem. The international groups in this table are followed in number by the Somali, Indonesian, Afghan and Moluccan ethnicities, which all have two organizations in Nijmegen. The number of organizations may thus say something about which, and the degree in which an ethnicity or nationality is organized in Nijmegen.

The second substantive observation to make about this list and the table is that it holds fourteen women groups. According to the list, they therefore form a large part of all migrant groups in Nijmegen. In one way or another, these groups receive support from Tandem (Meilink, interview 31-10-2013). Resie Meilink, community worker at Nijmegen Zuid, argues that she finds that these women groups do not necessarily fit on this list of migrant organizations, because the women groups

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[14] Source: http://nijmegen.buurtmonitor.nl/

are district groups, while the migrant organizations act on a city level and are more like interest groups. For example, while the women groups talk about burglary protection, finding your way in the district and bladder weakness, the themes talked about in the migrant organizations transcend the district level, like finding your way in the Netherlands. When analyzing districts, women groups may therefore be quite interesting.

5.2.2 The informal list

Although an overview of all the migrant organizations in Nijmegen in this section would have been preferred, this seems to be impossible. There does not seem to exist a complete list on which all migrant organizations in Nijmegen are present, but this list is as complete as possible. There are however several reasons for the missing of a complete list. First of all, it might be slightly unclear what a migrant organization or self-organizations exactly is, so what organizations are supposed to be on a list. Is a mosque a migrant organization? Or a group of Turkish women drinking tea? In the second chapter, this terminology has already been explained.

Besides the difficulty to define migrant organizations, another reason given is that migrant organizations do have a changeable character, which explains the non-existence of a complete list. While some organizations disband, others come to exist or merge into one organization. While these reasons do make sense, it still can be seen as a shortcoming that there is no official list of migrant organizations in the municipality of Nijmegen. In the municipal guide, a guide which practically gives information about everything regarding Nijmegen, whole lists are found of sport clubs, recreational clubs, health clubs and faith clubs and a few migrant organizations. Under the heading '*Vrouwengroepen*' in the municipal guide, no migrant organizations are to be found although there do exist migrant women groups. When arriving at the heading '*Zorg & Welzijn'*, there is a subheading called 'allochtonen'. Although this sounds hopeful, there are only twelve organizations listed under this heading. Of these twelve organizations, only four organizations can be called migrant organizations, according to the definition of migrant organization I explained in the second chapter. The remaining eight organizations are institutions who deal with migration or diversity (such as Interlokaal or FORUM) or are a mosque or dance center (*Abi Bakr*, *Amanné*).This is at least striking to see and this may be both due to the municipality (for not knowing the migrant organizations in Nijmegen) as well as due to the migrant organizations themselves (for not profiling themselves enough). However, migrant organizations may have a lot to offer, as will be made clear in this section, and it may therefore be important to incorporate these organizations in the municipal guide or a list, so their position is clearer in Nijmegen.

5.3 Migrant organizations: three case-studies

In this section, the aim will be to make this position of migrant organizations clear by giving a description of three migrant organizations in Nijmegen. These cases are the *Turks Cultureel Centrum & Hilal*, *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland* and *GAAPA.* These organizations were chosen because these organizations are all based on a different ethnicity, namely Turkish, Armenian and Antillean. From the prior sections it can be seen that migrant organizations often seem to organize themselves on the basis of ethnicity. Furthermore, these organizations chosen are different in character: they have different goals and they relate differently to the district in which they are situated. At last, all three organizations can be classified as a migrant organization (in contrast to the mosque, for example), so this cannot be questioned and all three organizations have websites, so additional information can be found.

5.3.1 Turks Cultureel Centrum & Hilal

The *Turks Cultureel Centrum* and *Hilal* are situated in the neighborhood *Hatertse Hei* in Nijmegen Zuid and they have a quite imposing old school building. Officially, the *Turks Cultureel Centrum* and *Hilal* are officially two organizations, but they only have different boards; their main activities are shared. *Stichting Hilal* has been founded on the request of the Turkish women and they are now coming together once every two weeks. In contrary to the *Turks Cultureel Centrum, Hilal* is a foundation so they do not have members. The husbands of the women who visit *Hilal* are however mostly member of the *Turks Cultureel Centrum.*

The *Turks Cultureel Centrum* has been officially founded in 1995 for young people and by young people. The main thought then was: how do we keep the Turkish youth off the streets and off the drugs? Nowadays, the target-group has changed from young to old, or from 7 till 77 as they say in Turkish and exists of 200 households of which 95% is Turkish. The main thought and purpose has changed into: integration and participation while retaining their own culture. This means speaking their own language, practicing their own religion, drinking Turkish tea and celebrating Turkish holidays. However, they also celebrate the Dutch Queens day, so in that case they form a mishmash between the Turkish and Dutch culture. This mishmash can also be seen in the lessons which are given by the *Turks Cultureel Centrum*: they give Turkish language lessons and Koran lessons to the children, but they also provide Dutch language lessons.

Besides these lessons, several other activities are organized like sport activities (swimming, pool tournament), information meetings, Turkish guitar lessons or drinking together and watching TV and with all these activities the official language is Turkish. Since five years, they organize every year a two-day open day, which has the purpose to eliminate prejudices and making the Netherlands

more familiar with the Turkish culture, like the Turkish cuisine, traditional costumes and Turkish dance. Furthermore, they have pretty good contact with their neighborhood in Nijmegen Zuid. For example, they help organizing the annual street party and they argue that it is important to have good contact with their neighbors. They are slightly familiar with the district facilities; they know them but do not participate with or in them (Gedik and Ural, interview 21-11-2013).

As can be seen, this organization is quite strongly focused on their culture and this is what binds and unites them. The spoken language at activities is Turkish and many activities (although not all) are focused on the Turkish culture. They are however also focused on integration and participation in the sense that they provide Dutch language lessons, information meetings and they have slightly good contact with their neighborhood.

5.3.2 Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland

The activities of the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland* are situated in Nijmegen Oud-West, at the community center *Villa Nova*. Gaiane Abrahamian, who now is an advisor of the foundation, has founded an Armenian youth association in 2001, and this was the first Armenian youth association in the whole Netherlands. She has founded this association because she felt the need to bring her compatriots together and she felt homesick. Search for a location, applying for subsidies and making contacts: she did this all by herself at the age of 19. In March 2009 the association turned into a foundation, because it was hard to recruit members. Nowadays, they have a broader target group and they are less focused on youth. The foundation has several goals, for example uniting Armenians, sharing experiences, retaining their norms and values, taking steps in society, dare to be visible and poverty reduction in Armenia. Their structural activities are Armenian language lessons and dance lessons every Sunday. Other activities are information meetings, mother's day, Dutch language lessons and Christmas with Santa Claus. Furthermore, they do not have contacts with the district but they would like to have them, and if they can mean or do something for the district they definitely would like to know this (Abrahamian, interview 07-10-2013).

As can be seen, this organization is also focused on their own culture because their main goal is uniting Armenians. Furthermore, they provide Armenian language lessons, Armenian dance lessons and they care for poverty reduction in Armenia (for example sending goods and financial gifts to support local initiatives and schools). They are however also strongly focused on taking steps and being visible in society. The contact in the district should be improved however, because these contacts do not exist at the moment.

5.3.3 GAAPA

GAAPA stands for *Gruppo Antiliano Arubano Positivo et Activo* and this group is focused on Antillean people of all ages. *GAAPA* has been founded in 2005. During the fieldwork it has come to be renamed as a new foundation since the first of January 2014, called *VERCAZON* (*Verenigde Caribische Zelforganisaties Nijmegen*). This is a merger of *GAAPA*, *Nos Koto* and *SOLAAN* (all three Antillean organizations). However, all three organizations keep their objectives and identity but they will work more closely together. The primary objectives of *GAAPA* are to participate in society, to represent interests and to integrate. They have various activities and some of these are: thematic meetings, information meetings, providing Zumba lessons, seeing a play and celebrating *Sinterklaas*. The celebration of *Sinterklaas* I attended and at this meeting, surprises were being exchanged among the female members of *GAAPA* (varying from a giant handbag to a giant nail polish bottle). At this meeting, Christmas bouquets were also being made. Most of the activities of *GAAPA* are attended by about fifteen people and the activities are situated in Nijmegen *Dukenburg*, in the neighborhood *Meijhorst*. The activities usually take place in the community centre of *Meijhorst* or in the 'farm' (it used to be a farm) which is across the community centre. *GAAPA* is quite familiar with, and active in the neighborhood. They are familiar with district facilities like the district magazine and the district council but they do not participate in this council. It is argued by the chairwoman Bea Postma, that the district council is not accessible and they may not be interested in talking about 'pavement tiles and lampposts'. Furthermore, they know who the district manager is. They are also quite active in their district, because they help preparing the annual district festival and they have contacts and cooperation with other organizations in the district.

When talking about districts and migrant organizations in this thesis, it is especially interesting what the secretary of *GAAPA* and a member of *GAAPA* stated. The secretary of *GAAPA*, Jennie Maduro, lives in Hatert but when I asked her about her connection with Hatert, she argued that she is active in *Meijhorst* and she knows this neighborhood better than the neighborhood she is living in. A member of *GAAPA*, Corinne, also argues that she feels more at home in *Meijhorst* than she feels in *Neerbosch-Ooost*, the neighborhood where she lives. It can therefore be argued that a migrant organization is very important for feeling at home in a neighborhood, although it may not be the neighborhood where you are living in. However, this point is only mentioned in the interview with *GAAPA*. More research on the members of migrant organizations is necessary to further explore this 'feeling at home because of the migrant organization'.

As can be seen, this organization does not seem to be so strongly focused on their own culture as the previous two organizations were. Their primary objectives (integrating, participating in society and representing interests) and their main activities do also not seem to be focused on their own culture, but possibly more on strengthening the position of Antillean people. They also seem to

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have quite good contacts with their district and the facilities present in this district. Improved contact with the district is therefore not necessarily wished for by this organization.

5.4 Primary goals and main activities: Bonding, bridging, or empowering?

As can be seen from the description of the three case-studies in the previous section, migrant organizations do have different goals and activities. In the following table, the primary goals and the main activities of migrant organizations can be found, in order to give more insights in the existing of these organizations. Furthermore, the goals and activities are put into one table, because goals and activities often resemble each other and logically, the activities should be the outcome of the primary goals. In this table, a distinction has been made between bonding, empowerment and bridging. Bonding and bridging has been chosen to see the extent to which the organizations are and are focused on bonding or bridging social capital. As has already been explained in the second chapter, bonding social capital brings together people who are in important respects like one another and bridging social capital brings people together who are not like one another (Putnam and Goss 2002, 11). Furthermore, empowerment has been added to these two categorizations because not all goals and activities are by definition bridging or bonding; some tend to have an empowering character, aimed at the strengthening of the own group. Although the focus in this category seems to be on the own group, empowerment often leads to bridging social capital. Examples how these three categories interrelate will be given below.

Organizations		Bonding	Empowerment	Bridging
STON	**Goals**		Caring for elderly	
	Activities	Reading newspaper, creative, play at cards, excursion	Information meeting consultation hour, helping with writing letters	
SMON	**Goals**		Caring for elderly	Participation
	Activities	Gatherings, board meeting	Computer lessons	
Savarona	**Goals**		Committed to Turkish citizens in Nijmegen	
	Activities	Afternoon coffee, bingo, feast of Sacrifice	Information meetings, woman reading newspaper clippings, information	

Organizations		Bonding	Empowerment	Bridging
			about district facilities, self-defense	
Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland	**Goals**	Preservation of their own culture, social contact, share experiences		Participation, Dutch classes
	Activities	Dance class, Armenian lessons, Christmas, father's Day, women's Day	Information meetings	Friends day, Dutch lessons
DHD	**Goals**		Empowerment	Emancipation
	Activities	Movie night, literature day, Turkish guitar lessons	Information meetings	Meeting: party leaders presenting their programs
Aktifler	**Goals**	Preservation of their own culture, social activities, share experiences, sociability	Information meetings	Contact with district
	Activities	Making jewelry, knitting	Information meetings	
Turks Cultureel Centrum and Hilal	**Goals**	Preservation of their own culture		Integration, participation
	Activities	Lessons about Turkish culture and language, Koran lessons, sport activities, music, lessons	Information meetings	Dutch lessons, Open House
Sema	**Goals**		Caring for young people	
	Activities		Information meetings, seminars for parents, homework support, weekend courses	
Moluccan community	**Goals**	No goals: common factor is history, identity and future		
	Activities	Music, preservation and transfer of own culture	Organizing things from sociality	
Vadergroep Hatert	**Goals**	Discuss problems, support each other		Integration, participation

Organizations		Bonding	Empowerment	Bridging
	Activities		Information meetings	Kleurrijk Hatert
Anour	**Goals**		Information meetings, caring for young people	Integration, participation
	Activities	Meeting every Sunday	Homework support, supporting parents, information meetings	
Club Sierra Leone	**Goals**	Support each other	Empowerment	Integration
	Activities	General meeting, board meeting, naming ceremony, cooking together, parties	Information meetings	
Stichting Muhabbat	**Goals**		Empowerment, development	Transparency
	Activities		Information meetings, projects	Round table
Goshamadeed	**Goals**		Empowerment	participation, integration
	Activities	Sewing workshop, sport, moving to music, meeting each other	Information meetings	
GAAPA	**Goals**			Participation, integration
	Activities	Zumba, seeing a play	Information meetings	
Mosque Al Moslimin	**Goals**			Contact with district
	Activities	Arabic lessons, praying five times a day, Sermon, reading the Koran		'Straatspeeldag', district platform, writing for district magazine, Iftar for the district

Figure 5.3: The primary goals and activities of migrant organizations in Nijmegen

5.4.1 Primary goals

From this table, various things can be concluded. From the lay-out, it can be seen that many

organizations have multiple goals activities. Furthermore, the majority of the organizations have their

goals on different levels. This means that organizations are not purely focused on preservation of the

own culture, or making contacts with the district; they rather have a combination of both as their

goal. Some of the organizations who have their primary goal on one level are for example *STON,*

Savarona and *Sema*, but these organizations have a goal focused on empowering. It is interesting to see that there are no organizations with only a bonding goal. Therefore, all organizations have, by definition, goals that go beyond bringing together their own group.

Besides the lay-out argument, also substantively various things can be concluded from this table. One of the main substantive arguments has to do with the categorization made in this table. Though migrant organizations may have bonding or empowering goals, most of these goals also lead to bridging social capital, even if this is not the primary goal at first. This will be shown in the following examples.

First, the primary goals that tend to have a bonding character are preservation of the own culture, supporting each other, sharing experiences and social contacts. These were categorized as bonding because these goals seem to have a strong focus on their own culture and preserving this culture. Interesting to see is that there are no migrant organizations that only had goals that have a bonding character. Migrant organization thus go beyond the preservation of the own culture and being together. Furthermore, supporting each other and sharing experiences may lead to bridging social capital. The reason for this is that the members of migrant organizations often have the same experiences and therefore better mutual understanding, which makes them feel safer and stronger. This is explained by Gaiane Abrahamian, founder of the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland* (interview 07-10-2013). She illustrates this mutual understanding by giving an example: "I've got a son and I have parenting questions, and you also have a child; then we can talk more easily about certain things. If we share insights we can take steps to do other things."She furthermore argues that refugees go through many difficulties and people having experienced the same things talk more easily. In that way people can lift each other up. Another example she gives is about giving a presentation: "first you practice it for your parents and after that you can perform your presentation on stage. This can be compared to the fact that it is easier to talk to Armenian people and after that you can knock on your neighbor's door." In that case, bonding social capital becomes empowering and bridging social capital.

Second, some of the common heard primary goals which tend to have an empowering character are caring for elderly or young people, information meetings and empowerment. Although information meetings and caring for young or elderly people can also be seen as activities, the organizations themselves named them their goals. These goals were categorized as empowering because these goals have the purpose to strengthen and develop the own group. Only *Sema*, *Savarona* and *STON* have goals that only have an empowering character. However, empowering goals also tend to lead to bridging social capital. Elias Rinsampessy, the chairman of *Stichting Muhabbat,* even argues that they have emancipation as their main goal, rather than participation, because "with emancipation, people can dispose over their own destiny and give direction to their

own future." Furthermore, the chairman argues that "it is unevenly distributed and not everyone can participate." Therefore they are focused on emancipation and empowerment because by working together with other people, people will automatically participate (interview 16-10-2013). Caring for youth and elderly are deemed to be important by *Sema, Anour, STON* and *SMON*. These primary goals are focused on education, keeping youth of the streets and giving information, which also has the purpose of strengthening the own youth and elderly people. In turn, this may lead to more participation and a reduction of early school leaving (youth) or isolation (elderly).

Third, some of the common heard goals which tend to have a bridging character are mainly integration and participation. These goals were categorized as bridging because they all seem to have a strong focus on society. If these goals focus on their own group, it is a focus of their group in relation to society. *DHD*, for example, has a focus on emancipation and equal rights in the Dutch society. Turkish women did not have a positive image in Dutch society, it was thought that they were subordinated and they sat at home. Nowadays, the Turkish women are more active and they have more needs to organize things. The goal of the *DHD* can therefore be characterized as bridging because they give the Turkish women in the Dutch society a better position. It can however be mentioned here that the focus on integration and participation may be a socially desirable response. This will however be analyzed in the sections about their main activities (how much are their activities focused on integration and participation?) and the section about participation (what is meant by the organizations when talking about participation?), to which will be turned now

Although not included in this table, one of the most common heard goals is representing interests. This goal can however not be categorized in one of these categories and is therefore not included. The reason for this is that it is dependent of the interests of members or followers that the primary goals are to be bonding, empowering of bridging. When members have the interest to speak their own language, it could be categorized as bonding, but when the members have the interest of getting to know people outside their own group, it could be categorized as bridging. For that reason, this is the only goal of the interviewed migrant organizations that has not been included in this table, just because of the vagueness of this goal.

5.4.2 Translation from goal to activity

Besides the primary goals of the migrant organizations, the activities of these organizations also says something about whether they are focused on bridging or bonding social capital, or if their activities are more focused on the empowering element.

Just as was the case with the categorization of the primary goals of migrant organizations, with the categorization of the main activities in this table the boundaries between bonding, empowerment and bridging is sometimes also a bit blurred. Some activities can be categorized as

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bonding as well as empowering, because bringing people together, for example, may also empower people. However, these activities were categorized as bonding, because the primary goal of bringing people together still is 'being together' and not necessarily 'getting stronger'.

In the table with the goals and activities, it is at least striking to see that the 'bridging column' is less filled in the rows of activities than in the rows of goals. While the primary goals of twelve organizations could be categorized as 'bridging', the activities of only six organizations could be categorized as 'bridging'. This includes Dutch lessons which could also be categorized as empowering. Therefore, organizations may have bridging primary goals like integration and participation, but these primary goals do not always seem to come to the fore in their activities. On the contrary, nine goals of self-organizations can be seen as bonding, while fourteen activities seem to have a bonding character. Some organizations thus seem to focus their primary goals on a bridging character while their activities may have more bonding elements. This may be due to the unconscious value judgment of bonding and bridging, where bridging social capital is perceived better than bonding social capital. Migrant organizations may therefore feel obliged to have a bridging character and bridging primary goals, while in practice they have more bonding activities.

Furthermore, it is interesting to see that almost all of the migrant organizations have information meetings as their main activities, namely thirteen out of sixteen. While these information meetings were categorized as 'empowering', the 'empowering' column is well occupied in the rows of activities. All the organizations, except for the mosque, do have empowering activities.

The purposes ascribed to the activities differ between the organizations. Informing their followers or members is for many organizations an important purpose for their activities. This corresponds to all the information meetings that are given. Bringing people together is also a frequently heard purpose for their activities. Sociability or coziness, on the other hand, is seen as a purpose for the activities of *Aktifler* (interview 05-11-2013), but the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland* argues that this is not a purpose but an incidental (Abrahamian, interview 07-10-2013). Other purposes are more abstract in nature, like integration, breaking taboos, contributing to society and improving or enhancing participation in society. The latter I will elaborate on in the next chapter about participation in the city. I will however first elaborate on the physical position of migrant organizations in their district.

5.5 Migrant organizations: thinking at a district level?

"Districts are too small. You should look at the city, the country or the world. I am looking very big; I see the world and not the district" (Ahmadi, interview 24-10-2013).

This is the answer given by Storay Ahmadi, chairwoman of the Afghan organization *Goshamadeed,* when I asked her if her organization would like it to focus more on a district level. As has been mentioned in the introduction, the focus on districts is growing stronger. People have to participate in their district and as can be seen in the following section, the municipality of Nijmegen is also investing in districts (like the social neighborhood teams and the building of new neighborhood community centers). In this section, the focus will be on what role there is for migrant organizations in the district. Are they even focused on the district? Or is this mainly an idea existing in municipal policies? Or are they focused on another level, such as the 'world', as Storay Ahmadi argued? Two districts were used as a case study to perceive the view of migrant organizations on the district they are situated in, and these are Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen Oud-West. Because there are mainly Turkish and Moroccan organizations present in these two districts, five more organizations present in other districts with different ethnicities have also been interviewed. This allowed for insights in the degree to which the district was of interest for the location of a migrant organization, and if these organizations also have their activities at a district level. In this section I will first elaborate on the organizations that are present in the districts Nijmegen Oud-West and Nijmegen Zuid, and after this I will elaborate on Oud-West and Zuid separately to understand what the views of migrant organizations are on 'their' district. After this I will elaborate on the five organizations in other districts in Nijmegen.

5.5.1 Which organization is present where?

Although efforts have been made to interview all the migrant organizations who have a physical space in the districts Zuid and Oud-West, this could not be guaranteed because there was no list of the organizations that are present in these districts. Furthermore, some organizations did not want to be interviewed. Despite these infirmities, I have interviewed all the migrant organization who are situated in Oud-West and Zuid who were on the list or known by other interviewees. In the following table an overview can be found of the organizations that are present in these districts and are interviewed.

Zuid	Oud- West
DHD	STON
Turkse vrouwengroep Aktifler	SMON
Turks Cultureel Centrum	Stichting Savarona
Stichting Hilal	Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland
Sema	Moskee Al Moslimin (Nieuw-West)
Moluccan community	
Vadergroep Hatert	

Figure 5.4: Migrant organizations in Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen Oud-West

This table shows that more groups are present in the district Zuid, and that these are mainly Turkish groups (five out of seven groups). In Oud-West there are two Turkish as well as two Moroccan groups. Although this research is not specifically focused on the Moroccan or Turkish groups, these groups are, besides the Armenians and the Moluccans, the only groups present in these districts. In this case, the Turkish and Moroccan groups are unintentionally more evident in this research. Just as was the case with the migrant organizations in Nijmegen, the majority of Turkish and Moroccan organizations seems to be consistent with the number of Turkish and Moroccan people that live these two districts. As can be seen in the pie-charts below, the Turkish group is in both districts a respectively large group, and this group is in both districts followed by the Moroccan group.
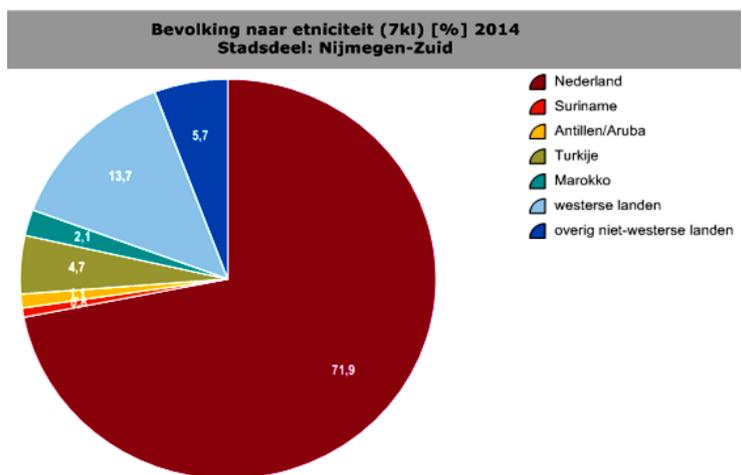
Figure 5.5: Population of Nijmegen Zuid by ethnicity[15]

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[15] Source: http://nijmegen.buurtmonitor.nl/
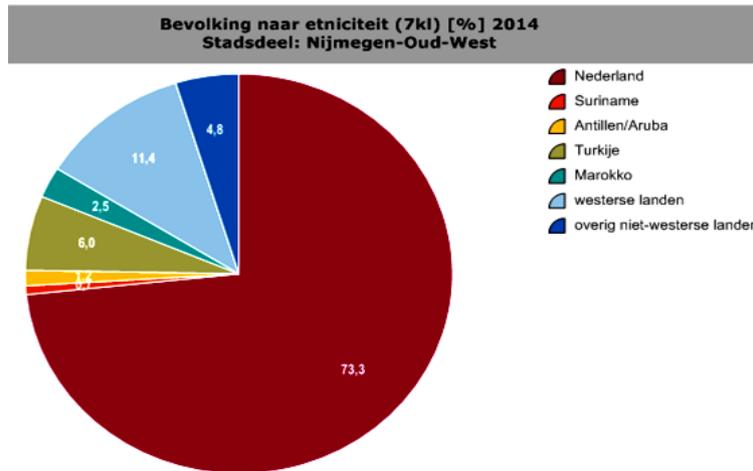
Figure 5.6: Population of Nijmegen Oud-West by ethnicity[16]

What does not correspond is the number of organizations; while there are fewer organizations in Nijmegen Oud-West, the Turkish as well as the Moroccan group are both larger in this district than in Nijmegen Zuid. The reason for this may be that there are more facilities in Nijmegen Zuid or that the groups in Nijmegen Oud-West are more active. Another reason may be that, although these groups are present in the districts Zuid and Oud-West, it does not necessarily mean that they are active in these districts. The degree in which a migrant organization is active in the district varies per organization. I will first elaborate on the organizations present in Oud-West and then the organizations present in Zuid, to give a clearer picture of the relationship between districts and migrant organizations. This also says something about the participation of migrant organization, on which I will return in the next chapter.

5.5.2 Oud-West

The degree in which a migrant organization is focused on- or active in a district varies, which can also be seen in Oud-West. The *STON*, the *SMON* and the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*, for example, are not that active on a district level and various reasons are given for this. The Armenian organization is only in the district on Sundays, when not many local residents are in the community center. Therefore it is hard to have contacts in the district (Abrahamian, interview 07-10-2013). Another reason is given by the *STON*, which argues that their followers do not feel the need to be active in the district (Bektan, interview 03-10-2013). The *SMON* argues that the *STON* and the *SMON* may be more active in the district in the future (Bouchiki, interview 10-10-2013), but the *STON* argues that they do not want to be more active or involved in the district. In contrast to this statement of the *STON*, the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland* does have more concrete plans or

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[16] Source: http://nijmegen.buurtmonitor.nl/

intentions to be more active in the district. Gaiane Abrahamian, the founder of the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*, argues that the Dutch classes they are giving could be practiced in the district by asking or speaking to people living in the district. Furthermore, she states that she does not have contact with the district manager but if their organization can do something for the district, she would like to be approached about this. At the same time this is her critique on the municipality: they have never been approached about participation (interview 7-10-2013). Additionally, the *STON* and the *Verenigde Armeniërs* Nederland are both not familiar with the district magazine, resident groups or the district council. The *SMON* indicates that they do not have contact with the district council, but that they are familiar with the district magazine and resident groups.

The chairwoman of *Stichting Savarona*, Nagihan Yucel, characterizes *Savarona* as an organization focused on the district. Although all people are welcome in this organization, most people who are followers of *Savarona* are women. They come from the same neighborhood as where their activities are situated, namely *De Wolfskuil*, or other neighborhoods in the district Oud-West. Furthermore, *Savarona* gives information to their followers about the facilities in the district like the social community team, Interlokaal and the SWON, though they do not know the district council, residents groups, the district magazine or residents.

The mosque *Al Moslimin* does not characterize itself as an organization focused on the district, but they are very active in their district. Although this mosque is not situated in the district Oud-West, it is very close to this district (one street away), and the mosque will therefore be considered here. The activeness of the mosque in the district can be seen in the fact that they are a member of the district platform, they are familiar with the district magazine and even write something in it, they have an open door policy and they help organizing activities in the district (Bouharrou and Achouitar, interview 17-09-2013).

The degree in which an organization has contact with the district manager also varies a lot between the organizations: from perfect contact (mosque) to not knowing him at all (*STON*, *SMON*, *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland* and *Stichting Savarona*). The latter do however wish to have contact with him, or at least more involvement. It is at least striking to see that in the district Oud-West, there are few contacts with the district manager or other district facilities, although both (the migrant organizations and the district manager) are not against more contacts or at least knowing each other. While the Social Support Act is focused on a strong district community and social networks, this could be started here by getting to know each other. In this sense, expectations and wishes in the district can be expressed and fulfilled.

5.5.3 Zuid

All groups who have a physical location in the district Zuid seem to be active here, in one way or another. These physical locations do differ from having its own building (*Turks Cultureel Centrum*, *Stichting Hilal* and *Sema*), having their own neighborhood (Moluccan community) or having a place in the community centre or school in Hatert (*DHD*, *Aktifler* and the *Vadergroep Hatert*). The degree in the interaction with the district differs however between the organizations. *Sema*, for example, sees itself as having a role-model in the district and no one suffers from them. However, *Sema* does not see the added value of having good contacts with the district, because they had to prove themselves and network maintenance takes time. This statement seems to contradict the first statement about being a role model. However, *Sema* would like to be more involved in the district but this should come from both sides and the district should also ask them things (Yilmaz, interview 13-11-2013).

Another group that can be characterized as 'involved with the district' and being neighborhood-oriented is the Moluccan community. They seem to be familiar with all the district facilities, namely the district council, the district magazine and the resident groups. Furthermore, they participate in the Platform Hatert, a district advisory council that meets four times a year. Greet Kapressy Usmany, a contact person of the Moluccan community, describes their involvement with the district as good, because they have good contacts, they can find their way properly and they have their own space. Furthermore, she argues that "everything is district-oriented and that is very nice; the lines are shorter and it is more professional than before" (Kapressy-Usmany, interview 03-12-2013). The Moluccan community is an interesting community overall because they have their own neighborhood within the neighborhood *Hatert*. They have an agreement with *Portaal*, a housing cooperation in Nijmegen, which states that the houses that become empty, are given to the children of the Moluccan people, and if there are no children, it is given to the grandchildren. Social control and social binding are the main advantages for Moluccans to live in a Moluccan neighborhood. At the same time, this social control can also be seen as a disadvantage, because the whole neighborhood knows when you do not go to church or when you bought a new sofa (interview 03-21-2013).

The *Turks Cultureel Centrum* and *Stichting Hilal* also have contacts within their neighborhood, namely their neighbors and *Het Mozaïek*, an Islamic organization which is also situated in this neighborhood. Furthermore, they help with organizing the annual street- party and they are familiar with the district magazine and the district council. However, they do not participate in this council (but they know how to find them). Furthermore, they wish to be more involved in the district (Gedik and Ural, interview 21-11-2013).

Two of the groups that are present in Nijmegen Zuid are situated in the community center of Hatert (a neighborhood in Nijmegen Zuid) and these are *Vadergroep Hatert* and *DHD (Democratische Volksvereniging).* This does not necessarily have an influence on their degree of involvement within

the district. The *DHD* for example has their own rented space within the community center, but they are not that familiar with the facilities in the district. They do not have contact with the district manager, the district council or resident groups. They do however know the district magazine and they would like to write something in it. Furthermore, they would like to be more involved with the district than they are nowadays (Can, interview 18-12-2013).

The *Vadergroep Hatert* is situated in the youth center, located at the rear of the community center, a place which they are not very happy about, because it does not fit their needs. The *Vadergroep Hatert* is district-oriented, and according to Omar Sellouf, the contact person of the *Vadergroep Hatert,* they are active in the district and during *Kleurrijk Hatert*. However, according to Omar Sellouf, the district has forgotten them and it feels like one-way traffic. They cope with the same problem as previously indicated by the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*, namely that they are only together as a group during the weekends, when the community center is closed for visitors or other groups, so that they have little contacts within the district. Furthermore, although they are district-oriented, they are not familiar with district facilities like the district council or the district magazine. With the district manager there is good contact. They wish to be more involved in this district and Omar Sellouf wishes to know all people who are involved in this district (Sellouf, interview 02-12-2013).

As was already argued by Resie Meilink (interview 31-10-2013), women groups are district-oriented, and this is also the case for *Aktifler,* a Turkish women group, situated in the *Ouder Kind Centrum* at Hatert. They are district-oriented because one of their main goals is contact with Hatert and wanting to know what is happening in their environment. Additionally, all the women in this group are from Hatert. They are familiar with several facilities in the district and the neighborhood, like the *Hatert Werkt* project and the district magazine. In the latter, however, language is a problem but they find it nice what is in the magazine. Other facilities like the district council or resident groups are unknown to them.

The degree in which the groups have contact with their district manager varies a lot between the groups, just as was the case in Oud-West. *Sema*, The Moluccan community and *Vadergroep Hatert* indicate that they have good contact with the district manager. The *Turks Cultureel Centrum* and *Stichting Hilal* also argue that they have contact with the district manager, although they do not know his name. The *DHD* and the Turkish women group *Aktifler* do not know the district manager at all, but they would like to know him or even invite him, in the case of *Aktifler*. This is broadly in line with the list the district manager (Ed van Dael) has filled in himself. This is of importance because it may say something about the intensity of contacts between the organizations and the district manager and whether the contact comes from both sides. The only difference to be found is that *Aktifler* indicates that they do not know him, while Ed van Dael indicates that he has contact with this

group. The difference may be due to the absence of the chairwoman of *Aktifler* (Turkan Kose) at the day of the interview.

5.5.4 Differences and similarities between the districts

It seems that the migrant organizations in Zuid are in general more active in their district than the migrant organizations in Oud-West, which is interesting because both the Turkish as well as the Moroccan population is larger in Oud-West than it is in Zuid. However, also in Nijmegen Zuid there is still room for improvements. Many organizations namely indicated that they wish to have more contacts in the district and that they would like to know more people who are active in this district. Reasons for this wish may be that the organizations value their place in the district and that they want to be known by the citizens in Nijmegen. It can however be argued that the contacts should come from both sides: from the district and the migrant organization. Another 'problem' for why there are not so many contacts between the district and the migrant organizations can be that the migrant organizations are more active in the weekends, while the community center is closed for other neighborhood residents. This leads to few encounters between the residents and the migrant organizations.

There also seems to be more contact between the migrant organizations and the district manager in Nijmegen Zuid than Oud-West, which may well be due to a more active district manager and/or more active organizations in this district. However, some organizations would like to establish contact with the district manager, because they do not know him. This implicates the importance they attach to their place in the district and that they want to be more familiar with and in their environment. But here it is also the case that: contacts should come from both sides. The case of the district manager will be further elaborated on in section 5.7, the last section of this chapter.

5.5.5 What about other districts and organizations?

Besides the twelve groups described above who are located in the districts Zuid and Oud-West, five more groups were interviewed about their involvement with their district. These organizations are: *Anour*, *Club Sierra Leone*, *Stichting Muhabbat*, *Goshamadeed* and *GAAPA*. All these organizations are city-oriented, except for *Stichting Muhabbat*; they work district-oriented, but not in one district in Nijmegen in particular. Therefore, *Stichting Muhabbat* is not familiar with the district facilities, although they know where to find these facilities.

First *Anour*; they are located at the community center at Heseveld, a neighborhood in the district Nijmegen Nieuw- West, but they desire to have their own space. This is because the facilitation of sociability is difficult, since this is not allowed in the rules of the community centers at Nijmegen. Because their members come from all over Nijmegen, they have chosen Heseveld as

location since it is located at the center of Nijmegen. Because of the community center, they also have contacts with other organizations. Although they are a city-oriented organization, they are familiar with district facilities like the district council and the district manager. However, they would like to be more involved with the district than that they are nowadays (but the district must also have this desire) (Anour, interview 03-10-2013).

Second, *Club Sierra Leone*; they are located in the district Lindenholt, although they have members from all over Nijmegen (and even Arnhem). Except for the district magazine, they are not familiar with the facilities in the district. Rugiatu, vice-president of *Club Sierra Leone*, furthermore argues that they do not necessarily want to be more involved in the district, because they are coming to everything the municipality organizes, so they are doing enough in her opinion. Rugiatu furthermore argues that participation in the district could be improved by not communicating everything on paper, because this forms a problem for the many illiterate people of their organization. The language barrier is large and this needs to change (Rugiatu, interview 14-10-2013).

Third, *Goshamadeed*; they are located in Meijhorst, a neighborhood in the district Dukenburg (previously they were located in Hatert). They are city-oriented and as Storay Ahmadi, the chairwoman of *Goshamadeed* argues: "Districts are too small. You should look at the city, the country or the world. I am looking very big; I see the world and not the district" (Ahmadi, interview 24-10-2013). *Goshamadeed* is also not familiar with district facilities.

Fourth, *GAAPA*; they are also located in Meijhorst. Although they are city-oriented, they are quite active in the district as well. They help for example with Dukenburg Present (district festival), they have contacts with various organizations located in the district like *Interlokaal,* the social community team and the community center and they are familiar with the district magazine. However, they are not familiar with the district manager or the district council. Just like *Anour* indicated, *GAAPA* also wants to be more involved in the district (Maduro, interview 18-11-2013 and Postma, interview 01-12-2013).

Out of these five organizations, two organizations indicated that they wish to have more contacts in their district. Club Sierra Leone argues that they have the feeling they are doing enough and *Goshamadeed* argues that their primary goal is focused on city level. *Muhabbat* can be seen as a network organization, so they transcend the district- and the city level. Furthermore, there is room for improvement with reference to the district facilities, especially for *Club Sierra Leone* and *Goshamadeed*. If the policy in Nijmegen nowadays is more focused on the districts, it should be clear which actors are in these districts and what their contribution may be.

How strong this focus on districts in the policy of Nijmegen is will be elaborated on in the next chapter. More insights will also be given what expectations there exist in Nijmegen with reference to the migrant organizations as described above.

5.6 Returning to the case-studies

As has been mentioned in the previous chapter, in this section I will elaborate on the perspective of the migrant organizations about the cases as given in this previous chapter. First, the perspective of migrant organization on the district manager will be analyzed, and second, the perspective of migrant organizations on the ACA will be analyzed.

5.6.1 Thinking like a migrant organization about the district manager

Whilst it has become clear that various organizations have their physical location in the district, it can be questioned what their contacts in this district are. It has become clear from the case study described in chapter 4 that district managers are the link between the district as a society and the municipality as an organization. But do these migrant organizations that have a physical place in the districts also have contacts with the district manager? This question is answered in the following table.

Migrant Organizations	Contact district manager?
Vadergroep Hatert	Yes, good contact
Moluccan Community	Yes, good contact
Moskee Al Moslimin	Yes, good contact
Sema	Yes, better than last district manager
Anour	Yes, but does not know the name
TCC en Hilal	Yes, but does not know who it is
STON	Yes, but does not know who it is
Muhabbat	No (only when necessary)
Club Sierra Leone	No
VAN	No
DHD	No
Savarona	No
SMON	No
Goshamadeed	No
Aktifler	No
GAAPA	No

Figure 5.7: Migrant organizations that have contact with the district manager

From this table it can be seen that out of the sixteen organizations I have interviewed, only four organizations indicated that they have good contact with the district manager, which is relatively few. These organizations also indicated that they are (also) focused on a district level, which explains their relation with the district manager. Three organizations also argue that they do have contact with the district manager but they cannot produce their name, even when I mention the name, they did not seem to recognize it. From this it can be concluded that these organizations do not have a very good relationship with the district managers. The remaining nine organizations do not have

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contact with the district manager at all. This may mean that these organizations are not focused on a district level or that these organizations do not see the benefits of having contact with the district manager. An example is *Aktifler:* although they indicated that they are focused on the district level (which I will discuss further in chapter 7), they do not have contact with the district manager. However, they do want to have contact with the district manager but it seems that they did not encounter each other. This might be a missing link between the municipality and the migrant organizations.

Whilst the four organizations that argued that they have contact with the district manager seem to be focused on the district level or fulfill a role in the district, it can be argued that these organizations therefore have contacts with the district manager. Other organizations might therefore not have contact with the district manager, because they are focused on a city level (for example *DHD, Savarona* and the *STON)* or even at a national level (such as *Club Sierra Leone Nederland, Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland* and *Muhabbat*). These difference focuses (the district manager who focuses on the district and the migrant organizations who focus on the city or the national level) lead to a discrepancy between the perception of the municipality and the migrant organizations. This discrepancy will be further elaborated on in chapter 7.

5.6.2 Thinking like a migrant organization about the ACA

While it has become clear from the case study that the ACA can be seen as the link between the municipality of Nijmegen and the immigrant population in Nijmegen, it might be interesting to see if the ACA is also a link between the municipality and the migrant organizations that are present in Nijmegen.

To understand the extent to which the ACA is familiar by the respondents, I conducted a survey of the words 'ACA', 'allochtone' and 'commissie' in the transcripts of all interviews conducted with my respondents. From this survey, it is at least striking to see that in only seven out of thirty-four interviews the ACA is mentioned. These seven include two interviews about the ACA with the interim- chairman Cengiz Yildrim of the ACA and the official secretary of the ACA, Anneke Voeten and one interview with *Savarona* where I asked about the ACA myself. *Savarona* however argues that they do not have contact with the ACA because one of their board members, Niger Öztürk, is already a member of the Seniors Council. Therefore they get to know everything concerning migrant elderly and the municipality.

This leaves us with only four interviews where the ACA was mentioned spontaneously and this was in the interviews with Faysal Zouay, Hatice Bölek, Theresa Song Loong and the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*. It can thus be seen that only one migrant organization mentioned the ACA spontaneously, the reaming three respondents are professionals. This migrant organization is the

Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland. Gaiane Abrahamian, the founder of the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*, however only states that "I know there is an ACA in Nijmegen." From this is can be concluded that they have not such good contact with the ACA, because she only mentions that she knows it exists, but not that she has good contact with this organization.

Although I should have asked about the contacts between the ACA and the migrant organizations to get to know more about these contacts, it is still striking to see that the committee is mentioned so scarcely. Also on the question "Do you have contacts with other organizations beside migrant organizations?" I never received the answer that they have contacts with the ACA, but I did receive answers like Tandem, Interlokaal, SWON (foundation for elderly welfare in Nijmegen) and NIM (social work) and I did not ask about these organizations either. These, however, are spontaneously mentioned. However, further research is needed to offer hard conclusions about the contacts between the ACA and the migrant organizations. These contacts between the ACA and the migrant organizations are hard to research further at this time, because the committee is to renew and new members are searched for. Furthermore, it was not possible to attend an advisory procedure meeting, because due to the elections in March, there are few policy proposals. It would however have been interesting to see if there is a function, and what that function would be for the migrant organizations in the advisory procedures of the ACA.

From these interviews with migrant organizations it can be argued that there are not very obvious and clear contacts between the ACA and the migrant organizations. Although there might be a relationship between the ACA and the migrant organizations, this is not mentioned in the interviews. A possible reason for not mentioning about this relationship might be that this relationship is too self-evident to mention. Another reason might be that some organizations are not focused on the city level but on the national level, such as *Muhabbat, Club Sierra Leone Nederland* and the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*, and therefore do not know about the existence of the ACA. However, while the ACA argues to be the link between the migrant organizations and the municipality, it is striking to see that the ACA is not mentioned in the interviews. It will be interesting to see how the municipality perceives the ACA to be this link between the migrant organizations and the municipality and how the ACA themselves perceive their contact with migrant organizations. This will be elaborated on the next chapter.

5.7 Summary

The aim in this chapter has been to profile migrant organizations present in Nijmegen. To that end, this chapter has started by giving an overview of these organizations. From this overview, it can be seen that migrant organizations seem to organize themselves on the basis of ethnicity. Even though

Glick Schiller, as elaborated on in section 1.2.1, argued that many migration scholars are hindered by the ethnic lens; in this case it seemed that organizations placed themselves in these ethnic boxes, by using names for their organizations such as 'Turkish Cultural Centre'[17] or 'United Armenians Netherlands'[18]. Furthermore, from this overview it can be seen that there are mainly Turkish and Moroccan organizations present in Nijmegen, which is also reflected by the Turkish and Moroccan amount of the population of Nijmegen. On different factors such as ethnicity, the fact that these organizations are with no doubt migrant organizations, their different characters and the fact that these organizations have a website for additional information, three migrant organizations were chosen for three case studies. From these case studies, it became clear that two migrant organizations were quite strongly focused on their own culture, which was reflected in some of their goals and activities such as 'uniting Armenians', providing Turkish/Armenian language lessons and providing Turkish guitar lessons. The other migrant organization had objectives that seemed to be more focused on society, such as integrating and participating. Their activities seemed to be mainly focused on 'strengthening the position of their members in society'. The contacts the organizations have in the district also differed between the organizations; while one organization had good contacts in the district, another organization had few contacts, and the third organization had no contacts in the district at all.

While many migrant organizations have participation and integration as their primary goals, these goals are often not reflected in their activities. The primary goals of migrant organizations generally tend to have a bridging character (by making use of Putnam's categorization of bonding and bridging social capital), such as integration and participation. However, their activities seem to be focused more on empowering and bonding aspects, such as information meetings, talking in their language of origin and preservation of the own culture. This incongruence between the goals and the activities of some migrant organizations may have to do with the unconscious value judgment of bonding and bridging social capital, where bridging social capital is perceived better than bonding social capital. Migrant organizations may therefore feel obliged to have a bridging character and bridging primary goals, while in practice they may have more bonding activities.

Furthermore, it became clear from this table that the boundaries between bonding and bridging social capital are vague and a third category had to be added: empowerment. This was needed because some activities and goals, such as 'caring for young people or elderly' and 'providing information meetings' could not be categorized by bonding or bridging. The boundaries between these three categories were vague, because, for example, information meeting may have an

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[17] Original in Dutch: Turks Cultureel Centrum
[18] Original in Dutch: Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland

empowering character, this may lead to the fact that people participate more in society, which has a bridging character.

Out of the sixteen interviewed migrant organizations, eleven organizations had their own building or a place in a building where they held their physical meetings in Nijmegen Zuid or Nijmegen Oud-West. It became clear that these were mainly Turkish and Moroccan organizations and the organizations in Zuid seem to be more active than the organizations in Oud-West. This may both be due to a more active district or more active organizations. Furthermore, most of the organizations did not know or have contact with the district facilities like the district council, the district magazine or resident groups. Additionally, the district manager also seems to be an unknown. However, some organizations have the strong wish to mean more or be involved more in the district. This focus on the district has been derived from the municipal policy in Nijmegen which will be elaborated on in the next chapter. In this next chapter, further insights will also be given about the two researched districts and the expectations that exist in the municipal and district policies with regard to migrant organizations.

6. Thinking like a municipality

"This executive board [of the municipality] chose not to work with target groups, but that it should be included in the regular service provision. This was a wish of mine: How long should you be regarded as a group? Why can social worker A not help me ánd Mister Jansen? There must be kept an eye on what is happening in a particular culture. We must not close our eyes. We must make sure that policy for these groups is well organized. Chances are that if you wipe it away, there is not attention for this anymore" (Zouay, interview 21-11-2013).

6.1 Introduction

This is a quote of Faysal Zouay, a city councilor and board member of *A. Salaam*, a former Moroccan organization. The changing policies with regard to diversity are spoken of in this quote. Although the target-group policy has been abolished in Nijmegen, as will be further elaborated on in section 6.3, he argues that there still should be attention for 'these' groups, which refers to migrants. In this chapter, this attention for 'these' groups will be elaborated on by analyzing the municipal policies of Nijmegen regarding diversity and integration.

After having described the migrant organizations present in Nijmegen and their visibility and function in two districts (Zuid and Oud-West), I will now turn to the municipal level. In this section I will elaborate how the migrant organizations are perceived by the municipality and what is expected of these organizations. In the second chapter I elaborated on integration and thereby I argued that integration policies have changed during the past few decades, which is also due to the changing perception of the term 'integration'. Furthermore, integration policy decided how migrant organizations were perceived in different periods (as a partner in the 1980s, to an 'invisible' actor in the 1990s and 2000s because of the focus on the individual immigrant). In this section I build on that conceptual framework to see how these integration policies work on a municipal level and how immigrants are perceived in Nijmegen in different policy-periods.

With reference to city level governance, a lot has changed in the last decade. While there first was a strong focus on Target-groups policy (*Doelgroepenbeleid)* in Nijmegen, the new focus is on the new Social Support Act (*Wet Maatschappelijke Ondersteuning,* referred to as *WMO)*. Although this now seems to be the most important city level policy, in this section I will also elaborate on the target-group policy and the abolishment of this policy because this has an influence on the new Social Support Act of today. Furthermore, the abolishment of this target-group policy as well as the Social Support Act have also been spoken of in interviews, which shows the importance of these policies to the migrant population of Nijmegen and the people working at the municipality. After the elaboration on these local policies, I will also elaborate on two policy interventions, namely the

subsidy policy for self -organizations in Nijmegen and the district policies, because these can be seen as a part of the integration policy of Nijmegen. In the last section I will return to the case studies as discussed in chapter four, to analyze the perspective of the municipality on these two cases.

6.2 Similarities and differences between local and national integration policy

As can be seen in the second chapter of this thesis, the focus in the current national integration policy lies on the responsibility of immigrants to integrate and the contribution immigrants have to make to the development of the Dutch society. By not focusing on target-groups in the national as well as in the local policy, the individual migrant and his or her specific problem has come to be central, instead of the focus on ethnicities as a target-group. Anke Chekroun (interview 03-07-2013) also argued that Nijmegen has stopped with target-groups policy because the national policy did not support this anymore. With reference to the differences between national and local policy, Anke Chekroun argues that the national government has a strong vision with regard to integration, as can be seen in the *Integratienota 2011*, and Nijmegen partially goes along with this. However, because of the left government in Nijmegen, it can be seen that the municipality invests the maximum in integration problems. While other municipalities in the Netherlands have stopped their programs and policies with regard to target-groups and integration rigorously, Nijmegen wants to preserve as much as possible of their programs and have invested their own money to make this possible. Nijmegen tried to keep as much attention as possible on migrant groups. This can also be seen in the new Social Support Act of Nijmegen, where the first pillar is focused on the protection of vulnerable groups, and migrants are or can be a part of this group. Furthermore, the national policy has a focus on the contribution migrants have to make to Dutch society. This contribution cannot be retrieved in the local policy. Although the local policy is focused on participation, this does not necessarily mean the same as making a contribution to society.

According to Poppelaars and Scholten (2008, 335), there often is a discrepancy between the national and local integration policies. With regard to integration, many Western European governments have adopted a 'citizenship approach'. This approach implies that "once trickled down to the local implementation level where the actual integration is to be achieved, no policies or measures specifically aimed at certain communities of migrants should exist" (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008, 336). This is also the case for the Netherlands because immigrants are framed as individual citizens and group-specific measures were abandoned because of their particular effect of reifying group differences and privileging specific groups. However, as mentioned before, local policies are mainly focused on customized decisions, which have proven to be very resilient and they may focus on specific migrant groups. The integration policy of Nijmegen for example has an extra

compulsory school attendance for residents of Nijmegen with an Antillean background who deal with school dropout. However, the target-groups policy has also been abolished in Nijmegen. Because local and national levels do perceive immigrant integration problems differently, they have approached and framed this policy problem in varied ways, which in turn has created difficulties in evaluating these policies (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008, 337). Local problem framing is much closer to the actual implementation of policies than national policy framing is. Therefore I will focus on an even more local level, namely districts.

6.3 Diversity policy in Nijmegen

When looking at diversity in local city-governance, the policy in Nijmegen was a Target-groups policy since 2003. This policy was implemented in order to reduce the disadvantaged position some ethnic minorities had, based on their ethnicity. Therefore, special measures aimed at target-groups were developed and realized. Two of these special measures will be elaborated on here. First I will elaborate on the policy with reference to the Antilleans, and second the policy with reference to the Moroccans will be elaborated on. Both of these special measures are focused on an ethnicity and their specific disadvantaged position in society.

First, the Antillean policy. Nijmegen has a policy which is specifically aimed at Antilleans since 2005. Due to the disadvantaged position of Antillean youth on social and economic terms, the national government provided money for 22 municipalities, including Nijmegen, to reduce this disadvantaged position. These policies were especially focused on early school leaving, unemployment and criminality (Verijdt 2012, 5). In a letter called *Uitvoeringsprogramma bijzondere aandachtsgroepen 2012* (Implementation plan for target groups 2012) it is stated that the Antillean youth now do relatively well in Nijmegen, and their rates of early school leaving and unemployment are now equal or even lower than the national average. Regarding criminality, the picture remained roughly the same.

Second, the Moroccan policy. Nijmegen also has a policy which is specifically focused on the Moroccans since 2009. This policy was also focused on early school leaving, unemployment and criminality. In the *Uitvoeringsprogramma bijzondere aandachtsgroepen 2012* (Implementation plan for target groups 2012) it is however stated that the Moroccans in Nijmegen are over-represented in all three areas and in comparison with national data, Moroccans in Nijmegen score worse.

Even though these policies have the aim to reduce the disadvantaged position of minority groups, policies that are focused on specific ethnicities seems to be discriminatory. Due to one of the assumptions in the integration vision *Integratie, binding en burgerschap* (Integration, Social bonding and Citizenship): 'not the origin but the future that counts', target group policies were abolished.

Although this policy is abolished, some things may however be questioned about the target-groups policy, and some of these questions have also come to the fore in the interviews.

The first question has to do with the term *target-groups*. These target-groups were referred to as 'special focus groups', and may not even be called 'target-groups', as argued by Anke Chekroun, policy adviser at the municipality of Nijmegen (interview 03-07-2013), because this is an 'infected term'.   This corresponds to the fact that the implementation of this policy can be seen as discriminatory, because ethnicities are seen as 'target-groups' that should be addressed.

The second question which can be raised is who these so-called *target-groups* are and how they have become a target-group. Dividing people into groups may have a stigmatizing effect. The municipality labels groups on the basis of their disadvantaged position, although not all members of this group are disadvantaged. They may though be hampered by this label of 'disadvantaged'. For this reason, the abolishment of target-groups policy was a wish of Faysal Zouay (interview 21-11-2013, city councilor and board member of *A. Salaam*, a former Moroccan organization)*,* because he states: "How long do you have to be seen as a group? Why can't social worker X not help me as well as Mr. Jansen?" Anneke Voeten, official secretary of the *Adviescommissie Allochtonen*, did not necessarily wish for this abolishment but she understands it: the huge differentiation among minority groups makes it impossible to develop policy focused on one minority, because not all people within that minority do have the same problems. Many problems are even similar to the problems of non-migrants, such as unemployment or debts (interview 25-06-2013) which correlates to the argument of Faysal Zouay that the social worker can help a migrant as well as a non-migrant. Cengiz Yildrim, the interim chairman of the *Allochtone Adviescommissie* seems to argue the complete opposite. He states that it is unwise to abolish target-group policy, because "you can say that you do not implement specific policies, but there are specific problems. You cannot look away and say it 'it does not exist', because that is asking for trouble." He compares this with children who have behavioral problems; by the children it would be counterproductive if you give no attention to their behavioral problems. He argues that when you do nothing about their problems, this label sticks on you. This existence of specific problems is also recognized in a guideline of the national government called '*Samen leven bindt verschillen'* (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties 2012). This guideline states that some problems (language delay, parenting problems and youth nuisance) are often obviously place in a culture-specific context. However, it can therefore be argued that specific policy is no longer target-group policy but problem-oriented policy, and it is all about customized decisions.

The third question which can be raised is why there still is a Migrant Advisory Committee (*Allochtone Adviescommissie)* while there are no *target-groups* to be found in policy anymore (and migrants may also be seen as a target-group). It has been argued, as will be seen in the next section,

that all people should be threatened the same by social workers and healthcare facilities, and no distinctions are made between groups. Furthermore, the Migrant Advisory Committee is not the only one; there are also advisory committees for senior citizens, gay and lesbian people and for youth, social shelter and disabled people. Those committees all focus on their *target-groups* and with this it can be argued that *target-group* policy has not really been abolished yet. I am not arguing that these committees have to be abolished, but it is a least interesting to question these committees and their function. The Migrant Advisory Committee will therefore be elaborated on in the next chapter.

The fourth and last question: if there are no target-groups anymore, will there still be attention for group-related problems? This seems to be the greatest danger when referring to the abolishment of target-group policy: that there is no attention for ethnic minorities or other groups at all, though they might need a specific treatment in some cases. This is also the main argument of Anneke Voeten when she argues about the downside of the abolishment of target-groups policy: some things indeed are ethnically or culturally determined (such as a delay in language or discrimination on the labor market) because the migration phenomenon in itself has a lot of specific features. Furthermore, she regrets it that migration threatens to disappear from the political agenda and that you have to make more effort to argue that migration in itself is a social phenomenon. Faysal Zouay also states that there must remain attention for what is happening in certain groups and we must not close our eyes (interview 21-11-2013). Additionally, Anke Chekroun (interview 03-07-2013) argues that in the implementation of policies, attention is paid to the fact that good things happen for these groups and that these groups are in their sights. She furthermore argues that diversity still has a separate heading within the new Social Support Act, which will be elaborate on in the next section.

6.4 The New Social Support Act

The new Social Support Act is a policy plan developed for 2012-2015 and it is entitled "Solidair, Samen en Solide" (Solidarity, Together and Solid). This policy came into being because "the financial situation of strongly decreasing budgets and increasing expenditure by developments such as the aging population requires a reform on the most basic level[19]" (Gemeente Nijmegen WMO 2012, 3). This policy is aimed to be a policy for all citizens in Nijmegen and means no distinction between groups. This new Social Support Act has five defining pillars. These pillars will be described below.

The first pillar is 'the focus on and protection of vulnerable groups'. Vulnerable groups is referred to as people with such limitations that they are not able to independently participate in

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19 Translated from WMO beleidsplan 2012-2015, 3: "De financiële situatie met sterk teruglopende budgetten en stijgende uitgaven door ontwikkelingen als de vergrijzing vraagt om een basale hervorming."

society. The Social Support Act argues that there is special attention for immigrants (*allochtonen)*, vulnerable elderly and people with disabilities when referring to participation. An interesting issue which is mentioned in the description of this pillar is the percentage of immigrants who would like to have more social contacts (not mentioned what kind of contacts), which is relatively higher than among non-migrants (25-30% against 15% of all citizens of Nijmegen). This pillar is therefore relevant for this thesis because it includes immigrants (and it even sees immigrants as a vulnerable group, which might be seen as too generalized) and it argues that immigrants would like to have more social contacts, and in that sense more social capital. These contacts of migrants may be found in migrant groups and in this study the opportunities for more social contacts were researched, for example within the district.

The second pillar includes self-direction (*zelfregie)*, together reliance (*samenredzaamheid)* and an inclusive society. This pillar is focused on the matter of what people can do themselves and what their environment can do for them. The aid is aimed at enhancing opportunities for people to tackle their problems themselves. Nijmegen strives for an inclusive society in which everyone can participate. An important aspect with this inclusive society are the opportunities offered by the 'receiving' society to participate, because an inclusive society gives space to diversity and ensures that everyone can participate. Self-direction is also an important aspect of this pillar and this includes the ability of a person to determine independently what their life should look like. A person is not his/her disability but a person with interests, opinions and talents. Nijmegen furthermore supports together-reliance, and the networks of people should be strengthened if people have a request for help. The personal networks of people come from a natural attachment and are therefore by definition more sustainable. It is also mentioned in this policy that it would help if people could share the same experiences. Another important argument that is made in the description of this pillar is that "diversity and inclusion ask for knowledge of different groups, but especially flexibility and the right attitude and skills in order to respond well to the differences between people". This is a link to the third pillar, because customization makes target-group policy superfluous.

This second pillar is relevant for this thesis because it shows the independency people should have, as has also been argued in the national policy section, and it shows the importance of the networks people have. Migrant organizations are also networks themselves and they come from natural attachment (sharing the same culture and language) and they often rely on 'sharing the same experiences' which makes these networks therefore more sustainable. For that reason it will be necessary to take a closer look at these organizations when implementing this new Social Support Act.

The third pillar includes decompartmentalization (*ontschotting*, demand-driven care is the purpose) and customization (*maatwerk)* and this pillar deals particularly with the role of social

community teams (*sociale wijkteams)*. Their purpose is explained by Wessel Zwartsenberg, member of the social community team in Hatert, as a team of professionals who work together in a neighborhood (interview 30-10-2013). The social community teams prevent that heavier care is needed and they have a brokerage function to their own network, volunteers, neighborhood facilities and professionals. They also provide services and help and they ensure short lines of communication and quick answers. This pillar is of relevance because the social workers in the community teams should know the so-called 'social map', and establish links between residents, volunteer organizations (like migrant organizations) and professional organizations. It is therefore important that the migrant organizations are in sight of the social community teams.

The fourth pillar is prevention for curation. By giving more space to own initiatives, greater involvement of the personal network and an inclusive society, more resilience is created and problems people cannot solve themselves are prevented. Nijmegen also continues to invest in youth. This last pillar is of less relevance for this thesis, because there will be no focus on youth. Furthermore, prevention for curation may logically follow from the third pillar.

The fifth and last pillar is the area-based approach with social districts programs in the Social Support Act. There is a strong focus on districts and neighborhoods, because it is a manageable scale for cooperation and it is possible to ensure an integral approach that reflects the specific characteristics of an area. Furthermore, the specific care- and welfare supply is more in line with the need of district-residents, when focusing on districts (Gemeente Nijmegen WMO 2012, 27). Because of this strong focus on the district in the New Social Support Act as well as in the national policy, as also came to the fore in the introduction, makes it relevant to focus on districts in this thesis and how the various migrant organizations have their place in these districts.

6.5 Policy interventions

6.5.1 Subsidizing migrant organizations

Besides the Diversity policy and the New Social Support Act, Nijmegen also has a policy which has a focus on migrant organizations, namely the policy with regard to the subsidy for migrant organizations. Discussing the subsidy policy is necessary because this policy is a specific policy for migrant organizations on a city-level. This policy says a lot about how the municipality of Nijmegen perceives their migrant organizations and what their expectations are of these organizations.

In the policy rules regarding subsidies for migrant organizations, migrant organizations are defined as: "a legal entity or another by the college deemed acceptable organizational framework, standing up for the interests of the immigrant target group, founded by the members of this group itself and functioning by voluntary efforts of members of the target group" (Gemeente Nijmegen 2009).

Aspects of migrant organizations that deemed to be important for the municipality of Nijmegen are therefore: to be a legal entity, interests representation of the target-group, being founded by the members of this target group and functioning by voluntary efforts. As can be seen from the section about the profiling of migrant organizations, this definition seems to be appropriate.

To be eligible for a subsidy, a migrant organization must meet four conditions: 1. it is a self-organization, 2. volunteers must be given the opportunity to influence their policy, 3. the organization has to have at least 30 donators/members and a minimum of eight participants per activity, 4. tt least 75% of members is residing in Nijmegen and activities benefit the residents of the city of Nijmegen. These conditions are mainly focused on the members of migrant organizations. The last-mentioned condition may however be of most importance for this thesis to see if the activities of migrant organizations benefit the residents of the city of Nijmegen.

Besides these conditions, there are also conditions on the activities of migrant organizations which have to be met in order to receive subsidies. In the first place, the activities have to contribute to the integration, emancipation and participation of the members of their own group in Nijmegen. With this, the activities have to be open for their own population, ór focused on cooperation with third parties (other migrant organizations or indigenous population), ór it has an emancipator character, focused on vulnerable groups, ór it has to be focused on information meetings. Furthermore, at least 10% of the costs of the activity are demonstrably provided by the organization itself, except for information meetings. From this policy rule it can be seen that the municipality deems cooperation with third parties and activities with a character of emancipation to be important characteristics of migrant organizations. This says something about the wish of the municipality about cooperation of migrant organizations and their district and the wish that these organizations help their members integrate, participate and emancipate.

When a migrant group in Nijmegen wants to have subsidy, they must submit an application. This means that not all migrant organizations in Nijmegen receive subsidy, only those who have submitted an application which in turn has to be approved. The municipality of Nijmegen has a special form for this application, on which various things have to be filled in. Some of these are data of the applicant, a description of their activities, their balance and their number of members. These applications are received by the municipality. After the abolishment of the Integration and Emancipation part of the municipality in 2012 (in the new *Coalitieakkoord)*, subsidies for migrant organizations are now under the department Care and Welfare. The alderman of this department decides whether the organization receives subsidy for their activities or not. It is examined whether the application fits within the city- level policy. All the conditions which activities of migrant organizations have to meet are to be found in *Beleidsregels Subsidies Allochtone Zelfforganisaties* (Policy rules Subsidies Migrant Self-organizations).

These policy rules with regard to subsidies for migrant organizations have last been developed in 2009, before the abolishment of target-group policy and before the development of the New Social Support Act. This is striking because these policy rules with regard to subsidies seem to be focused on groups (namely migrant organizations). Although the target groups policy was abolished and the New Social Support Act does not make a distinction between groups, and states to be a policy for all citizens of Nijmegen, the municipality of Nijmegen still has subsidies for migrant organizations. This is striking because these migrant organizations are groups and these groups often have an ethnic based identity. On this point, I will return in the next chapter.

6.5.2 Profiling districts and their policies

As has already been argued in the section about the new Social Support Act, there is a strong focus on districts. Besides having policies on a municipal level, there are also policies focused on the districts, called district approach (*Wijkaanpak*). In this section, profiles will be made of the two researched districts, Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen Oud-West (the choice for these districts, their geography and demography can be found in section 3.3) using the information of the *Stads- en Wijkenmonitor* of January 2014. After this I will elaborate on these district approaches. This may namely say something about the existing or desired collaboration in the districts and the focus points. At last, I will elaborate on *probleemwijken* (problem neighborhoods), because Hatert has been characterized as a problem neighborhood.

Key dimensions

In the *Stads- en Wijkenmonitor* a distinction is made between different key dimensions that characterize the district and her social cohesion, and two of these key dimensions are living climate and social participation and self-reliance. These key dimensions will be elaborated on in the two researched districts, Nijmegen Zuid (consisting of the neighborhoods *Brakkenstein, Hatertse Hei, Grootstal* and *Hatert)* and Nijmegen Oud West (consisting of the neighborhoods *Biezen* and *Wolfskuil).*

The first key dimension is living climate. In the district Oud-West as well as in the district Zuid, the living climate seems to differ between the neighborhoods. This dimension scores above average in the neighborhood *Brakkenstein* and it remains stable in this neighborhood. Both the environment and especially the social climate in this neighborhood contribute to this positive image. Also in the *Biezen*, the living climate developed predominantly positive and is no longer (negative) aberrant in Nijmegen. The coexistence of population groups and the social cohesion in this neighborhood are on an average level. In *Hatertse Hei* and *Grootstal,* the living climate is average in comparison with the rest of Nijmegen, and here it also has a stable character. The neighborhood-

professionals do however seem to indicate different. By them it is argued that 'residents live on islands' and there is little to no contact between them.

In the neighborhoods *Hatert* and *Wolfskuil,* however*,* the living climate scores below average, and therefore, these neighborhoods are considered to be "focus areas". In *Hatert* this is mainly due to the worse scores regarding security, nuisance and the way people live together in a society. The coexistence of various ethnic groups (150 different nationalities are living in *Hatert*) is particularly about tolerating each other, according to neighborhood professionals.

The second key dimension is social participation and self-reliance, which are also considered as important dimensions in the new Social Support Act. It is notable see that none of the neighborhoods of Nijmegen Oud-West or Nijmegen Zuid scores above average on this dimension. Although *Brakkenstein* scores on almost everything above average, social participation and self-reliance score average in this neighborhood. Also in the neighborhood *Hatertse Hei* and *Grootstal* social participation and self-reliance are not aberrant, in comparison to the rest of Nijmegen.

In contrast to these three neighborhoods in Zuid*, Hatert, Biezen* and *Wolfskuil* score below average on social participation and self-reliance. In *Hatert* there is a relatively large influx of low-income and disadvantaged people. This low score on social participation and self-reliance in *Wolfskuil* may also be due to the low socioeconomic status of many residents. In the neighborhood *Biezen*, the low score on social participation and self-reliance is mainly due to the arrears on themes of income, employment, and education. Furthermore, in both the neighborhoods of Oud-West there is relatively low attachment to the neighborhood.

From this elaboration on these two key dimensions, it can be considered that there are some differences between the neighborhoods in these two districts. While *Brakkenstein* scores mostly above average, the remaining neighborhoods score mainly average or even below average. *Hatert, Biezen* and *Wolfskuil* are even considered to be focus areas by the municipality of Nijmegen. The characteristics of all the neighborhoods in the two districts show the level of social cohesion in these neighborhoods, and therefore, what role there might be for migrant organizations. Although it is indicated that the living together of population groups and the social cohesion are on an average level, it can be suggested that this can be bettered. Furthermore, it should be elaborated on what role migrant organizations can play in improving the social participation, the coexistence of groups and the self-reliance in this district.

District approaches

In the district approach of Oud-West, nothing is said about the role migrant organizations can play. This district approach of Oud-West is mainly focused on the many physical changes of the district, like the new bridge and the new neighborhood center. Other important issues are the improvements

of livability and safety, for example youth nuisance: there should be an adequate supply for the youth and also agreements on tackling nuisance by specific locations. Furthermore, there should be a good provision of information in the district which is to be reached by the formation of a new district magazine and an interactive district website from and by residents and organizations. At last, it is argued that there is a good collaboration between the residents and organizations in the neighborhood and residents argue that the neighborhood is cleaner and that they feel safer[20]. While the collaboration between organizations and residents in this neighborhood is argued to be good, one may wonder whether migrant organizations are also covered when talking about 'organizations'.

As well as in the district approach of Oud-West, in the district approach of Zuid also nothing is said about the role migrant organizations can play, though there is a major focus on maintaining networks. It can be questioned how and if these networks are extended to migrant organizations. Other focus points in the district approach are clear communication and mutual trust, and the stimulation of residents and organizations to do their best for their neighborhood. Furthermore, there is a so-called '*vierwijken-fonds*' which has the aim to stimulate resident initiatives that contribute livability in the district[21]. Additionally, there is a specific neighborhood approach for *Hatert* because this is neighborhood has been characterized as a problem neighborhood, which I will elaborate on in the next section.

6.5.3 Problem neighborhoods, focus neighborhoods or *Vogelaar* neighborhoods

In 2007, with the formation of the new government, the issue of *probleemwijken* (problem neighborhoods) was given a prominent place on the agenda of the national government. This was mainly due to a report of the *WWR* called *'Vertrouwen in de buurt'* (2005) (Trust in the neighborhood) (Van den Brink 2008, 9). This report stated that there is a growing concern about the Dutch civil society and democracy, because there is a decreasing involvement of people with each other and with their democratic institutions. This declining social cohesion has in turn adverse consequences like alienation, crime, insecurity, anonymity and decreasing welfare. Van den Brink et.al (2008, 43) seems to be critical about this by arguing that it is an illusion to believe that social cohesion a guarantee against crime or antisocial behavior. Some forms of social cohesion may even make crime worse. The deciding point is not with how many persons you interact but with whom. A possible answer to the problems which might be caused by the declining social cohesion can be found in the enhancement of small scale relationships, where people interact on a daily basis. The *WWR* recommends neighborhoods for the implementation of this policy because on this scale, people face their livability problems (WWR 2005, 11). Ella Vogelaar, the Minister of Housing,

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[20] For more information: http://www2.nijmegen.nl/content/922644/wijkaanpak_nijmegen-oud-west
[21] For more information: http://www2.nijmegen.nl/content/421043/wijkaanpak_van__nijmegen-zuid

Neighborhoods and Integration in 2007 made a list with of forty neighborhoods in eighteen municipalities in the Netherlands. These neighborhoods were lagging behind socially, physically and economically in comparison with other neighborhoods, due to an accumulation of problems. There are different names for these neighborhoods like focus neighborhoods, priority neighborhoods, disadvantaged neighborhoods or Vogelaar neighborhoods (Lukey et. al 2009, 7). However, one of these forty neighborhoods is *Hatert*, the aforementioned neighborhood in Nijmegen *Zuid*.

May 2007, Minister Vogelaar asked the municipality of Nijmegen to develop a neighborhood action plan for *Hatert* with residents, organizations and institutions. In this plan, called '*Ongedeeld Hatert*' (Gemeente Nijmegen 2007), there are several focus points, for example, tackling unemployment, nuisance, youth problems, and problems with housing and social cohesion. Until the end of 2011, approximately 13 million Euros have been invested in Hatert, especially in projects related to the aforementioned problems. Although migrant organizations are not mentioned in this document, migrants are. Therefore, a distinction is made between collective and individual identities. Migrants are however mostly referred to as a disadvantaged target-group who have to deal with a language deficiency, above average unemployment and exclusion. It seems therefore illogical that migrant organizations are not mentioned in this document, because the problems to be addressed in this neighborhood correspond to the problems that exist in the target-groups: the migrants. In this thesis it is endeavored to see migrants more as (possible) problem solvers instead of problem causers, especially the migrant organizations. This will be elaborated on in the next chapter, where the relationship between the municipality and the migrant organizations will also come to the fore.

6.6 Returning to the case-studies

In this section I will, just as in the previous chapter, describe the perspective on the cases as given in chapter four, but now from the perspective of the municipality. What is the relevance of their prominent role in the municipality? And what contact do the district managers desire to have with migrant organizations? First the case of the district manager will be analyzed and then the case of the ACA will be analyzed.

6.6.1 Thinking like a district manager

In chapter four, the function of the district manager as given by the municipality of Nijmegen is described as being "responsible for improving the quality of life, safety and social cohesion in the districts. You can consider a district manager as the person organizing cooperation in the area, with residents, businesses and organizations such as the police, housing corporations, welfare and

education[22]." Although the district manager is thus described by the municipality of Nijmegen as the person who organizes cooperation in the district, the problem has been stated in chapter four that there are little to no contacts with the immigrant population and networks in their districts. This description and problem statement will be further elaborated on in this chapter, especially from the perspective of two district managers themselves, namely Ed van Deal (Nijmegen Zuid) and Michiel ten Dolle (Nijmegen Oud-West).

As well as asking the migrant organizations about their contacts with the district manager, I have also asked the district managers themselves about their contacts with migrant organizations. Michiel ten Dolle answered to this question that he does have good contact with the mosque Al Moslimin, but the other organizations on the list are unknown to him (interview 11-11-2013). Ed van Dael seems to know more migrant organizations, because he indicated that he knows six organizations of the list and he added five migrant organizations/migrant communities that are not present on this list. He has contact with *Turks Cultureel Centrum, Aktifler, Mozaïek, Vadergroep Hatert* and the Islamic primary school in Hatert, and he collaborates with the Moluccan community and *Sema*. Ed van Dael furthermore indicates that his network also consists of migrant individuals who are not necessarily part of a migrant organization or community.

The degree in which district managers thus have contacts with migrant organization varies. This may both be due to a more active district manager or more active or district oriented migrant organizations in Nijmegen Zuid. However, some migrant organizations indicated that they would like to have more contact with the district manager (section 5.6.2 and 5.6.3), and this also seems to be a wish of the district management department of the municipality of Nijmegen. The district managers themselves also wish to have more contacts, but collaboration with migrant organizations should have an added value. According to Ed van Dael, it is important to know what their interests are with respect to the district and if they know the district. Then they can fulfill a bridging function for the participation of their fellow residents. He furthermore recognizes the importance of the networks of migrant organizations and he argues that they may be able to indicate where their members live, if their members are active in the district or want to become more active (interview 11-11-2013). Michiel ten Dolle also argues "that the collaboration between the district manager and migrant organizations is only necessary if the organizations see the role to do something in the district or neighborhood." However, he also argues that a conversation between the district manager and the organizations may still be good, in order to be informed of one another's activities (interview 11-11-2013).

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[22] Translated from http://www2.nijmegen.nl/wonen/Wijken/wie/wijkmanagers/taken_wijkmanager: "degene die de samenwerking in de wijk organiseert, met bewoners, ondernemers en organisaties zoals politie, woningcorporaties, welzijn en onderwijs."

Important roles thus seem to be ascribed to these migrant organizations, especially when they are interested in the district. As became clear from section 5.6, some migrant organizations want to be more interested in the district and want to be more active on a district level. However, little contacts seem to exist, especially with the district manager, who is argued to be 'the link between the district and the municipality'. The reason for this may be that migrant organizations are not that active in the district at this moment, because they may be focused on another level, namely a city-level or a national level. This will be further elaborated on in the next chapter.

6.6.2 Thinking like a municipality about the ACA

In the fourth chapter, the ACA has been explained by Cengiz Yildrim, the interim chairman, and Anneke Voeten, the official secretary, as a committee that gives solicited and unsolicited advice to the Board of Mayor and Aldermen of Nijmegen on matters affecting migrants in general. The ACA is a municipal instrument with members with various non-western backgrounds. Although it is argued in the fourth chapter that the aim of ACA is to be the link between the migrant community in Nijmegen and the municipality, it was striking to see in section 5.7.2 that only one migrant organization mentioned the ACA in an interview. Therefore, the question may be raised what contacts the ACA do have with migrant organizations.

In my interview with Anneke Voeten, the official secretary of the ACA, it became clear that she knows all the migrant organizations that were present on the list and she does know a lot about them. She also added *Sema* and the *Mozaïek* to the list of organizations she told about. From this it can be concluded that she has (or in some cases maybe 'had') good contacts with the migrant organizations (interview 25-06-2013). Because she has quite an important function at the ACA, these contacts may be very valuable and can be used by the ACA for their advices. However, she does not say much about the collaboration between the ACA and the migrant organizations (even though there maybe or probably is), which might be striking. In my interview with Cengiz Yildrim, the interim-chairman of the ACA, I asked about the collaboration between the ACA and the migrant organizations. He explained that the migrant organizations ask the committee for advice, although this is not in the regulations. Furthermore he argues that migrant organizations want to be heard, that they want to reach out to the municipality, that they want to show that they control their own problems and that they would like to solve these problems with the municipality. For this they get in touch with the ACA and they can provide advice in the form of solutions. He emphasized that "we may give a little push, but we are not an implementing body. The municipality has other agencies in service for that." Some of these agencies may be Tandem and Interlokaal.

The knowledge about migrant organizations or the contacts which Cengiz Yildrim, the interim-chairman, has with migrant organizations seemed to be far less than the knowledge and

contacts of the official secretary, Anneke Voeten. This means that the knowledge within the ACA about migrant organizations may differ. The interim-chairman indicated that, from the list which contains forty migrant organizations, he has contacts with six organizations, and of six other organizations he has heard the name. However, he emphasized that, while he may not know many organizations, the ACA consists of various members, with various ethnic backgrounds, and they may all know different organizations and have different contacts. Furthermore, he emphasized that he is not the official chairman but a temporary chairman, and he is a member of the ACA for a year. However, it may still be striking to see that the interim-chairman does not know all the migrant organizations in Nijmegen, at least by name. It is especially striking given the fact that the ACA can be seen as the bridge between the municipality and the migrant community in Nijmegen, and this community exists, besides individuals, out of migrant organizations. However, it may be that the interim-chairman of the ACA is more focused on migrant individuals instead of migrant organizations, because he argues that "the people who are a part of the ACA are professionals, they are not randomly chosen, they have very valuable networks" (Yildrim, interview 27-02-2014).

From the interviews with the interim chairman and the official secretary of the ACA and the interviews with the migrant organizations, it can be concluded that the collaboration between the ACA and the migrant organizations might benefit from some improvements. Being the link is between immigrants and the municipality is also seen as one of the most important functions of the ACA by Anneke Voeten. Although Cengiz Yildrim argues that he has good contacts with immigrants and he is an immigrant himself, this link already seems to exist. However, this link could be strengthened by having good contacts with the migrant organizations, because a large target-group can be reached by these organizations. Therefore, the linking function of the ACA can become clearer and migrant organizations may become more involved with the municipality. A win-win situation so to see.

6.7 Summary

The aim in this chapter was to think like a municipality about integration, participation and migrant organizations. This has been done by profiling the municipal policy (Diversity policy and the New Social Support Act) of Nijmegen and some policy interventions such as subsidizing migrant organizations and the district approaches of the two researched districts: Nijmegen Oud-West and Zuid.

From this chapter it can be concluded that there are no clear policies (anymore) in Nijmegen with reference to migrants, especially since the abolishment of the target-group policy focused on Moroccans and Antilleans. Even though these policies have the aim to reduce the disadvantaged

position of minority groups, it can be argued that policies that are focused on specific ethnicities are discriminatory. Although migrants play a minor role in the New Social Support Act, the primary goal of this present day policy is to strive for an inclusive society, more cooperation and more participation. This has to be reached at a more local level than the municipality, namely the district, because it is a manageable scale for cooperation and it is possible to ensure an integral approach that reflects the specific characteristics of an area.

For that reason, two districts were researched, which are Nijmegen Zuid and Nijmegen Oud-West, because these districts contained the largest number of migrant organizations. From a comparison between the neighborhoods of these districts it became clear that differences exist within these districts. An example of this is the neighborhood *Brakkenstein* in Nijmegen Zuid, which scores on many factors such as living climate and livability above average, while *Hatert* (also a neighborhood in Nijmegen Zuid) mainly scores negative on these factors. Furthermore, all neighborhoods in these two districts score averagely or below average on the factors social participation and self-reliance. Therefore, these factors need to be bettered in these two districts and it can be questioned what role there is for migrant organizations.

The policies focused on these two districts mainly deal with strengthening networks and cooperation. Although migrant organizations are also networks, it is striking to see that migrant organizations are not mentioned in the district approaches, while they may be a part of the district or at least have a physical location here. Furthermore, the participation of these organizations is desired, but this is not recognized in these district approaches.

Although there are no specific policies focused on migrants on a municipal level anymore, there still is a policy for subsidizing migrant organizations. However, these organizations need to have certain characteristics and their activities need to meet certain requirements. Although the national focus is more on the individual migrant and on making no specific policies at all, Nijmegen still has, with her subsidizing policy, a policy focused on migrants.

The question can be raised what role there is for migrant organizations in the district in strengthening participation and networks. This question will be elaborated upon in the next chapter, where the relation between the municipality, the district and the migrant organization is becoming clearer.

7. Thinking together

"Yes, I know that the municipality should do fewer tasks and that they should invest more in the districts. You have to link the right persons and organizations. Do not pass your purpose. It will be a searching, how are you going to organize this? [migrant] Organizations also need to know: how do I make contact? I am curious what our role can be in this. A practical consideration: maybe a meeting for all organizations in the district; what could be your [the migrant organization] role?" – (Abrahamian, interview 07-10-2013)

7.1 Introduction

This statement is made by Gaiane Abrahamian, founder of the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*. Various things can be concluded from this statement. First, this migrant organization is aware of the fact that the municipality has this strong focus on districts and that they do invest in districts. Second, migrant organizations do not seem to collaborate with the municipality on a district level. A question that can be asked here is: does the diversity in composition, the nature of the existence and the purpose and focus of the activities of the migrant organizations and the municipality affect their potential and perceived collaboration?

In this chapter, the synthesis of this thesis will come to the fore. While the perspectives of both the migrant organizations as well as the municipality have been elaborated on, this chapter will deal with both of these perspectives. Some questions that will be answered in this chapter are: Where do the migrant organizations and the municipality come together; what are their similarities? And in what way do the migrant organizations and the municipality differ? And last but not least, do these differences and divergences have a bigger impact on their relationship than the similarities do, or is there the possibility to collaborate?

7.2 Similarities between the municipality and the migrant organizations

Although migrant organizations may be different in various aspects from a big organization like the municipality, some similarities exist as well. These similarities can be categorized in two categories: goals, and the perception of the concept of participation. These two categories will be elaborated on in the two sections below.

7.2.1 Similar goals
The first similarity between the municipality and the migrant organizations seems to exist in their goals. In the policies described in section 6.3 and 6.4, the goals of the municipality have come to the

fore, especially those with regard to diversity policy and the New Social Support Act. The goal of the diversity policy (although now abolished in Nijmegen) was to reduce the disadvantaged position some ethnic minorities had, as a result of their ethnicity. Therefore, special measures aimed at target-groups were developed and realized, and the effects of this policy are still present which makes this policy goal relevant. Although the migrant organizations do not mention their possible 'disadvantaged position', this goal seems to have similarities with some goals of migrant organizations, such as emancipation, empowerment and caring for youth. These goals are also focused on making the members of migrant organizations stronger. Corresponding activities with these goals are Dutch language lessons provision, information meetings about various societal subjects in the host society (such as informal care, fire prevention, youth care services and homework support). Caring for youth and decreasing school dropout (which may be reduced by activities such as homework support) were also aims of the diversity policy of Nijmegen.

In the New Social Support Act, various goals of the municipality have been described. The first pillar of this policy is 'the focus on and protection of vulnerable groups' and it has been argued in this pillar that there is special attention for immigrants, vulnerable elderly and people with disabilities when referring to participation. Although stating the obvious, migrant organizations also have the goal to focus on immigrants. Furthermore, it may be argued that goals such as empowerment and integration, which some migrant organizations have, also lead to some protection of their members, because by teaching them Dutch and offering them information meetings, their members become less vulnerable in the Dutch society. Additionally, two migrant organizations, the *STON* and the *SMON,* have caring for 'elderly' as a primary goal for their organization, which is also a focus point in this pillar of the New Social Support Act.

In the second pillar of the New Social Support Act, self-direction, 'together-reliance' (*samenredzaamheid)* and an inclusive society are argued to be important. Although all pillars are in some way focused on the participatory society of today, this pillar has a strong focus on this participation aspect and the fact that people have to collaborate with each other. Again, this pillar seems to correspond with goals of migrant organizations, such as participation and supporting each other. In particular, supporting each other indicates the collaboration that can exist in migrant organizations. The importance of supporting each other and the collaboration that exists in the migrant organizations came to the fore in an interview with Rugiatu, the vice-president of *Club Sierra Leone* (interview 14-10-2013).

> "We live in a country of which we know nothing. We have no family. [our goal is] To visit each other and to support each other. Pointing each other the right way. If someone from Sierra Leone explains it, you understand it better, that you will not go wrong in terms of life. Mutual

support. It is hard to understand rules and laws. Mutual support to find your way in the Netherlands, to integrate. And in times of loss to support, that is just what you need."

The concept of participation will be further elaborated on in section 7.2.2.

In the fourth pillar of the New Social Support Act, prevention before curation (prevention is better than cure) is central. With more involvement of the private network and an inclusive society, more resilience is created. Here, the importance of personal networks is emphasized, and migrant organizations may form these personal networks. Again, supporting each other as a given goal by some migrant organizations (*Club Sierra Leone* and *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*) seems to correspond to this goal of the municipality.

7.2.2 Same goal: participation

The municipality as well as some migrant organizations (such as the *SMON, Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland, Turks Cultureel Centrum* and *Hilal, Vadergroep Hatert, Anour, Goshamadeed* and *GAAPA)* have participation as their goal: the municipality employs this as a goal for their residents and the migrant organizations employs this as a goal for their members. It can be questioned if participation as a goal means the same thing for both the municipality and the migrant organizations. Therefore, it will be interesting to see if their definitions of participation match.

The definition of participation seems to be diverse. It is striking to see that, though the respondents may use the term, it is very hard to give a definitive definition; some respondents do not exactly know what it is, what is meant by it or how they can explain it. Melek Can, for example, the chairwoman of DHD, argued that she finds it hard to explain what it is, but she states that participation is very important to them. Furthermore, two members of migrant organizations gave me a questioning look when I asked them what participation means for them, and they returned my question to me: "Participation? What is that?".

However, some chairpersons of migrant organizations or professionals are able to come up with sophisticated definitions or descriptions of participation. One of my favorite definitions of participation is the one offered by Gaiane Abrahamian, of the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*. She argued that "Participation is a voluntary move; that you dare to take steps, so that you can move freely within society" (Abrahamian, interview 07-10-2013). According to her, participation has to be voluntary and not something that is imposed by the government. This, in turn, has the positive consequence that people can move freely in society.

Another definition is offered by Storay Ahmadi, the chairwoman of *Goshamadeed*, who argues that "participation is the hope that the government provides the opportunity to people so that all capacities are given a place" (interview 24-10-2013). In this definition the role of the government as a facilitator comes to the fore. Furthermore, an emphasis is placed on the importance

of capabilities of people. This emphasis on the government as facilitator and the importance of capabilities of people is also referred to by some people who work for the municipality. Ed van Dael, district manager of Nijmegen Zuid, for example, argues that there must be an opportunity to participate and participation starts with looking at interests (interview 11-11-2013). Furthermore, Wessel Zwartsenberg, community worker at Nijmegen Zuid, also argues that participation is the scouting and using of talents (interview 30-10-2013). Additionally, the municipality of Nijmegen states in their ambition document *Meedoen in Nijmegen* (Participation in Nijmegen) (2012, 2) that they want to make optimal use of the power that exists in the society. In these definitions, capacities, talents and interest come to the fore and are seen as an important aspect of participation. The difference, however, is that, according to *Goshamadeed*, the opportunity for participation has to be given by the government (as she argues: "without a pool you cannot swim"), while Ed van Dael, on the other hand, argues that there just has to be an opportunity to participate.

The role of the government is also referred to by Michiel ten Dolle, district manager of Nijmegen West, and a city counselor, Faysal Zouay. Faysal Zouay states that participation is doing things with each other in your environment, street, city or neighborhood, independently from the government (Zouay, interview 21-11-2013). Michiel ten Dolle argues that you can see this role of the government both in a positive and in a negative way. The positive way refers to giving space to citizens because the government is in the way, while the negative way refers to the fact that citizens have to do more because of the budget cuts of the government. Suzanne Arts, manager of the community centers in Nijmegen Zuid, also argues that participation is a hot item and that it has to deal with these government cuts. The government namely has to see how they can organize themselves in another way, and participation is definitely a good option for reorganization (interview 23-10-2013). Michiel ten Dolle argues, however, that the most important thing about participation is that people have to care about their surroundings (which sounds better in Dutch though: *geven om je omgeving)* (Ten Dolle, interview 11-11-2013).

Almost all people who have been asked the question: 'what is participation?' answered with the word 'meedoen', which means 'to join in'. Even the Google Translate Service seems to agree with this general idea of participation meaning 'meedoen'. These words thus seem to correlate to one another. Rolf Janssen even argues that meedoen is a better word because it is clearer. Because we want to sound interesting, we use a foreign word for it (Janssen, interview 20-11-2013). According to Resie Meilink, the answer to the question was very simple: "That anyone can join anytime and anywhere" (Meilink, interview 31-10-2013). She however argues that this is a utopia and it could never really be achieved. The question with the word 'meedoen', or to join in remains: to join what? This question is often answered with 'joining the society' or making a contribution to society (interviews *SMON*, *Vadergroep Hatert*, *Anour*, Mosque and *Goshamadeed*). What may be interesting

to notice here is that four of the five organizations who mentioned 'making a contribution to society' are Moroccan. This may therefore be an important aspect of their culture.

Another word which is often heard when asking about participation is emancipation. Elias Rinsampessy, the sleeping director and chairman of *Stichting Muhabbat* argues that emancipation is a more important goal than participation. Emancipation leads to the involvement of people, and because you are working together with other people, you will automatically participate (Rinsampessy, interview 16-10-2013). Faysal Zouay also emphasizes the importance of emancipation when he argues that you should first put people in their power, before they can participate (Zouay, interview 21-11-2013).

Besides 'meedoen' and emancipation, another important aspect with reference to participation seems to be mutual respect. Ekrem Yilmaz (interview 13-11-2013), the chairman of *Sema*, for example, argues that participation is a nice word, but you cannot do it on your own; there has to be mutual trust and one has to accept each other. Greet Kapressy-Usmany, a contact person of the Moluccan community, also argues that "if you participate in society, you can share it. You do not have to explain to one another if there is a basis of mutual respect" (interview 03-12-2013). This mutual respect also comes to the fore in the argument of Saïd Bouharrou, when talking about participation. According to him, an important goal is that people do not have to prove themselves every time; there should be no boxes and otherwise we should all be in the same box. This means that there should be no compartmentalized thinking, and otherwise, all people should be thought of being in the same stereotypical compartment. Integration and participation must therefore come from both sides (interview 17-09-2013). This aspect of mutual respect and understanding is not only mentioned by migrant organizations but also by professionals working at the municipality. Both Wessel Zwartsenberg (interview 30-10-2013) and Ed van Dael (interview 11-11-2013) argue that it is important to welcome people. It must come from both sides because you have to be open and you have to welcome people who want to participate in your project or your neighborhood, which requires an active attitude. Resie Meilink also strongly emphasizes mutual respect, being open to each other and being interested in each other. However, she also argues that "we also have to be realistic and it must not become a forced hassle" (interview 31-20-2013). As mentioned earlier, this forced hassle may be the case because of the government cuts.

There do seem to be many similarities in the ways in which migrant organizations and the municipality of Nijmegen approach the defining of participation and both some migrant organizations as well as the municipality have it as their primary goal. This means that the definition and perception of participation should not form a problem for their possible collaboration. However, there are also minor differences in defining this term. Migrant organizations, for example, also use the word integration when referring to participation. With respect to participation and mutual trust,

the word integration and especially the phrase: 'integration with the preservation of their own culture', come to the fore. This is, for example, mentioned by *GAAPA*, *Turks Cultureel Centrum* and *Hilal*. It can therefore be said that these organizations want to participate in their own manner and not only just adapt to the society.

When analyzing the policy documents of the municipality of Nijmegen (such as the Social Support Act, Ambitiedocument *Meer doen in Nijmegen* and a policy document about public space) another difference between the municipality and the migrant organizations with regard to their definition of participation came to the fore. In these policy documents it is argued that the municipality has a strong focus on participation in the districts, and involving citizens in policy decisions and in the organization of public space (Gemeente Nijmegen, policy documents public space 2012, 9). These aspects of participation are not given in the definitions that are offered by migrant organizations. This difference in the focus of participation and the locality of participation will be further elaborated on in the next section about the differences between migrant organizations and the municipality.

Conclusions about participation

In conclusion it can be said that both the municipality and the migrant organizations are positive about participation and that it can be seen as 'something that should be done'. Furthermore, various aspects seem to be important while talking about participation, which are: the role of the government, emancipation, integration, *meedoen* (join in), talents and mutual respect. Many of these aspects also came to the fore in the Social Support Act. The function of the government mainly has to do with the retreating role of the government, because of a change from the welfare state to a participatory society. People have to deal with their problems themselves nowadays and social networks and participation are important. Participation is therefore a primary goal for the government, but also for many of the migrant organizations. Although the main motivation for participation might be different for migrant organizations and the municipality, the end-result is the same: namely that increased degrees of participation are seen as a good thing by both parties.

Furthermore, there does not seem to be a discrepancy about what the term 'participation' means and it therefore seems to be a mutual goal. The definition of participation between the migrant organizations and the municipality also barely seems to differ. Some differences that can be found in defining participation are that 'contributing to society' and the link of participation to integration are only mentioned by migrant organizations. Furthermore, the municipality seems to be more focused on participation on a district level and the involvement of residents in policy decisions. These differences will be further elaborated on in the next section.

7.3 Differences between the municipality and migrant organizations

Besides these major similarities between migrant organizations and the municipality in their primary goals, there also seem to exist differences between these two parties. One of the main differences is their different focus: city focus vs. district focus, which might be a problem for the collaboration between the municipality and the migrant organizations. This will be elaborated on in the following section.

7.3.1 Differing localities

Being a municipality, the policies of the city of Nijmegen are focused on a local level, and there is an increasing focus on districts and neighborhoods. The third and fifth pillar of the New Social Support Act also contains this district-oriented focus. The third pillar particularly deals with the role of social community teams (*sociale wijkteams)*, the purpose of which has been explained earlier by a member of a social community team as a team of professionals who work together in a neighborhood (Zwartsenberg, interview 30-10-2013).The fifth pillar contains the area-based approach of the municipality with social district programs. As argued previously, in the New Social Support Act it is stated that there is a strong focus on neighborhoods and districts because it is a manageable scale for cooperation, and that it is possible to ensure an integral approach that reflects the specific characteristics of an area. Furthermore, the specific supply of care and welfare is more in line with the need of neighborhood-residents, when focusing on districts (Gemeente Nijmegen WMO 2012, 27).

Although the municipality has this strong focus on the district, migrant organizations do not always seem to have this district focus, which also became clear in section 5.6. When looking at the goals, activities and contacts of migrant organizations and by asking the migrant organizations if they are focused on the district, it can be seen at what locality migrant organizations are focused. A district focus may for migrant organizations mean that they plan their activities in, with and about the district and they have good contacts with the district. Their members also often live in the district on which this organizations is focused, such as with *Aktifler.* A city focus means that migrant organizations are focused on the city level and that their members come from all over the city. They do not focus their activities on district issues but rather on municipal issues. A national focus means that the migrant organizations have members all over The Netherlands. *Stichting Muhabbat,* for example, is a network organization and organizes their activities all over The Netherlands. Although all migrant organizations may have a transnational focus (by organizing themselves on the basis of ethnicity and speaking in their language of origin) some organizations have activities focused on their country of origin. This is meant by the transnational focus. The following table shows which

organizations are focused on the district level and which organizations are focused on a local level or even a national or transnational level.

Organization	District focus	City focus	National focus	Transnational focus
Aktifler	X			
Moluccan community	X			
Vadergroep Hatert	X			
Mosque Al Moslimin	X	X		
Sema	X	X		
Savarona	X	X		
Turks Cultureel Centrum and Hilal		X		
STON		X		
SMON		X		
DHD		X		
Anour		X		
Goshamadeed		X		
GAAPA		X		
Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland		X	X	X
Club Sierra Leone		X	X	
Stichting Muhabbat			X	X

Figure 7.1: The district, local, national or transnational focus of migrant organizations

This table shows that six out of sixteen migrant organizations are focused on the district. Out of these six organizations, only three organizations are exclusively focused on the district, which are the first three organizations in this table. The other three organizations do have activities in the district but they also do have members coming from other districts and are therefore also focused on the city level. Furthermore, it can be seen that most migrant organizations are focused on the city level, namely twelve out of sixteen organizations. Out of these twelve organizations, seven even exclusively have a city focus. Furthermore, there is only one organization, *Stichting Muhabbat*, which only has a national and even a transnational focus. It can be argued that this organization forms an exception.

From this table it can be argued that most migrant organizations are not focused on a district level, in contrast to the municipality. Furthermore, it is interesting to see that only Turkish and Moroccan organizations are focused on the district level (except for the Moluccan community, but this can be seen as an exception because they have their own neighborhood at Nijmegen Zuid). An explanation for this phenomenon is offered by Jeanne Janssen, professional at the municipality, who states that there is a difference between 'new' (African, Afghan) and 'old' (Turkish, Moroccan) migrant organizations. She states that the 'new' migrants are more scattered throughout the city and

their organizations are therefore focused on a city level. The 'old' migrants have more migrant groups and may therefore be more focused on a district level. From this it can be argued that 'new' migrant organizations are mostly focused on the city level, while 'old' migrant organizations might also have a focus on the district level. However, five out of ten Turkish/Moroccan organizations do not focus on the district, and from the five organizations that do focus on the district, only two organizations focus purely on the district.

This difference of focusing and working at different societal levels may be a problem in the collaboration between the migrant organizations and the municipality. This leads to a mismatch because there are few places where these two parties can meet each other and exchange roles and expectations of each other. It might also cause them difficulties in matching their respective agendas. Furthermore, while the organizations are present in a district, as explained in section 5.6, they may be present in this district by coincidence. The reason for this is that some organizations (such as *Vadergroep Hatert*, *Goshamadeed, Club Sierra Leone* and *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*) congregate in a community center and these often have a busy program, so there is not always a place. This means that, even though they would or might have a preference for a district, this is not always possible because of the busy programs of community centers. The municipality, on the other hand, focuses on specific districts and neighborhoods and they do not position themselves on coincidence.

7.4 Do the differences outweigh the similarities?

From the previous section it can be concluded that there are differences between migrant organizations and the municipality. One of the most important differences in terms of how they operate is their focus on different levels (city level vs. district level). Thus, where the municipality focuses in their policies, such as the New Social Support Act, on the district, migrant organizations mostly focus on, as can be seen from the table above, the city level or even on the national level. However, it can be questioned whether the differences outweigh the similarities between the municipality and the migrant organizations. Do the differences stand in the way of the possibility for collaboration? Several reasons will be given why the similarities may outweigh the differences instead of the other way around.

First, although most of the migrant organizations are focused on a city level, it may be argued that this is better than if they would be purely focused on one district. Migrant organizations now have different members in different districts, which also provide them with knowledge about different districts and neighborhoods. Therefore, collaboration in various districts may become

possible instead of collaboration in only one district. However, it can be argued that when an organization is focused in one district, this collaboration may be stronger.

Second, although many migrant organizations are not focused on the district yet, this may change. All migrant organizations were asked in the interviews if they wanted to have a more active role in the district and some organizations reacted positive to this question. An example of this has come to the fore in an interview with Gaiane Abrahamian of the *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*. As stated previously, she indicated that this organization has concrete plans to be more active in the district; for example by practicing the Dutch classes they are offering at the district, by talking to people on the streets. Furthermore, she indicated that while the organization does not have contact with the district manager, they would like to be approached by the municipality so that their organizations can do something in the district. Also the *Turks Cultureel Centrum* and *Hilal* indicate that they want to become more involved in the district. The chairman, Serkan Gedik, argues that districts are important: "Go live in a house where you know nobody, that is lonely. We are open for everyone and everyone is welcome."

Still, there are also migrant organizations who are not interested in being more active on a district level. An example of this can be seen in the quote of Storay Ahmadi, at the beginning of section 5.6, in which she argues that the district is too small and that she rather looks at the world. However, as seen in the previous section, it seems that mainly 'old' migrant organizations are focused on the district. Over time, it may be that the 'new' migrant organizations, which do not have an interest to focus on the district yet, will become focused on this district. This can also be seen in an argument made by Resie Meilink, also a professional working for the municipality. She states that people from Sierra Leone are focused on people who also come from Sierra Leone, because there they find their click. It is more about first finding their way in the Netherlands. This also applies to people from, for example, Somalia. They are burdened with war-traumas, and have a family they had to leave behind. They take steps: "I reside here, I live here, and then: what happens in the district." With this argument it is meant that people first reside in a place without looking at their surroundings, after this they are able to do some activities and have contacts and at last, people will become active in their district. People thus first have to deal with themselves, then with the Netherlands, then with the city and at last with the district. This focus on the district may thus evolve over time.

Another reason why migrant organizations may become more focused on the district has to do with the possible important roles with reference to the district the migrant organizations get ascribed by the district manager. According to Ed van Dael, it is important to know what the interests of the migrant organizations are with respect to the district and if they know the district. When they have interest in the district, then they can fulfill a bridging function for the participation of their

fellow residents. Additionally, the organizations can open-up a network, because they are able to indicate where their members live and if their members are-, or wish to be, active in the district. Michiel ten Dolle also argues that a conversation between the district manager and the organizations may be good, in order to be informed of one another's activities. Furthermore, he states that migrant organizations might help with organizing the public space, informing their members and using the knowledge and skills of migrant organizations.

Third, it seems to me that having practically the same goals is more important than the geographical space on which these goals are focused. Both the migrant organizations as well as the municipality have the aim to let their members/residents participate in society, to build up a network and to empower people in order to let their members/residents be self-reliant. Although the municipality is focused on the district because this is argued to be a 'manageable scale for cooperation', migrant organizations focus on a specific group of people, which may for them be a 'manageable scale for cooperation'. While they have the same goals, migrant organizations and the municipality could collaborate in order to reach these goals, both for their residents as well as for the members of migrant organizations.

In conclusion of this chapter it can be argued that the similarities outweigh the differences because 1. logically it is better to be focused on a city and all its districts than solely one district, 2. migrant organizations might want to become more focused on the districts, this may change over time, and 3. having similar goals seems to be more important that having the same local focus. The second and third points are strongly correlated, because a similar goal may lead to a stronger focus of migrant organizations on the district. This chapter shows how close the migrant organizations and the municipality are. Therefore, it can be stated that the migrant organizations and the municipality are closer to each other than they may be do think themselves. Just a little step may be needed for more collaboration.

8. Conclusion

"Who are the puppets? You have to know where the noses point to. That is really making contact and talking to people. So, that is my advice to the municipality: do not follow the list. Do you want something with self-organizations, if you are a director, a policymaker or a manager, make sure you go to visit these organizations" (Bölek, interview 24-06-2013).

8.1 Introduction

This prior citation was the answer of Hatice Bölek, who works at the welfare organization Interlokaal, to my question if there is collaboration between the municipality and the migrant organizations, if this possible collaboration is well-functioning and if this collaboration should change. From this answer, just as from the previous chapter, it can be seen that there might not be much collaboration between the migrant organizations and the municipality right now but this might change. This strongly relates to the main question of this research on which I will elaborate in this chapter.

This concluding chapter returns to the question with which this research began, as stated in chapter one: *In what way does social capital (in the form of migrant organizations) have an influence on integration/participation processes in the municipality of Nijmegen, especially when focusing on a district level?*

The aim of this concluding chapter will be to provide an answer to this question. Therefore, an outline of the main findings of this research will be given. Lastly, some recommendations for future research will be given as well as a critical reflection on these findings.

8.2 Defining migrant organizations

One of the first things that can be concluded from this thesis is the difficulty of defining 'migrant organizations'. This already came to the fore in the theoretical section of this thesis, where it was seen that different terms for 'migrant organizations' exist in the literature. Some of these terms are 'self-organization', 'ethnic self-organization', 'allochtoneous organizations' and 'transnational community organizations' (Smith and Van Naerssen 2009, 20). While many of these organizations focus beyond The Netherlands, this research mainly focused on those organizations aimed at The Netherlands. In the Dutch policies and municipalities, the term 'self-organizations' often came forward. This seems to be striking because this term has its origins in natural science, where this term refers to an uncoordinated cooperation, for example, swallows flying in certain flock forms or fish swimming in perfect groups (Huygen, van Marissing and Boutellier 2012, 9). However, in social

sciences, 'self-organization' is defined as "a sustainable social initiative of citizens that arose apart from institutions, where the responsibility and organizational capacity largely remain in the hands of the initiators" (Van der Velden 2012). Although this definition may be applicable to migrant organizations, it is still striking to call migrant organizations 'self-organizations', because this term may also refer to other organizations.

Similarly, the municipality of Nijmegen seems to find it difficult to define migrant organizations, as evidenced by the list that I received from the municipality at the beginning of my internship. Many organizations were not on this list and religious organizations were also absent. The distinction between the terms migrant organizations, women groups and religious groups also seems to be blurred, but it can be argued that these different organizations have many similarities, especially with reference to their activities.

Although the term is used throughout this thesis, it can be questioned if migrant organization is a good term for the organizations which were researched in this study. The term 'migrant' has a changing and fluid character because it denotes someone who is or was on the move. But when does a person stop being a migrant? Many of the organizations that were interviewed consisted mainly of people from the second generation of immigrants. Are these people migrants? In any case, it can be argued here that migrant organizations as well as self-organizations both do not seem to be the right term for these groups. However, maybe these groups are too different from each other to define them with the same term. A new term might therefore need to be considered, such as empowering organizations. This will be elaborated on in section 8.7.

8.3 Changing roles

Besides migrant organizations being hard to define, it seems that migrant organizations are also hard to define in policies. This includes both the national and the local policies with regard to integration, diversity and migrant organizations. This can be seen from the different roles that are ascribed to these organizations in the national and local policy. From the 1950s until the 1960s, The Netherlands seemed to be in a state of denial regarding the nature and permanency of immigration. It was thought that the immigrants who came in these years would return to their home-country after some years. It can be argued that migrant organizations were useful in this period for maintaining the culture and language of the people who came here, which would ease their return to their home country. Furthermore, The Netherlands were not focused on integration these days, so this was not a goal for migrant organizations either. In the 1980s, the Dutch government introduced The *Minorities*

policy[23], which had the slogan: 'integration with the preservation of the own culture'. The building and supporting of migrant organizations was an important aspect of this policy. Migrant organizations were also seen as possible organizations for helping with integration. However, this changed in the policies of the 1990s, in which self-responsibility and citizenship were central. Because of the strong focus on the individual in this period, migrant organizations were left with a less important function. However, municipalities still gave subsidies to migrant organizations, which shows that these organizations were deemed to be important on a local level. In the 2000s, the policy goals remained roughly the same, by having a focus on civic integration and self-responsibility. Therefore, the role of migrant organizations was probably the same as in the 1990s. In the present-day, the participatory society seems to be central in policies, which may again, just as in the 1980s, lead to an important role for migrant organizations, seeing that civil society plays a big role in this participatory society of which migrant organizations are a part.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the way migrant organizations are perceived is also due to the manner in which migration and these organizations are perceived by the government and the municipalities.

8.4 Bonding? Bridging? Empowering?

Whilst migrant organizations are ascribed various roles in national and local policies, the roles they ascribe themselves also seem to differ from one another. This may also be an explanation for why these migrant organizations are so difficult to define and why the term 'migrant organization' is an umbrella definition which may not be relevant due to the differing character of these organizations. Migrant organizations do have various goals and activities which sometimes makes them very different from one another. Their goals range from participation and integration to emancipation to preservation of the own culture and sociability, at a local, national and transnational level. Although almost all organizations do have information meetings as an activity, their activities also vary largely. To see if the primary goals and activities of migrant organizations are focused on the district or a local level, these goals and activities were categorized as bonding or bridging in this thesis. From this categorization it can be seen that, although many organizations do have bridging goals (to the Dutch society, including the district), many of their activities seem to have a bonding character.

From this categorization, another thing can be concluded, namely that a third category had to be added to this categorization: empowerment. Some primary goals and activities could not be categorized as bonding nor bridging, such as information meetings, empowerment and home-work

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[23] Minderhedennota. 1983. http://resourcessgd.kb.nl/SGD/19821983/PDF/SGD_19821983_0002221.pdf

support. This made adding a new category necessary. Still, it remains difficult to put primary goals and activities into categories, because these categories do seem to have a fluid character, rather than a static character. For example, learning Dutch may be a bridging activity because it has a focus on the Dutch society. However, learning Dutch also empowers people in the Dutch society and makes them less vulnerable. Another example is supporting each other, which has been categorized as a bonding activity. However, supporting each other may lead to empowerment, and additionally, when people are more 'empowered', they may have a stronger focus on the Dutch society, so it leads to bridging social capital. It can thus be concluded that bonding and bridging social capital are fluid terms and that the adding of empowerment is necessary in analyzing these migrant organizations.

8.5 District focus vs. City focus

The aim of this research was to see if the societal and political participation of migrant organizations can be improved on a district level. In order to give a possible answer to this question, it is first useful to consider if migrant organizations are focused on the district at all, and how this comes to the fore. In some of the goals and activities described in section 5.4, it became clear that migrant organizations do have goals that have a bridging character, which means that these goals are focused on the Dutch society. However, this Dutch society can be at different levels: national, local or district level. From the comparison between the municipality and the migrant organizations in the seventh chapter, it became clear that out of the sixteen interviewed migrant organizations, only six organizations had a focus on the district and from these six organizations, three where purely focused on the district. This means that their members live in the district and their activities are focused on the district. It can therefore be concluded that the majority of the migrant organizations is focused on the city level.

Additionally, many migrant organizations do not seem to be familiar with district facilities such as the district council, the district magazine or the district manager. The case of the district manager has been analyzed in section 5.6.1. From this case it can be concluded that out of sixteen organizations, only seven were familiar with the district manager of the district in which the concerning migrant organization congregated. Out of these seven organizations, three were not able to produce the name of the district manager, which led to doubts about the strength of this contact between the district manager and the migrant organization. This lack of contact may be due to the different foci of both parties; while the district manager focuses on the district, a specific set of neighborhoods, the migrant organizations focuses on interventions at the city level or beyond. This is seen in activities pursued such as a meeting where political leaders present their program and information meetings at the city level, network meetings or the collaboration with migrant

organizations from other cities at a national level and having contacts and supporting development aid in their country of origin at an international level.

There is thus a big difference between the municipality and the migrant organizations, as the municipality has a strong focus on districts. The reason for this strong focus on the districts is that districts form a manageable scale for cooperation, and that it is possible to ensure an integral approach that reflects the specific characteristics of an area. Therefore, there seems to be a mismatch between the municipality and the migrant organizations with regard to their focus: district focus vs. city focus.

8.6 What about the participatory society?

Aside from the focus on the districts of the municipality, the municipality also has a strong focus on the participatory society. This is particularly evident in the New Social Support Act of the municipality of Nijmegen. In this policy there is a strong focus on the protection of vulnerable groups, self-direction, together reliance, an inclusive society and prevention before problems escalate. This policy was introduced because of "the financial situation of strongly decreasing budgets and increasing expenditure by developments such as the aging population requires a reform on the most basic level[24]" (Gemeente Nijmegen WMO 2012, 3). Furthermore, this policy has its aim on all citizens in Nijmegen. The participatory society played a major role in the speech of King Willem Alexander on 17 September 2013[25]. In this speech it is stated that with the enduring economic crisis in The Netherlands during the past five years, unemployment rates and bankruptcies are rising while houses are worth less and purchasing power lags behind. This has led to a deficit of the Dutch government, for which a transition from a welfare-state to a participatory society is needed. Because of the government's deficit, people have to rely more on each other (social bridges) and have to take more responsibility. These goals of the participatory society correspond to the goals set in the New Social Support Act of the municipality of Nijmegen.

To see what kind of role migrant organizations can play in this participatory society, the definition of participation of both the migrant organizations as well as the municipality should be explained and compared. From this comparison it can be concluded that migrant organizations generally seem to have the same definition of participation as the municipality of Nijmegen has. The

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24 Translated from WMO beleidsplan 2012-2015, 3: "De financiële situatie met sterk teruglopende budgetten en stijgende uitgaven door ontwikkelingen als de vergrijzing vraagt om een basale hervorming."

[25] In The Netherlands the King's speech is annually read by King Willem Alexander on *Prinsjesdag*, the third Tuesday of September. In this speech, the plans of the government for the coming year are announced. This speech is given in the *Ridderzaal* for the members of the First and Second Chamber (which forms the parliament) (Rijksoverheid, http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/koninklijk-huis/positie-en-rol-taatshoofd/troonrede, accessed on 14-08-2014).

municipality, as well as the migrant organizations, argue that important aspects of the term 'participation' are: the role of the government, emancipation, integration, *meedoen* (joining in), talents and mutual respect. People have to deal with their problems themselves nowadays and social networks and participation are important. Participation is therefore a primary goal for the government, but also for many of the migrant organizations.

It can thus be concluded that striving for participation is a big similarity between the migrant organizations and the municipality. However, migrant organizations have the aim to let their members participate, while the municipality has the aim to let their residents participate. While members of migrant organizations are residents, it can be argued that migrant organizations can be very useful in a participatory society.

Furthermore, in this transition from a welfare state to a participatory society, it seems that the civil society is urgently needed. A civil society is defined by Potter et. Al (2008, 316) as a protector of individuals, namely as an agent of change, who cures economic and social ills left by failures in the marketplace or the government. Today, the government in The Netherlands also seems to be suffering from failures of the marketplace and the government as a result of the economic crisis. Therefore a civil society is needed and migrant organizations seem to be an important part of this civil society since these organizations have participation, empowerment, emancipation and supporting each other as primary goals.

8.7 The role of migrant organizations in integration/participation processes

All migrant organizations researched in this thesis have the potential to influence participation and integration processes on a local level. This can be seen in their primary goals, such as participation, integration and empowerment, and also in their activities, such as information meetings (empowering), supporting each other (bonding but also empowering) and providing Dutch language lessons (empowering and bridging). Empowerment is a returning theme within these organizations and it is often about strengthening their own members' capabilities; this may be by supporting each other and coming together with the same people (whereby people get lifted out of loneliness and where people can learn from other members) or by information meeting about themes that play a role in the Dutch society and providing Dutch language lessons. Maybe a new term for migrant organizations should therefore be empowering organizations because they empower people in society.

Furthermore, as explained above, migrant organizations may not be the right term because it implies to people who are 'on the move', while many of the members of migrant organizations live for years in the Netherlands and were even born here. This also has implications for the sensitive

term 'allochtoon', a person who is born abroad or of which at least one of the parents is born abroad. How long can people be called 'allochtoon'? This indicates that a person is different, while it is better to focus on similarities rather than differences when talking about a participatory society. People have to work together in a strong civil society and terms such as 'migrant' and 'allochtoon' do not seem to contribute to this collaboration, because these terms are based on the difference between people.

Additionally, it should be noted that migrant organizations may pass stages. This can be observed in the roles that policies ascribe to migrant organizations (from organizations that can make return migration easier to organizations that help their members integrate) and that organizations consisting of refugees have another character than an organizations consisting of elderly Turkish people that have lived in the Netherlands for years. While it became clear from the data that organizations consisting of refugees have a strong focus on the Dutch society and supporting each other to find their way in this society, the Turkish elderly argue that they are too old to integrate and their main purpose is to gather with other Turkish elderly in order to not become lonely. These different stages and different ascribed roles influence the way in which migrant organizations influence participation and integration processes on a local level.

Migrant and 'allochtoon' are thus fluid and changing terms and migrant organizations also have a fluid and changing character. This fluidity is moreover apparent on terms such as bridging, bonding and empowering social capital because one form may lead to another. Therefore, it can be concluded that migrant organizations do have the potential to influence local integration and participation processes, but this has a fluid and changeable character.

8.8 Recommendations

In this last section, I will reflect on the limitations and difficulties of this study, in order to give directions for future research on this or closely related subjects. However, this section starts by providing some recommendations for the municipality and the migrant organizations, with regard to how they can improve their collaboration.

With reference to the municipality, it was striking to see that there did not seem to exist a list on which all the migrant organizations of Nijmegen were listed. However, this list may be necessary because it gives an overview of all the organizations present in this city and the districts. Furthermore, when an activity or gathering is organized, it should be possible for the municipality to contact all organizations needed for that activity. Additionally, it should be recognized that migrant organizations are very different in character and that they may pass different stages. Another recommendation for the municipality is to organize a gathering in the district with all organizations

present in that district. This might be useful because many organizations are somewhat unknown with the district, but not unwilling. Therefore, the role the municipality wants these organizations in the district to play should be made clear to these organizations and contact should be made in order to achieve collaboration. This was also a recommendation of Hatice Bölek to the municipality at the beginning of this chapter. Likewise, this is a recommendation for the migrant organizations, because they can also take the initiative to obtain more contacts in the district if they want to. Furthermore, it seemed that the goals of most migrant organizations had a bridging character, while the activities of most migrant organizations had a bonding character. Therefore, they may have more potential than they have demonstrated until now and a recommendation for some migrant organizations is that their goals, such as integration and participation, should be reflected in their activities.

With reference to future research, a first reflection that can be made has to do with the difficulty of defining what a migrant organization is. This definition may be necessary because different things are understood by migrant organizations and they vary greatly in their goals and activities. However, the same term is used for these organizations in policy documents and the literature. This made the decision on which groups or organizations to include in the research population and which or what organizations to leave out difficult. Furthermore, the list I received at the beginning of my internship at the municipality with data of migrant organizations in Nijmegen only contained non-western migrant organizations. In the beginning of this research I had chosen to follow this list, because it was my understanding that it was the official list with all migrant organizations in Nijmegen. However, migrant organizations with a western background, such as East-European organizations or Greek organizations exist as well. While it might be argued that these 'cultures' have more similarities with the Dutch culture than 'non-Western' cultures, these organizations should definitely be considered in future research, because these 'similarities' may also be a delusion. It might be relevant to see if there are differences between these so-called 'western' and 'non-western' organizations in their degree of integration and participation on a local level. Furthermore, they are part of the research population so they should have been taken into account.

A second reflection also has to do with my research population. This reflection regards the members of migrant organizations. Although I am very grateful for all the chairpersons and board members of migrant organizations who I was able to interview, my aim was to also include members of the organizations themselves into my research population, but this failed. For future research I recommend, if possible, to include these members. Although the chairmen and chairwomen may say for their organization that they are focused on the district or participation, it will be interesting to see if members also see this as a focus of the organizations they are a member of. Furthermore, it will be interesting to see how active members are in participating and integration processes on a district level, despite their migrant organization being not focused on this level.

The third reflection deals with the relationship between the research location and the research population. Whilst this research was commissioned by the municipality of Nijmegen, and my internship supervisors at the municipality were the district managers of two specific districts, this research has also largely been conducted on the district level of these two districts. For that reason, the organizations I have interviewed were mainly selected on the criteria of whether or not they had a physical location in the district. For future research it might be interesting to include all migrant organizations in Nijmegen, or first include all organizations to find out precisely who has a stake in certain districts in Nijmegen. In this research, my point of departure was two districts, but migrant organizations might not be active in these districts or merely be there because of a lack of a better location. Additionally it might be interesting to select migrant organizations on their ethnicity, because this is also how they set themselves apart from other organizations. For example, it can be researched what the influence of ethnicity on participation and integration processes is.

A last reflection that can be given is that this research is a snapshot of the time in which this research was conducted. As argued earlier, migrant organizations have a fluid character; while some organizations disband, other organizations merge into one organization. Furthermore, the primary goals and activities of migrant organizations change over time. For example, one of the main goals of migrant organizations was to represent the interests of members; these members change and are turned into the second, third or fourth generation, which also leads to changing interests. Additionally, the government as well as the municipality also have a fluid character and changing policies and political views. First, The Netherlands were a welfare state and today it is turned into a participatory society. These changing policies also influence the way in which migrant organizations are perceived; and today, these organizations should be perceived as the ones that may play a major role in the participatory society.

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Appendix 1

List of the interviewed respondents and their organizations

Professionals

- Ledia Bagijn en Fatima – Ouder Kind Centrum Hatert
- Hatice Bölek - Interlokaal Nijmegen
- Anneke Voeten – Official secretary *Adviescommissie Allochtonen*
- Cengiz Yildrim - Interim chairman *Adviescommissie Allochtonen*
- Anke Chekroun - Policy adviser at the municipality of Nijmegen
- Jeanne Janssen – Policy adviser at the municipality of Nijmegen, she regulates the subsidy policy migrant self-organizations
- Theresa Song Loong - Intern at the municipality of Nijmegen, research about the diversity policy of Nijmegen
- Ed van Dael - District manager Nijmegen Zuid
- Michiel ten Dolle – District manager Nijmegen Oud-West
- Suzanne Arts - Manager of the community centers in Nijmegen Zuid
- Rolf Janssen - Manager of the community centers in Nijmegen Oud-West
- Menno Oudeman - Manager youth accommodations at Nijmegen
- Wessel Zwartsenberg - Community worker at Nijmegen Zuid
- Resie Meilink – Community worker at Nijmegen Zuid
- Faysal Zouay - City councilor and board member of *A. Salaam* (a migrant organization that does not exist anymore)

Migrant organizations

- Erkan Bektan – Chairman of *Stichting Turkse Ouderen Nijmegen (STON)*
- Abdelkader - Board member of *Anour*
- Gaiane Abrahamian – Founder and advisor of *Verenigde Armeniërs Nederland*
- Samira Bouchiki – Chairwoman of *Stichting Marokkaanse Ouderen Nijmegen (SMON)*
- Rugiatu – Vice-president of *Club Sierra Leone*
- Elias Rinsampessy – Chairman *Stichting Muhabbat*
- Storay Ahmadi – Chairwoman *Goshamadeed*
- Turkish women group *Aktifler* (whole group)
- Jennie Maduro – Secretary of *GAAPA* (Antillean organization)
- Bea Postma - Chairwoman of *GAAPA*
- Serkan Gedik – Chairman of *Turks Cultureel Centrum*
- Aybike Ural – Secretary of *Stichting Hilal*
- Melek Can – Chairwoman of *Demokratik Halk Dernegi*
- Naigihan Yucel – Chairwoman of *Stichting Savarona*
- Saïd Bouharrou and Aziz Achouitar – Board members of *Mosque Al Moslimin*
- Ekrem Yilmaz – Chairman of *Stichting SEMA*
- Omar Sellouf – Chairman of *Vadergroep Hatert.*
- Greet Kapressy-Usmany – Contact person of the Moluccan Community in Nijmegen

Appendix 2

Network of the interviewed migrant organizations
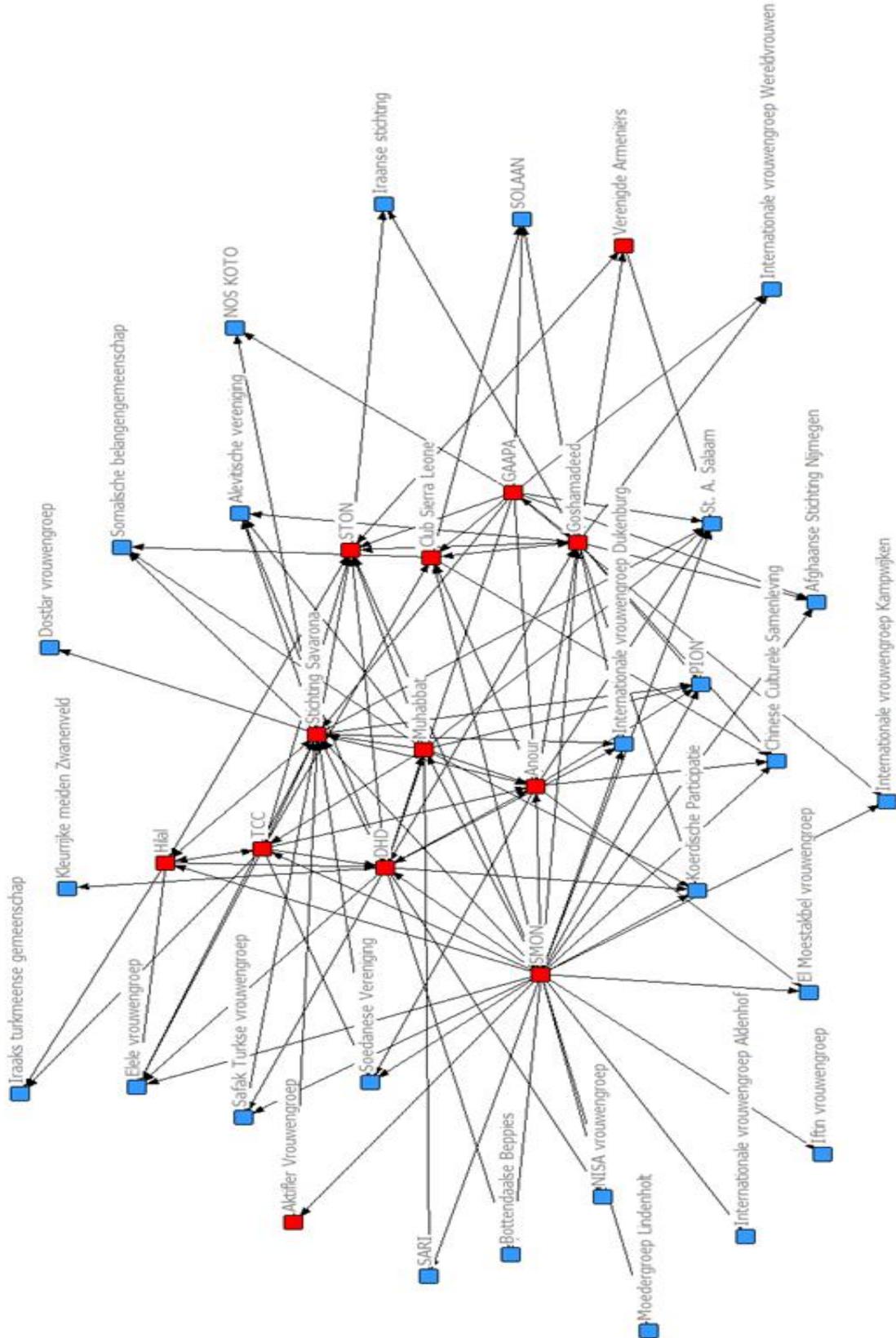
Appendix 3

Translation of interview questions *Turks Cultureel Centrum* and *Hilal*

Introduction: who am I and what do I research. Is it possible if I record this interview. All information that you tell will be dealt with confidentially.

- Can you first tell me something about yourself?
- What is your function within the *Turks Cultureel Centrum/Hilal?*
- Can you name some of your daily activities?

Turks Cultureel Centrum/ Hilal

- How many members does the *Turks Cultureel Centrum* have? How many members has *Hilal?*
    - Can you describe your members? What is their average age? Men/women?
- What is the purpose of the *Turks Cultureel Centrum?* What is the purpose of *Hilal?*
    - How does the purpose of the *Turks Cultureel Centrum* differ from the purpose of *Hilal?*
- Which activities does the *Turks Cultureel Centrum/Hilal* organize?
    - What is the purpose of these activities?
    - Do all members come to these activities?
    - In what way do the activities differ from one another?

The neighborhood

- In which neighborhood is the *Turks Cultureel Centrum/Hilal* located?
    - Is your organization neighborhood focused or focused on the city?
- What could or would you mean for the neighborhood?
- Can you explain to me what the concept 'participation' means for the *Turks Cultureel Centrum?* And what does it mean for *Hilal?*
    - What five words come first to you mind when you think about 'participation'?
- Has your organization contact with other people/organizations/institutions in the neighborhood?
    - If yes, in what way does the *Turks Cultureel Centrum/Hilal* works together with these contacts?
    - What is the purpose of these contacts?
    - Do you know the district manager? What kind of contact do you have with the district manager?
    - Do you know the neighborhood council? The neighborhood magazine? Residents' groups? Do you participate in these institutions?
- Can you tell anything more about this neighborhood?
    - What things can stimulate participation in a neighborhood, according to you?
    - What contribution can the *Turks Cultureel Centrum/Hilal* make to this?
    - What contact do you have with the municipality of Nijmegen?
    - Do you think that the municipality should approach you different than they do now?

- Would you like to be involved more in the neighborhood than you are now?

Other organizations/institutions/migrant organizations

- Are you familiar with other migrant organization in the municipality of Nijmegen?
  - Please tick which of these migrant organizations you know?
  - Please indicate which of these migrant organizations you collaborate with?
- Are there, outside of these migrant organizations, other organizations or institutions in Nijmegen with which your organization has contacts or collaborates? (For example, Interlokaal, Tandem?)

- Is it possible to approach you again, if I have further questions?