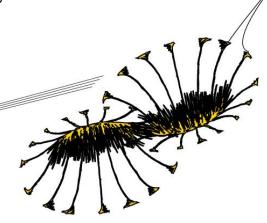




# PARTICIPATING IN THE 'PARTICIPATION SOCIETY'

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NATIVES AND ETHNIC MINORITIES



**Master Thesis** 

Psychology of Conflict, Risk and Safety

University of Twente

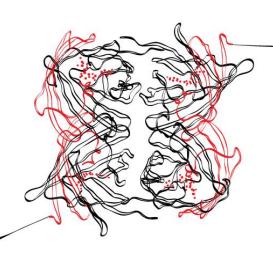
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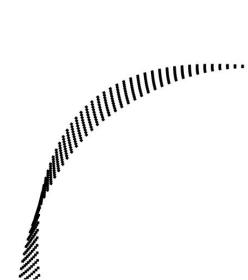
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Supervisors: Prof. dr. J.H. Kerstholt

M.H. Bakker, MSc.



**UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE.** 



# SAMENVATTING

Nederland is in de afgelopen jaren veranderd van een 'verzorgingsstaat' naar een 'participatiemaatschappij'. Een belangrijk aspect van deze participatiemaatschappij is om betrokkenheid bij de buurt of gemeente te stimuleren en te vergroten. Dit houdt in dat burgers gevraagd worden om meer taken op zich te nemen om de leefbaarheid in hun buurt te vergroten of om de gemeente te helpen bij het maken van belangrijke, bestuurlijke beslissingen. Om het effect van de participatiemaatschappij te vergroten is het belangrijk dat zo veel mogelijk burgers daadwerkelijk meedoen. Onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat etnische minderheden veel minder vaak meedoen dan autochtone Nederlandse burgers, maar het is niet duidelijk waarom dit zo is. Dit is echter wel belangrijke informatie omdat het kan helpen om de participatiegraad onder etnische minderheden te verhogen. Dit onderzoek had daarom als doel om te onderzoeken waarom etnische minderheden relatief ondervertegenwoordigd zijn in buurtprojecten.

Deze studie richtte zich op de vraag of etnische minderheden andere motieven hebben dan autochtone burgers om mee te doen aan buurtprojecten en of zij andere activiteiten de voorkeur geven. De respondenten kregen ook een voorbeeld voorgelegd van een groenvoorzieningproject waarna hun intentie, houding en waargenomen remmende factoren werden bevraagd. Deze vijf deelvragen werden onderzocht door een groep Turkse Nederlanders en een groep autochtone Nederlanders te vergelijken. Beide groepen bestonden uit tien respondenten die benaderd zijn met behulp van 'snowball sampling' en die allen in Deppenbroek, Enschede woonden. Ze werden bevraagd in face-to-face semigestructureerde interviews.

Tegengesteld van wat er in de literatuur was gevonden, gaven de resultaten aan dat de Turkse respondenten positiever en meer gemotiveerd waren om deel te nemen aan buurtprojecten dan de Nederlandse respondenten. Hoewel beide groepen verschilden in hun motieven om deel te nemen aan buurtprojecten, wilden zij wel soortgelijke activiteiten doen, namelijk voor anderen zorgen. De intentie om daadwerkelijk in de toekomst deel te nemen aan een dergelijk project leek positiever bij de Turkse respondenten dan bij de Nederlandse respondenten. Dit kwam vooral doordat de Nederlandse respondenten veel meer nadelen en beperkingen zagen, bijvoorbeeld een gebrek aan tijd. De resultaten wezen ook uit dat beide groepen een positieve houding hadden tegenover buurtprojecten, maar desondanks wel nadelen ervoeren; zo waren een te grote tijdsbesteding en een verplicht karakter van een project redenen voor beide groepen om niet deel te nemen. Het feit dat de groepen verschillen in hun demografische samenstelling – de Turkse respondenten waren gemiddeld jonger en hoger opgeleid dan de Nederlandse respondenten – biedt een alternatieve verklaring voor de resultaten van dit onderzoek. De gevonden resultaten zouden namelijk ook toegeschreven kunnen worden aan het feit dat jongeren en hoger opgeleiden over het algemeen positiever zijn over buurtprojecten en meer geneigd zijn hieraan deel te nemen dan ouderen. Toekomstige studies kunnen onderzoeken of de gevonden resultaten toegeschreven kunnen worden aan culturele verschillen en dus niet beïnvloed zijn door het leeftijdsverschil en verschil in opleidingsniveau.

# SUMMARY

The Netherlands have seen a shift from a 'welfare state' to a 'participation society' during the past years. The dominant goal of this participation society is to get citizens more involved in their neighborhood or municipality. This means that citizens are asked to take on more activities to increase the livability of their neighborhood or to assist the municipality in making important decisions. To optimize the outcomes of this participation society, it is important that as many citizens participate as possible. However, research has shown that ethnic minorities are much less likely to take part in neighborhood projects than native Dutch citizens, but it is not clear why. This is, however, highly important to know if one wants to increase their participation rate. This study therefore aimed to find out why ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects.

This study focused on whether ethnic minorities have other motives than native citizens and whether they prefer to do other activities than native citizens. The respondents were also presented with a case of a project for the maintenance of public green spaces after which their intention, attitude, and perceived inhibiting factors were measured. These five sub-questions were examined by comparing a group of Turkish respondents with a group of Dutch respondents. Both groups existed of ten respondents who were recruited with the help of snowball sampling and who all lived in Deppenbroek, Enschede. They were questioned in face-to-face semi-structured interviews.

Contrary to what was found in literature, the findings in this study indicated that the Turkish respondents were more positive and more motivated to participate in neighborhood projects than the Dutch respondents. Although both groups differed in their motives to participate in neighborhood projects, they would like to do similar activities in which they want to take care of others. The intention to truly participate in a project in the future seemed to be more positive for the Turkish respondents than for the Dutch respondents. This was mainly because the Dutch respondents perceived more limitations of participation, such as a lack of time. The findings also indicated that both groups had a positive attitude towards neighborhood projects but still perceived some drawbacks; time commitment and a compulsory nature of a project would be reasons for both groups not to participate. The fact that the groups differed in their demographic composition - the Turkish respondents were on average younger and higher educated than the Dutch respondents - could offer an alternative explanation for the results that were found. The fact that younger or higher educated people might be more positive and more willing to participate in neighborhood projects than elder people could have influenced the differences that were found between both groups. Future research can examine whether the results found in this study can truly be attributed to cultural differences and that they were not influenced by differences in age or educational level.

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# INTRODUCTION

During the past years, the Dutch 'welfare state' has been shifting towards a 'participation society' ("Kabinet wil participatiesamenleving", 2013; "Koning in eerste Troonrede", 2013). This means that people are asked to take as much responsibility for their own well-being as possible. To motivate and facilitate them taking this responsibility, many municipalities organize neighborhood projects (e.g. Municipality Oss, z.j.; Nederlek, z.j.; Swart, 2013). The goals of these neighborhood projects are promoting active citizenship and increasing livability in the area. Active citizenship is often seen as a solution for important societal issues and particularly policy makers and executives have high expectations of active citizenship (Tonkens, 2008).

Active citizenship entails engaging actively in society (Kennedy, 2009). This means that public services and citizens have to make joint efforts for the public good (Steyaert, Bodd & Lindens, 2005). Active citizenship is also referred to as the 'do-democracy' (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013; Wijdeven, 2012). The 'do' in this term refers to the contribution of active citizens to public affairs by specifically 'doing' activities, working with authorities and solving societal issues, such as the maintenance of neighborhoods or taking care of neighbors or family members (Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2013; Wijdeven, 2012). It is important for citizens to have the idea that they are able to contribute in order to become motivated to truly do so (Tonkens, 2008). Many municipalities therefore put citizens at the centre of neighborhood development and try to motivate residents to take greater responsibility for their own environment (Wijdeven, 2012). According to Tonkens (2008) it is important that governments, organizations and professionals keep supporting citizens in doing so.

According to Dutch Prime Minister Rutte, the term 'participation society' is a factual ascertainment of the developments going on in the Netherlands ("Rutte: participatiesamenleving geen einddoel", 2014). In saying so, Rutte is referring to the increasing number of people that take matters in their own hands and organize activities in their own area. According to Rutte, this is because people are higher educated, more mobile and more assertive than before. However, Tonkens (2014) argues that the participation society is a result of the lack of confidence in the current democracy. She says that people are active in society because they have lost faith in democracy rather than that they believe in a new form of democracy (Tonkens, 2014).

This focus on active citizenship shows that it is not only important to properly design neighborhood projects, but also to include as many citizens as possible. However, several studies have shown that ethnic minorities are relatively less likely to take part in neighborhood projects than native residents (Skogan, 1988; Steden, Caem & Boutellier, 2011; Rotolo, Wilson & Hughes, 2010). Furthermore, a study by Clark and Kim (2012) shows that ethnic heterogeneity in neighborhoods is associated with a lower willingness to volunteer. It might be especially difficult for ethnic minorities to contribute their knowledge and expertise in neighborhood projects because they often have to deal with language barriers (Primo/GGD Rotterdam, obtained via Berg, Saharso & Svensson, 2012). An example of a municipality where ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in volunteer work is

Enschede in The Netherlands; immigrant caregivers in this municipality are relatively underrepresented (Berg, Saharso & Svensson, 2012).

To get as much people participating in neighborhood projects as possible, it is important to know why ethnic minorities are relatively less likely to participate. Although research has shown that ethnic minorities are underrepresented in neighborhood projects, these studies do not show the exact reasons for this phenomenon. This study therefore focuses on why ethnic minorities are relatively less active in their neighborhood. To examine this and to get more immigrants involved in neighborhood projects, it is important to examine the underlying motives or other important factors that influence whether or not citizens participate in neighborhood projects. If it is known what factors cause ethnic minority groups to be less active in the community, municipalities or other authorities can respond to this in shaping neighborhood projects and motivating citizens. This study will compare ethnic minority residents with native Dutch citizens in order to examine differences between the two groups. This study thus addresses the following research question:

Why are members of ethnic minorities relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects?

# THEORY

#### **Active citizenship**

As discussed previously, active citizenship entails people engaging actively in society (Kennedy, 2009). The initiative for these projects can come from both municipalities and local residents themselves. Additionally, the extent to which local residents have a say in these projects can vary. Research shows that it is important for citizens to be able to contribute their own knowledge and skills (Buuren & Edelenbos, 2008). The project loses its public support if knowledge of citizens is not put to use or if citizens are unable to provide a useful contribution.

According to Wijdeven (2012), active citizenship has evolved over the years, distinguishing three 'generations'. In the first generation, starting in the 1970's, citizens were given a say in decision-making processes. This means that citizens were more and more asked to express their opinions about policies. From the 1990's onwards, citizens were given the opportunity to participate in even earlier stages of policy-making processes, enabling them to contribute to the actual shaping of policies. The past decade has been characterized by citizens taking initiative themselves. Citizens take a bottom-up approach, meaning that they come up with projects, as well as execute these themselves.

According to Kanne, Berg and Albeda (2013), there are two important characteristics that predict participation in neighborhood projects; social cohesion and socioeconomic class. Social cohesion includes the cohesion in a group and promotes feelings of dedication and trust (Tolsma, Meer & Gesthuizen, 2009). This consequently improves the quality of civic life. Social cohesion is a group characteristic, but stems from pro-social behavior of individuals towards a group (Tolsma et al., 2009). Having more contact with local residents ensures, for example, that knowledge about neighborhood projects increases. This in turn would increase the willingness to participate in these neighborhood projects (Kanne et al., 2013). Low social cohesion thus induces people to be less willing to do so (Kanne et al., 2013).

The second important social predictor is socioeconomic class (Kanne et al., 2013). The middle class, for example, spends more time volunteering than the working class (Rotolo, Wilson & Hughes, 2012; Skogan, 1988). Neighborhood projects in richer, better neighborhoods are often more effective than in poorer, more criminal neighborhoods (Skogan, 1988). When wealthier citizens experience a low level of social cohesion, they solve problems in their neighborhood themselves with the help of their social network or capital. According to Kanne et al. (2013), particularly neighborhoods with low social cohesion and a low socioeconomic class might experience problems, since residents of these neighborhoods are less willing to participate in neighborhood projects. Economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, criminal neighborhoods and neighborhoods with a fast turnaround of residents often experience less social interaction and a lower socioeconomic class. Furthermore, the contact between the residents is not always positive, making residents more cautious, anxious and less familiar with each other (Small & Newman, 2001; Sampson, Morenoff & Gannon-Rowley, 2002). Also, residents of ethnically diverse neighborhoods experience less common cultural characteristics and may face

language barriers. This might lead to a lower level of trust (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; Stolle, Soroka & Johnston, 2008) and participation in the neighborhood (Putnam, 2007; Letki, 2008).

In order to get the best insight into why some people are less likely to participate in neighborhood projects, this study focuses on a neighborhood with a low socioeconomic class and high cultural heterogeneity. This way, it is most likely to find reasons why respondents are not willing to participate in neighborhood projects, whilst keeping environmental circumstances as similar as possible. This neighborhood is discussed more in-depth in the method section.

#### **Motives**

Although social cohesion and social class are important predictors for participating in neighborhood projects (Kanne et al., 2013), they do not address the underlying motives of individuals to actively participate in society. It is, however, interesting to know these underlying motives, since it is important that as many people as possible are motivated to truly actively participate in society. If it is clear which motives are important in the formation of the intention to actively participate in neighborhood projects, organizers of these projects can respond to this adequately in order to attract more volunteers.

According to Clary and Snyder (1999) there are six reasons to volunteer. One can be tempted to volunteer because one believes it is important to help others, because it is a source of social contacts, or because volunteering makes people feel better about themselves. Doing volunteer work can also be attractive because one can gain knowledge, get work-related experience or forget worries or concerns. It is important for future theory and practice to examine whether ethnic minorities have the same motives to actively participate in society as native residents, and whether they are prepared to do the same, or other activities. The first sub-question is therefore formulated as follows:

Sub-question 1: Do ethnic minorities have other motives to engage in active citizenship than native residents?

#### Types of activities

Although neighborhood projects are often focused on livability, ethnic minorities might be more interested in care activities, such as caring for close friends, family or neighbors. Research shows that immigrant citizens themselves take responsibility for the care of relatives, more than native Dutch citizens do (Berg et al., 2012). Immigrant caregivers also experience more pressure from their social environment to provide care for close others. This increases the likelihood they will show this behavior. After all, not showing this behavior would threaten their cultural identity (Berg et al., 2012). Whether ethnic minorities are willing to do the same activities as natives, or if they prefer to do other activities is the second sub-question of this study. This would explain why ethnic minorities do not get involved in projects initiated by native residents or organizations.

Sub-question 2: Do ethnic minorities prefer other activities than native residents?

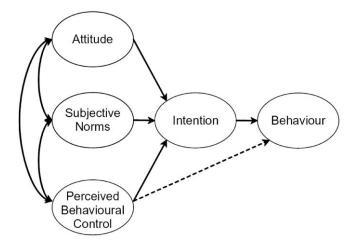
#### Maintenance of public green spaces

Active citizenship is often associated with livability in the neighborhood and focuses on the overall quality of life in the neighborhood (Frieling, Lindenberg & Stokman, 2014). This may include the physical appearance of the neighborhood, such as cleaning streets and refurbishing playgrounds, or arranging meetings between local residents (Frieling et al., 2014; Wijdeven, 2012). Many municipalities therefore focus their projects on livability in the neighborhood. In this study, we will go deeper into behavior on one activity which is often part of neighborhood projects, namely maintenance of public green spaces. This includes activities as pruning shrubs, raking lawns or sweeping the street. Since this study aims to investigate why ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in active citizenship projects, it is interesting to take one of the most common activities as a case to ask questions about. This will most likely give a better insight into why ethnic minorities are less likely to participate in neighborhood projects.

To examine behavior in projects for maintenance of public green spaces, this study uses the theory of planned behavior as a framework. This theory, schematically depicted in Figure 1, predicts whether or not certain behavior will be carried out (Francis et al., 2004). This theory includes three important factors, namely 'attitude', 'subjective norm' and 'perceived behavioral control' (Ajzen, 1991; Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). These factors together determine the behavioral intention. Behavioral intention can then be used as a good predictor for actual behavior, even though there is no perfect causal relationship between the two (Francis et al., 2004).

Figure 1.

Model Theory of Planned Behavior. Adapted from Ajzen (1991).



To figure out how involvement of minority groups in neighborhood projects can be increased, it is important to examine the behavioral intention of ethnic minorities with respect to active citizenship at this moment. According to Fishbein (2000) intention is an important predictor of behavior. One can for example either be willing to actively participate in neighborhood projects or not. When ethnic minorities do have the intention to participate actively in society, but do not do so, there is an important factor

present which might inhibit this behavior. This factor might help determine how the involvement of these groups can be increased and is therefore important to examine. On the other hand, when ethnic minorities do not have the intention to participate actively in society, changing this behavioral intention might be the solution to increasing participation. Following is the third sub-question of this research:

Sub-question 3: Are ethnic minorities less inclined to participate in projects for maintenance of public green spaces compared with native residents?

If one is less inclined to participate in neighborhood projects, the aforementioned factors, namely attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioral control, might help to explain why this intention is negative. The intention to exhibit certain behavior will increase when attitude and subjective norm become more positive and perceived behavioral control increases (Ajzen, 1991).

An attitude is a collection of information about an object, person, situation or experience (Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). This attitude shows how certain behavior is evaluated and whether or not one wants to perform this behavior (Ajzen, 1991; Francis et al., 2004). An attitude consists of two components. The first component includes beliefs about the consequences of certain behavior. The second component consists of the corresponding positive or negative reviews of these (Francis et al., 2004; Littlejohn & Foss, 2008). Attitude is closely related to motives to participate. However, since this specific case of projects for the maintenance of public green spaces is not representative for the complete array of activities involved in active citizenship, this case will focus less on particular motives and more on general behavioral attitudes.

Subjective norm refers to perceived social pressure to do or do not carry out certain behavior (Ajzen, 1991; Francis et al., 2004). Similar to attitudes, subjective norm also consists of two components. The first component includes beliefs about how others would like one to behave. The second component consists of corresponding positive or negative assessments of these views, in other words the value placed on these views (Francis et al., 2004).

The degree of perceived behavioral control determines whether behavior is experienced as easy or difficult to carry out, and the extent to which one feels to have control over the execution of an action (Ajzen, 1991; Francis et al., 2004). Perceived behavioral control stems from past experiences and possible obstacles or difficulties in the future (Ajzen, 1991). In determining the amount of control one perceives to have in a certain situation, both situational and internal factors are significant (Francis et al., 2004). The fourth sub-question of this study is as follows:

Sub-question 4: Which factors determine participation in projects for maintenance of public green spaces?

Even though behavioral intention can be the cause of certain behavior not being performed, this can also be affected by other factors. This means that even if there is a positive behavioral intention for certain behavior, this might still not be performed due to other factors. For instance, ethnic minorities might have a positive behavioral intention when it comes to participation in projects for maintenance of

public green spaces, but they might experience factors that hinder the actual performance of this behavior. For example, one must have the right skills and capabilities, such as speaking the language to be able to communicate with others, before certain behavior can be performed (Fishbein, 2000). Also, the behavior must be salient (Becker, 1974), and there should not occur any restrictions from the environment (Triandis, 1980). Additionally, the intention to carry out certain behavior becomes less important when this behavior has been carried out before (Triandis, 1980). The fifth sub-question is formulated as follows:

Sub-question 5: Which factors inhibit one from participating in projects for maintenance of public green spaces when one does have the intention to do so?

This study thus aims to examine why members of ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects. It does so by focusing on motives for neighborhood participation as well as types of activities respondents would like to perform. Furthermore, it takes projects for maintenance of public green spaces as a case that is used to examine behavior and components influencing behavior towards these types of projects.

# METHOD

#### Method

This study aims to uncover underlying reasons, views or motives of participation in neighborhood projects. A qualitative research method is therefore most appropriate since it is especially useful to understand and explain behavior, concepts, characteristics and attitudes (Berg, 2001; Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). The qualitative method that is used to collect data is individual, face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. This method was chosen to give respondents the possibility to give in-depth and open answers whilst the researcher can keep a certain structure in the interview (Trumbull, 2005; Wright, Lichtenfels & Pursell, 1989; Stokes & Bergin, 2006). Furthermore, semi-structured interviews can keep the influence of the social environment limited because of the protocol that is used in each interview (Belk, 1975).

The respondents were recruited with snowball-sampling. This way of recruiting respondents is often used when using interviews as a research method and entails that respondents put new respondents forward themselves (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Vogt, 1999). This method was chosen because it has proven to be a useful method for getting in touch with respondents from groups that are difficult to reach (Snijders, 1992). Ethnic minorities can be considered as a difficult to reach group because they are less likely to actively participate in society and thus might be less likely to react to a research appeal. The first Dutch respondents were contacted through the researcher's network. Two organizations were approached to get in touch with the first non-native citizens; Alifa and Power. Both organizations are active in the neighborhood of interest and have much contact with its immigrant inhabitants.

#### Instrument

The instrument used in this research can be found in Appendix A. The semi-structured questions start with a number of demographic questions, such as the respondent's age and level of education. Respondents were also asked with which culture they identify most and how much contact they have with neighbors.

After asking some demographic questions, the researcher gave a more thorough explanation of the concept 'neighborhood projects'. The interviewee was asked to answer the first part of the questions with these general neighborhood projects in mind. To see what activities people already undertake, respondents were first asked for their behavior at the moment, in terms of active participation in their neighborhood. They were also asked whether they had participated actively in the past and whether they had ever been asked to participate in neighborhood projects. Next, the interviewer asked for the respondent's motives to participate or to not participate in neighborhood projects. Furthermore, the six motives presented in the study from Clary and Snyder (1999) were used to examine which of these are important for participating in neighborhood projects. Respondents were also asked what types of activities they would like to, or would not like to do in their neighborhood. They were presented with a list of ten common activities in neighborhood projects, which they were

asked to rank from one to ten, with one being what they would like to do most and ten what they would rather not do.

The second set of questions went in-depth into maintenance of public green spaces as a neighborhood project. Respondents were asked for their behavioral intention, attitude, subjective norm and perceived behavioral control with respect to joining such a particular project. They were also asked whether they had experience with projects for maintenance of public green spaces and if they thought to have enough skills to join such a project. Furthermore, they were asked whether they would find it important to join such a project. Lastly, respondents were asked whether they experienced any other environmental restrictions, which might keep them from participating in projects for maintenance of public green spaces.

#### **Participants**

This study compared two groups; Dutch residents and residents of Turkish descent. Immigrants of Turkish descent were chosen as the non-native group of interest since this is the largest group of immigrants in Enschede. The respondents were all residents of Deppenbroek; a neighborhood in Enschede, the Netherlands. This made it possible to compare immigrants and native residents whilst environmental variables were kept as similar as possible. The economic living environments, and thus the socioeconomic class, were fairly similar between both groups. The city Enschede was chosen for practical reasons, since this was most time-efficient for the researcher. Deppenbroek was chosen since it relatively has the most Turkish residents (Kennispunt Twente, 2014) and one of the lowest average incomes in Enschede (Municipality Enschede, 2010). After all, social class and cultural heterogeneity have proven to be important predictors for not participating in neighborhood projects (Kanne et al., 2013). Examining a target population that lives in a neighborhood with low social class and high heterogeneity increased the likelihood that the respondents were not yet active in neighborhood projects.

In this study, 20 respondents were interviewed. Both groups counted ten respondents each. As can be seen in Table 1, the ages of the respondents varied between 20 and 77. The educational levels varied between primary school and scientific education. However, most respondents indicated a level of secondary vocational education ("MBO").

Table 1.

Demographic variables

		Dutch respondents	Turkish respondents
Number		10	10
Gender	Female	6	5
	Male	4	5
Age	Range	28 – 77	20 – 47
	Average	59.6	35.5
Education	Primary school	10%	20%
	Secondary school	50%	-
	MBO	30%	80%
	HBO	-	-
	Scientific education	10%	-

# RESULTS

This study focused on the question why members of ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects. This section discusses the results that were found in the interviews that were done.

The ten Dutch respondents all identified most strongly with the Dutch culture. Even though the Dutch respondents indicated to have good contact with their neighbors, they did not seem to be highly socially attached to their neighborhood. 90% of the Dutch respondents reported to only have occasional conversations on the street with their neighbors. Only 10% indicated to also meet up with neighbors. In general, the Dutch respondents were most close to neighbors who were also Dutch and of roughly the same age. Only 10% of the Dutch respondents were active in neighborhood projects at the time of the interview, and had been active in the past. Half of the Dutch respondents had been approached in the past to participate actively in their neighborhood.

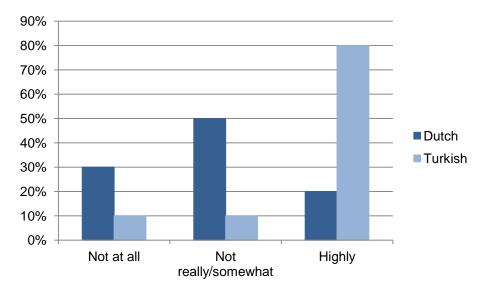
Of the Turkish respondents, 60% felt most strongly linked to the Turkish culture. This is probably due to the fact that some of them were born in Turkey, whilst others were born in the Netherlands but were raised in predominantly Turkish environments. The remaining 40% felt as much Turkish as Dutch, most likely because they were born in the Netherlands and have lived here all their life. The Turkish respondents seemed to be more integrated and socially attached to their neighborhood than the Dutch respondents. 40% of the Turkish respondents regularly met up with their neighbors, for instance to have a cup of coffee. The other 60% limited their contact with neighbors to polite street conversations. Similarly to the Dutch respondents, the neighbors that the Turkish respondents were most close to were of the same ethnicity and roughly the same age or in the same life stage as the respondents. None of the Turkish respondents was active in the neighborhood at the time of the interview. However, the Turkish respondents did seem to have been more active in the past than the Dutch respondents: 40% indicated to have actively participated in the neighborhood in the past. Compared with the Dutch respondents, Turkish respondents seemed to have been approached less. Only 10% were approached to participate actively in the neighborhood, whilst this was 50% in the Dutch group.

#### **Motives**

Overall, the Turkish respondents seemed to be more motivated to participate in neighborhood projects than the Dutch respondents (see Figure 2). Of the Turkish respondents, 80% was very motivated to participate in neighborhood projects. From the Dutch respondents, the majority (50%) was not really or only slightly motivated to participate in neighborhood projects.

Figure 2.

Motivation to participate in neighborhood projects



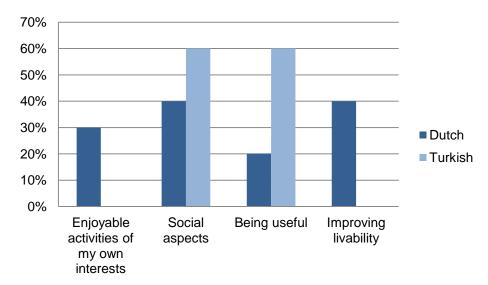
#### Reason to participate

Respondents were asked what important reasons would be for them to participate in neighborhood projects in the future (see Figure 3). For the Dutch respondents, important reasons were social aspects (40%), improving livability in the neighborhood (40%), being useful (20%), and doing activities that the respondent found enjoyable and fitted his or her interests (30%). However, the Turkish respondents seemed to find it more important to be useful compared with the Dutch respondents (60%). For the Turkish respondents, social aspects, for instance participating in neighborhood projects for their children, seemed to be slightly more important than for the Dutch respondents (60%). A quote of a Turkish woman illustrates this:

Well, to people, of course, to get to know your neighborhood better anyway. Because I have children, I do need to feel free to let my child go out on the street and play. And if I cannot pay attention for a moment that the neighbors will check and see: Oh, I think that child is going somewhere else ~ Turkish woman

Figure 3.

Most important reason to participate



#### Motives

The six motives of Clary and Snyder (1999) were used by asking how important respondents found these motives. The percentages of people per group who found the particular motive very important can be found in Figure 4. Helping others seemed to be more important for Turkish respondents than for Dutch respondents. 90% of the Turkish respondents said helping others was very important, whereas only 50% of the Dutch respondents shared this opinion. The remaining Dutch respondents found it less important; the importance of helping others depended on the situation or the frequency with which others should be helped. The remaining 10% of the Turkish respondents did not find helping others important at all since it was felt that others did not help either.

The second motive was whether people wanted to, or thought they could, learn something from participating in neighborhood projects. 80% of the Turkish respondents indicated that this was important for them and could thus be a reason to participate in neighborhood projects. The remaining 20% did not find this important at all. In the Dutch group, only 60% found learning new things very important and indicated this could be a reason to participate in neighborhood projects. 20% said this might be important, depending on the situation. The remainder did not find this important at all.

A third motive entailed getting a good feeling out of participating in neighborhood projects. Here again, this motive seemed to be more important for the Turkish respondents than for the Dutch respondents. Of the Turkish respondents, 80% thought they would get a good feeling out of participating in neighborhood projects, whereas only 60% of the Dutch respondents thought so. The remaining 20% of the Turkish respondents did not think participating in neighborhood projects would give them a good feeling. From the Dutch respondents, 30% thought it might give a good feeling in certain situations, whilst 10% did not think it would give a good feeling at all.

The possibility of finding a job, however, seemed to be more important for the Dutch respondents. 70% of the respondents indicated to see a good possibility of getting a job out of participating in neighborhood projects. This could either be because of the extension of one's social

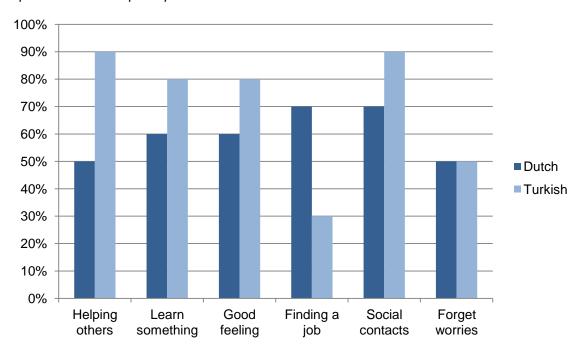
network or the fact that doing volunteer work looks good on one's resume. The other 30% did not see the use of this, partly because they did not find it relevant for themselves anymore. In the Turkish group, the majority of the respondents (70%) doubted whether this would increase job chances. Only 30% was very positive about this.

Maintaining or gaining social contacts seemed to be important for both groups, but even more so for the Turkish respondents. 90% of them thought participating in neighborhood projects could definitely help maintaining or gaining social contacts. The remaining 10% was less certain about this and doubted whether maintaining social contacts could be a reason to participate in neighborhood projects. In the Dutch group, 70% was positive about the use of participating in neighborhood projects to maintain social contacts. 10% of the Dutch respondents doubted whether this might be a reason whilst for the remaining 20%, this would not be a reason to participate since they already had enough social contacts elsewhere.

The last motive to participate in neighborhood projects or volunteer work was to forget worries or problems one has. In both groups, 50% thought participating in neighborhood projects could definitely help to forget problems or worries. 40% of the Dutch respondents and 10% of the Turkish respondents were not as convinced since, according to them, whether this could work would depend on the situation and the problem. The remaining respondents did not think participating in neighborhood projects could help at all to forget problems or worries.

Figure 4.

Important motives to participate



#### Reason not to participate

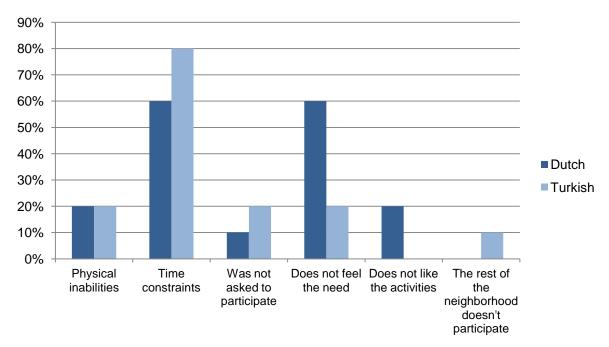
Respondents were also asked what the main reasons would be for them not to participate in neighborhood projects in the future (see Figure 5). For the Dutch respondents, time constraints as well as not feeling the need seemed to be the most important reasons not to participate. Overall, the respondents indicated to have enough other activities planned such as work or hobbies that would take up their time. Combined with not feeling the need to participate, this would make that these respondents might also not be willing to make time for neighborhood projects. Other reasons not to participate were physical inabilities, not liking the activities that are done and not being asked to participate. The following quote illustrates the problem of not having enough time because of other activities:

Because I have enough other activities to do. And that might be too easy of an excuse not to do so, but I have enough to do. And there will always be something new to do when you think well I'm blank, and then there will be something again ~ Dutch man

For the Turkish respondents, the most important reason was also time constraints. Here again, respondents indicated to already be busy with work, hobbies, and the care of their children. Some Turkish respondents also indicated physical inabilities, not being asked to participate and not feeling the need as reasons to participate in neighborhood projects. 10% of the Turkish respondents indicated that a lack of neighbors participating would keep from participating in neighborhood projects.

Figure 5.

Reason not to participate



#### Types of activities

To examine whether ethnic minorities might want to do other types of activities than native residents, the respondents were asked what kinds of activities they would and would not like to do in the form of two open questions. The Turkish respondents mostly wanted to do something for or with the children in the neighborhood (see Figure 6). Many of the Turkish respondents had young children and wanted to do something in the neighborhood to entertain them. Not unimportantly, according to the respondents this would also be a practical solution since the parents would not have to find babysitting whilst they were active in the neighborhood, as is illustrated in the following quote:

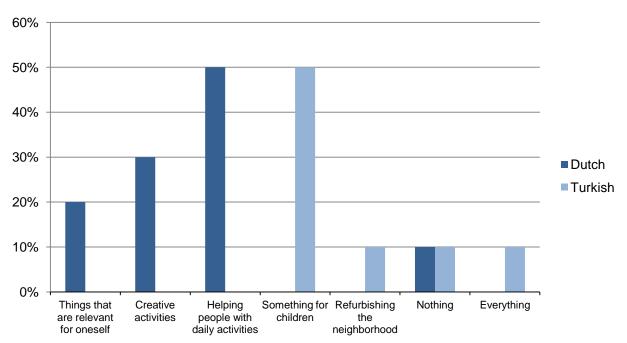
Well, I would like to, mainly with children, give such a neighborhood party, with a tent and a bouncer for the children. You are and busy with the neighbors, and the children are under supervision. You don't need to get babysitting for the children. You have the neighbors and the children ~ Turkish woman

10% of the Turkish respondents wanted to refurbish the neighborhood to make it look better. Another 10% wanted to do nothing in the neighborhood, as he was highly unmotivated, whilst the remaining 10% wanted to do everything; she was very motivated and had no preference for types of activities.

The majority of the Dutch respondents wanted to help people with disabilities in their daily activities, such as doing groceries for elderly. Other activities that were mentioned more often were creative activities, such as giving or following painting or cooking workshops, and things that are relevant and interesting for oneself. 10% of the Dutch respondents did not want to do anything because of a high lack of motivation to actively participate in the neighborhood.

Figure 6.

Activities respondents would want to do

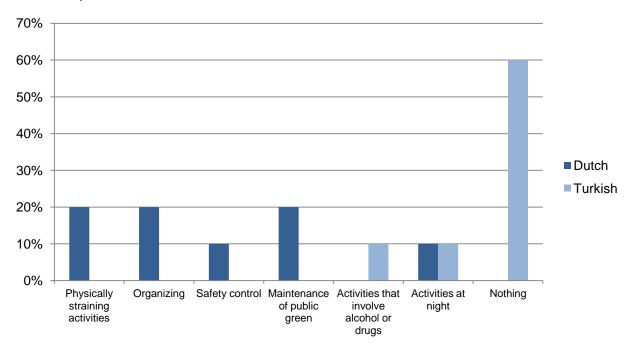


Respondents were also asked what types of activities they would rather not do (see Figure 7). For the majority of the Turkish respondents, this was nothing; they could not think of any activities they would not want to do. 10% of the Turkish respondents said they would rather not be involved in activities where people would consume alcohol or drugs, and 10% would rather not do activities at night.

The Dutch respondents were more divided about what they would not want to do. Some Dutch respondents did not want to do physically straining activities, maintenance of public green or the organization of events. Safety control and activities at night were also mentioned as activities that would rather not be done.

Figure 7.

Activities respondents would not want to do



#### Maintenance of public green spaces

In the second part of the interview, respondents were asked to imagine that their municipality would set up a project for the maintenance of the public green in the neighborhood. With the help of this specific case, respondents were asked for several factors regarding their behavior and behavioral intention. First of all, respondents were asked whether they already had experience in similar projects for the maintenance of public green spaces. The majority of both groups (90% of the Dutch respondents and 80% of the Turkish respondents) did not have any experience with these projects yet.

#### Behavioral intention

To examine the respondents' behavioral intention, they were asked to what extent they wanted to and thought to actively participate in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces. In both groups, half of the respondents wanted to participate in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces.

40% of the Dutch respondents and 20% of the Turkish respondents were not sure yet and indicated they maybe wanted to participate. 10% of the Dutch respondents and 30% Turkish respondents did not want to participate at all.

Even though the respondents were rather positive about wanting to participate in these projects, the chance that they would truly participate in the future seemed to be smaller. Of the Dutch respondents, 60% did not think they would participate, whilst 40% indicated they would maybe participate, depending on the situation. Of the Turkish respondents, 30% did not think they would participate. 40% indicated they would maybe participate, while the remaining 30% thought they would participate in a project for the maintenance of public green. These results show that other factors might come into play that inhibit citizens from participating in such neighborhood projects.

#### Attitude

To examine how this behavioral intention was influenced by the respondents' attitude towards projects for the maintenance of public green spaces, they were asked whether they felt positive about such projects. The answers in the Dutch group were slightly more positive than in the Turkish group; of the Dutch respondents, 70% was positive whilst 30% was very positive about projects for the maintenance of public green spaces. In the Turkish respondent group, 30% was positive and 50% was very positive about these projects. The remaining 20% of the Turkish respondents, however, felt negative about these projects.

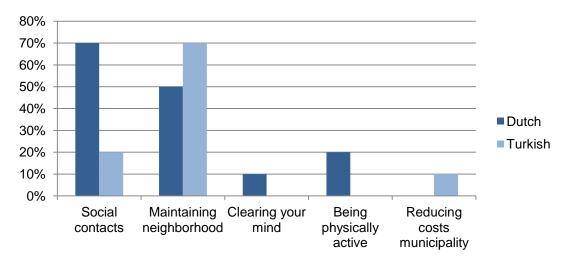
Respondents were also asked what the advantages and disadvantages were of participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces (see Figure 8). The main advantages for Dutch respondents were social contact with neighbors and keeping the neighborhood neat and well maintained. For example, one respondent indicated to be very shy and thought neighborhood projects would therefore be able to help her get more socially active, as is illustrated in the following quote:

To get over my initial hesitation and get more social contacts. If you only have contact with two neighbors, you're world is getting really small ~ Dutch woman

Being physically active and clearing your mind were also mentioned as advantages in the Dutch group. The most important advantage for the Turkish respondents was maintaining the neighborhood. In this group, some respondents also mentioned having social contacts and reducing costs of the municipality as advantages.

Figure 8.

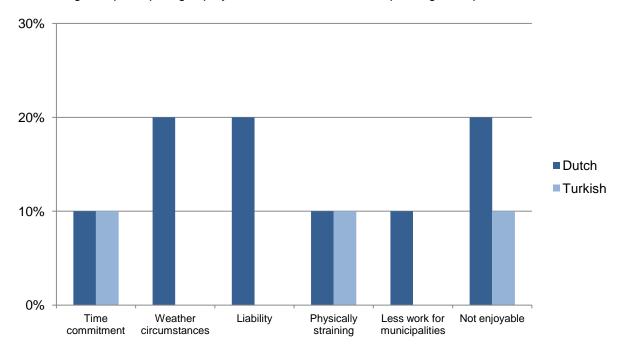
Advantages of participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces



Especially the Dutch respondents also named several different disadvantages to participating in projects for the maintenance of the public green, although these were mainly mentioned once or twice (see Figure 9). It could take up a lot of time, could be disadvantageous if there were bad weather circumstances, could feel as a liability, could be physically straining, could generate less work for municipalities, or could simply not be enjoyable. The Turkish respondents seemed to perceive less disadvantages. They also mentioned the time commitment, physical burden and the project's activities not being enjoyable, but these were all mentioned only once.

Figure 9.

Disadvantages of participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces



#### Subjective norm

Another aspect that could influence the behavioral intention of respondents is the subjective norm they perceive. Respondents were therefore asked how important their environment would find it that they would participate in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces. Half of both groups did not know how important their environment found their participation in these projects. Some thought their environment did not find it important at all (30% of the Dutch respondents and 10% of the Turkish respondents). The remainder (20% of the Dutch respondents and 40% of the Turkish respondents) thought their environment would find it important that they would participate.

For the Dutch population, 40% indicated everyone would approve of their participation in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces. 30% indicated most people would approve, whilst the remaining 30% did not know who would approve of them participating in such projects. In the Turkish group, half of the respondents thought everyone would approve of them participating, whilst the other half did not know who would approve of them participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces. Almost no one in the respondents' environment would disapprove of the respondent participating in such projects; only 10% of the Dutch respondents thought a doctor would disapprove, 60% of both groups thought no one would disapprove and the remainder did not know whether someone in their environment would disapprove of them participating in such projects.

Despite there not being many people in the respondents' environment that would disapprove of the respondent participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces, respondents also did not seem to attach much value to this social norm. 70% of the Dutch respondents and 60% of the Turkish respondents did not find it important what other people thought of them participating or not.

If they appreciate it, it's nice. But if they are against it, no [I don't care] ~ Turkish woman

#### Perceived behavioral control

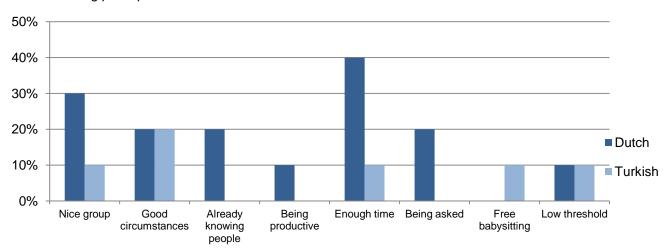
Overall, respondents perceived to have control over whether they would participate in projects for the maintenance of public green or not. Of the Dutch respondents, everyone perceived to have so. In the group of Turkish respondents, 20% did not feel they had full control as they thought they might feel obliged to participate.

Several factors would make participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces easier (see Figure 10). The most important factors for the Dutch respondents were having enough time and doing the project with a nice group of people. Also mentioned were good circumstances, such as good weather and good tools, already knowing people who participate and being productive as a group. Being asked to participate and the project having a low threshold to participate would also help to make participation easier according to some Dutch respondents.

For the Turkish respondents, the most important aspect making participation easier was having good circumstances to do the project. Being with a nice group of people, having enough time, the provision of free babysitting by the organization of the project, and there being a low threshold to participate were also factors mentioned by some of the Turkish respondents.

Figure 10.

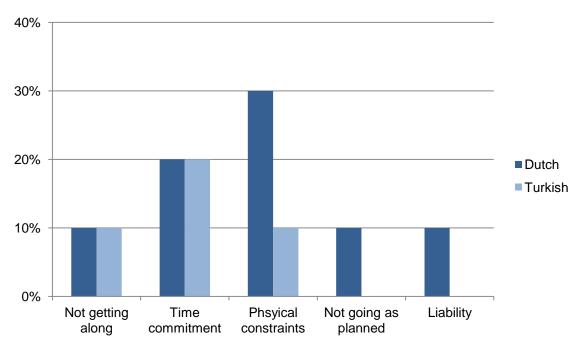
Factors making participation easier



Besides factors that would make participation easier, there were also factors mentioned that might make participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces harder (see Figure 11). The Dutch residents mentioned physical constraints and time commitment as the most important factors. Not getting along with the other participants, if the project would not be going as planned, or if the project would feel as a liability would also be factors making participation harder according to some of the Dutch respondents. The Turkish respondents indicated fewer factors that would make participation harder, but also mentioned time commitment, not getting along with the other participants and physical constraints.

Figure 11.

Factors making participation harder



#### Communication

The respondents were also asked whether they thought they would experience any trouble when communicating with other participants during such a project for the maintenance of public green spaces. The majority of both groups did not think so (90% of the Dutch respondents, and 80% of the Turkish respondents). The remaining respondents thought they might experience trouble when communicating, but this was mainly due to being shy, finding it hard to communicate with others in general, or because of the general possibility of miscommunication:

Yes, I do have to know someone well, and not too big of a group. I'm not keen of standing in the center of the attention ~ Dutch woman

#### Skills

The majority of the respondents thought they had enough skills to participate in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces (60% of the Dutch respondents, and 50% of the Turkish respondents). 20% of each group did not know for sure whether they had the right skills whilst the remaining respondents did not think they had enough skills, mainly due to physical inabilities.

30% of each group was willing to learn new skills for a project that would focus on the maintenance of public green spaces. 40% in each group said they might do this, but this would mostly depend on the project and whether they liked the project's activities. 20% of the Dutch respondents and 30% of the Turkish respondents were not willing to train new skills for such a project.

#### Importance behavior

Participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces was thought to be more important by the Turkish respondents than by the Dutch respondents. 80% of the Turkish respondents found participating in such projects important or even very important, whilst only 40% of the Dutch respondents thought so. The remaining 60% of the Dutch respondents and 20% of the Turkish respondents did not find participating in projects for the maintenance of public green important.

#### Other limitations

Lastly, the respondents were asked whether there were any other factors that would limit them from participating in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces. None of the Turkish respondents perceived any additional factors that would inhibit them from doing so, neither did half of the Dutch respondents. The other half of the Dutch respondents did see some limiting factors, for instance the fact that one did not want to take initiative, had other hobbies that require too much time or when a project would come across as mandatory. One respondent also mentioned he felt that municipalities should do maintenance of public green themselves, and would thus not participate if these activities were asked from citizens. Lastly, a 33-year old said he would consider himself too young to participate.

# CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study focused on the participation of ethnic minorities in neighborhood projects. Active citizenship has been highly promoted during the past years to increase livability in neighborhoods (Kennedy, 2009; Wijdeven, 2012). Several studies have shown that ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in such neighborhood projects (Skogan, 1988; Steden, Caem & Boutellier, 2011; Rotolo, Wilson & Hughes, 2010). However, it is still unknown why these ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects. The research question of this study therefore focused on why members of ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects.

Underlying motives of individuals to participate in neighborhood projects can give more insight into why some people participate and others do not. The results of this study implied that members of ethnic minorities have other motives to engage in active citizenship than native residents. Moreover, the Turkish respondents seemed to be much more motivated to participate in projects than the Dutch respondents. Turkish respondents were mainly motivated to participate in neighborhood projects to feel useful. Gaining and maintaining social contacts with other neighbors was also an important motive for the Turkish respondents as well as for the Dutch respondents. Motives such as helping others, learning new things, getting a good feeling and maintaining social contact were more important for the Turkish respondents than for the Dutch respondents. Finding a job, however, was a motive that the Dutch respondents found more vital. Time constraints were the most important reason not to participate in neighborhood projects, for both groups.

Ethnic minorities care greatly for their close friends or family as it is more a part of their culture than of the Dutch culture (Berg et al., 2012). This was an indication that ethnic minorities might prefer to do other activities than native residents. However, the results of this study showed otherwise. Turkish respondents mainly wanted to do something for their children, for example organize neighborhood festivities where the children could play with their friends. The Dutch respondents mainly wanted to help elderly or disabled people. This shows that both groups clearly had a preference for taking care of others rather than maintenance of the neighborhood. The difference in preference for types of activities between the groups thus did not seem to be substantial. The Turkish respondents seemed to be more open to all sorts of activities since they did not indicate activities they would rather not do. The Dutch respondents, however, had clear ideas of activities they would rather not do, such as physically straining activities or maintenance of public green spaces.

Neighborhood projects often entail activities concerning the physical appearance of the neighborhood (Frieling et al., 2014). Since ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects (Skogan, 1988; Steden, Caem & Boutellier, 2011; Rotolo, Wilson & Hughes, 2010), it was questioned whether ethnic minorities might be less inclined to participate in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces compared with native residents. The results, however, were not in line with previous research and expectations since the Turkish respondents seemed to be much more motivated to participate in such projects than the Dutch respondents. Moreover, even though both groups were positive about wanting to participate in projects for the maintenance of public green

spaces, especially the Dutch respondents did not think they would actually do so in the future. Both groups assessed the chance to truly participate less positive than whether they would want to participate. This was mainly due to limitations they perceived, such as physical constraints or a lack of time.

Since the intention to participate was more positive among Turkish respondents than among Dutch respondents, inhibiting factors could play a role in the fact that ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented. However, the results of this study were again contrary to what was expected. The Turkish respondents seemed to perceive much less limitations, disadvantages and reasons that would make participation in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces harder than the Dutch respondents. This suggests that the Dutch respondents might be more skeptical about these projects. Physical constraints and time commitment were the main issues that would make participation harder for them.

The fact that both groups had a positive attitude about neighborhood projects shows that they are open to these projects which might provide a starting point in increasing their involvement in the neighborhood. However, respondents indicated time commitment to be an inhibiting issue which also shows that the importance respondents attached to the projects might have not been high enough. After all, time issues only arise if one finds other activities more important. It is therefore important to increase the importance attached to neighborhood projects. Furthermore, most people who had been active in their neighborhood had been asked to do so. This indicates that more people could be reached and urged to participate if there is a broader network of people 'recruiting' their neighbors. This would be especially important for the ethnic minority communities in the Netherlands as this might reduce their relative underrepresentation.

An important aspect that was mentioned was that active participation in the neighborhood should not be compulsory or on a regular basis. Respondents, both in the Turkish and in the Dutch group, indicated that they wanted to do activities, but not every week. They did not want to be tied to a certain project because this would pose too much of a strain on their free time. They would rather participate in incidental activities instead of long-term projects. This would allow them to choose more carefully when and where they would participate. Moreover, respondents would rather take care of others, such as their neighbors, than participate in maintenance projects which are often organized by municipalities.

All in all, the findings indicated that the Turkish respondents were actually more positive and motivated to participate in neighborhood projects than the Dutch respondents, contrary to what was found in literature. They also seemed to have somewhat different motives to participate than the Dutch respondents. However, there was not a clear difference in types of activities that the respondents would like to do. The intention of the Turkish respondents to participate in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces also seemed to be more positive compared with the Dutch respondents. This was mainly due to the fact that the Dutch respondents seemed to perceive much more prohibiting factors than the Turkish respondents.

#### *Implications*

The findings of this study can be used to give some practical implications. First of all, the results found in this study imply that there might be an overly negative image of citizen participation of ethnic minority groups. Ethnic minorities might be participating less, but did not seem to be less positive about neighborhood projects. This is an important insight that shows that when targeting ethnic minorities, municipalities or neighborhood organizations should perhaps not focus on motivating them, but rather on taking away prohibitory issues. For instance, providing better child care facilities for mothers or taking away language barriers might enable them to truly take part in neighborhood projects.

Another important issue is that citizens have a wide array of motives to participate that seem to differ between Turkish citizens and Dutch citizens. Municipalities could respond to this by differentiating their campaigns and activities. It seems important to target different groups in different ways because these groups differ in their motivation levels and preferences for activities. One should not only differentiate between ethnic minorities and natives but also within these subgroups. Some people might be encouraged to take part in neighborhood projects by seeing activities they would like to do, whilst others might be more encouraged by motivational messages that induce the importance they attach to these projects. By differentiating the message to citizens, they will be reached more adequately and effectively.

Lastly, Dutch citizens seemed to experience many limitations of neighborhood projects. Municipalities could therefore focus on eliminating these limitations so citizens would be more likely to truly participate in neighborhood projects. For instance, many of the Dutch citizens thought they could not participate because it would be too physically straining. Municipalities could use this knowledge to come up with projects in which people can do activities that are much less physically straining, but still contribute to a nice and livable neighborhood. Furthermore, whilst municipalities often set up projects for the maintenance of neighborhoods, results imply that citizens would much rather take care of others. This means that activism might be induced by stimulating these types of activities, rather than asking citizens to help with maintenance jobs.

#### Limitations and future research

An important remark that should be made is that the Turkish respondents all spoke Dutch. This was necessary for a correct answering of the questions posed, but might have influenced the representation of the Turkish culture. For example, Turkish people who do not speak the Dutch language might be more hesitant to participate in social activities such as neighborhood projects. Furthermore, the study tried to examine why ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects. However, only Turkish respondents were included in the study to represent ethnic minority members. Even though this is an ethnic minority in the Netherlands, it is only one group and also happens to be one of the biggest minority groups in the Netherlands. Therefore, a better representation of ethnic minorities might be possible.

Some differences were found between the Dutch and the Turkish group that might give an alternative explanation for the results that were found. The most important differences between both

groups were the average age and educational level amongst the respondents. The Turkish respondents were, on average, younger and higher educated than the Dutch respondents. This might have had some influence on the results that were found, mainly because the respondents found themselves in significantly different life phases. This shows, for example, in the fact that several of the Turkish respondents had younger children, whilst this was never the case for the Dutch respondents. This difference in age might explain why the Turkish respondents were keener on taking care of their children whilst the Dutch respondents were mainly concerned with taking care of elderly. Furthermore, it could also explain why Dutch respondents perceived more physical constraints which made it that they thought it to be less likely that they would truly participate in projects for the maintenance of public green spaces. The difference in educational level could have also had an influence, since a higher educational level might influence one's socioeconomic status, which is in turn an important predictor for neighborhood participation.

Another important issue was that the study made use of personal interviews in which respondents had to answer questions whilst being face-to-face with the interviewer. This could have induced more socially desirable answers. Perhaps especially the Turkish respondents, who were rather positive about participating in neighborhood projects, might have felt forced to give more socially desirable answers. It would therefore be interesting to try and reduce this pitfall in future research. For instance, in large scale research it might be possible to compare answers on neighborhood participation with databases on true participation, to see whether this social desirability seems to be present or not.

For future research, it is important to work with more equal population groups that do not differ in demographic characteristics such as age and educational level. Furthermore, future research could examine whether the differences found in this study hold in larger populations as well. It would also be interesting to see whether other ethnic minorities have the same ideas as found in this study amongst the Turkish respondents. Including ethnic minority respondents who are not at all or not really integrated in the Netherlands, for example because they do not speak the Dutch language, might give more insight into the willingness of the most isolated groups of society to participate in neighborhood projects. Furthermore, it is important for future research to increasingly differentiate within ethnic minority groups, since considering them to be homogeneous might have an important influence on the findings. By including this in future research, there might also come up a clearer answer to the question why ethnic minorities are relatively underrepresented in neighborhood projects.

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# APPENDIX A

#### SEMI-STRUCTURED QUESTIONS

#### Demographic variables

- 1. Sex
- 2. Descent
- 3. Living in Deppenbroek
- 4. "What is your highest level of education?"
- 5. "What is your age?"
- 6. "With which culture do you identify strongest?"
- 7. "How much contact do you have with other local residents?"

#### Neighborhood projects

Since society is constantly evolving into a participation society, municipalities often organize neighborhood projects. These projects can involve many different activities, but always have the goal of residents actively engaging in the neighborhood, for example by refurbishing playgrounds or parks, picking up litter or taking care of fellow residents. These first questions will consider the general concept 'neighborhood projects'.

#### Behavior

- 8. "Do you do any activities at the moment to actively participate in your neighborhood?"
  - a. "Have you ever done these kinds of activities?"
  - b. "Have you ever been asked to participate in neighborhood projects? And if so, by whom?"

#### Motives<sup>1</sup>

- 9. "Are you motivated to actively participate in neighborhood projects?"
- 10. "What would be the most important reason for you to actively participate in neighborhood projects?"
  - a. "Would you participate in neighborhood projects to help others?"
  - b. "Would you participate in neighborhood projects to learn something?"
  - c. "Would you participate in neighborhood projects to feel good?"
  - d. "Would you participate in neighborhood projects to help you find a job?"
  - e. "Would you participate in neighborhood projects to maintain social contacts?"
  - f. "Would you participate in neighborhood projects to forget your own worries or problems?"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Based on Clary and Snyder (1999)

11. "What would be the most important reason for you to not participate in neighborhood projects?"

#### Types of activities

- 12. "What types of activities would you like to do in your neighborhood?"
- 13. "What types of activities would you rather not do?"
- 14. "Would you like to rank the following ten activities, with one being something you would really like to do, and ten something you would rather not do."
  - a. Organizing neighborhood meetings, like the 'national neighbor day'
  - b. Greening
  - c. Maintenance tasks in the neighborhood, like refurbishing playgrounds, painting fences or removing graffiti
  - d. Attending consultation evenings about the neighborhood
  - e. Domestic tasks for neighbors, such as doing laundry, cleaning or doing groceries
  - f. Cleaning the neighborhood, like sweeping the street, or picking up litter
  - g. Traffic controller at a primary school
  - h. Neighborhood guarding
  - i. Being a buddy for lonely elderly
  - j. Exchanging knowledge and skills with neighbors, like computer skills
- 15. "Why would you like to do number one?"
- 16. "Why would you not like to do number ten?"

#### Maintenance of public green spaces

I would like you to imagine that your neighborhood sets up a project for maintenance of public green spaces. This means that all the residents in your neighborhood are asked to help in doing the general greening in the area. This will include pruning shrubs, raking lawns or sweeping the street. I would like to ask you to keep this situation in mind when answering the following questions.

#### Experience<sup>2</sup>

17. "Do you have any experience with projects for maintenance of public green spaces?"

#### Behavioral intention<sup>3</sup>

- 18. "To what extent do you think you would actively participate in a project for maintenance of public green spaces in the future?"
- 19. "To what extent would you like to participate in a project for maintenance of public green spaces in the future?"

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Based on Triandis (1980)
 <sup>3</sup> Based on Francis et al. (2004) and Rhoades et al. (2011)

#### Attitude<sup>4</sup>

- 20. "To what extent do you have a positive attitude towards actively participating in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
- 21. "What would, according to you, be the advantages of actively participating in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
- 22. "What would, according to you, be the disadvantages of actively participating in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"

#### Subjective norm<sup>5</sup>

- 23. "Would people in your environment find it important that you actively participate in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
- 24. "Who would approve of you actively participating in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
- 25. "Are there people who would disapprove of you actively participating in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
- 26. "Do you find it important whether people approve or disapprove of you actively participating in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"

#### Perceived behavioral control<sup>6</sup>

- 27. "Do you have the feeling that you have control of whether or not you would actively participate in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
- 28. "What would make it easier for you to actively participate in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
- 29. "What would make it harder for you to actively participate in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"

#### Skills<sup>7</sup>

- 30. "Do you think that you would experience problems when communicating with neighbors about or during the project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
- 31. "Do you have the feeling you are capable of actively participating in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"
  - a. "If no, why not? What skills do you think you miss?"
- 32. "Would you be willing to learn missing skills to be able to actively participate in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Based on Francis et al. (2004) and Rhoades et al. (2011)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Based on Francis et al. (2004) and Rhoades et al. (2011)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Based on Francis et al. (2004) and Rhoades et al. (2011)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Based on Fishbein (2000)

#### Salience of behavior8

33. "How important would you find it to actively participate in projects for maintenance of public green spaces? Why?"

#### Environmental restrictions9

34. "Are there any other factors, besides the one we previously discussed, that would keep you from actively participating in a project for maintenance of public green spaces?"

Based on Becker (1974)
 Based on Triandis (1980)

# **APPENDIX B**

### CODEBOOK

Construct	Code	Co	ding	Clarifications
Demographic variables	Gender	0.	Male	What is the
		1.	Female	respondent's gender?
	Descent	0.	Dutch	Of which descent is the
		1.	Turkish	respondent?
	Educational level	1.	Primary school	What is the
		2.	High school	respondent's highest
		3.	"MBO"	level of education?
		4.	"HBO"	
		5.	"WO"	
	Age	Nι	ımber	What is the
				respondent's current
				age?
	Culture	1.	Dutch	With which culture
		2.	Turkish	does the respondent
		3.	Both equally	identify most?
	Contact with neighbors	1.	No contact at all	How much contact
		2.	Sometimes	does the respondent
		3.	A lot	have with his/her
				neighbors?
Behavior	Active	0.	No	Is the respondent
		1.	Yes	currently active in the
				neighborhood?
	Active formerly	0.	No	Was the respondent
		1.	Yes	active in the
				neighborhood in former
				times?
	Approached	0.	No	Was the respondent
				ever approached to

		1.	Yes	participate actively in the neighborhood?
Motives	Motivated	1. 2. 3.	No Not really Yes, a lot	Is the respondent motivated to participate in neighborhood projects?
	Reason to participate	<ol> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>4.</li> <li>6.</li> <li>7.</li> </ol>	Enjoyable activities and goals of my interest Social aspects Being useful Livability For my children Being active No answer	What is the most important reason for the respondent to actively participate in the neighborhood?
	Helping others	1. 2. 3.	No Maybe Yes	Does the respondent find it important to help others?
	Learning	1. 2. a.	No Maybe Yes	Does the respondent feel like he or she could learn something from participating in neighborhood projects?
	Good feeling	1. 2. a.	No Maybe Yes	Does the respondent think participating neighborhood projects would give him/her a good feeling?
	Finding a job	1. 2. a.	No Maybe Yes	Does the respondent think participating in neighborhood projects could help in finding a job?

	Social contacts	1.	No	Does the respondent
		2.	Maybe	think participating in
		a.	Yes	neighborhood projects
				can help to maintain
				social contacts?
	Forgetting worries or	1.	No	Does the respondent
	problems	2.	Maybe	think participating in
		a.	Yes	neighborhood projects
				could help to forget
				one's own worries or
				problems?
	Reason not to	1.	Physical inabilities	What is the most
	participate		(for instance old	important reason for
			age)	the respondent not to
		2.	Time constraints	actively participate in
			(for instance	the neighborhood?
			because of	
			children or work)	
		3.	Not asked to	
			participate	
		4.	Do not feel the	
			need	
		5.	Do not like the	
			project's activities	
		6.	Rest of the	
			neighborhood	
			does not want to	
			participate	
Types of activities	Want to do	1.	Things that are	What types of activities
			relevant for self	would the respondent
		2.	Creative activities	like to do?
		3.	Helping (elderly or	
			disabled) people	
			with (daily)	
			activities	
		4.	9	
			children	
		5.	Refurbishing	

			neighborhood (for instance	
			playground)	
	Do not want to do	1.	Activities for people I don't	What types of activities would the respondent
			know well	not want to do?
		2.	Physically	
			demanding	
			activities	
		3.	Organizing	
		4.	Safety control	
		5.	Greening	
		6.	Activities that	
			involve alcohol or .	
		_	drugs	
		7.	Activities at night	
		8.	Nothing	
Experience greening	Experience	0.	No	Does the respondent
		1.	Yes	have experience in
				greening activities?
Behavioral intention	Thinks will participate	1.	No	Does the participant
greening		2.	Maybe	think he/she will
		3.	Yes	participate in greening
				projects in the future?
	Wants to participate	1.	No	Does the participant
		2.	Maybe	want to participate in
		3.	Yes	greening projects in
				the future?
Attitude greening	Positive attitude	1.	Very negative	How does the
		2.	Negative	respondent feel about
		3.	Neutral	participating in
		4.	Positive	greening projects?
		5.	Very positive	
	Advantages	1.	Social contacts (for instance meeting new people)	What are, according to the respondent, advantages of
			new people)	advantages of

		<ol> <li>3.</li> <li>4.</li> <li>5.</li> </ol>	Maintaining the neighborhood Clearing your mind Being physically active Valuable for self	participating in greening projects?
	Disadvantages	<ol> <li>1.</li> <li>2.</li> <li>3.</li> <li>4.</li> <li>5.</li> <li>6.</li> </ol>	Time commitment Weather circumstances Liabilities Physically straining Less work for the municipalities Not enjoyable	What are, according to the respondent, disadvantages of participating in greening projects?
Subjective norm greening	Importance	1. 2. 3.	I don't know No Yes	Would people in the respondent's environment find it important that the respondent actively participates in greening projects?
	Approving	1. 2. 3. 4.	Everyone Most people No one I don't know	Who, in the respondent's environment, would approve of active participation in greening projects?
	Disapproving	1. 2. 3.	I don't know No Yes	Are there people in the respondent's environment who would disapprove of active participation in greening projects?
	Importance attached to subjective norm	0. 1.	No Yes	Does the respondent find it important whether others approve of his

participation in greening projects?

Perceived behavioral	Control	0.	No	Does the respondent
control greening		1.	Yes	have a feeling of
				control over whether
				he or she participates
				in greening projects?
	Factors making	1.	Nice group	What factors would
	participation easier	2.	Good	make it easier to
			circumstances	participate in greening
			(such as	projects?
			necessary tools or	
			good weather)	
		3.	Already knowing	
			people who also	
			participate	
		4.	Being productive	
			as a group	
		5.	Enough time	
		6.	Being asked to	
			participate	
		7.	Permissiveness	
		8.	Free babysitting	
	Factors making	1.	Not getting along	What factors would
	participation harder		with other	make it harder to
			participants	participate in greening
		2.	Time commitment	projects?
		3.	Physical	
			constraints	
		4.	If project is not	
			going as planned	
		5.	Bring as a liability	
		6.	Not enjoying	
			activities	
Skills greening	Communication	0.	Yes	Does the respondent
		1.	No	think he/she will
				experience problems ir

				communicating with neighbors during greening projects?
	Enough skills	1.	No	Does the respondent
		2.	Maybe	think he/she has
		3.	Yes	enough skills to participate in greening projects?
	Missing skills	0.	Not applicable	Which skills does the
		1.	Physical condition	respondent think
				he/she misses for
				greening projects?
	Learn new skills	1.	No	Would the respondent
		2.	Maybe	be prepared to gain
		3.	Yes	missing skills for
				greening projects?
Salience of behavior	Importance	1.	Not important at all	How important does
greening		2.	Not very important	the respondent find it
		3.	A bit important	to actively participate in
		4.	Very important	greening projects?
Environmental		1.	No	Are there any other
limitations greening		2.	Yes, not taking	factors that might limit
			initiative	the respondent to
		3.	Yes, when it	participate in greening
			comes across as	projects?
			mandatory	
		4.	Yes, municipality	
			should do it	
			themselves	
		5.	Yes, considers	
			him-/herself too	
			young	