Title:
Neither bridging nor bonding
A test of socialization effects by ethnically diverse voluntary associations on activists' inter-ethnic tolerance, inter-ethnic trust and intra-ethnic belonging

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Abstract
The distinction between bridging and bonding associations is a cornerstone of social capital research. Nevertheless, this study is the first to provide a direct test of the socialization mechanism that supposedly causes ethnically mixed (bridging) associations to generate interethnic tolerance and trust, and homogenous (bonding) associations to cement self-affirming identities.
This multilevel analysis of the Citizenship, Involvement & Democracy (CID) 1999/2000 survey data on Mannheim (Germany), Enschede (the Netherlands), and Aberdeen (Scotland) covers 3,166 active participants in 645 associations. The CID includes objective, exogenous measures of each association's composition and aim. Socialization and self-selection effects are pulled apart through interactions with detailed measures of associational involvement.
The results display no evidence for (diverse and homogenous) associations as socializing agents. Although inter-ethnic tolerance is higher in ethnically diverse associations, this should be attributed to self-selection effects.

1. Introduction

Over the last decades, voluntary associations have been ascribed a strong socializing potential. The neo-Tocquevillian approach that gained prominence in the 1990s argued that associations function as schools of democracy, supposedly instilling pro-social values into their members, including tolerance and respect for others (Warren, 2001). Scholars have theorized on the type of associations that would be most inductive such pro-social values. Putnam (2000) proposed a distinction between bridging and bonding associations. Bridging associations bring together 'people who are unlike one another' (Putnam & Goss, 2002), especially across ethnic and racial lines (Putnam, 2000). Involvement in such bridging associations would stimulate connections with and attachment to dissimilar others (Coffé & Geys, 2007), generating overarching identities (Putnam, 2000). Bonding associations, by contrast, bring 'together people who are like one another in important respects (ethnicity, age, gender, social class, and so on)' (Putnam and Goss, 2002). Involvement in such bonding associations would stimulate intolerance and self-affirming identities (Putnam, 2000; Putnam & Goss, 2002; Geys & Murdoch, 2008; Theeboom, Schailée & Nols, 2012). Ethnically diverse associations would thus stimulate inter-ethnic social cohesion, whereas ethnically homogenous associations would bolster intra-ethnic social cohesion. This supposed socialization effect of ethnically mixed associations has become a cornerstone of social capital theory (e.g. . Coffé & Geys, 2007; Iglic, 2011; Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013; Rapp & Freitag, 2014).

More recently social capital research began investigating a rivalling claim. '[Ethnic] diversity, at least in the short run, seems to bring out the turtle in all of us' (Putnam, 2007), that is, ethnically diverse environment would be harmful to both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic social cohesion. Although this 'constrict thesis' was originally framed in relation to residential environments such as neighbourhoods, municipalities, regions and countries (for an overview see Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014), the theoretical propositions have been transferred to (and tested in) functional environments as well, including schools (Demanet, Agirdag & Van Hotte,

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2012; Dinesen, 2012; Janmaat, 2015), the work place (Barak et al., 2009), and friendship networks (Stolle & Harrell, 2013), but not to associational life.

However, there is even a third approach next to the contact and constrict theses on the socialization effect of associations. Citizens tend to self-select themselves into associations of demographically and ideologically similar people (e.g. McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987; Stolle & Rochon, 1998; Glanville, 2004; Mutz & Mondak, 2006). Hence, pro-social citizens are more likely to join voluntary associations, and citizens who do not object contact with ethnic others are more likely to join ethnically diverse associations. This selection mechanism might be the explanation of any positive association between associational involvement and pro-social attitudes found in cross-sectional analyses.

All in all, there are theoretical reasons to expect that the ethnic diversity of an association has a positive effect on members' inter-ethnic and/or intra-ethnic social cohesion, reasons to expect a negative effect, and reasons to expect no effect whatsoever. To date, it is unclear to what extent members' inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic attitudes are indeed the consequence of the diversity of the association they are involved in. Hence, this article aims to pull apart and empirically test the three main approaches: contact, constrict, and self-selection.

Methodologically, the literature has been plagued by various limitations that this paper aims to overcome. First, this paper is the first to directly assess the supposed diversity effects of voluntary associations. There have been studies that aimed to assess the effect of diversity, commonly using labels such as 'bridging' and 'bonding' social capital (e.g. Coffé & Geys, 2007; Geys & Murdoch, 2008; see also Stolle & Rochon, 1998; Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013). However, these studies were insufficient, as data limitation led them to resort to measuring the diversity of associational type (such as sports clubs) rather than the diversity of individual associations (such as the local soccer club or chess club), thereby ignoring the social segregation that takes place within associational types: Even when ethnic groups have rather equal membership rates of a type of association (such as soccer clubs or baseball clubs), they may still be culturally or

ethnically segregated into different associations (such as Moroccan, Indian and Italian soccer clubs, or white, black and Latin baseball clubs). Alternatively, other studies measured the ethnic diversity of an association subjectively, i.e., through the perception of the respondent (e.g. Rapp & Freitag, 2014), or as an individual level characteristic (e.g. Stolle 1998). Due to endogeneity and nesting issues, such subjective and individual measures tend to overestimate diversity effects on inter- and intra-ethnic attitudes.

A second problem in the literature is the scarcity of (detailed) panel data to model the supposed dynamic socialization mechanism over time. Although theoretically the distinction between bridging and bonding associations may be concerned with differential socialization effects over time, its support and tests have almost exclusively been derived from outcome comparisons in cross-sectional analyses (Stolle 1998; Coffe & Geys, 2007; Geys & Murdoch, 2008; Iglic, 2011; Theeboom et al. 2012; Rapp & Freitag, 2014; Achbari, 2015), or from panel data with at best a very brief time span (Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013).[1] This current study is no exception: there is no panel data available with detailed information on the associational context. However, this study does provide a more stringent test of socialization effects (a) by focusing on theoretically necessary preconditions for socialization to occur (most notably active involvement and length of membership), and (b) by taking various selection mechanisms into account as rivalling explanations.

An analysis of the actual diversity effects in associations thus requires detailed information on the ethnic composition of individual associations, and detailed information on members' involvement in these associations. This paper benefits from analysing the Citizenship, Involvement & Democracy (CID) 1999/2000 data on Mannheim (GE), Enschede (NL) and Aberdeen (SC), which covers associations and active participants. The unique feature of the CID is that it 'tailored empirical data on organisations to that on individuals engaged in these

associations' (Maloney, Van Deth & Rossteutscher, 2008: 266), resulting in 645 identified associations and 3166 active participants of these associations.

Crucially, ethnic diversity is measured as an objective characteristic of every single association, exogenous from respondents' inter- and intra-ethnic attitudes. Its effect is modelled while controlling for associational aims (leisure, activism, ethnic concerns), and made conditional upon level of activity, hours of involvement, and years of membership. Additionally, the CID contains several measures of inter- and intra-ethnic social cohesion.

2. Theory

2.1 Associations as socializing agents

In the neo-Tocquevillian approach voluntary associations are primary socialization agents in modern democracy. Only associational life would be able to bridge societal cleavages between citizens that otherwise would not meet or cooperate for the benefit of the common good (Putnam, 1993). The approach is rooted in the work of Alexis de Tocqueville (2000 [1835–1840], p. 491), who argued: 'Sentiments and ideas renew themselves, the heart is enlarged, and the human spirit is developed only by the reciprocal action of men upon one another. (…) And this is what associations alone can do.' Associational life would, basically, function as a conduit through which those involved in the association learn to interact and cooperate with others from different social backgrounds (Rosenblum, 1998). Ultimately, this would socialize citizens who are involved in associations towards pro-social attitudes (e.g. Jennings & Stoker, 2004), not in the least tolerance for others . Associational involvement thus binds society together, making 'people care more, and think more, about the wider world' (Eliasoph, 1998). Indeed, Hooghe and Quintelier (2013) argue that 'it is a general finding that members of voluntary associations are more tolerant toward minority groups than the population average'. The question, however, is whether these differences indeed *due to* associational involvement?

2.2 Bridging and bonding

The supposed pro-social effects – i.e., increased inter-ethnic social cohesion and tolerance – are suggested to be stronger in so-called bridging associations (Putnam, 2000, see also Stolle 1998), i.e. associations where citizens from different streams and strata of life come together that would not be likely to meet otherwise. Indeed, given that the neo-Tocquevillian socialization mechanism is about learning to cope and cooperate with dissimilar others, a socially diverse or bridging association (in terms of lifestyle and identity as well as in culture and ethnicity) is a precondition for socialization towards broader, more inclusive identities to occur (Kuklinski et al., 1991; Mutz, 2002; Iglic, 2011; Rapp & Freitag, 2014).

Conventionally, bridging associations do not refer to all sociologically cross-cutting ties, but mainly to those 'bonds of connection that cross racial lines' (Putnam, 2000: 362). By definition, therefore, ethnically diverse associations are more bridging than ethnically homogenous associations. Two explanations can be raised why especially ethnically diverse associations would bring about more inter-ethnic social cohesion: contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) and the mechanism of selection and socialization (Hooghe, 2003, Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013). Contact theory predicts that repeated contact with ethnic others would by itself reduce intolerance and build trust. Hooghe (2003) proposes a somewhat more complex process of selection and socialization where socialization presupposed a self-selected, homogeneous group: an ethnically diverse association would bring together members that accept ethnic diversity (selection), who in turn confirm each other in that preference (socialization).

By contrast, homogenous (or bonding) associations by definition gather citizens with similar values, interests and backgrounds. Members are more likely to develop strong group identities and a reinforcement of intra-ethnic ties in socially exclusive associations, even at the cost of inter-ethnic ties (Stolle 1998; Putnam, 2000; Rapp & Freitag, 2014).

All in all, Putnam (2000: 23) summarizes both sides of the argument best: 'bridging social capital can generate broader identities and reciprocity, whereas bonding social capital bolsters our narrower selves (…) Bonding social capital, by creating strong in-group loyalty, may also create strong out-group antagonism.' Indeed, the general expectation that rises from the literature is that ethnically diverse ('bridging') associations breed inter-ethnic trust and tolerance, whereas ethnically homogenous ('bonding') associations breed intra-ethnic identities. This leads to the following hypotheses.

H1a   *Inter-ethnic social cohesion is higher among citizens who are involved in ethnically diverse associations than among citizens who are involved in ethnically homogenous associations.*   (bridging hypothesis)

H1b   *Intra-ethnic social cohesion is higher among citizens who are involved in ethnically homogenous associations than among citizens who are involved in ethnically diverse associations.*   (bonding hypothesis)

2.3 Constrict claim

Since 2007 attention shifted to the new 'constrict' claim raised by Putnam (2007). It suggests that ethnically diverse environments are harmful to a whole range of social ties, including interpersonal trust and citizen participation, both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic. The mechanisms behind this negative diversity effect are somewhat unclear, but have been related to the homophily principle (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001), group threat theory (Quillian, 1995), anomie theory (Smith & Bohm, 2008) and social disorganization theory (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Although the claim has found great resonance in social sciences, its empirical support has remained mixed at best (Portes & Vickstrom, 2011; Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014); Abascal & Baldassarri (2015) outright rejected the claim based on their replication on the original data studied by Putnam (2007).

Scholars have predominantly searched for negative diversity effects in citizens' residential environments such as neighbourhoods, municipalities and countries. However, theoretically, there is no evident reason for this restriction. Rather, to underpin the constrict claim, Putnam (2007) refers to negative diversity effects found in various social organizations such as the work floor in the U.S. and Europe, Peruvian microcredit associations, and the Unionist army. Subsequently, the constrict claim has been tested in functional environments such as schools (Demanet et al, 2012; Dinesen, 2012; Janmaat, 2015) and the work place (Barak & Travis, 2009), and in informal environments such as friendship networks (Stolle & Harrell, 2013), though generally with little supporting evidence.

Voluntary associations may very well constitute a similar functional environment in which negative diversity effects take place (Coffé & Geys, 2007), albeit a more informal environment than school and work. But why would associational diversity negatively affect the social ties of those involved in that association? Conflict theory is unlikely to explain any negative diversity effects in associational life, as involvement is voluntary. It is more likely that any negative ethnic diversity effect run through anomie: faced with diversity, members would become uncertain how to behave and more likely to hunker down (Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014). The absence of shared norms, or rather the uncertainty about the nature of these norms, would undermine social cohesion, i.e., a shared sense of community. 'The greater the number and diversity of persons in a group, the more that universalistic norms require altruism, and yet – at the same time – the weaker the force of altruism' (Lehning, 1998: 238).

Hence, according to the constrict claim involvement in ethnically diverse associations would be detrimental to intra-ethnic *and* inter-ethnic ties, at least compared to involvement in ethnically homogenous associations. This leads to the following hypothesis:

H2   *Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic social cohesion are lower among citizens who are involved in ethnically diverse associations than among citizens who are involved in ethnically homogenous associations.*   (constrict hypothesis)

2.4 Socialization mechanism

There are thus two rather opposite expectations on the direction in which ethnically diverse voluntary associations might socialize their members. Regardless of their direction, socialisation effects cannot arise in a vacuum. A first prerequisite for socialisation effects to occur in voluntary associations is active (preferably face-to-face) interaction (Putnam, 2000; Rapp & Freitag, 2014). It is quite unlikely that chequebook members - who pay contribution but are not engaged in associational meetings and activities otherwise – get socialized by fellow members in the association (Putnam, 2000; Skocpol, 2003; but see Wollebaek & Selle, 2003). A second prerequisite is that members should spend sufficient time in the association itself, and thereby engage in repeated contacts, in order for prejudice reducing socialization effects to occur (Pettigrew, 1998; Rapp & Freitag, 2014). A third prerequisite logically extends from the second: socialization effects can only occur after members have been involved in the association for an extended period of time (Stolle, 1998; Achbari, 2015).[2] These prerequisites allow a test of the socialization mechanism even when panel data are lacking.

Empirical evidence in recent years signal that the effect of active and continuous involvement on pro-civic outcomes is marginal at best (e.g. Van Deth, 2007; Van der Meer & Van Ingen, 2009; Iglic, 2011; Achbari, 2015; Van Ingen & Van der Meer, 2015). However, from a theoretical point of view it is unlikely that active and continuous involvement unconditionally stimulate pro-civic outcomes. Rather, such socialization effects should be contingent on the precise associational characteristics that supposedly drive these socialization effects. Moreover, there may be 'diminishing returns' to increasing levels and durations of involvement (Rapp &

Freitag, 2014): socialization effects may decline, after one has grown accustomed to the composition of the association.

H3a   *The effect of associations' degree of ethnic diversity is stronger the more actively citizens are involved in that association*   (socialization hypothesis 1)

H3b   *The effect of associations' degree of ethnic diversity is stronger the more time citizens spend in that association*   (socialization hypothesis 2)

H3c   *The effect of associations' degree of ethnic diversity is stronger the longer citizens have been involved in that association*   (socialization hypothesis 3)

2.5 Rivaling explanations: self-selection

More than other residential or functional environments (neighbourhood, school, work), citizens are able to choose whether to join an association and, if so, to select an association that fits their preferences best. Hence, there is a serious possibility that any difference between members of diverse associations and members of homogenous associations is not due to socialization but due to self-selection. The inverse causal claim would be that citizens with positive attitudes towards ethnic out-groups are more likely to join an ethnically mixed association, whereas those with negative attitudes towards ethnic out-groups would refrain from joining a diverse association (cf. Stolle 1998).

Of course, the risk of self-selection effects is far from absolute. First, there is a range of reasons why people select to join any specific association, their preference on ethnic composition just being one. Second, although associational involvement is voluntary, individual members of a formalized association generally have no influence on the membership of others: the only ways to prevent contact with (ethnic) others in an association is passive involvement or leaving the association altogether.

To minimize the conflation of socialization and self-selection effects, I control for respondents' characteristics such as education, income, gender, and religion as well as for the

central aim(s) of the voluntary association, all of which are largely set in stone before respondents joined the association. Types of associations (defined by their primary aim) differ in terms of the pro-social attitudes and behaviours of their members (e.g., Stolle & Rochon, 1998; Freitag, 2003; Van Deth, 2007; Maloney et al., 2008; Van der Meer & Van Ingen, 2009). Citizens who are concerned with specifically ethnic topics or more general activist aims are more likely to join an association that aims to deal with such topics. If they are also more open to ethnic diversity and more likely to accept and trust ethnic minorities, this might create a self-selection effect in cross-sectional studies.

H4   *Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic social cohesion are higher among citizens who are involved in associations with activist or ethnic aims than among citizens who are not.*

(self-selection hypothesis 1)

Moreover, the self-selection mechanism suggests that differences in pro-social attitudes and behaviours occur primarily when citizens choose to join an association. Consequently, in cross-sectional studies such as this one, we should witness the strongest diversity effect among already among passive members (regardless of the length of their involvement) and small or no additional differences with more active, longstanding members. It is unlikely that members get socialized if they never engage in associational activities, frequent a club house, or do voluntary work.

H5   *The effect of associations' degree of ethnic diversity does not differ with level or longitude of involvement in that association.*   (self-selection hypothesis 2)

3. Data and methods

3.1 CID

The data of the 'Citizenship, Involvement & Democracy' (CID) data set, collected in 1999-2000 in various countries and municipalities across Europe, allow a comparison of members of diverse associations to members of homogenous associations. Specifically, the CID data set contains a sample of citizens who are involved in a sample of associations in pre-selected municipalities. Data was collected in various stages (Font et al. 2007: 22-23; Maloney et al. 2008: 265). First, the CID project identified various regional centres, i.e., municipalities with sizeable populations (over 100,000 inhabitants) with a variety of institutions (university, hospital etc) to allow a variety of associations. Second, within each of these municipalities the scholars made a full inventorization of associations. Third, all associations were sent a questionnaire to inquire about key characteristics of that association (to be filled in by key figures in that association). The response rates at this stage were 36.5% (Aberdeen), 50.2% (Enschede), and 36% (Mannheim) (Font et al. 2007). It is likely that at this stage more stable, pro-civic associations (and/or key figures) are overrepresented. Fourth, to administer a survey among members, a subsample of associations was determined through stratified sampling by organizational type to ensure "representation of variations" (Maloney et al. 2008: 266). Finally, a survey was held among members of this sample of associations.

Crucially, the CID project gathered information not only about the members of various associations but also about the associations themselves, as derived from key figures in these associations. This offers detailed, valid information about characteristics of the associations themselves (most notably: the degree of ethnic diversity) as well as of the respondents involved in these associations (most notably: their degree of involvement and intra- and inter-ethnic attitudes).

The data cover three municipalities: Mannheim, Germany (1868 respondents from 429 associations), Enschede, the Netherlands (439 respondents from 56 associations), and Aberdeen, Scotland (859 respondents from 156 associations).[34] Evidently, these data have a nested structure: Individual respondents are clustered in associations. I therefore employ multi-level

regression models in MLWin 2.26 (Rabash et al., 2012). Additionally, country dummies are included to control for clustering due to municipality/country. Because of the larger sample of associations, the combination of the three samples provides the statistical power required for a crucial test. Tests of the final models on the separate German and Scottish samples are described in Appendix A (the Dutch sample is too small to estimate stable multi-level models with cross-level interaction effects).[5] The separate analyses lead to the same conclusion.

Missing values on the independent and dependent variables are dealt with through pairwise and listwise deletion. To assess the robustness of the models in MLWin, they were also estimated in Stata after missing value imputation. The results were robust in five of the six models in Table 1, whereas one random slope model would not converge (results available on request).

3.2 Dependent variables: Acceptance, trust, and attachment

To assess the attitudinal *acceptance of ethnic outgroups*, I combine two dichotomous variables: (1) whether the respondent would accept people from a different race as a neighbour, and (2) whether the respondent would accept immigrants as a neighbour.[6] Because the answers to these variables were very skewed, I coded opposition to either one (or both) as these two groups as 0 (not accepted) and opposition to neither one as 1 (accepted).[7] On the pooled data set, 82,1% of the respondents opposes neither.

A second measure of inter-ethnic social cohesion is *trust in ethnic minorities*, which ranges from 0 (no trust at all) to 10 (very high trust) with a mean of 5,1 (SD=2,1). The measure is derived from a large question battery on trust in a range of eleven social groups in total ("Please indicate your level of trust in each of these following groups of people?"), ranging from family and from colleagues to various geographical groups. Trust in each of these groups was assessed separately, i.e., without asking respondents for a rank order.

A third measure captures intra-ethnic social cohesion, through respondents' *attachment to people with the same cultural background* as themselves. The variable ranges from 0 (no attachment at all) to 10 (very strong attachment) with a mean of 6,4 (SD=2,3). It is derived from a broader question battery in which respondents are asked "how attached you feel to different groups of people", also on people with the same religion, people with the same sex/gender, and people with a particular social class. The measure in this paper mainly captures ethnic boundaries, as the questionnaire itself refines the meaning of cultural background as "for example, language or ethnicity".

3.3 Independent variables: associational level

A crucial measure available in the CID data set is the degree of ethnic diversity of the association according to key informants, rather than the diversity of the type of association (e.g.,Stolle & Rochon, 1998; Coffé & Geys, 2007; Geys & Murdoch, 2008; Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013) or the perceived diversity by the respondents themselves (Rapp & Freitag, 2014). While regular members' perceptions of their association's composition may be equally reliable as that of officials and key informants (McPherson & Rotolo 1995), the use of key informants ensures an assessment that is exogenous from respondents' inter- and intra-ethnic attitudes.

To assess ethnic diversity, we rely on ethnic density, i.e., a categorical estimate of the percentage of ethnic minority members of the association according to a key figure in the association. Measures of ethnic diversity and ethnic density tend to be closely generally related in distribution and effects in many environments (Van der Meer & Tolsma 2014). That is certainly the case in the associations under study here: 288 associations are reported to have no ethnic minority members, 233 report having fewer than 10%, 46 report fewer than 50%, 4 report 50%, and only 6 report more than 50% or almost all. This variable is recoded into a dichotomy - homogenous (no minority members) vs. heterogeneous (at least some minority members) – to deal with the highly skewed distribution that is the result of voluntary associations being strongly

homogenous by nature (cf. Glanville, 2004).[8] Information on diversity is available for 90% of the respondents and 89% of the associations.

To minimize self-selection effects from other sources, the models control for the aim of the association – leisure oriented, activism oriented, and ethnic concerns – as reported by the key figure in the association.

3.4 Independent variables: individual level

Respondents were asked to reflect on their involvement in the specific associations within which they were selected to participate in the CID. Three measures on the extent of involvement are relevant: the self-reported level of activity with the association ranging from 0 (not active) to 10 (very active), the self-reported number of hours a respondent monthly spends participating in activities in the association ranging from 1 (less than 1 hour) to 5 (more than 20 hours), and the length of involvement (in years).

CID also offers information on respondents' involvement in other associations than the one from through the respondent was sampled. The survey covers a range of 22 types of association that respondents could be a member of. I constructed a dichotomous variable to distinguish between respondents who are involved in at least one of those types of association and respondents who are not (eliminating religious or church associations, as respondents often confuse them with church membership).[9] Additionally, I calculated the extent to which respondents are passively and/or actively involved in at least one association. Passive involvement covers membership and/or donation of money. Active involvement covers participation in associational activities and/or voluntary work.

Finally, the models control at the individual level for gender, age (and its quadratic term, to capture possible non-linear effects), educational level (standardized within each of the three countries), religious denomination (non-religious, Protestants, Catholics and others) and marital status.[10]

4. Results

Figures 1a-1c illustrate to what extent there are descriptive differences between participants in homogenous (H) and diverse (D) associations. Figure 1a shows that ethnic outgroups are on average somewhat more accepted among participants in Enschede than in Aberdeen and especially Mannheim. More importantly, in all three countries participants in ethnically diverse associations are somewhat more likely to accept ethnic out-groups as neighbours than participants in homogenous associations.

Figure 1b plots the levels of trust in ethnic minorities. While trust is higher in Aberdeen and Enschede than in Mannheim, there is no consistent difference between participants in homogenous and diverse associations: levels are basically equal in Mannheim and Aberdeen, whereas trust in minorities is slightly higher in the homogenous associations of Enschede than in its diverse associations.

Figure 1c illustrates the differences in (intra-ethnic) attachment to people with the same cultural background by country and type of association. The cross-national differences between the three cities seem marginal. Similarly, the differences between diverse and homogenous associations are rather small, especially in Aberdeen. In Mannheim and Enschede attachment is somewhat higher in homogenous than in diverse associations.

Summing up the findings in these figures: if associational diversity has any effect on inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic social cohesion, it seems to be small and inconsistent.

[Figures 1a-1c somewhat here]

A more crucial test requires substantive controls for rivalling explanations of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic social cohesion, and a model of the conditionality of the supposed diversity effects. The results of these multivariate tests are laid down in Table 1.

Model 1a shows that the degree of ethnic diversity of the association has a significant, positive effect (b=0.38) on acceptance (in line with hypothesis 1a). However, model 1b shows that this diversity effect is not significantly stronger among people who are longer, more frequently, or more actively involved in that association.[11] In other words, ethnic diversity is related to the acceptance of ethnic minorities regardless whether people are passive (chequebook members) or highly involved, and regardless whether they joined recently or a long time ago. This does not make sense from the socialization perspective, but fits quite well with the self-selection mechanism: people who are more accepting towards ethnic minority groups are more likely to join an ethnically diverse association. I find support for hypothesis 5, not for hypotheses 3a, 3b, and 3c.

Trust in ethnic minorities (model 2a) and attachment to people with the same cultural background (model 3a) are not significantly affected by the level of ethnic diversity in the association. Hence, hypothesis 2 (the constrict claim) and hypothesis 1b (on bonding associations) are both rejected.

Yet, there is a significant interaction effect in Model 3b on intra-ethnic belonging (b=0.17). It suggests that the effect of ethnic diversity does differ with hours of involvement: the diversity effect on belonging is significantly negative at the low end of the variable 'hours of involvement', and non-significantly positive at the high end (see Figure 2). Hypotheses 1b and 2 thus seem to hold after all, but only among members who spend little time in the association. However, that does not make sense from a socialization perspective: intra-ethnic belonging goes down with higher levels of involvement, especially in homogenous (bonding) associations. All in all, there is still no evidence for any diversity effect due to socialization processes. I thus reject hypotheses 3a-3c.

The associational aim is a significant determinant of intra-ethnic attitudes (acceptance in model 1a/b, trust in model 2a/b). Specifically, people who joined an association that focuses on ethnic concerns are significantly more likely to accept ethnic minority groups as neighbours and

trust ethnic minorities. This is in line with the self-selection mechanism as laid down in hypothesis 4. Involvement in an activist association has a smaller, positive effect on trust and attachment that only borders on significance at the 5%-level.

[Table 1 somewhat here]

[Figure 2 somewhat here]

5. Conclusion and discussion

The distinction between bridging (ethnically mixed) and bonding (homogenous) associations has been a cornerstone of social capital research for more than a decade, because of their supposedly differential effects on inter-ethnic tolerance and intra-ethnic belonging (e.g. Putnam, 2000). But although scholars have theorized about these relationships since the late 1990s, the effects of bridging and bonding associations had not been tested empirically in any direct fashion, simply because suitable data for such a test were lacking: none of the previous studies was able to assess the diversity of individual voluntary associations directly, instead relying on aggregate measures by type of association, or by subjective perceptions of the respondents themselves. The CID data enabled such a test, as it includes objective, exogenous measures of the ethnic composition of a large sample of individual associations in three cities: Mannheim (Germany), Enschede (the Netherlands), and Aberdeen (Scotland).

The analyses imply that voluntary associations do not live up to the socializing potential that is generally ascribed to them in the neo-Tocquevillian tradition. The extensively theorized socialization effects of bridging and bonding associations find no empirical support. Rather, the outcomes of this study indicate that there is no socialization effect of the diversity of associational life, neither positively nor negatively, on intra- and inter-ethnic social cohesion. None of the previously found diversity effects is stronger among actively involved and longstanding members. Any difference should be ascribed to self-selection effects: People who

are more tolerant are more likely to be involved in an association with ethnic concerns as a core aim, and more likely to be involved in an ethnically diverse association. However, even these selection effects are rather weak.

The constrict hypothesis (Putnam, 2007), which states that all modes of social cohesion decline in response to diversity, does not hold up in associational life either. This outcome is not that dissimilar to other functional environments such as schools (Demanet et al, 2012; Dinesen, 2012; Janmaat, 2015[12]) and the work place (Barak & Travis, 2009), contexts in which negative diversity effects are also rarely found. Possibly, the lack of findings is caused by the strong self-selection mechanism that reduces the heterogeneity of networks in associational life (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1987; Glanville, 2004). The opportunities for self-selection are even more evident in associational life than in school or work environments (Mutz & Mondak, 2006).

The lack of detailed panel data on associations and their members has plagued the literature for almost two decades. By focusing on conditional effects, this study comes closer to isolating socialization effects than previous studies were able to. Nevertheless, this study remains limited as well: by design, it could only investigate the influence of a single association at one point in time in a select few cities. Although analysis of panel data – when available – would be a fruitful next step, it is unlikely to lead to more support for the socialization mechanism. If anything, cross-sectional analyses overestimate any socialization effect because it cannot completely take self-selection biases into account.

All in all, even ethnically diverse associations do not contribute to greater tolerance for people with a different ethnic background, while homogenous associations do not cement group identities. This challenges the theoretical distinction between bridging and bonding associations. More fundamentally, these findings undermine a fundamental assumption in social capital theory, namely the idea that associations (and especially mixed associations) socialize their members into more pro-social and tolerant citizens. While the collaboration of members with a

diverse pool of resources and outlooks on life in bridging associations may strengthen the external effects of these associations on wider society, the lack of internal effects is remarkable.

These findings echo other recent studies that report no or much lower than expected socialization effects of voluntary associations, a.o. on social trust (Van Ingen & Bekkers 2015), on political engagement (Van Deth 2007) and on political interest and participation (Van der Meer & Van Ingen 2009; Van Ingen & Van der Meer 2015). This does not necessarily mean that socialization effects do not occur at all in voluntary associations. Socialization might still take place among newcomers (immigrants) and youngsters (children, adolescents) (cf. Hooghe & Quintelier, 2013). However, one should not overestimate the socializing role of associational life on an adult population. The hopeful role of voluntary associations as socializing agents, so often based on simple correlations, seems to be rather overblown.

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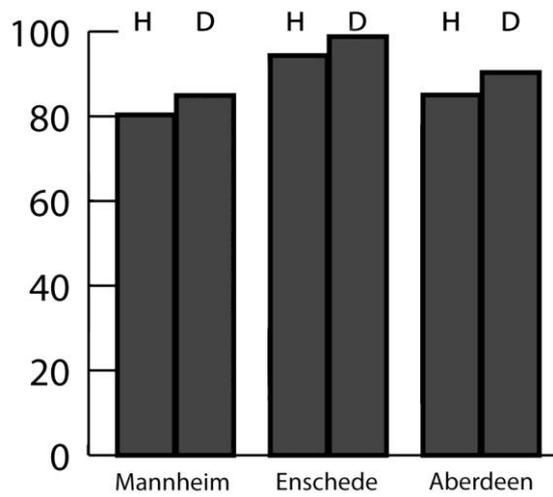
Figure 1a.   *Activists' acceptance of migrants/other race as neighbour (percentages,) by homogenous (H) and diverse (D) associations*
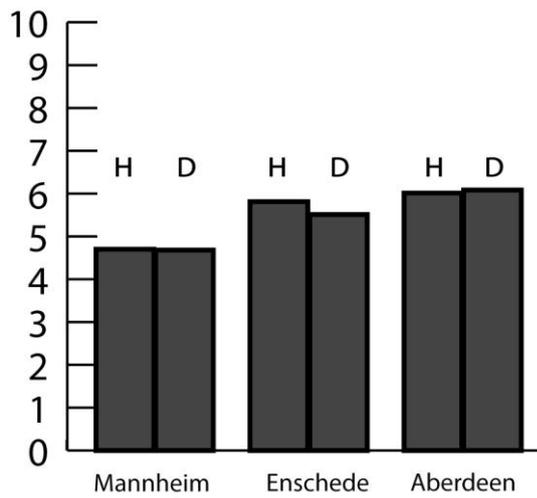

Figure 1b.   *Activists' trust in ethnic minorities (mean scores), by homogenous (H) and diverse (D) associations*
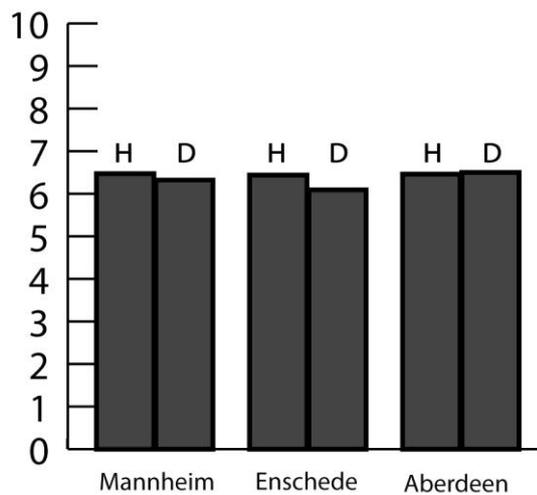

Figure 1c.   *Activists' attachment to people with same cultural background (mean scores), by homogenous (H) and diverse (D) associations*
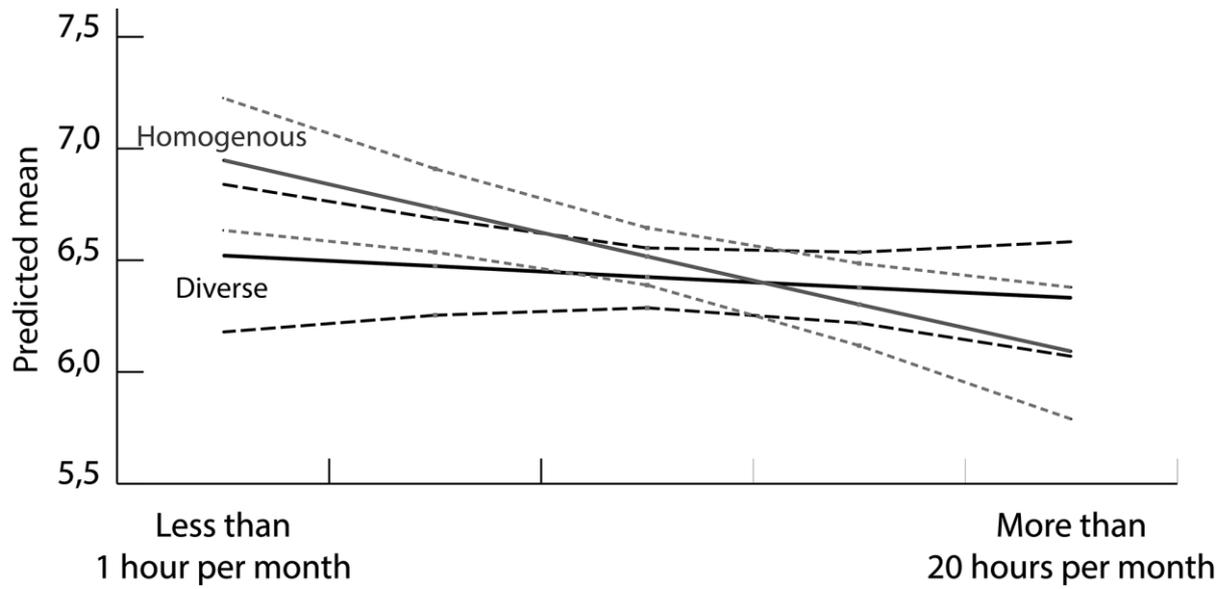
Figure 2.   *Predicted values on intra-ethnic attachment by hours of involvement in homogenous and diverse associations, with 95% confidence intervals (model*

Table 1. Multilevel regression analyses: associational diversity and socialization among activists

	Acceptance of migrants/other race as neighbour		Trust in ethnic minorities		Attachment to people with same cultural background	
	Model 1A	Model 1B	Model 2A	Model 2B	Model 3A	Model 3B
Country/city (ref: Germany / Mannheim)						
• Netherlands / Enschede	2.27 (0.38) *	2.26 (0.38) *	1.04 (0.30) *	1.02 (0.29) *	0.19 (0.19)	0.18 (0.19)
• Scotland / Aberdeen	0.82 (0.24) *	0.83 (0.24) *	1.49 (0.16) *	1.50 (0.16) *	0.16 (0.17)	0.22 (0.17)
Level 2 (associations)						
Ethnic diversity	0.38 (0.12) *	0.03 (0.40)	-0.01 (0.09)	0.21 (0.31)	-0.04 (0.10)	-0.22 (0.34)
Aim: leisure	-0.10 (0.12)	-0.11 (0.12)	-0.08 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.06 (0.09)
Aim: activism	0.08 (0.13)	0.08 (0.13)	0.16 (0.10)	0.16 (0.10) *	0.15 (0.10)	0.20 (0.10) *
Aim: ethnic concerns	0.53 (0.21) *	0.55 (0.21) *	0.36 (0.14) *	0.36 (0.14) *	0.12 (0.15)	0.09 (0.15)
*Cross-level interactions (L1*L2)*						
Ethnic diversity * Years of membership of specified association		-0.00 (0.01)		-0.01 (0.01)		0.00 (0.01)
Ethnic diversity * Level of activity with specified association		0.03 (0.06)		0.02 (0.04)		-0.06 (0.05)
Ethnic diversity * Hours of involvement with specified association		0.06 (0.12)		-0.10 (0.09)		0.17 (0.10) *
Level 1 (individuals)						
Years of membership of specified association	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00) *	0.01 (0.00) *
Level of activity with specified association	0.04 (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)	0.08 (0.02) *	0.07 (0.03) *	0.12 (0.02) *	0.15 (0.03) *
Hours of involvement with specified association	0.01 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.06 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.06)	-0.11 (0.04) *	-0.22 (0.07) *
Age	-0.05 (0.03) *	0.05 (0.02) *	0.03 (0.02) *	0.04 (0.02) *	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Age squared	-0.06 (0.02) *	-0.06 (0.02) *	-0.03 (0.02) *	-0.03 (0.02) *	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Gender: Woman	0.05 (0.13)	0.05 (0.13)	-0.03 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.09)	0.13 (0.10)	0.15 (0.10)
Educational level, standardized by country	0.54 (0.10) *	0.53 (0.10) *	0.17 (0.07) *	0.17 (0.07) *	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.07)
Religious denomination (ref: none)						
• protestant	-0.36 (0.20) *	-0.36 (0.20) *	-0.33 (0.14) *	-0.32 (0.14) *	-0.00 (0.14)	-0.01 (0.14)
• catholic	-0.49 (0.20) *	-0.50 (0.20) *	-0.28 (0.14) *	-0.29 (0.14) *	0.22 (0.14)	0.24 (0.14)
• other/missing	-0.44 (0.30)	-0.44 (0.30)	-0.43 (0.20) *	-0.43 (0.20) *	0.01 (0.20)	-0.01 (0.20)
Marital status (ref: married)						
• cohabit	-0.17 (0.27)	-0.16 (0.27)	0.03 (0.18)	0.00 (0.18)	-0.06 (0.18)	-0.03 (0.18)
• divorced/separated	0.22 (0.23)	0.22 (0.24)	0.03 (0.16)	0.05 (0.16)	-0.06 (0.17)	-0.11 (0.17)
• widowed	-0.49 (0.23) *	-0.50 (0.24) *	0.13 (0.19)	0.15 (0.19)	-0.01 (0.20)	-0.07 (0.20)
• single	0.18 (0.24)	0.17 (0.24)	0.33 (0.17) *	0.34 (0.17) *	0.32 (0.18) *	0.31 (0.18) *

Source: CID Germany (Mannheim), Netherlands (Enschede), Scotland (Aberdeen)
Logistic regression analysis (Model 3) and linear regression analysis (Models 4, 5)
Unstandardized effects; standard errors between brackets; one-sided tests; * $p < 0.05$
Pairwise deletion of missing values for education, associational aim. Listwise deletion of missing values for ethnic diversity and all other variables.
Models 3b, 4b and 5b are random slope models (effect of 'years of membership', 'level of activity', 'hours of involvement' allowed to vary with L2).

Appendix A. Multilevel regression analyses: associational diversity and socialization among activists, by country

	Model 1B	Model 2B	Model 3B
Germany / Mannheim			
Level 2 (associations)			
Ethnic diversity	0.20 (0.51)	-0.15 (0.38)	0.25 (0.40)
*Cross-level interactions (L1*L2)*			
Ethnic diversity * Years of membership of specified association	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Ethnic diversity * Level of activity with specified association	0.08 (0.07)	0.08 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.06)
Ethnic diversity * Hours of involvement with specified association	-0.08 (0.15)	-0.09 (0.10)	0.13 (0.11)
Scotland / Aberdeen			
Level 2 (associations)			
Ethnic diversity	0.66 (0.99)	1.37 (0.59) *	-1.64 (0.80) *
*Cross-level interactions (L1*L2)*			
Ethnic diversity * Years of membership of specified association	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Ethnic diversity * Level of activity with specified association	-0.10 (0.14)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.10)
Ethnic diversity * Hours of involvement with specified association	0.30 (0.32)	-0.19 (0.18)	0.49 (0.23) *

Source: CID Germany (Mannheim), Scotland (Aberdeen)

Unstandardized effects; standard errors between brackets; one-sided tests; * p<0.05

Pairwise deletion of missing values for education, associational aim. Listwise deletion of missing values for ethnic diversity and all other variables.

Models control for all individual and contextual level determinants of Table 2.

Random slope models: effect of 'years of membership', 'level of activity', 'hours of involvement' allowed to vary with L2.

End notes

[1] The lack of panel data is also apparent in related fields, such as research on the impact of neighbourhood diversity on social cohesion (e.g., Putnam, 2007; Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015; see Van der Meer & Tolsma, 2014 for an overview) and the impact of class/school diversity on social ties (e.g., Demanet et al., 2012; Dinesen, 2012; but see Janmaat, 2015 for an exception).

[2] Length of involvement also reflects a second self-selection process, namely that of selective dropout out of the association. This biases the outcomes of the analysis: it is more likely that longstanding members are more prosocial (as less sociable members are more likely to have left the association), and that longstanding members of ethnically diverse associations are more tolerant and trusting towards ethnic outgroups (as members who were averse to diversity are more likely to have left the association). The bias thus favors finding the very same interaction effects that one would expect from a socialization perspective. Finding no significant interaction effect therefore provides an even stronger rejection of the socialization perspective..

[3] Although data collection in the CID went beyond the samples used in this study, not all are yet publically available. I am very grateful to the teams of Mannheim, Enschede, and Aberdeen for sharing these data.

[4] There are serious differences between the cities in terms of ethnic composition. While Mannheim (38,7% migration background in 2012, more than half with foreign nationality) and Enschede (14,6% who were born in non-western country or whose parent were born in non-western country, in 2009) are relatively diverse cities, Aberdeen is not (with less than 2% officially registered as member of an ethnic minority group in 2005). Hence, the final analyses were also run for the German and Scottish samples separately; findings were robust (see Appendix A).

[5] Stripped down models (without several of the individual and contextual controls, without several covariances) on the Dutch sample did converge. They led to the same conclusions as the other models.

[6] The variable on acceptance of ethnic others as a neighbour fits well in the literature on the effects of ethnic diversity in neighbourhoods: the only consistent evidence for negative diversity effects is found for intra-neighbourhood social cohesion (Van der Meer & Tolsma 2014).

[7] CID also contains variables on political tolerance towards the same groups, i.e., allowing groups to hold political meetings. This political tolerance falls outside the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, I checked the robustness of the findings with these alternative questions. I constructed a similar variable based on political tolerance towards immigrants and people from another race, and estimated the same models as for social tolerance. Although I did find effects of diversity and ethnic aims on that dependent variable, there was no evidence whatsoever for socialization effects: none of the effects grows stronger with level and hours of associational involvement. Apparently, the effects are caused by self-selection: People who think ethnic outgroups should be allowed to hold political meetings are more likely to join an association with ethnic concerns.

[8] Other, more skewed divisions such as a division into three categories lead to the same outcomes (results available on request).

[9] A sum score based on these items would fundamentally measure the diversity in types of association, rather than the intensity of associational involvement.

[10] In the German and Dutch samples I could also control for country of birth and citizenship. The share of foreign-born respondents (6% of German participants, 3% of the Dutch participants) is small to the share of respondents involved in diverse associations (47% of German participants, 40% of the Dutch participants). Their exclusion does not affect the outcomes of the analyses (results available on request).

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[11] All interaction effects in models 1b, 2b, and 3b have been estimated separately as well. They were robust in significance and (for the significant interaction effect in model 3b) direction.

[12] Janmaat finds no diversity effect on inclusive attitudes, though he finds negative diversity effects on social trust (in peers).