

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Religious Social Capital in the Political Integration of Second-Generation Migrants

Justice Richard Kwabena Owusu KYEI, Rafal SMOCZYNSKI and Richmond Osei AMOAH

Abstract. The study investigates the effect that religious social capital has in the political integration of second-generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam. The ethnographic research was carried out in the religious field of some African Initiated Christian churches in Amsterdam. Data were drawn from life history interviews of fifty second generation Ghanaians and in-depth interviews of nine representatives of African Initiated Christian churches as well as participant observation and informal interviews. The research revealed that bonding as well as bridging social capital generated within the religious field enhance voter turnout. We also found that there were traces of ethnic voting pattern as well as religiously induced voting behaviour. Moreover, the manifestation of institutionalised and individualised religiosity in less conventional and conventional forms of political participation among the respondents raised questions about the unidirectional shift in secularisation in mainstream Dutch society.

Keywords: *Political integration, second-generation Ghanaians, bonding vs. bridging social capital, African Initiated Christian Churches, ethnicity, gender*

Introduction

Migration studies generally agree that the success, failure and continuity or otherwise of immigrant integration in the host society is determined by the course followed by second generation migrants (Aparicio 2007; Bolzman et al. 2003; Crul and Vermeulen 2003). Unsuccessful integration of second-generation migrants have adverse effects like early pregnancy, drug peddling, school dropout and low level of social interaction among immigrants themselves as well as on the receiving host nation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Zhou et al. 1993). The presence of second-generation migrants has the propensity of generating intensified relations, exchanges and at times conflict between immigrants and autochthones in the host country (Crul and Heering 2008). If there is no reciprocal and shared consciousness

of these changes in immigrant receiving countries, the risk is that different barriers are going to be built instead of intercultural relationships (Ambrosini and Caneva 2009). For instance, in the long run, there is the risk of the formation of urban and social territories oriented against the mainstream society as it happened in France in the 'revolt of the banlieues' between October 27 and November 17, 2005 (Mucchielli and Goaziou 2006).

Migration scholars tend to focus on the secular variables of human capital of parents at the time of arrival in the host country, family composition of immigrant family and mode of incorporation on arrival in the host country (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). These important factors dominate the discussion on immigrant integration while downplaying the persistent function of religiosity in the process of political integration of second-generation migrants. Immigrant integration studies have for some time identified religion as a stepping stone in the process of immigrant integration. Hence the long-term contribution of immigrant Christian churches in the socioeconomic and socio-cultural integration of second-generation migrants in the host country was questioned (Alba 2005; Alba and Nee 1997; Alba et al, 2009; Gordon 1964). Despite the widespread secularisation in mainstream European receiving countries (Bruce 2011) there are processes of religious revival (see: Berger 1999; Turner 2011), especially by the proliferation of immigrant religious groups (Kyei, Setrana and Smoczynski 2017; Kyei and Smoczynski 2016; Yip and Nynäs 2012). There is also the persistence of fundamentalism and religious violence. The latter is mostly attributed to terrorist acts carried out by second generation migrants who were born and raised up in Europe (Bergen 2017). These phenomena draw attention to the need to reflect and investigate the effects of religiosity on the integration of second-generation migrants.

The organisational capacity of immigrants in generating religious social capital might be understood as instrumental resources in influencing political integration in the host society (Jacobs and Tillie 2004). Fennema and Tillie (2001) and Tillie (2004) found that the mobilising capacities of Turkish, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans in Amsterdam were instrumental in shaping their diverse paths of political integration. Studies in other European cities concluded that social capital accumulated within ethnic organisations did not necessarily enhance political integration (Eggert and Guigni 2010; Jacobs et al 2004). Few studies in Europe (Ekue 1998; Ter Haar 1998; Tonah 2007; Ugba 2008) have demonstrated the multidimensional effect that social interactions and relationships within some

African Initiated Christian churches (AICCs) have in the integration of first-generation African immigrants.

Most studies in the Netherlands focused on the four major minority groups namely the Surinamese, the Turkish, the Moroccans and the Antilleans. Investigation on the rapidly growing Ghanaian population in Amsterdam contributes in filling the research gap on recently arrived immigrant groups in the Netherlands. In 1996, there were only 1,635 second generation Ghanaians in Amsterdam but the number has more than doubled to 4,151 as at 2014 (Statistics Netherlands 2015; Gemeente Amsterdam 2013). Most of the participants in this research reside in the locality of Amsterdam Southeast. Amsterdam Southeast is the only Municipality in Amsterdam with more than 60 per cent of its population as immigrants or of immigrant descent (Gemeente Amsterdam 2013:34). Amsterdam Southeast has a total of about 83,743 inhabitants out of which the highest group are Surinamese with 31.3 per cent followed by native Dutch citizens with 26.6 per cent (Gemeente Amsterdam 2013:34). Ghanaians form the third largest group with 5.7 per cent (4,764) (Gemeente Amsterdam 2013:34).

Moreover, in resonance with previous studies on immigrant religion this paper offers an investigation on how AICCs in Amsterdam impact the process of political integration of second-generation Ghanaians. The study interrogates whether social capital acquired within the religious field bond second generation Ghanaians to their religious group and/or bridge them to mainstream Dutch society. This study conceptualises second generation as any child born in an immigrant receiving country or who entered the immigrant receiving country at/before the age of six (6) with at least one parent as immigrant and is eighteen (18) years and above as at the time of the data collection (see Crul 2005:5; Martens and Veenman 1996). The research adopted the concept of religious social capital to understand the complexities in the resources accumulated via norms of reciprocity, social network formation and trust (Durlauf and Fafchamps 2005; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993; Putnam 2000:19) in the religious field of immigrant Christian churches.

Conceptual Framework and Method

The interplay between immigration and immigrant Christian churches do not terminate with the search for refuge (Hirschman 2004) among first generation immigrants as second generations also benefit from friendship, job opportunities



and marriage market (Kyei and Smoczynski 2016) available in the religious field. Immigrants' religion is influential also in the process of political integration of immigrants and their progeny (Ambosini and Caneva 2009; Baffoe 2013; Kyei and Smoczynski 2016; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Warner 2007). Immigrant Christian churches for instance are agents that can remedy the downward integration of second-generation migrants from the underclass subculture in the host society (Cao 2005; Chen 2008; Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Similarly, immigrant churches may contribute to the accumulation of social capital that serve as bridging strategies that link their members to mainstream immigrant receiving societies (Bankston and Zhou 1995; Bankston and Zhou 2002; Coleman 1988; Putnam 2000). However, social capital may also reduce the pace of integration into mainstream immigrant receiving countries (Portes 1998). Namely, social capital accumulated within ethnic niches may restrict individual members in connecting to other social networks (Fukuyama 1995; Beyerlein and Hipp 2005) or restrict outsiders from benefitting from the opportunities within immigrant churches (Waldinger 1995).

The paper argues that religious social capital cannot be acquired without some form of material investment to establish relation through non-familial networks (Bramadat 2011; Coleman 1990) which yield resources that facilitate action (Portes 1998). In order to ascertain if religious social capital has the consequential effect of enhancing or deterring second generation migrants from political integration, this research – following Putnam (2000) distinguished between two effects of social capital namely bonding and bridging. Bonding social capital is operationalized here as the close relationships between members of the same immigrant Christian church that generate action (Hopkins 2011). Bonding social capital is understood here as the interpersonal solidarity that is present within an immigrant Christian church over a period of time that facilitates the maintenance of close ties (Wuthnow 2002:670). Bridging social capital on the other hand consists of interpersonal relationships that link heterogeneous groups and individuals together in the wider society. Some scholars (Portes and Landolt 1996; Wuthnow 2002) argue that bridging social capital has the tendency of enhancing civic responsibility, tolerance and cooperation among different groups of people occupying a nation state.

Political integration is analysed in the framework of political participation, mobilisation and representation. Political participation is defined as the “active dimension of citizenship in which individuals take part in the management of

collective affairs of a given political community” (Martiniello 2006:84). Political participation is divided into two forms: conventional and less conventional. The conventional form of political participation is operationalised as voting, standing for election, membership in political parties and pressure groups. Less conventional form of political participation includes demonstrations, civic forums, and membership in voluntary and ethnic organisations.

The study adopted ethnographic research methodology of in-depth interviews, participant observation (Flick 2009; Suryani 2013) and informal interviews. The fieldwork took place in Amsterdam from January 2014 till January 2015. Snowball sampling technique was used to recruit sixty (60) second generation Ghanaians within AICCs in Amsterdam to participate in life history interviews but after fifty (50) interviews, new themes were not coming out due to saturation. As a result, fifty (50) second generation Ghanaians participated in the research out of which thirty-five (35) were females and fifteen (15) were males. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were also conducted with nine (9) representatives of AICCs in Amsterdam and they were also recruited through purposive sampling technique based on the dominant churches attended by the second-generation Ghanaians interviewed. All the studied AICCs were registered at the Dutch Chamber of Commerce as voluntary religious organisations.

The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Line by line the data were manually categorised into analytic units under descriptive words or category names. The data from the fieldwork were organised into themes and subthemes (Rossman and Rallis 1998:171). The themes and sub-themes were analysed for each participant and they were also connected to other interviewees with quotations. Descriptive and inferential analyses of data were employed in this work (Guba and Lincoln 1982; Hammersley 1992). Institutionalised and privatised religiosity was considered in this research as the prime variable not secondary. Institutionalised religiosity was operationalised as membership in an AICC, participation in the activities of AICCs and the frequency of church participation while privatised religiosity was operationalised as reading of the Holy Bible, private prayers and baptism of second-generation immigrants. Conventional political participation was categorised as voting in local assembly elections, contesting for elections in Municipal assembly and election as Municipal council member. Less conventional political participation was operationalised as membership in voluntary and/or ethnic organisations and participation in civic education programmes.

Civic Engagement of Second-Generation Ghanaians

Association with voluntary religious organisations has the tendency of creating social networks (Tillie 2004) at the horizontal and vertical levels. The head pastor of one of the participating churches recounted that:

The Pentecostal Council of Churches in Amsterdam organises a forum called the Police Dialogue every quarter of the year. The Police Dialogue brings together Africans and other immigrant communities in Amsterdam to dialogue with the police to understand the operations of the police and how to live together mutually to prevent crime and guarantee public safety (interview on 07-09-2014).

Another head pastor also noted that:

[.....] The church also plays a leading role in the Police Dialogue organised every quarter of the year to bring Ghanaians and the entire immigrant community closer to the security agencies in ensuring tranquil environment (interview on 15-09-2014).

The study revealed that the formation of immigrant associations do not invariably yield 'ethnic ghettos' or 'parallel societies' (Berger et al, 2007: 492) rather some of them are actively involved in the building of civil society. Most AICCs organised public forums for instance the Police Dialogue to boost the interaction between the state and immigrants which generated social networks and mutual trust at the organisational level. The AICCs interviewed reiterated that in the Netherlands, the state and the church were separated and so they did not expect to rely on each other (Field Notes 2014). However, in the question of immigrants' political integration, there were collaboration and cooperation between some of the studied AICCs and Dutch public administration. Another head pastor in one of the participating churches narrated some of the motivations:

On a Sunday about 8,000 African immigrants attend African churches in Amsterdam and so the African churches in Amsterdam have the platform for the dissemination of civic information. If any section of the public administration has any urgent information, they transmit them through the churches. Sometimes my church organises information sections and invites medical doctors from the teaching hospitals in Amsterdam to discuss the problems they encounter with Africans. Members of the church also ask health related questions that bother them. For instance abdominal pain is different from stomach pains but in Ghana we use one word for it that is *Me y3m 3y3 me ya* but here in Amsterdam it means stomach pain so through the information sections we have been able to teach the differences.

These are ways that the church connects with the public administration (interview on 07-01-2015).

The analysed AICCs employed the services of experts from Dutch public administration to disseminate information on health and other related issues that had the likelihood of improving upon the quality of life of their members in the Dutch society. The study also found that Dutch public administration officials disseminated immigrant specific information. Consequently, the multiplicity of civic education forums within the religious field empowered second generation Ghanaians to identify with mainstream Dutch society. A key informant recounted that:

The church invites institutions from the public administration to spread information about happenings in their various sectors. Recently the church invited representatives from the tax office in Amsterdam to educate and inform members about the new tax laws and how to handle tax problems. It was successful because the tax officers gave detailed tax information that members were confronted with daily, after which some congregants also asked questions that bothered them (interview on 11-10-2014).

Additionally, the research showed that the seeking of funding from the Municipality opened the door for social interaction between public officials in the Municipality of Amsterdam Southeast and a sizeable number of the second-generation respondents. Ama, a respondent narrated that:

The youth group in my church organises annually Youth Day programme which lasts for two or three days. Officials from the Municipality of Amsterdam Southeast and other public stakeholders are invited as well as youth from different churches. This year I was asked to apply for subsidy from the Municipality in support of the Youth Day and it was a great experience as it gave me the opportunity to learn more about the internal structure and the protocol within Amsterdam Southeast Council. The proposal was accepted, and the youth received the funding, and this boosted my interest in engaging with public institutions (interview on 12-04-2014).

The responsibility entrusted to the studied second-generation Ghanaians was a source of motivation as in the case of Ama to discover their political quest at the local government level that had the possibility of bringing them closer to the Dutch public sphere. In effect, membership in AICCs might ignite conventional form of political participation. Moreover, the invitation of Dutch public officials to the Youth Day celebrations provided the platform that helped to bridge the gap between the 'secular' and the 'religious'. The first author witnessed two different Youth Day

celebrations whereby public officials addressed social problems in the local community and also admonished the youth to be more proactive and sensitive to the growth of their neighbourhood. The exhortations might help to avoid the segregation of second generations from mainstream Dutch society.

Social interactions that occurred within the religious field provided avenues for fifteen of the second-generation respondents to put their intellectual and organisational skills together to mobilise and organise programmes that connect other religious organisations and groups in Amsterdam. Afia, a respondent recounted that:

The youth are responsible for the preparation and organisation of the Youth Day celebration. We spend several months to organise the programme which involves choreography, drama, talent shows and presentations. We also mobilise music groups from other churches to form a joint choir (interview on 11-09-2014).

The Youth Day programmes brought together immigrants and autochthones to participate in religious and sociocultural activities. Twenty-five of the second-generation respondents have established organisational working relations with members of other Christian churches in Amsterdam. The practice enhanced the building of social networks in more or less institutionalised manner. The horizontal connection of most of the research participants with the youth from other churches created bridging social capital that yielded into friendship and cooperation in civic engagement.

Involvement in Dutch Local Elections

Most of the studied AICCs in Amsterdam did not only facilitate less conventional form of political participation of their members but they also invested in their conventional political participation. Political forums were organised in the religious field during which politicians and experts in the field were invited to disseminate information on the Dutch political system. A founding member of one of the participating churches described that:

Last month the church invited some politicians to inform members about the Dutch political system and how it functions. It focused especially with regards to voting. Unlike in Africa where the media is filled with politics 24/7, here in the Netherlands when there is election, life moves on as usual. Voter turnout of the members of my church was low so the church embarked on the education of the members on the

Dutch electoral process. The programmes were organised through the church's own initiative as part of its social corporate responsibility in contributing to the political integration of its members (interview on 25-09-2014).

Due to the multidimensional nature of the religious field, almost all the AICCs in this research provided what we called political platform for politicians during district and local level elections in the Netherlands. The Dutch citizenship and electoral laws allowed immigrants with long term residence permit to vote in the local elections (Tillie, 2004). After five years of legal residence in the Netherlands, immigrants could apply for Dutch citizenship. As a result of these provisions, all the studied second-generation Ghanaians were eligible voters. The analysed AICCs had weekly attendance ranging between 60 and 450 congregants depending on the size of the church. Politicians visited these churches and negotiated with the pastors for time slot on Sundays to appeal to the members of the congregation for votes. After church service, the political candidates also distributed flyers and cards to the members of the churches. Some of the pastors directly appealed to the members of the church to vote for preferred candidates (Field Notes, 2014). This practice reoccurred during national and especially local elections.

Among the studied second-generation Ghanaians, few have contested and won seats as Municipal Council members. Akos, one of the respondents narrated that:

An elder in my church informed me about the existence of a youth political organisation that was recruiting Africans in order to have a balanced representation of all minority groups. I acted upon the information and attended the meeting of the Youth Political Organisation. [.....]. African churches in Amsterdam Southeast were the core places for my political campaign. I first called the pastor or the person responsible in a particular church to make appointment for the convenient time and date to present my political message to the electorates in the church. Normally I am given about 5 to 10 minutes at the closing session of the Sunday church service. After church service, I interacted with the members of the church and distributed my flyers to them. I managed to get enough votes which permitted me to become a Councillor. I do not know who voted for me, but I am convinced that I got most of my votes from members in the African churches (interview on 06-03-2014).

Another second-generation Ghanaian, Adwoa also recounted that:

I am in my third term of office as Council member in a Municipality in Amsterdam. My political campaign is centred on African churches in Amsterdam because most of the members in these churches live in Amsterdam Southeast. I move from one

African church to the other during electoral campaign to convince people to vote for me and I must say that they do buy my message and vote for me. I am serving this third term thanks to most of the votes of members of the African churches (interview on 11-05-2014).

Thirty of the second-generation respondents acquired resourceful information from the social networks in the religious field about how to join political mobilisation groups, however, only ten acted upon the information. Eventually, the information facilitated their political participation and representation in the Dutch society. The religious field provided the avenue for three respondents who were political candidates to reach out to electorates in their constituency during the Dutch local election's campaign. The religious field reduced the burden of these political candidates and their colleagues in reaching out to their constituents through door to door campaign which would have been much more expensive.

Even though there were hometown and ethnic organisations in Amsterdam, the data showed that during political campaign, politicians targeted AICCs more than any other immigrant organisation because of the frequency with which AICCs met and the numbers present during church services. All the studied AICCs met at least once in a week while the hometown associations met mostly once a month which made communication within AICCs much easier. Moreover, all the AICCs in this research had fulltime employed pastors with offices unlike the other ethnic organisations which made accessibility to AICCs more convenient. The intensity of engagement in the religious field permitted the studied AICCs to create denser and thicker social capital as compared to secular immigrant organisations.

Five out of the nine AICCs interviewed urged their members to vote as an expression of their basic political rights as Dutch citizens and permanent residents in the Dutch society. These admonishments were imbued with religious connotations of a 'good' Christian. Institutionalised religiosity obliged members to move beyond the religious field and be involved in the building of the nation-state as part of their Christian duty. Sanctions were employed in the religious field as prescriptive measures to entice members to strive towards full citizenship which as it were expected of civic citizens within the nation-state. The mobilisation influenced voter turnout among the electorates in the congregation which in turn boosted their civic responsibility. AICCs were not passive in political mobilisation as they increasingly engaged in the public sphere of the host society.

Ethnicity as Instrument of Political Integration

Ethnicity cannot be underplayed in the voting pattern in the analysed context. More than half of the respondents voted in the Dutch local elections in 2014 because the political candidates were members of their churches or the political candidates came to appeal for votes in their churches. The creation of a Dutch national identity is a pivotal tool for the construction of the nation-state. It is however not exclusive in the process of incorporation of immigrants as cultural ethnicity also plays a crucial role. A participant narrated that:

I had to vote because my Sunday school teacher was one of the candidates for Amsterdam Southeast Council and she appealed to us in church to vote for her. I might not have voted if she had not been on the list of the political candidates (Rose, interview on 01-11-2014).

Another respondent, Lin also narrated that:

I did vote in the 2014 elections at the local level. I also voted proxy for another person who was indisposed. I wanted to see my friend from church win a seat as a Council member (interview on 02-07-2014).

The religious fields of AICCs had common interest in achieving spiritual and psychological wellbeing. Members invested resources and sacrificed their interests with the aim of helping to achieve the common good and this also had the consequential effect of generating religious social capital. The formation of religious social capital provided the social space for individual members to engage in different forms of exchange of goods and services that were not directly related to the common interest. AICCs therefore provided guarantee for their members that they were in symmetric relation with each other. The social networks and norms of reciprocity in the religious field have created environment of trust that motivated some of the interviewees to vote in Dutch Municipal elections. The expectation at the individual level that members reciprocate favours in times of need facilitated the trustworthiness which was perceived as form of investment to be paid back in the future. The effect of this form of religious social capital did not only bond but it also bridged some of the studied second-generation Ghanaians to the Dutch public sphere through voting which is categorised as a conventional form of political integration. The study realised that some of the respondents were motivated to vote due to similarity in religious affiliation which we call religiously induced voting pattern. It was

illustrated by this participant:

I used to be indifferent with politics because I do not agree totally with the policies of any political party. My childhood friend from Sunday school is politically active and she convinced me to join her political party to support her candidature. I am a member of the Dutch Labour Party (PVDA) and I do pay my membership fees. I voted for the PVDA and for my friend in the local assembly elections (Tizzy, interview on 10-03-2014).

The religious field generates religious social capital that perpetuates intergenerational voting pattern from first generation migrants to their children. A respondent recounted that:

I am not involved in politics, but I vote for (PVDA) but do not ask me why. One thing about Ghanaians is that if one says that something is good, we do not ask why rather we just follow because people in church said it is good (Kojo, interview on 02-02-2014).

The research further discovered that there are traces of affinity to PVDA among the interviewees which are described here as ethnic voting pattern. It is understood as the casting of votes by members of an immigrant group because of affinity to a political party (Wolfinger 1965: 896) or due to belongingness of a political candidate to that particular immigrant group. Ethnicity thus is not just a tool of social solidarity, but it is also a political tool that frames the setting for scarce political resources in a democratic nation state. Ethnicity therefore shaped the identity and opportunities (Puplampu and Tettey 2005:28) for political integration in the Dutch society.

The study realised that gender could not be left out of the discussion because the disproportionate female/male representation in the data were not recruitment bias but reflected the population in the religious field of the studied AICCs. In addition to that, most of the female respondents were more engaged in the civic programmes in the churches that indicated less conventional political participation. A group leader narrated that it is difficult to have access to the boys in planning and organising programmes whereas the girls are more readily available. Moreover, all the political candidates and most of those who acted upon the resourceful information from the social networks in the religious field were females.

Conclusions

Overall, the study found that most of the AICCs in Amsterdam have ripple effects in the political integration of the studied second-generation Ghanaians. The execution of multidimensional interactions towards political integration in the religious field was made possible due to their dynamism and flexibility. The research concludes that institutionalised and individualised religiosity is manifested in less conventional forms of political participation which includes membership in religious voluntary organisations and participation in civic forums. Additionally, religiosity is manifested in conventional forms of political participation namely voting and being voted for among most of the studied second-generation Ghanaians. The outcome of this study showed that the effect of religiosity in mainstream Dutch society could not be neglected as claimed by some secularisation theorists (Bernts et al. 2007). Thus, the study contributed to the discussion of religiosity in the European discourse as it argued that religion is not transient in the process of immigrant integration rather it is extended to the children of immigrants. In a nutshell, there was intergenerational effect of religiosity from first generation African immigrants to their children in Europe.

Secondly, it is established in the literature (Fennema and Tillie 1999; Penninx 2006; Tillie 2004) that voter turnout is generally low among immigrants in most European countries. The study revealed that the religious field provided ample and conducive mobilisation strategies for politicians during Dutch local and national elections compared to secular immigrant organisations. Qualitatively, the research noted that bonding as well as bridging social capital generated within the religious field influenced voter turnout and in effect political integration among some of the studied second-generation Ghanaians. We argued that inasmuch as bridging social capital transcended the social circles of a given AICC in Amsterdam and links the members and/or the church with outside groups or individuals, bonding social capital also manifested signs of linking members to the wider Dutch society. Through bonding social capital, members were able to disseminate civic information about health-related issues and Dutch voting system that contributed to political integration. AICCs have the consequential effect of contributing to the political integration of their members which buttresses the conclusion of Fennema and Tillie that “to have undemocratic ethnic organisation is better for the democratic process than to have no organisations at all” (1999:723).

Moreover, the study revealed that some of the respondents manifested

religiously induced voting behaviour as some stressed that they voted for certain political candidates because of similar religious affiliation. The study concludes that association with people of similar ethnic or religious origin is not ephemeral phenomena rather stable and somehow permanent (Wolfinger 1965) which influenced political integration. Furthermore, membership in immigrant churches was not a symptom of escapism (Portes and Zhou 1993:96) but an avenue to explore resources that facilitated the linking up with mainstream Dutch society. Even though the Dutch government disentangled itself from multiculturalism (Erlanger 2011), the study suggested that cultural pluralism influenced political integration. The study also revealed that social networks and trust created within immigrant religious organisations were used as tools to perpetuate civic information and enhance electoral behaviour among their members. We also discovered that female respondents compared to male respondents demonstrated more active engagement in constructing religious social capital that shaped political integration.

Finally, the engagement of some AICCs with Dutch public administration was identified as sporadic rather than intense and systematic. For social capital to be built, the intensity or the frequency of social encounter is a prime factor (Coleman 1990) as it facilitates the building of a relationship in a more or less institutionalised manner (Bourdieu 1985). As well as the strengthening of the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness. The study therefore recommends that the local Municipal council systematically engages with the AICCs with large population on regular basis in promoting civic education and voting interest of second-generation migrants.

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