

Radboud University



Beyond Buzzwords of 'Diversity and Inclusion'

Exploring New Perspectives of Diversity
Management for Non-profit Voluntary
Organisations

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Abstract

'Diversity and inclusion' are two concepts which are frequently used by for-profit and non-profit organisations. Their use is more significant for non-profit organisations since their mission, vision and objectives are usually structured towards these concepts at the societal level. Following this idea, the diversity management literature introduced the social justice perspective in non-profit organisations. Thus, this research further explores this idea and tries to investigate the diversity management strategy and practices of non-profit voluntary organisations in two large Dutch cities, Amsterdam and Utrecht, which are also well-known to be multicultural cities. Inspired by the diversity management literature, the study asks the question of how business and social justice perspectives are reflected in non-profit voluntary organisations in the Dutch context. In the literature, whereas the business approach refers to the economic benefit of an organisation, the social justice approach refers to the moral values embraced and reflected by an organisation. Thus, to be able to reply to this central question, this research was conducted in two non-profit voluntary organisations in Amsterdam and Utrecht. Besides eight informants, including managers and volunteers, with whom I conducted in-depth interviews, other research methods used were participant observation and casual conversations. The findings of the study show, first, the strategies and tools applied by the organisations in managing diversity in the workforce and in their programming. It also suggests that the two approaches to diversity management are complementary in non-profit settings, although one or other might be more visible from time to time according to the strategies and practices adopted.

Preface

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TABLE OF CONTENT	4
1. INTRODUCTION	5
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	8
2.1. Conceptualisations of Diversity and Inclusion	8
2.2. Non-profit Volunteer Organisations in the Dutch Context	10
2.3. Diversity Management in Non-Profit (Business and Social Justice Approaches)	13
3. RESEARCH SETTING AND CONTEXT	18
4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	19
4.1. Research Design	19
4.2. Sampling and Research Population	20
4.3. Data Collection	22
4.4. Data Analysis	23
4.5. Validity and Reliability	24
4.6. Positionality and Reflexivity	26
5. PERCEPTIONS OF ‘DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION’	27
5.1. Introducing Organisations (Open Talks and Companionship)	28
5.2. Embeddedness in the Context	32
5.3. Descriptions of ‘Diversity and Inclusion’	33
6. MANAGING DIVERSITY IN PROGRAMMING	37
6.1. Reaching Out to Excluded Groups	39
6.2. Creating Activities for Everyone	43
6.3. Openness, Safety and Security/Language, Food and Music	46
7. MANAGING DIVERSITY IN THE WORKFORCE	50
7.1. Diversity Climate/Creating Diversity at Different Layers	50
7.2. Managing Diversity of Volunteers	56
7.2.1. Attracting Volunteers/Becoming a Volunteer	56
7.2.2. Volunteer Management	58
7.3. Dilemmas on Ensuring Diversity	61
8. CONCLUSION	63
REFERENCES	71
APPENDICES	78

1. INTRODUCTION

In the first days of my arrival in the Netherlands, a social worker whom I met had proudly told me that the civil society organisation where he was working was very 'diverse'. He was also proud that the organisation was the only non-White organisation, as he said, funded by the Oranje Fonds, which is a source of funding allocated by the Royal Dutch family to be distributed for projects relating to social cohesion and participation. His organisation's being the only 'non-White' organisation receiving funding and his enthusiasm about being a 'diverse' organisation raised the questions, in my mind, of how civil society organisations in the Netherlands manage 'diversity' and what this means for them. Having researched further into the issue on the internet and wanting to read some organisations' policies or strategies on 'diversity and inclusion', I became aware that many non-profit organisations do not have a specific road map for this. This was not something one could have expected since the Netherlands is well-known for its multicultural character and also a wide civil society sector operating both within and outside the country.

The protests and ongoing debate about discrimination, which can be seen in various social aspects of life, has once again increased interest in the subject of 'diversity and inclusion' in the organisations (Trouw, 25 June 2020, trouw.nl). The civil rights movements of the 1960's in the US, which were similar to today's anti-discrimination movements, engendered many legislative changes regarding the inclusion of people of colour, women and other disadvantaged groups into the workforce (Vertovec 2012). The idea of promoting the representation of under-represented groups in the workplace has become a concern for many organisations and has sown the seeds of the concept of diversity within the organisational context, especially in multicultural countries. Cox and Blake (1991) say that having a culturally diverse team and an inclusive work environment will enhance organisations' performance and profit by increasing their accessibility for a wider public with the help of their diverse workforces. However, many Dutch organisations are still far from achieving this diversity and inclusivity in the workplace, as Trouw published on 25 June 2020, research shows that many organisations' workforce are still white even though they are willing to recruit employees with different cultural backgrounds. The reasons for this failure are usually reported as a lack of decisive policies, the financial concerns of organisations, especially in times of crisis (Trouw, 25 June 2020; de Volkskrant, 29 February 2020, volkskrant.nl).

'Diversity and inclusion' has been a concern for non-profit organisations as well as for-profit ones. Besides benefits such as enhanced creativity and innovation, the diverse teams in non-profit organisations contribute to civil society organisations attaining their missions and objectives by embracing the notions of diversity, equity and inclusion as organisational values (Castillo, 2018). Breugel and Scholten (2017) argue that the concept of diversity has been incorporated into wide policies and programmes as the Netherlands has become more diverse. Also, several projects and programmes have been carried out to enhance different kinds of diversity and inclusion within organisations and guide them in preparing and implementing their diversity policies, both at the organisational and programming level (European Volunteer Center Report 2007; see Kennisplatform Integratie & Samenleving [Knowledge Platform, Integration and Society], Movisie, VluchtelingenWerk Nederland). However, a short survey of 24 Dutch non-profit organisations, conducted by the magazine *Vice Versa*, shows that the vast majority of organisations do not have an active diversity policy and do not keep track of diversity within their organisations (Opoku, 2018). Thus, the question arises of how non-profit volunteer organisations, in the multicultural Netherlands (WRR 2018), deal with 'diversity'. Therefore, the diversity management literature sheds light on this question by offering a social justice approach to diversity management within non-profit organisations, as opposed to the business approach conceived for profit-oriented companies (Weisinger et al. 2016, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010).

The concept of diversity has been associated with diversity management after being widely employed in policies such as Affirmative Action (AA) and Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) concerning the inclusion of minorities in the labour market (Vertovec 2012; Weisinger et al. 2016). Whereas diversity management studies have generally focused on profit oriented organisations (Cox and Blake 1991, Subeliani and Tsogas 2005), more recent studies have problematised diversity management in non-profit organisations (Weisinger et al. 2016). Two models are put forward: the business and social justice approaches within diversity management studies (Ahmed 2007, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, Weisinger, 2017). The business approach is, on the one hand, linked to demographic differences; such as, age, gender and culture, and is usually adopted by the organisations through commercial and utilitarian motives (Noon 2007, Ahmed 2007, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, Weisinger 2017). On the other hand, the social justice case places 'a moral imperative to correct societal and

organisational injustice and inequity' (Weisinger et al. 2016, 13) on the third sector organisations which promotes human welfare and creates public and social values (Wilson and Post 2013). Thus, the social justice approach seems more compatible with the world of non-profit organisations work that is committed to diversity, equity and inclusion as moral values.

The concept of cultural diversity in the Dutch context is closely connected to immigration to the Netherlands. The immigration flow, after the Second World War from former Dutch colonies, increased with the arrival of guest workers in 1960s, mainly from Morocco and Turkey. It accelerated especially after the 1980s with refugees and asylum seekers from different parts of the world where political, economic and social conflicts are ongoing (Meeteren et al. 2013). The continuing immigration flow has rendered the Netherlands one of the most diverse societies of the modern era (WRR 2018). Besides, the refugee crisis of 2015-2016 has mobilised part of the Dutch population and organisations to help refugees where the state could not do enough (Boersma et al. 2017). The programmes for newcomers offered by non-profit organisations aim for economic integration and social inclusion, and often include language courses, labour market training and advice for accessing public services.

This study aims to explore diversity management practices in non-profit voluntary organisations pursuing 'diversity and inclusion' as part of their organisational objectives, both in their programmes and their workforce management. It will shed light on the discussions about diversity management in the non-profit sector through the lens of business and social justice approaches. Some initial studies and policy documents, mainly targeting profit-motivated organisations, argue that successful diversity management could be ensured by demographic representation, and that this results in enhanced organisational performance (Cox and Blake 1991, Subeliani and Tsogas 2005, Diversity Charter 2019, VWN 2011). This approach reflects the business model in the literature, whereas the social justice approach is yet to be explored. Furthermore, studies on diversity management in the non-profit sector usually focus on board diversity and a quantitative methodology (Fredette et al. 2016, Bradshaw and Fredette 2012, Daley and Angulo 1994). Thus, this study intends to explore the diversity strategies and practices in organisations with a qualitative approach from the standpoint of managers and volunteers. Through this analytical framework, this study aims to make a contribution to the literature by offering a different point of view and revealing mechanisms from a social justice perspective on diversity management in the non-profit sector. Moreover, it aims to contribute to policy-making

while comparing discourses and practices regarding the concept of diversity described by non-profit voluntary organisations pursuing ‘diversity and inclusion’ as an organisational aim. Thus, the research question for this study is formulated as follows:

- How are business and social justice approaches to diversity management reflected in the management practices of non-profit volunteer organisations pursuing diversity and inclusion?

The thesis comprises seven chapters overall. This introduction is followed by theoretical framework, research setting and methodological chapters. Chapters Five and Six are the empirical chapters of this study. Chapter Four gives background information of the two non-profit voluntary organisations in this research project as well as their descriptions of ‘diversity and inclusion’. Chapter Five describes the diversity climate within the organisations studied and Chapter Seven aims to present the diversity management practices of organisations as well as their positions towards the business and social justice models.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will elaborate my position by defining the concepts and themes which will be operationalised in the analysis of the collected data. Below, I firstly introduce the non-profit voluntary organisations in the Dutch context. Then, I give the descriptions of the ‘diversity and inclusion’ from organisational and societal perspectives. In the last section, in addition to explaining the concept of diversity management both in for-profit and non-profit organisations, I give a more detailed information on the business and social justice approaches of diversity management.

2.1. Non-profit Volunteer Organisations

Within the scope of the study, it is essential to define what I mean by ‘non-profit voluntary organisations’ and why the focus is on them. To be able to understand this, it is necessary to take a broader view and to define ‘civil society’ and ‘volunteering’ in the first place. Civil society is described by Holloway (2015, 1) as ‘the associational life of the citizens of a country when they are not associating to govern a country (i.e. they are non-government) and not associating to make a personal profit (i.e. not for profit), but they are associating with some specific aim in view (i.e. not just for relaxation or recreation)’. Civil society organisations usually work with voluntary donations of time and money and are usually subsidised by public funds. They may have expertise in various fields, generally uphold values such as justice, equality and human rights

(Holloway 2015), and possibly set their aims for enhanced tolerance of differences (Lauer and Yan 2013, 134). The fact that non-profit voluntary organisations uphold such values makes them the target of this research project aiming to explore the social justice approach of diversity management. The idea behind is whether the non-profit voluntary organisations operating with the values of social justice and human rights, and the objectives such as, personal development and integration of minorities, are successful in creating diversity both in their programmes and workforce.

Lauer and Yan (2013), in addition, describe voluntary organisations as spaces where there are volunteers engaged in community participation. That means that the workforce of the organisations substantially comprehends people volunteering apart from the board members and a few paid employees. Volunteering has a long history and tradition in the Netherlands going back to the pillarisation era of the 19th century, where community care was the main objective of charities such as associational organisations (European Volunteer Center 2007). According to a study published by Dutch Centre for Philanthropic Studies (Geven in Nederland 2020, 150), 40 percent of the Dutch population does voluntary work, and also three in ten volunteers are active for two or more organisations. The study also reports that citizens between the ages of 35 and 55 are more involved in volunteer work than other age groups (Geven in Nederland 2020, 157). It even emphasises that Dutch citizens with a migration background are less likely to volunteer for non-religious reasons whereas non-immigrants are more inclined to volunteer for secular organisations (Carabain and Bekkers 2011). So, the study reports that only 22 percent of Dutch citizens with a migration background are involved in regular volunteering (Geven in Nederland 2020, 157). Moreover, volunteer work has been supported and promoted by many national and European policies in different historical periods in the Netherlands (European Volunteer Centre 2007). Legislation regarding active citizenship has increased the governments' expectation that citizens, both immigrants and non-immigrants, engage more in voluntary work (Newman and Tonkens 2011).

For this study, in order to explore the diversity descriptions and management styles dominant within civil society organisations, non-profit voluntary organisations pursuing diversity and inclusion within both their programmes and their workforce management were chosen as the research field. Firstly, to be able to find suitable organisations matching the description above, organisations which had programmes for immigrants were considered as a

starting point. The programmes of these types of organisations mainly aim to contribute to better integration and inclusion of migrants, while improving human welfare and creating public and social values, via language courses, cultural training, counselling for employment and other similar services (Wilson and Post 2013, Garkisch et al. 2017). Secondly, even though workforce management is mainly associated with the Human Resource Management departments of organisations, their having such departments was not sought as a prerequisite within this research project, because of the small scale and voluntary character of these types of organisations.

Thus, ‘non-profit voluntary organisations’ means, in this study, non-profit and non-governmental civil society organisations which have a team of volunteers and which undertake activities and projects for both immigrants and non-immigrants. This will release the diversity strategies and actions of the organisations through the eyes of the key managers and their volunteers. With ‘immigrants who are targeted by the organisations’, I mean both recent migrants in the Netherlands who are holders of a legal permit to stay and those who immigrated a long time ago but were unable to achieve legal citizenship status. The immigrants might be also called ‘expats, newcomers or internationals’ according to the social context and conditions in which they have. These terms mostly refer to highly skilled labourers and international university students. This study therefore expected to explore diversity management practices in the type of organisation which promotes diversity and inclusion both within their programming and the workforce, mainly including volunteers.

2.2. Conceptualisations of ‘Diversity and Inclusion’

Since the study aims to explore ‘diversity and inclusion’ practices of non-profit voluntary organisations, in this section I defined these terms both from an organisational and societal perspectives. Whereas the organisational literature gives information related to the workforce within the organisations, societal perspective will give a broader sense on how and why these concepts should be dealt by the non-profit voluntary organisations.

Roberson (2006) explains that the increased interest of some organisations in the concept of diversity management resulted in them having incorporated the notion of ‘inclusion’ as much as ‘diversity’ into their management strategies. The collocation of ‘diversity and inclusion’ has even taken place in policies, organisational reports and the academic literature. To understand why ‘diversity and inclusion’ are so closely associated, their conceptualisations within the

organisations should be clarified. In the diversity management literature, the concept of diversity is mainly associated with 'differences' (Weisinger 2016, Vertovec 2012, Roberson 2006) which are also stated as being observable characteristics, such as race, gender and age, and non-observable ones, such as cultural, cognitive and technical differences (Mor-Barak 2015, 85; Roberson 2006) attributed to individuals or groups. Moreover, the concept of inclusion refers to the contribution and participation of different people in the workforce in organisations, in the organisational literature (Mor-Barak 2015, 85; Roberson 2006). Inclusion also deals with the decision-making processes, access to information and job security in the workplace (Roberson 2006). Even though 'inclusion' has been associated and used together, even interchangeably with the concept of 'diversity' (Mor Barak 2015), it has not been emphasised much in the organisational literature (Roberson 2006). Furthermore, as Mor Barak (2015, 85) and Roberson (2006) indicates, they need to be identified and described as separate concepts.

Vertovec (2012) argues that diversity has been involved in different discourses, such as civil rights, multiculturalism and identity politics. It is a term frequently used in describing relations in multicultural societies like the Netherlands and mainly refers to the governance and management of societies in which many differentiated groups struggle to coexist (Vertovec 2007, 2012; Weisinger et al. 2016). Scholars argue that there is no universal definition of 'diversity' and it is usually defined depending on the context (Ewijk 2011, Mor Barak 2015). For example, the comprehension of the diversity concept in North America may be different from that in Europe because they have different migration histories, and the composition and the needs of minority groups differ according to the location. Weisinger (2017, 322) also argues that 'diversity' can be defined in different ways, through the characteristics mentioned above, to reflect many dimensions within organisations. The meanings attributed to age, gender, racial, cultural, educational and other types of diversities are visible and defined within different contexts.

The cultural diversity within non-profit organisations is central within the scope of this study. The main reason for this is the Netherlands' multicultural character and the various ongoing debates regarding the immigrants in this country. Another reason is that one of the first comprehensive studies conducted on diversity management also dealt with cultural diversity (Cox and Blake 1991). Cox and Blake's leading work (1991) on diversity management emphasised cultural diversity and its positive outcomes in the workplace. Cox (2008) defines cultural diversity as people having 'differences in national origin, race, gender, work

specialisation and so on, that represent socio-cultural distinctions, and that have significant impact on their life experiences, and their work' (Cox 2008). Furthermore, UNESCO (2001, 2009) defines cultural diversity as a notion referring to the uniqueness of every individual and the social spaces in which different identities come forth. Thus, inspired by Cox's definition, cultural diversity has been operationalised within the scope of this research as the composition of people with different origins, nationalities, languages, and social and cultural codes.

Scholars often describe inclusion with its antonym of exclusion (Mor Barak 2015, Oxoby 2009). Referring to social and economic explanations, Oxoby gives the following example to make clearer the definition of inclusion/exclusion:

'For example, discussions of exclusion tend to focus on the phenomena of poverty, unemployment, low educational attainment, and barriers to social and political institutions. Under the rubric of inclusion, discussions focus on access to (and relative success with) economic, social, and political institutions.' (Oxoby 2009, 1134)

Thus, the concept of inclusion is linked to the economic and social opportunities available to underrepresented or marginalised groups in a society. Oxoby (2009, 1134) also states that discussions focusing on inclusion refer to the 'opening of institutional doors and allowing all individuals the opportunity for freedom of expression and decision-making'. This statement will be helpful in understanding approaches to inclusion in the non-profit organisations which are the subject of this study. In addition, the concept of inclusion refers to worker participation and empowerment in the organisational literature (Roberson 2006). Mor Barak (1998, 2015) describes inclusion as a concept which does not emphasise the differences such as, age, gender and culture, but rather the extent to which people are able to access and influence information and decision making processes in the workplace.

Thus, this study considers the concepts of diversity and inclusion mainly from the angle of diversity management. The main diversity issue addressed within the scope of this study is the management of cultural diversity, as Cox and Blake (1991) suggested in their diversity management description. This study also aims to identify the diversity and inclusion definitions used by various organisations, which are likely to vary according to the contexts in which they are located.

2.3. Diversity Management in Non-Profit (*Business and Social Justice Approaches*)

The concept of diversity has been mainly used in connection with anti-discrimination and equality policies. Its roots lie in the civil rights movements of the 1960s, which mainly arose from discrimination against African Americans in the USA. The struggle for social justice and equality inherent in this movement resulted in Affirmative Action Policies (AA) and Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) (Vertovec 2012, Weisinger et al. 2016, Subeliani and Tsogas 2005). AA and EEO comprised a course of action enshrined in law by the government which was required to be applied by private and public entities to hinder discrimination and racism, mainly towards black citizens in the US context. The course of affirmative action later involved policies promoting equal opportunities for women and other minorities, both in the US and Europe (Vertovec 2012, Weisinger et al. 2016, Subeliani and Tsogas 2005).

Affirmative action policies have been widely translated as ‘positive action’ or ‘positive discrimination’ in Europe, especially since the 1980s (Dietrich 2013). European countries have come up with different kinds of solutions according to their national circumstances, such as special programmes for Catholics in Ireland and for minorities from former colonies in the Netherlands (Dietrich 2013, Vries and Pettigrew 1994). Laws initiated by AA and EEO have taken demographics and statistics into account rather than emphasising qualitative considerations (Vertovec 2012, Weisinger et al. 2016). The main and most widespread implementation of this has been setting quotas for minorities to be included to the workforce. Scholars argue that this approach did not lead to the complete eradication of discrimination in the social sphere, although the promotion of disadvantaged groups in the workplace drew great interest, which was celebrated by valuing differences (Vertovec 2012, Weisinger et al. 2016). The widespread implementation of ‘affirmative action’ policies in the Western world has resulted in the association of the concept of diversity with the employability of disadvantaged groups, and the focus has turned to ‘diversity management’ (Vertovec 2012, 290).

The increasing inclusion of different groups of society in the workforce has raised the question of how to manage these groups sharing the same work environment (Köllen 2019). Diversity management, which originated from a social justice perspective promoting anti-discrimination and equal opportunity movements, has predominantly been conceived in the business context (Ahonen et al. 2014). According to Cox and Blake (1991), good management of

cultural diversity in the workplace brings many competitive advantages for the company, such as a higher quality of human resources, creativity, problem-solving and adaptability to change (Cox and Blake 1991, 54). In other words, the concept of diversity was initially adopted for economic and strategic reasons by the profit oriented organisations in multicultural societies, characterised by increasing diversity in terms of race, ethnicity and nationality (Cox and Blake 1991, Subeliani and Tsogas 2005).

Diversity Management in Non-Profit Voluntary Organisations

Studies so far have mainly analysed the management of diversity in the private sector, leaving the practice of diversity management in the non-profit sector understudied. A few studies exploring the non-profit sector generally applied normative and positivist approaches using quantitative methods, mainly with demographic data, and focused on board diversity (Fredette et al. 2016, Bradshaw and Fredette 2012, Daley and Angulo 1994, Weisinger et al. 2016, Pitts 2005). However, there is a need for more qualitative studies on diversity management in non-profit organizations in order to be able to reveal the complex dynamics involving the historical organisational context, obscure power relations and the link between intergroup inequality and cultural differences (Ewijk 2011, Ahonen et al. 2014, Weisinger et al. 2016). Moreover, making narrow definitions of diversity that solely emphasise individual and visible differences might hinder the revealing of power relations (Ewijk 2011). Thus, beyond the representational differences, this study aims to explore the dynamics mentioned above by particularly focusing on contextual characteristics and different group behaviours within the organisations.

The literature on diversity management in the non-profit sector comes up with two approaches to understanding diversity efforts within organisations, which can also be called models or strategies: the business and social justice approaches (Ahmed 2007, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, Weisinger 2017). The business approach has been framed from a representational diversity perspective focusing mainly on demographic differences which are expected to influence organisational performance and effectiveness of organisations (Weisinger 2017). This model basically aims to recruit people from diverse backgrounds, on the basis that their interrelations will bring many advantages to the organisation. On the other hand, the social justice case is more intertwined with the moral values adopted by the organisation. Weisinger (2017) describes the focus of the social justice approach as 'eliminating the oppression of marginalized groups, redistributing³ power, and reducing exclusion and marginalization'. This

also shows us how the focus of diversity management turns into the inclusion of different groups both in the organisation and the society within the non-profit setting.

Business approach

Diversity management was initially constructed as a concept closer to the business approach in terms of expectations about its economic benefits for an organisation rather than the social justice perspective (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, 104). The 'business case' is described as a strategy to be applied as a utilitarian motivation to increase diversity in the workplace (Weisinger 2017, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010). Demographic differences in terms of race, ethnicity or nationality are the main things that make a workplace diverse (Daley and Angulo 1994, Cox and Blake 1991) and create the need for management of its diverse workforce. Representational diversity is seen as a positive attribute and a goal to be attained by organisations in order to increase their competitive advantage (Cox and Blake 1991, Weisinger et al. 2016, VWN 2011). Furthermore, the manual on diversity in voluntary organisations published by the Dutch Refugee Council (VWN 2011) takes a business approach while explaining why diversity is essential for the organisations. The expected benefits described by the DRC (VWN 2011, 2) are a 'larger pond for recruiting volunteers of different origins, better communication with members, more creativity in problem-solving, better image, broadening the view of the world and more job satisfaction'. The diversity climate in the organisations, which is measured from the perspectives of its workforce on the subjects of diversity, inclusion and fairness (Roberson 2006, 216), is helpful in understanding how much the organisations incorporate and reflect the notions of enhanced performance.

Furthermore, improved performance is often mentioned as a result of well-managed diversity within the organisations (Ahonen et al. 2014; Subeliani and Tsogas 2005; Fredette et al. 2016, Cox and Blake 1991). Stone and Cutcher-Gershenfeld (2002) also argues that the organisational performance or effectiveness is not static and changes according to sector. Based on the expectations listed in the manual of the Dutch Refugee Council, organisational performance and objective achievement in non-profit voluntary organisations is measured by the communication between diverse groups in the organisation and its public image on social or published media (VWN 2011).

Social justice approach

Studies related to diversity management in the workplace have shown that the social justice case has not been much interrogated by scholars in the field of diversity management (Ahonen et. al 2014). Studies, considering mainly the business perspective, have rather focused on the economic benefits of diversity management rather than moral values such as equality and social justice which have been inherent in the concept of diversity since its emergence (Ahmed 2012, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010). The functioning of the concepts like equality and social justice within organisations have not been sufficiently dealt with by scholars and policy makers since the emphasis has been on utilitarian rather than moral considerations (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, Weisinger 2017). Thus, the social justice approach in organisations could be identified by the commitment and implementation of these moral values inherent to the diversity concept and to the non-profit organisations' mission.

As mentioned before, the concept of diversity is related to the moral values like justice and equality. Ahmed (2012) asserts that 'diversity' is considered to be a replacement for the concepts of equality and equal opportunities (Ahmed 2012). The equal opportunities approach widely employed during the 1980s and 1990s called for equal access to opportunities in the labour market and education (Vertovec 2012). Tomlinson and Schwabenland (2010, 110) argue that equal opportunities could not only be understood as making 'differences' a value-adding notion, but 'the explicit use of such differences' would be necessary to achieve an organisational advantage. This is exemplified by a quote from the diversity manager of the International Relief Agency, who said that 'neutrality, impartiality and unity' are three fundamental principles held by the organisation (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, 110). The manager also summarised these three principles with the phrase, 'open to all' (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, 110). Thus, a social justice approach to diversity management is mainly linked to the moral values and objectives set by the organisation, and how these are actively handled by the organisation (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010). Besides the management of the workforce, the social justice approach considers the management of organisations' programmes trying to become more diverse and inclusive. Thus, throughout this research, the participation of volunteers and participants in the decision making processes around organisations' projects and activities, and whether the power distribution reaches people with a migration background within the organisations, are used to assess the organisations from a social justice perspective.

Even though the social justice case seems to be close to the description of the business case in terms of its relation to representational diversity and the resultant increase in organisational performance (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, Weisinger 2017), scholars also argue that the social justice model can be a more active and natural way to include diverse groups in the operation of an organisation (Ahmed 2007). The research conducted by Subeliani and Tsogas (2005) on diversity management at Rabobank demonstrates the differences between the business and social justice approaches. Their ethnographic study shows that Rabobank has an established diversity strategy since 1999, with a special unit within the bank called the 'diversity office'. Although this unit's aim is to promote and enhance diversity among the employees, the study reveals that the bank has been retreating offering senior and mid-level positions to its employees from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Subeliani and Tsogas 2005). I interpret this presented picture as the bank's adoption of business approach in managing diversity. This picture does not reflect a social justice approach because it does not incorporate a fair distribution of power among employees from diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. On the other hand, Tomlinson and Schwaberland (2010) observe that these two approaches can coexist and did not show up separately in their case study conducted in non-profit organisations in UK. They argue that this situation being found in non-profits is due to characteristics such as equity and justice, which are inherent in non-profit organisations.

As a conclusion of the theoretical framework presented above, the following subquestions were proposed for this research:

1. Do non-profit voluntary organisations pursuing 'diversity and inclusion' have specific strategies for diversity management within the organisation?
2. How do non-profit voluntary organisations pursuing 'diversity and inclusion' describe and manage diversity within the organisation?
3. How is the business case for diversity management reflected in the diversity practices of the organisations?
4. How is the social justice case for diversity management reflected in the diversity practices of the organisations?

3. RESEARCH SETTING AND CONTEXT

Scholars agree that the concept of diversity has recently been a wide discourse employed in different policies and strategies in multicultural societies (Vertovec 2007, 2012; Weisinger et al. 2016). When compared to ‘multiculturalism’, diversity is a more recent term implying various differences between individuals and the effort to live with these differences in increasingly heterogeneous societies. Following the values similar to multiculturalism, it has been conceptualised and integrated into policies mainly in Western multicultural societies. Hall (2001, 209) describes multiculturalism as a series of ‘strategies and policies adopted to govern or manage the problems of diversity and multiplicity which multi-cultural societies throw up’. In addition, Breugel and Scholten (2017) discuss the level of migration-related mainstreaming in diversity-related policies.

Critical diversity literature suggests that the diversity discourse of the organisations would be better explored by taking into account the contextual issues because socio-cultural and historical settings cause to differentiated outcomes in diversity studies to be conducted (Ahonen et al. 2014). Scholars argue that the context in which a diversity study is conducted is so significant that it could easily affect the results of the research (Ahonen et al. 2014, Ewijk 2011). This is why the context needs to be well defined and described; location, time and institutional setting make a meaningful contribution to the analysis of this study. Ewijk (2011) argues that most of the studies on diversity have kept within the North American context and advises researchers to conduct more empirical research in the European context. The legacies and traditions in the continent of Europe differ from those of North America and the focus of researchers and policy-makers is more on ‘the “problems” of migrant workers and strategies to “integrate” immigrants’ (Ewijk 2011, 683). These traditions can be felt while problematising diversity in the Dutch context (WRR 2018). For instance, Tonkens and Duyvendak (2016) problematise the acculturation and citizenship procedures for immigrants. Moreover, Ghorashi emphasises matters related to power distribution, subtle discrimination in the workplace and the economic integration of migrants and refugees (Waldring et al. 2015, Eijberts and Ghorashi 2017).

The Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Utrecht were chosen for this research because of their multicultural characters. These cities were identified as sites for this study. They are also identified as multicultural and diverse cities on the websites of their municipal authorities

(www.amsterdam.nl, www.utrecht.nl). They are especially significant and meaningful for this research because of their large populations with migration backgrounds. According to a recent report published by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR 2018, 39), Rotterdam, Amsterdam and The Hague are the cities where the majority of people of non-western origin live. These three cities are followed by Utrecht (WRR 2018, 39). This made Amsterdam and Utrecht ideal locations to conduct the research. The exact locations were also determined according to the non-profit voluntary organisations which were willing to participate in the study. Thus, the fieldwork for this study was conducted between January and April of 2020 in Amsterdam and Utrecht.

4. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I, firstly, discuss the methodological approach employed in this research project. Then, I respectively present the sampling and research population, the tools used for data collection and the data analysis. Lastly, I discuss the validity and reliability of this research and my positionality as a researcher during the field.

4.1. Research Design

Critical scholars studying the field of diversity management argue that research on diversity lacks a qualitative approach (Ahonen et al. 2014, Weisinger et al. 2016, Ewijk 2011). Taking into account this consideration, and in line with the research objective of contributing to the literature, this research uses a qualitative design. The qualitative techniques and methods used on this research project have provided comprehensive answers for its central question and subquestions, listed in the previous chapter.

Qualitative methodology proposes three different positions for social science research. Flick (2009, 57) listed them as symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and a structuralist or psychoanalytical position. Symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology are the two main positions adopted throughout this study. Whereas symbolic interactionism is interested in 'subjective and individual meaning-making', ethnomethodology 'is interested in routines of everyday life and their production' (Flick 2009, 57). This research is interested in the social interactions of actors to be explored through symbolic interactionism and in everyday practices, in other words, social realities to be explored through ethnomethodology. Whereas the former helped to approach through *emic* perspective, the latter helped to obtain *etic* perspective. Thus,

the research focus will be on both *emic* and *etic* perspectives. In other words, after the description of the field by observation, I will interpret the meanings from the actors' point of view and then develop meaningful explanations of it from the researcher's point of view.

Based on qualitative methodology, this research has been designed using naturalistic inquiry (Beuving and Vries 2015) since it aims to explore the diversity management practices of organisations through the eyes of its managers and volunteers. Beuving and Vries gives the description of naturalistic inquiry: 'studying people in everyday circumstances by ordinary means' (Beuving and Vries 2015, 15). They also argue that naturalistic inquiry is rooted in grounded theory, offering 'the construction of abstract categories from observable phenomena' (Beuving and Vries 2015, 48). Grounded theory, like naturalistic inquiry, creates space for a qualitative approach, including observation and interpretation of the daily lives of people in their natural settings. Thus, the qualitative approach used in this research project allowed me to gather perspectives and practices of diversity management in the selected organisations through the eyes of managers and volunteers working there. The aim is to be able to show the harmony and discrepancy between the theory and practice. Moreover, the comparison between two different organisations will present the practices being handled differently in the different settings and under the different structures. Grounded theory both created flexibility and helped the discovery of veiled concepts within this study.

4.2. Sampling and Research Population

To be able to reflect better the similarities and differences between various perspectives and practices, I had initially decided to conduct my study in three different non-profit voluntary organisations located in Amsterdam, The Hague and Utrecht whilst I was in the process of preparing the research proposal. However, the nature of naturalistic inquiry, which focuses on observation, participation and interpretation of different sources, requires long hours in the field. In addition, having also considered the potential complexity of the data to be gathered, I decided to limit my sample of participant organisations to two instead of three.

The organisations were selected as a result of research taking into consideration two main features. Web-based searching was prominent in the quest to find organisations which would fit the research problem and the theory proposed. First, I was mainly looking for organisations which incorporate the subject of 'diversity' into their organisational descriptions. The organisations to be selected should have a commitment to 'diversity, equality and inclusion' in

their mission, vision or objectives. The second feature sought was that the organisations should have experience in conducting projects with and for immigrants especially, to be able to reflect better the issue of 'diversity' within the organisation. In addition to web-based research, I contacted the voluntary centre in Utrecht, intending to reach out to other organisations with which they were in cooperation. Even though this did not directly put me in contact with the organisations selected for this study, I had the opportunity to learn more about the context from the contacts that I got to know through the voluntary centre. The mapping developed during this process can be found in Appendix II.

At the end of the first period of fieldwork, two organisations were selected as central cases. One organisation is in Amsterdam and the other in Utrecht. I also selected these cities because they echo Dutch multiculturalism, as stated in the previous chapter. Both organisations have been given pseudonyms in the thesis due to ethical considerations. I have called the organisation in Utrecht 'Open Talks', and the organisation in Amsterdam 'Companionship'. The differences and similarities between them are covered thoroughly in the next chapter of this thesis. I found Open Talks through the web-based search. However, I met the founder of Companionship through a member of another organisation whom I met during the fieldwork.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I was planning to invest the first phase in contacting the key persons in the field and in the organisations; the second phase was to interview mainly managers and set up interviews or talks with volunteers; and the third phase to conduct in-depth conversations with volunteers at the organisations. This plan did not work out because I had to end my fieldwork earlier than planned due to pandemic measures taken by the government. Whereas the second phase of the fieldwork went according to plan, I could only partly complete the third phase interviews with the volunteers because of the Covid-19 pandemic measures.

Thus, for this research project, I conducted in-depth interviews with two managers and two volunteers from each organisation. In addition to that, I attended several meetings and events at both organisations. A summary of the activities that I attended during the fieldwork can also be seen in the Appendix III. Apart from these activities, I made contact and had fruitful discussions with representatives from some other social organisations in Utrecht and Amsterdam, notably in the first phase of the fieldwork, when I gained eye-opening insights about the research field, where I am present as an outsider. These conversations were often recorded as brief chats and observations.

The informants, both managers and volunteers, were selected from the people I met at the organisations and through the suggestions of the key managers I met during the first stage. There were no limitations on their gender, age or professions. Their participation was mainly based on their willingness to be included in the study. However, I tried to be careful while selecting the informants, to be able to mirror the overall picture of the organisation and reflect the informants' characteristics accordingly. For ethical reasons, again, the real names of informants are not used in the thesis. Informed consent was sought from all informants. A table introducing the informants can be found in Appendix IV.

4.3. Data Collection

The data collection period of this research began with a pilot interview conducted with an organisation based in The Hague. I had found the organisation through the web-based search. One board member from the organisation agreed to have an online interview with me, which provided me with fruitful insights for building and improving the interview guide to be used in the field.

My fieldwork began with a meeting at the voluntary centre in Utrecht. A representative with a Turkish background replied to my request for a meeting. Thus, the English emails in which I introduce myself as a Turkish international student at Radboud University received a reply from an officer of Turkish origin at the Volunteer Centre. Our meeting at her office opened a door for me to be able to make other contacts in Utrecht, especially people working in mixed neighbourhoods such as Kanaleiland. An event that she invited me at a Turkish mosque brought about meeting with two social workers from the Turkish community who were working in a welfare organisation. These contacts that I made allowed me to gain an understanding of the immigrant communities in the Netherlands and the practicalities of their living together. I recorded these conversations and data in my field notes, which contributed to my interpretation thereafter.

Qualitative techniques, as naturalistic inquiry recommends, were employed in this research project. The majority of the data collected relies upon semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with managers and volunteers in both organisations, as well as desk research regarding the documents published by them and the local government where they are located. Interviews were conducted with eight people in total, including two managers and two volunteers from each organisation. Interviews were approximately one hour in length. The

managers who participated in this study as informants were one main coordinator from each organisation, a board member from Open Talks and the programme coordinator from Companionship. In addition, four interviews were conducted with volunteers. While I was able to complete the first interviews with volunteers face to face, the second interviews were conducted online through Skype because of the pandemic restrictions imposed in mid-March. The participant information sheet read to the informants just before the interviews can be found at Appendix V, and the interview guides used in the interviews with managers and volunteers are at Appendices VI and VII respectively.

Furthermore, the desk research began while I was searching for possible organisations to invite to participate in the study. I first gathered information about the organisations through their websites, Facebook pages and texts published about them in magazines or journals. In-depth conversations with managers helped me in accessing to a more detailed information that I partly acquired through the annual reports, work and policy plans published by the participant organisations. Besides these reports and plans, I read and analysed the policy documents published on 'diversity, equality, living together and discrimination' by the municipalities of Utrecht and Amsterdam. These documents became part of the gathered data and allowed me, as a researcher, to better grasp the context in which the organisations are based and the approach that they generate, along with their partners, such as municipalities.

Apart from the interviews and documents I conducted short conversations and observations, and registered them as field notes. This information was collected during the events and meetings that I participated in at the selected organisations. This part of the data could not have been built as solidly as the interviews and documents since my fieldwork was interrupted due to the pandemic measures. During the writing process, I also realised that the data gathered as field notes would have been more concrete and useful with explanatory descriptions and a record of subtle details.

4.4. Data Analysis

Since interviews were the principal method for this research project, recordings constituted the main part of the data collected. I made verbatim transcriptions of all the recordings. The respondents' level of English and some concepts being described using Dutch words made my work difficult during the transcription phase. This process, which also took a long time, allowed

me to check the data and compare them with the field notes I had made as well as with the documents published by organisations and municipalities.

As a second step of the analysis, I conducted a comprehensive narrative analysis of transcriptions, documents and field notes. While the transcriptions and informal conversations registered as one part of the field notes reflect the subjective points of view of the informants, the documents from the organisations and municipalities represent a broader picture on facts and figures. Thus, the comparison of these two was useful to show the coherences and discrepancies between them. It also presented the attitude of the organisations. I was able to merge the relevant information with what managers told me while describing their organisations' perspectives on the definition of and strategies regarding diversity and inclusion. Just before the analysis, I also separated the data related to managers and volunteers and coded them separately to be able to compare the differences between the practices described by managers and those experienced by volunteers.

The data were carefully analysed and coded using open coding as grounded theory recommends (Beuving and Vries 2015, 42). This approach also allowed the comparative analysis of data at different phases of the analysis. I did not use any software during this process. Small units which I extracted from the transcriptions and written texts and coded as themes were merged under concepts and categories in the later stages. This body of analysis, constructed of codes and categories and input into Excel, formed the initial outline for the empirical chapters of the thesis. This outline of the empirical chapters, as well as the theoretical framework chapter, changed during the writing process few times, to have a coherent and consistent body of thesis. An example of coding could be found in the Appendix VIII.

4.5. Validity and Reliability

Brink (1993, 35) describes validity in qualitative research as being 'concerned with accuracy and truthfulness', and reliability as being 'concerned with the consistency, stability and repeatability of the informants' as well as investigators' ability to collect and record information accurately'. Beuving and Vries (2015) argue that the subjectivism which is inherent to naturalistic inquiry might be an obstacle to measuring the validity and reliability of a study. That is why they suggest four tools to eliminate this confusion. These are: the fact that grounded theory requires 'the twin procedure of constant comparison and open coding'; the triangulation described as 'the simultaneous use of different data collection methods'; 'the iteration between the collection of

empirical data and making theoretical reflections about it'; and lastly, the constant checking of findings and their interpretations (Beuving and Vries 2015, 42-44). Thus, in this research project, I have tried to incorporate all of these tools into my study. As mentioned in the previous section, the data analysis stage of this research involved many steps of comparing and coding the data collected from different sources. These sources can also be described as various methods adopted by the researcher during the research period, such as semi-structured in-depth interviews, participant observations and narrative analysis. Furthermore, the iteration and the constant checking of data, in order to be able to create a coherent body of argumentation, have maintained until the last version of this thesis. During the writing process, I have contacted few times the managers in the participant organisations and checked the unclear parts of data with them.

However, the validity and reliability of the data collected depends upon the researcher's position and reflexivity in the field. The most critical issue which hindered me in accessing some necessary information was language. In the first phases of the fieldwork, many organisations which I contacted about being involved in my research did not reply to my English emails. Some of them even explicitly told me that they would not be able to participate because I was conducting my study in English. Even though, in the first phases, this did not seem like a big problem, the more my fieldwork deepened, the more it appeared to be a problem.

The fact that I do not speak Dutch prevented me collecting a complete data. Language was a barrier for while using some research methods, especially for the interviews and participant observation. First of all, I could not converse easily with volunteers and visitors because they usually did not speak English, or struggled to express themselves in English. While this did not constrain me too much, I had to arrange the interviews with the ones who spoke English. This may have influenced the informants' natural self-expression and create or hinder some biases that they have. Secondly, in the meetings and activities that I attended, I could not understand what volunteers and visitors were talking about amongst themselves. That caused many missing information that would be useful for the study. Also, I was often lucky enough to meet people who could translate what was going on around me. However, this indirect relationship with my surroundings caused me to miss a lot. Thus, the issue of language was mainly an obstacle when I carried out participant observations.

In the interviews too, I experienced adverse effects from conducting them in a language other than the informants'. Although I could easily find informants who gave permission for the

English interviews to be recorded, they could not always express themselves as well as in their native language. This also caused some issues during the transcription phase. Since I did not take extensive notes during the interviews, trusting the reliability of recording, I could not understand some assertions and words expressed in English or sometimes in Dutch. In order to overcome this problem, either I turned back to my informant to confirm the information with him or her, or I asked for help from people whom I had met and who did translations for me in the field.

Furthermore, I sometimes had difficulty in properly referring to people with a migration background throughout my conversations with my informants. Since the Netherlands has been a home for immigrants with different stories and layers, such as first and second generations, expatriates and/or refugees, I usually left it to the informant to make the first reference. My intention in doing this was to avoid offending people by referring to something with a pejorative meaning by mistake. Thus, I was careful when using words such as 'foreigners', 'whites', 'allochthoon [foreigner]', 'autochthoon [native or local]', 'Turks', and 'Moroccans' unless the informants uttered them. Instead, I tried to make references such as 'people with migration (or Turkish, Moroccan, etc.) backgrounds' or 'immigrants'. Since I am also not acquainted with Dutch language and culture, there were times when I could not be certain of what to say or not say during my conversations with others. In such cases, I waited for them to show an interest in the subjects or words that they would like to mention. I worked hard not to do any harm to my informants and to ensure that they understood they could withdraw whenever they would like to.

4.6. Positionality and Reflexivity

My fieldwork actually began when I first arrived in the Netherlands almost one year ago. Then, I had no concrete ideas about my research project, except the possibility of conducting it within some non-profit social organisations working with immigrants, and relying on my academic and professional experience in this field. I decided on my thesis topic as a result of a conversation that I had with a social worker in a social organisation, who proudly said that their organisation was very diverse. This made me question many ideas, such as diversity, and the meaning it evokes in people's minds which is probably unique to the Dutch context. It took some time for me to grasp the social norms and understand Dutch organisational culture, as a foreigner here and a student from Turkey. Being an outsider, on the one hand, gave me a more objective perspective throughout my research. On the other hand, there was a risk of perceiving the field through the eyes of informants, which might distort my interpretation.

I expected that being a Turkish student would bring me into contact with the Turkish-Dutch community in the Netherlands. Especially in the first days of my fieldwork, I benefited from my initial contact at the volunteer centre. She, and others whom I met through her, helped me to gain insights about the research field. However, I could not include the organisations where they work in my research because their managers took too long to reply my inquiries. Moreover, the fact that I am from a Muslim majority country caught the interest of Muslim people that I met at Companionship.

Beuving and Vries (2015, 184) write that 'as researchers, we are also moral beings'. To be able to overcome a biased perspective on the field, I tried not to contradict my informants during our conversations. Instead, by asking questions, I viewed our conversations as a source of information which would enrich my data and enable me to explore further. My informants at Companionship also asked me questions about my religion, and about my future plans at Open Talks. In those cases, I was open and expressed my ideas so as to be able to build trust between them and me.

Lastly, reciprocity has arisen as an important phenomenon to be discussed as part of the fieldwork. It implies consideration of trust, rapport and power issues and simply describes 'how to give something back to the communities' studied, in other words, it refers to exchange relations in anthropological work (Glowczewski et al. 2013). Reciprocity between me, as the researcher, and my informants, as the subjects of this study, was integral throughout the research to be able to build a trust relationship. The manager of Open Talks asked me to conduct a workshop about my research topic and findings. Companionship did not ask me for any favours, although I asked to its managers whether there is anything that I can do for the organisation. Moreover, not all of my informants asked for the transcriptions or records of their interviews. However, I sent them to those to whom I promised them.

5. PERCEPTIONS OF 'DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION'

Sara Ahmed (Ahmed 2007) has found that the term 'diversity' has replaced 'equity' through her research on diversity management at British universities. Moreover, Roberson (2006) similarly argues that the focus of diversity has been turned to 'inclusion' with the improvement of recruitment processes at organisations. This reminds us of the origin of these terms and how they evolved along with the developing structures of the organisations. While they primarily refer to

'diversity and inclusion' regarding the workforce in organisations, they are also used to create diverse and inclusive programming, especially by non-profit organisations working towards a better society. Thus, the espousal of these values might be revealed through different terminology in the narratives of the organisations.

Therefore, in the first section that follows, I will introduce the selected organisations by giving in-depth information about their origins, goals, structures and context. This will help the reader to see the organisations' affinity not only to the concepts of diversity and inclusion but also to those of multiculturalism, immigration and social cohesion. The second section will show the embeddedness of the organisations in the context within which they are located and will give information on the 'diversity and inclusion' policies of local governments, and how the organisations may be influenced by these policy documents. The third section, moreover, will explain how 'diversity and inclusion' are described and incorporated into written documents and managers' discourses within both organisations.

5.1. Introducing the organisations (*Open Talks and Companionship*)

Open Talks

The organisation, based in Utrecht, is specialised in organising discussion groups around the city for more than ten years. Utrecht is registered as a diverse and vibrant city with more than 175 nationalities by the Utrecht municipality (We are together – Action Plan 2018, Anti Discrimination Agenda 2016, www.utrecht.nl). Open Talks has identified its main goal as to 'bring together people with different backgrounds in frank and reciprocal conversations to be able to better understand each other and live in a connected city' (Strategic Foundation 2019-2021, Open Talks). These were some of the first lines about the organisation's objectives that drew my attention. Its foundation, development, and turning into a steady professional organisation took a few years after the first *dialogue house* happened in 2008 within the National Dialogue Day programme. To understand the objective of the organisation and its focus on dialogues as a means to reach this objective, it is helpful to look at its history briefly.

The first *dialogue* in the Netherlands was organised in Rotterdam in 2002, under the name 'Dialogue Day', by the Municipality of Rotterdam and several societal organisations (Plokhooij 2020). This first dialogue was launched after the 9/11 attacks in New York, which globally caused a negative response towards the Muslim communities (Plokhooij 2020). Another 'dialogue house' was organised by the network of *Netherlands in Dialogue* in Amsterdam in 2004, after the murder

of cinematographer Theo Van Gogh (Plokkhooij 2020). Thus, the discussion topics in those initial events in the Netherlands resulted from the increased tension between different parts of society. Civil society organisations which were present at the first meeting in Rotterdam started their initiatives in different cities, and *dialogues* have spread since then, intending to bring diverse individuals from Dutch society together and create safe spaces for them to discuss delicate issues.

This dialogue structure initiated by the National Dialogue Day in Rotterdam is based on 'the appreciative inquiry' method proposed by David Cooperrider (Plokkhooij 2020). The action that began in Rotterdam has been announced as 'a social movement' contributing to 'social cohesion in the Netherlands by bringing people in an inspiring and meaningful conversation' (Nederland in Dialoog, Maatschappelijke beweging [Social movement]). It aims to reinforce 'knowledge about each other' and create a 'basis for pleasant living and working together' through the contribution of the diverse backgrounds of participants (Website Open Talks). The network of 'The Netherlands in Dialogue' comprised 20 active local initiatives actively involved in the proliferation of dialogue meetings between 2011 and 2019 (Nederland in Dialoog, Maatschappelijke beweging [Social movement]).

Furthermore, Open Talks, which has been organising dialogues in the city since 2008 as an initiative under the UPLR (*Utrechtse Platform Levensbeschouwing and Religie-Utrecht* [Platform for Philosophy of Life and Religion]), became an independent ANBI foundation (*Algemeen Nut Beogende Instelling*: non-profit organisation) in 2017. The aim of the organisation is stated as: 'Connecting, strengthening and enriching Utrecht residents through dialogue and furthermore everything that is related to this in the broadest sense, and/or which may be conducive to this.' (Website Open Talks). In the work plan for 2020-2022, it is also declared that the organisation has received funding from the VSB fund for two years and it has a fixed budget from the municipality (Work Plan 2020, Open Talks).

The main activities of Open Talks do not only include the initiation of dialogue meetings in the city, but it also offers training and workshops for individuals who want to volunteer for the organisation, to facilitate and implement dialogues. According to the annual report published at the end of 2019, the organisation organised 92 dialogue meetings with 178 dialogue tables and more than 1,500 attendees in 40 different locations across Utrecht in 2019. It is also reported that the organisation worked with 70 partners throughout the year (Annual Report 2019, Open Talks).

These partners are various other non-profit cultural and social organisations in the city, as well as local and national public institutions such as municipality, schools and universities.

The management of the organisation consists of a four-member board, one paid main coordinator and a large team of volunteers. The possible recruitment of another paid coordinator was mentioned during the interviews. Ida, the main coordinator of the organisation, said that the number of volunteers is 'more than 100'. The volunteer team includes dialogue facilitators, organisers, and counsellors as well as people taking care of social media and the website, preparing fliers and making pictures (Ida, Main Coordinator, Website of the organisation). Detailed information regarding the diversity of the workforce in the organisation is given in Chapter 7.

Companionship

Organisation Companionship is a community organisation which has been based for approximately 30 years in Amsterdam East, which is known as one of the most mixed neighbourhoods of Amsterdam. The heterogeneous character of the neighbourhood makes itself felt immediately after one gets off the train at Muiderpoort station. While walking in the streets around the station, Turkish bakeries, Syrian restaurants and Moroccan pastry shops are easily noticed, as well as people belonging to different cultures with their different looks. This is the place where Companionship was born, shaped and nurtured in developing its activities and projects. That is why it cannot be independent of the mixed character of that neighbourhood and its inhabitants.

The founding story of the organisation was told by different informants during the fieldwork. This gives the impression that this story plays an integral role in the ethos of the organisation. The founder and the general coordinator, who has Moroccan origins and will be called Aamir hereafter in this study, is the protagonist of that story. It is said, by himself too, that after having a terrible car accident 30 years ago and becoming dependent on a wheelchair he looked for a social organisation to join in Amsterdam East, where he lived, to get connected with others around. The story continues that he could not find any organisation where he felt connected and included because of the segregation of the community into ethnoculturally different segments, back in those days, such as Surinamese, Turkish and Moroccans clustering around their own groups and organisations. Thus, he decided to start his organisation which would be open to everyone and work to help anyone who needed it, as they tell it. The services

offered by the organisation would not be confined to the neighbourhood either, and it would welcome everyone from Amsterdam regardless of ethnocultural, educational or gender differences that people may have. This intention of Aamir's to start up an inclusive organisation for everyone has been incorporated as one of the main objectives and cornerstones of 'the Companionship method' to be elaborated later in Chapter 6.

The organisation is registered as an ANBI foundation. In its annual reports, it states its aim as follows: '[Companionship] is committed to integration, participation and strengthening of the self-reliance and togetherness of the socially vulnerable in our multicultural society.' (2018 Annual Report, Companionship). The target group of the organisation is described as 'vulnerable neighbourhood residents'. In addition, the goal to 'promote emancipation, participation and social cohesion' has continued to be on the organisation's agenda since its first foundation in 1991 (2018 Annual Report, Companionship). Apart from the regular subsidy it gets from the Municipality of Amsterdam's East district, the organisation gets one-off subsidies occasionally from the municipality and other formal organisations in the city and neighbourhood (2018 Annual Report, Companionship). Examples of that are the one-off subsidy that the organisation got from the municipality for informal care support activities (2018 Annual Report, Companionship) and the use of another organisation's facility in the neighbourhood during the times when they did not have a settled location (2016 Annual Report, Companionship).

The activities and services offered by Companionship consist of walk-in consultation hours, Dutch language courses, Monday & Friday breakfast meetings, socio-psychological events for caregivers for a family member, the celebration of special days such as national holidays or Women's Day, and a foodbank created by donations from bakeries in the neighbourhood. Apart from that, the organisation supports people who want to launch their own projects and offers them space. One recent example of this last is that a Syrian refugee who is a physiotherapist offers basic physiotherapy at a low price for people who need but cannot afford it, within the organisation's facility.

According to the 2018 annual report, 300 people came to Companionship during consultation hours to ask for help on several issues, from financial problems to legal assistance, more than 200 people attended debates and information sessions and approximately 50 people joined Dutch language activities. These language activities include fixed courses as well as walk-in language support meetings (Annual Report 2018, Companionship). The report also identifies 39

partners, including religious institutions such as mosques and churches, public institutions such as the municipality and local library, and other various non-profit organisations.

The workforce in the organisation involves a three-member board, one unpaid main coordinator, one part-time paid programme coordinator and two part-time paid administrative assistants. Besides, it has a large volunteer team which is described as ‘an active team of approximately 50 volunteers and a remote team of 200 volunteers’ (Policy Plan 2018-2019, Companionship). The diversity of the organisation’s workforce is explained in detail in Chapter 7.

5.2. Embeddedness in the Context

As stated in the theoretical chapter, the context in which diversity studies are conducted needs further elaboration (Ahonen et al. 2014) because studies conducted in the European context would differ from those in the North American in terms of emphasising the integration problems of immigrants (Ewijk 2011). Chapter Three provided background information on the Dutch context in which the two organisations operate. I have presented how concepts of immigration, multiculturalism and ethnocultural diversity are incorporated into the mainstream diversity policies (Breugel and Scholten 2017). Thus, this sub-chapter aims to show how the selected organisations are embedded in their contexts in terms of their location and historical background. It also presents local perspectives on ‘diversity and inclusion’ which influence the approach of the organisations.

Both organisations are based in large cities, namely Amsterdam and Utrecht, which are registered among the most diverse cities in the Netherlands in the study published by WRR (2018). The municipalities of both cities have a policy and strategy in regard to ‘diversity’, which can affect the civil society organisations surrounding them. Even though these policies and strategies are not directly adopted by the organisations, they may influence their approaches to and discourses about the issue as my informant at Volunteer Centre Utrecht, too, had expressed.

The municipality of Amsterdam, which is counted among the three most diverse cities in the Netherlands (WRR 2018), has a specific policy on diversity standing out the multicultural character of the city and promoting inclusion (Policy: Diversity Shared Story, www.amsterdam.nl). Likewise, Aamir, who is the founder and head coordinator of Companionship, frames his discourse about the multicultural and diverse character of the Netherlands by describing it as a city of 17 million people with different origins and backgrounds. He also emphasises the multi-identities of individuals living in this country; he gives himself as an

example: a Dutch, Moroccan and disabled man at the same time (Aamir, Main Coordinator, Companionship).

Unlike Amsterdam, the municipality of Utrecht has an action plan and an agenda which concentrates on anti-radicalisation and anti-discrimination rather than specifically inclining on 'diversity and inclusion'. But, similar to Amsterdam, Utrecht promotes inclusion within a diverse Utrecht within the 'We are together Action Plan' and 'Anti-Discrimination Agenda 2016-2020' (www.utrecht.nl). The action plan also notes that the document is closely connected to diversity policy and the commitment to diversity is included in this action plan. Anna, the board member interviewed from Open Talks, expressed that they had benefited from this municipality plan while structuring their programmes.

The historical background of the Netherlands is also of key significance in the sense that it is the basis upon which social organisations have developed and continue to operate. In the cases of the organisations in this research, activities and services for people with migration background have a special place within their programming. This is most visible in the case of Open Talks since their selection of dialogue topics is coherent with ongoing societal issues, such as the murder of Theo Van Gogh and Black Pete discussions. Moreover, the general coordinator of Open Talks has raised some current issues regarding migrants and refugees during our conversation. Immigrant women who cannot learn Dutch after many years in the Netherlands, differences between older and younger generations of immigrants, and the dynamics of their participation in voluntary work were some of them (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks). Similar topics were addressed by Johanna, the programme coordinator of Companionship, too, while describing how they tailor their activities to be more inclusive. These could include all-day walk-in hours or forming special language classes according to needs of the target group.

5.3. Descriptions of 'Diversity and Inclusion'

In the first days of my fieldwork, I found out that the small-scale voluntary organisations that I sought out to include in my research do not have specific policies or strategies for managing diversity either at the organisational level or, considering a broader picture, at the societal level. A few of them do not even mention these matters in the descriptions of their organisations on their websites. I was searching for organisations which are in contact with migrant groups and I intended to conduct my study in two multicultural Dutch cities, such as Amsterdam and Utrecht. Taking this into consideration, I tried to make my selection based on their references to 'diversity

and inclusion' as presented in their organisational structure and goals. Since the selected organisations do not have specific descriptions of or strategies for 'diversity and inclusion' or 'diversity management', I will present how they perceive those matters and associate them with their organisations in this section.

The main reason for the organisations' not having a specific policy on 'diversity and inclusion' seems to be that these are small-scale, voluntary, non-profit organisations, and this type of organisation often has relatively few policy and strategy documents. Still, Companionship have recently published 'Policy Plan 2018-2019', and although 'diversity and inclusion' are not mentioned explicitly, it makes reference to the diversity of activities and partners which has an impact on programming. Moreover, Open Talks' 'Strategic Foundation 2019-2021' states more explicitly the organisations' goal to access a diverse target group in their meetings – again, a goal which is more related to their programmes rather than their workforce. These documents allowed me to better frame the organisations' descriptions of 'diversity and inclusion'.

In our conversation, the general coordinator of Open Talks expressed that, since it is a small organisation and does not have a 'Human Resource and Management' department, they cannot deal with this as required. Another reason specific to Utrecht might be the influence of the municipality, which does not have a policy document concentrating on diversity but rather one focused on decreasing radicalisation and discrimination. This fact had been told by one officer from the voluntary centre in Utrecht whom I contacted in the initial days of my fieldwork. When asked whether they used other policy documents when preparing their programmes, only the board member from Open Talks stated that they used the Action Plan from the Utrecht municipality. Thus, in order to better understand the perspectives of and approaches to 'diversity and inclusion' of both organisations, I decided to look at how they promote these notions within and outside the organisation. In the following section, I will describe 'diversity and inclusion' from the perspectives of Open Talks and Companionship as set down in their published documents and stated by their managers.

In the written reports of both organisations, the concepts of 'diversity and inclusion' are not explicitly described yet they are generally referred to along with the concepts of social cohesion and of differences. These concepts are often expressed through employing terms such as 'mutual understanding', 'participation', 'cultural sensitivity', 'respect' and 'feeling safe'. For example, the vision and mission of Companionship is summarised as being 'a welfare

organisation committed to the integration, participation and social cohesion of the most vulnerable in our multicultural society' (Policy Plan 2018-2019, Companionship). By 'the most vulnerable', the organisation refers to people who are socially isolated and in poverty (Policy Plan 2018-2019, Companionship). On the other hand, Open Talks' mission and vision are stated with respect to the differences and diversity within the city. Its aim is stated as 'to stimulate meaningful conversations between different people from Utrecht'. Moreover, as stated in its vision and mission, a 'dialogue' respects differences, offers new perspectives and shapes a living together in a diverse Utrecht (Website; Annual Report 2019, Open Talks).

The term 'social cohesion' is readily found in the written sources of both organisations. As an organisation engaged in social cohesion, Companionship works for the integration and inclusion of the 'socially weak' as stated in their reports (Annual Report 2016, 2018). The organisation moreover argues that social cohesion shall be enhanced 'by promoting mutual understanding and tolerance' of each other in a vivid and multicultural neighbourhood (Annual Report 2016, 2018; Companionship). Furthermore, Open Talks describes social cohesion and mutual understanding by emphasising a well-conducted 'dialogue', which 'allows for testing and refuting prejudices [and] feeding self-esteem and respect for each other' (Website, Open Talks). Thus, the meanings implied by social cohesion are conceptualised differently in the two organisations. The main reason is that they have different programmes and target groups.

Both organisations employ the term 'differences' in their written documents when illustrating their settings, programme and activities. It is often used for describing the diversity of human beings and to point out how individuals with different attributes increase the richness of society. Open Talks uses the term more frequently than Companionship. The former makes more references to 'differences' while formulating their stance on the objectives and programme. Ida, general coordinator of Open Talks, describes the concept of diversity as being 'in everything' like age, culture and education. She also describes what the organisation does as 'diversity'. She says they need diversity, with different backgrounds, views and experiences, around the table 'because that makes the dialogue worthwhile. If you are having a dialogue with people who are all like you, from your own bubble, it's less interesting.' (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks).

Open Talks also mentions that it tries to ensure diversity within the organisation in two ways. First, it aims for a diverse group of volunteers since 'through the diversity of volunteers', they believe that they 'reach diversity around the table' (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks). To

create meaningful conversation with Utrechters from different backgrounds has already been pointed out in the mission of the organisation. Ida confirms this approach, saying that they do 'diversity' but rather call it '*verschillen*, differences'. Moreover, Anna, who is one of the board members at Open Talks, believes that a 'dialogue' has to be with *real* respect, *real* listening to each other and understanding the differences as well as accepting them. She also adds that these notions makes the dialogue worthwhile and makes her happy in joining the conversation with people of different perspectives (Anna, Board Member, Open Talks).

Companionship does not directly refer to 'diversity or differences' in their written documents. Aamir, founder and main coordinator of Companionship, states that 'diversity of people is very important' for them because it means that the organisation can reach a wider audience in a country 'where there is a lot of diversity'. How the organisation perceives the concept of diversity can be also grasped through indirect explanations of how they reflect cultural sensitivity within their community. In other words, cultural sensitivity arises as a part of their strategy to create the participant diversity at the organisation. For Companionship, cultural sensitivity is inherent in the organisation, as stated by both of its managers. Aamir (Main Coordinator, Companionship) mentioned the different religious and national festivities celebrated in the organisation as examples of this. In this manner, they can become more accessible and inclusive for the community:

'We all party here: Hanukkah, Iftar, Christmas, also national days such as May 4, May 5. ... We're culturally sensitive here, so we think what *customisation* is, customisation [of the service] is necessary, [to create] easy access and safety for people' (Aamir, Main Coordinator, Companionship).

Cultural sensitivity is instrumentalised in Companionship and seen as an integral part of what is called 'the *Companionship* method'. Aamir (Main Coordinator) expresses this as: 'if you work with the Companionship tool, you learn how to be culturally sensitive'. Cultural sensitivity is employed as an indicator showing that the concept and management of diversity have been identified with ethnocultural differences in the organisation. Thus it helps the organisation to find ways and tools to manage those differences and be open for everyone.

Furthermore, by making references to accessibility and a low threshold, managers from Companionship state that the services offered can be customised or tailored to be able to increase the participation of the community. They give examples of how different cultures and events are

embraced and celebrated in the organisation. Likewise, Open Talks describes how they tailor the dialogue meetings by implementing them in different parts of the city and making them suitable to avoid offending others such as Muslims or alcoholics (Ida, Main Coordinator).

Lastly, providing a safe and secure space for its participants and volunteers is another issue raised by the managers of both organisations. The board member from Open Talks describes this feeling as not judging others and being 'open for you and your neighbours'. 'So, I'm always happy when people [who] don't meet each other in a natural way, meet each other and talk about their issues.' (Anna, Board Member, Open Talks). It is necessary for creating safe spaces for dialogue. Likewise, the programme coordinator of Companionship summarised their diversity strategy as 'we want everybody to feel at home and safe. In regard to diversity, we're open to everybody'.

Thus, as seen in the above section, both organisations' perceptions and descriptions of diversity and inclusion have been structured towards the concepts of social cohesion, differences and cultural sensitivity rather than explicit use of 'diversity and inclusion'. In the literature, the concept of diversity is described more through differences attributed to the individuals or groups, whereas the concept of inclusion is linked more to the idea of social cohesion (Roberson 2006). In sum, the framework presented shows that Open Talks' perception of 'diversity and inclusion' is more linked to different attributes of individuals such as age, culture, profession and ideological views, while Companionship describes it by references to social cohesion and cultural sensitivity. Still, both organisations are aware of the differences in their communities and strive to be more inclusive within their organisations. The efforts made by the organisations will be shown in the next section, where I will elaborate the diversity management practices of both organisations.

6. MANAGING DIVERSITY IN PROGRAMMING

While the focus of diversity management is mainly upon the management of the diverse workforce and enhancing this diversity within the organisations, I expand the concept and use it to be able to explore diversity management in the programming of non-profit voluntary organisations. Diversity management literature suggests that both business and social justice approaches are used to manage diversity within non-profit organisations with different motivations (Weisinger 2017, Weisinger et al. 2016, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2009). While these two approaches are framed separately, Tomlinson and Schwabenland (2009) suggests that

they can also be complementary in non-profit settings. Whereas the business perspective shows a path to enhancing diversity for economic reasons through tools such as networking, advertising and partnerships, the social justice perspective is linked to the moral values, such as cohesion, equality and inclusion, adopted by the organisations. Thus, these two approaches are expected to be reflected within the diversity management practices of both organisations within the scope of this study. Furthermore, the comparison between two organisations selected for this research aims to highlight how these approaches are implemented in different settings.

As presented in Chapter 5, neither organisation has a specific written down diversity policy or strategy, but they describe being attentive to 'diversity and inclusion' as being part of their programming. From their descriptions related to 'diversity and inclusion', I tried to frame their diversity management strategies in Chapter 5. In this chapter, I will present how the two organisations manage diversity both within their programmes/activities and amongst their volunteers. This information has been drawn from the data collected through interviews with managers and volunteers, and participant observations during various activities organised by the two organisations.

To be able to better understand the practices of diversity management of both organisations, I analyse their practices under two headings; programme management practices, which mostly concerns their participants, and volunteer management practices which target the volunteers which will be explored in Chapter 7. Both organisations identify a 'method' for their organisations' programming. Managers in both organisations often used the term 'method' when they discussed their strategies. In Open Talks, this method is associated with the planning, running and impact of dialogue meetings. In other words, the method used by Open Talks guides users towards a successful implementation of a dialogue. The 'appreciative inquiry' method developed by David Copperfield was designed to achieve a well-conducted 'dialogue'. It consists of four basic steps, as noted on the website of the organisation: 'getting to know each other, sharing experiences, dreaming together, and brainstorming about the steps bringing you closer to an ideal future'.

'In the first phase of the dialogue, the leader also talked about the rules. It sounds very strict, but it's more about setting a safe environment. It's okay to have different perspectives, respect each other. So, that's a good thing' (Gwinn, Volunteer, Open Talks).

Furthermore, the guidelines presented before each dialogue meeting which may seem strict at first include the conditions for a respectful and open dialogue: ‘open your heart, be brief, open your mind, feel free, let the other person shine, be curious, go for discovery and be real’. Even though this method is not specifically employed for creating a more diverse atmosphere in the organisation, it helps to manage diversity around the table, in the course of dialogue by drawing participants into conversation, making possible the discovery of new insights and reducing the tension over the course of the discussions.

Companionship does not use an existing method as Open Talks does, but it uses a ‘method’ which has the same name as the organisation. The Companionship method, which is a product of the organisation’s 30 years’ experience in the field of social cohesion and empowerment of vulnerable people in the neighbourhood, offers some tools and techniques to reach out to more vulnerable people, empower them, and help them during their period of integration into Dutch society.

In the rest of this section, I will discuss how and why methods and strategies of organisations are put into practice to be able to create a more diverse climate in the organisation and manage this diversity. Whereas the tailor-made services are more prominent in Companionship, the cooperation with partners stands out in Open Talks as practices employed in organisations enhancing inclusion and creating more diverse atmosphere.

6.1. Reaching Out to Excluded Group

References to inclusion have been put forward by both organisations as an organisational and societal objective. The strategies employed with respect to inclusion aim to create a more diverse base of participants and volunteers. This also requires reaching out to excluded groups and trying to include them in organised activities. The tools employed to be able to reach out to excluded or vulnerable groups, as described in their mission, vision and objectives, are more visible in the management practices of Companionship. The reason is that the organisation strives for social cohesion, the empowerment of vulnerable people, and raising their self-esteem. At the same time, the fact that the organisation is located in a culturally mixed neighbourhood makes it more aware of the needs of its target group and it arranges its programme accordingly. Overall, the tools employed by Companionship and the context in which it is embedded bring the organisation’s stance closer to the social justice perspective. However, it does not mean that Open Talks does not

use this tool as a part of their programming. As argued below, ensuring accessibility and tailoring the programme for a wider audience are tools employed by both organisations.

Tailor-made Services for Everyone/Accessibility

The accessibility of their activities for different participants and visitors is one of the main matters considered by both organisations. Both organisations use the tool of tailoring their services and activities for the increased participation of their target groups. While Companionship's target group is identified as vulnerable people, Open Talks has no restrictions in terms of target groups but works to include various groups in the city. Thus, the notion of accessibility is more visible in the former. Moreover, Companionship reflects the notion of accessibility as a direct output of their method. The Companionship Method, as the organisation puts it, strengthens the self-reliance and active participation of its recipients by recipients by creating opportunities for them to expand their experiences, skills and abilities. In the organisation's annual report, this idea was put forward as follows: 'Through the complete package of tailor-made assistance, participation in (group) activities, work experience as a volunteer and subsequently training in the field of experiential expertise, the residents step by step strengthen their self-reliance and togetherness.' (Annual Report 2016, Companionship).

Furthermore, the programme coordinator of Companionship takes this approach of accessibility as they have full-time walk-in hours, unlike formal organisations which have limited days and hours for consultation. This, she said, facilitates people asking for help from the organisation without the barrier of making an appointment (Johanna, Programme Coordinator, Companionship). The organisation does not only emphasise the issue of 'accessibility' within the organisation, but they also strive for that by advocating for disabled, discriminated-against and lonely people. Aamir (Main Coordinator, Companionship) amplifies this, saying that they 'fight against discrimination, Islamophobia and for accessibility in the sense that buildings become accessible' for people with disabilities. Nour (Volunteer, Companionship) also mentioned that thanks to him, many of the buildings in the surrounding area are now accessible by mobility scooter. The advocacy conducted by the organisation usually includes joining protests organised against discrimination or segregation in the city, participating in petitions, and transmitting the complaints and claims they receive to the municipality, as well as lobbying in the municipality.

One of Companionship's key services is Dutch language classes. These classes, as detailed in the reports and confirmed by Johanna (Programme coordinator, Companionship) can be

adjusted according to the participant or target group. She gives an example of this: a class designed especially for illiterate women who have been living in the Netherlands for many years but who have not learned the language so far. This group of women, whose ages range from around the fifty to sixty, feel more comfortable in Companionship's Dutch classes rather than going to a formal language school. Furthermore, students in language courses are encouraged to participate in other activities at the organisation as well, to improve their Dutch language skills. In that way, the organisation contributes to strengthening the self-esteem of its recipients and supporting the integration process. Following Johanna (Programme coordinator), this might lead to participants finding regular jobs and even starting up businesses with the experience gained at Companionship.

The most explicit tool that Open Talks employs to allocate English-speaking tables next to the Dutch-speaking ones at many of their events. Both managers from Open Talks mentioned how they strive to include the immigrant groups such as economic immigrants, refugees, international students and expatriates, often described as 'newcomers'. Allocating tables at which different languages are spoken is a way for Open Talks to introduce more people with different backgrounds. In addition to this, cooperating with diverse partners, which is discussed later, is a more salient way to create a diversity climate in the organisation.

Ida, the general coordinator of Open Talks, said that they provide just the setting so that 'everybody feels welcome'. The organisation offers the conversations in other languages than Dutch, such as English and Arabic, to increase the participation of people with different backgrounds. The organisation sometimes allocates Arabic and Turkish speaking tables for the participation of citizens from the first generation immigrants who often cannot speak Dutch well despite long years of residence in the Netherlands (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks). At those round tables, Ida explains, they have to use translators which renders the communication harder, especially when there are more than two languages spoken around the table. Tables which are usually reserved for senior immigrants may sometimes accommodate only women.

In addition to this, the organisation also allocates dialogue tables for those just starting to learn Dutch, in the form of '*taalcafe*' (language cafés) (Ida, Main coordinator, Open Talks). Ida highlighted that 'the most difficult people to reach are the ones who don't speak English', such as newcomers from Syria who speak neither English nor Dutch. Thus, the organisation tries to create spaces for them too, so long as they would like to join without speaking the language: 'You

can take pictures [for example, on the course of events] if you don't speak the language. So, we can find ways like picture making. We try to find ways to be open to everyone.' (Ida, Main coordinator, Open Talks). Anna, the board member of Open Talks, describes the needs of these specific groups as follows: 'As I said, that may be language, that may be the place to meet, which is a safe place. It may also be only women or Arabic speaking.' Thus, tailoring their services for the groups who participate less is a practice which has been frequently employed by Open Talks. This tool has been instrumentalised for creating safe spaces for those who are 'new', isolated or excluded, and to increase their participation into the social life in the city where they recently moved.

Promoting Sexual Diversity

Sexual diversity is also a theme mentioned by managers of both organisations and explicitly incorporated into their activities. They usually organise events to raise awareness, increase tolerance and ensure a dialogue about sexual diversity within their communities. The programme coordinator of Companionship mentioned that the organisation initiated a series of events about sexual diversity, 'which is a bit of a taboo subject', according to Johanna, for the community. Through an occasion, they screened a movie by a Dutch-Moroccan director about the subject. She said that the event was successful because it generated a discussion and acceptance between elderly people who 'found it very difficult' and 'gay people with a Moroccan background' (Johanna, Programme Coordinator, Companionship). This shows, according to her, that the organisation is 'open to everyone and that's what makes people feel safe' (Johanna, Programme Coordinator, Companionship). Furthermore, the theme of sexual diversity was addressed as a dialogue topic under a series called 'rainbow dialogues' in Open Talks. Also, in one of the meetings that I joined in, the subject was 'love' and there were homosexuals in the same table with me. Thus, Open Talks is a safe place that welcomes people with different sexual orientations. The inclusion of activities related to sexual diversity shows how the organisations strive for the inclusion of LGBT individuals as well as the other marginalised or minority groups mentioned above. It also illustrates the incorporation of moral values adopted by the organisation are put into practice as a part of their programmes. This represents the social justice perspective of the organisations.

Like the roots from which the diversity concept was generated, the literature of diversity management was built on the notions of equity and social justice (Ahmed 2012). Also, Lauer and

Yan (2013) suggests that voluntary associations working with/for immigrants aim and work for the tolerance of differences. Moreover, according to the social justice perspective, the non-profit organisations' practices are expected to be aligned with their organisational objectives (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2009, Weisinger 2017). Thus, both organisations take a social justice perspective while trying to reach out to excluded or marginalised groups around them. In Companionship, this perspective is more visible, explicitly set down and aligned with their organisational aim of social cohesion. In Open Talks, it is produced as a natural output of their aim of having different kinds of people around the table during the discussions.

6.2. Creating Activities for Everyone Together

This section discusses the other tools employed by the organisations while trying to expand their audiences. Cooperation with partners stands out as an essential tool to reach out to different kinds of people and groups within the city to be able to realise this aim. While in the previous section notions such as equality and justice were prominent within the programming of the organisations, the themes handled in this section are more related to the processes of portraying diverse groups and people representing different cultures, languages and nationalities. The section also elaborates the networking and advertising routines of both organisations. Since the tools mentioned in this section mainly aim to enhance the visibility, public profile and activities of the organisations for utilitarian motives, it frames how the business approach is reflected in the functioning of the organisations.

Cooperation with Partners

The principal tool employed by Open Talks in order to increase diversity is clearly working in cooperation with partners in the city. It often cooperates with other organisations that arrange diverse activities and bring visitors in, such as other non-profit organisations with different target groups in different parts of the city. The events do not always take place in the same location but move to various neighbourhoods, and people with different backgrounds are invited. The organisation works to create neighbourhood dialogue groups. Ida, the main coordinator of Open Talks, explained this as working with different partners in each neighbourhood: 'The partners are different, the way we cooperate is different'. She highlighted the importance of cooperating with different partners: 'Each partner has its own target group. ... We try to collaborate with not only the Raghba (an organisation run by a group from Moroccan descent women) ... but also Dutch organisations which attract more Dutch people' (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks). Anna (Board

Member, Open Talks) also confirmed that the organisation has worked with many partners, including groups from the Raghba 'who are mainly Arab women', internationals from the University College, people from advocacy groups and also people with health problems. The pandemic which began in mid-March, unfortunately, prevented me joining one of these collaborative meetings. The Iftar Dialogue which happened in 2019 highlighted this matter of partnership, according to different informants.

Volunteers mentioned that Open Talks cooperates well with other organisations. Gwinn (Volunteer, Open Talks) even said that she enjoys doing projects with other organisations because working with different partners means working on different projects with different people. Also, Jeroen, who has been volunteering for Open Talks since the first 'dialogue' happened in the city, told me that since the earliest times, the organisation has not only worked with 'people from mosques, Jewish people' and people of 'all kinds of religions' but they also organised dialogues with homeless and undocumented immigrants, in cooperation with related organisations.

Ida (Main Coordinator, Open Talks) also mentioned that their partners are sometimes effective when defining the topics to be discussed in the *dialogues*, as in the case of the 'Money Worries' and 'Belonging' dialogue series. The organisation might choose the topics for this kind of series as a result of whatever funding they had found. In those cases, they need to advertise the identified topics for a specific period, as Ida explained (Main Coordinator, Open Talks).

Companionship works with different partners, both at ad-hoc events and, beyond that, in receiving donations, gifts or subsidies. As Aamir (Main coordinator, Companionship) and Johanna (Programme coordinator, Companionship) expressed, partnership is essential for the organisation since it has a bridging role between vulnerable people and formal organisations. Apart from that, Johanna counts other organisations in the city and local government as partners.

Network/Advertisement

One of the most important tools used by organisations to attract more visitors and volunteers is also related to how the organisations advertise and extend their network in the city. Each organisation's style of advertising and networking is different.

Aamir, who is the founder and main coordinator of Companionship, transcends the organisation itself in this matter. As Nour (Volunteer, Companionship) described, he has a large network and knows important people with various backgrounds, especially in this specific part of the city. Thus, Aamir's network has been an important instrument for the organisation in

enlarging its activities and attracting more diverse visitors and volunteers from different groups of people. I had also met him because of his network: another organisation sent me directly to him, earlier in my fieldwork, telling me that he would help me.

In addition to Aamir's network, word spreads about Companionship through visitors and volunteers who have already benefited from the services and activities at the organisation. As both managers verbalised what is also written in the annual reports, visitors and volunteers tell others about their experiences and bring other people to the organisation. Aamir summarised this as: 'they become ambassadors because they can spread the message about our success to people who have never heard of Companionship'. According to him, this is a more effective way to spread the word about Companionship than regular advertising on social media. Wilhelm too, a volunteer at Companionship, said that the organisation does not do regular publicity for having a more diverse group of people because 'diversity' will come 'by itself, naturally'. This shows that Companionship prefers more naturally formed, in other words, self-forming groups, rather than specifically advertising to attract diverse people to the organisation.

The Companionship's website is active, especially in terms of announcing future and recently past events, but, on thorough examination most of the news had not been updated for some years. Moreover, the organisation does not have an official Facebook account: rather the posts about the organisation are shared and can be followed through Aamir's personal Facebook page. Also, it is possible to watch many videos on the organisation's official YouTube page. Apart from Dutch, the volunteers frequently speak Arabic in the organisation. In some of the posted videos, it is also possible to hear Arabic. These posts, at the same time, are usually covered with pictures of people representing different cultures and nationalities. Thus, instead of classical advertising, the organisation's advertising strategy is based on personal experiences and people directly talking to others who might join. The organisation believes more in word-of-mouth advertising than using regular publicity methods. The social media management, advertising and networking practices of Companionship show that the organisation does not have a professional management strategy or practices, which suggests it does not take a business-oriented approach.

Ida, head coordinator at Open Talks, told that they mainly advertise through digital media such as Facebook and YouTube, and they do not have any other specific strategy. Although the organisation has a newsletter and website in English, the messages and videos posted in the organisation's social media accounts are mainly in Dutch. While this is not aligned with the

organisation's objective of being inclusive, as in the example of implementing English or Arabic conversation tables, it shows that the organisation primarily targets Dutch speakers. Moreover, the website and social media accounts of the organisation show pictures of different types of people, such as people of colour or veiled women, which give messages about the diversity and inclusive nature of the organisation.

Advertising and cooperation with partners are needed for attracting more visitors and volunteers to both organisations since they constantly need volunteers and participants to be able to continue to run their projects and events. These tools are also effective for seeking funds and striving to sustain their programmes, and to represent the numbers of people joining them or provided from their services.

The business approach to diversity management suggests that organisations employ business focused strategies to increase diversity mainly in the workplace (Weisinger 2017). According to the literature, it will enhance the performance of organisations, and their creativity and problem solving processes (Cox and Blake, 1991). Ida (Main coordinator, Open Talks) expressed this saying that the organisational performance and impact of the organisation on different participant groups is also related to their mutual work with other organisations. She gave the migrants as an example and said that the migrants might not have means to benefit from these kinds of inclusive activities by themselves but professional organisations can succeed it in a more effective way (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks). Since the business approach is more connected to economic benefits and organisational performance, the promotion of diversity, cooperation with partners, network and advertising are revealed as the tools employed by organisations to be able to enhance diversity, spread their impact further and connect with more groups of people and organisations of different kinds. Thus, from the business perspective, more diversity of partners and people will further ensure the sustainability of their programming.

6.3. Language, Food and Music as Tools Enhancing Diversity

Apart from the ones discussed above, the usage of language, food and music shows how these notions are used to be able to create more inclusive settings and reach out to the different groups of people. These tools are mentioned in this section in order to show how the business and social justice perspectives overlap in the programmes of the organisations. Openness and recognition of the other are mentioned by the managers of both organisation as a necessity for creating safe and secure spaces for people to meet. These are some of the keystones for well-managed diversity in

this type of organisations. On the one hand, using language, food and music reflects the social justice perspective, which enables equal representation of different groups at the organisations' activities, aligned with the values they have adopted, such as, cohesion, integration and making room for differences. On the other hand, it reflects the business perspective which helps the organisations to increase their visibility and recognition within the different groups of people.

I noted in the previous sections how tailoring their programmes for people who speak different languages was developed by Open Talks as a way of reaching out to a wider range of people. While the organisation introduces this as a part of their programming, in the Companionship facility other languages than Dutch echo randomly in the encounters of foreigners who speak the same language.

Apart from the Dutch language, I have often heard people speaking Arabic in Companionship. This surprised me since I was not expecting such widespread use of Arabic. At first, I thought that this group of volunteering women who often speak Arabic were all from Morocco, like Aamir, the founder. However, when I asked, I learned that they were not all from Morocco but also from other Arabic-speaking countries such as Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen. I also came across, at some events, the Arabic language being used during the speeches given. Johanna (Programme Coordinator, Companionship) explained that they offer spaces especially for people with Dutch language difficulties to feel at home, find the courage to ask for help and share their stories in their own languages.

As mentioned in the previous sections, Companionship makes an effort to expand their services so that anyone can join. Because they generally work for the inclusion of people from vulnerable groups, such as the poor, the lonely or those with problems related to family or education, they usually need a careful approach so that these groups of people feel secure and safe. For example, Aamir (Main Coordinator, Companionship) explained how they deal with domestic violence during consultation hours and in training. The consultation hours also create an opportunity for people to get to know the organisation better. These people are also expected to come back to do volunteer work, having solved their problems with the help of the organisation.

Food and music have always been tools for bringing different people and cultures together. This phenomenon can be observed in Companionship. The International Women's Day celebration that I attended and where approximately 60 visitors were present was full of music

and food. Moroccan snacks were served and music from different genres were played. Guests and volunteers were part of the musical and dance performances, before and after a dramatic performance by three women which was consistent with the meaning of the day. I observed that some of the women whom I had always seen covering their hair did not cover that night. I had made friends with one of them. She, too, had worn a beautiful dress, put makeup and uncovered her hair for that night. In an earlier conversation, she had told me that she does not always cover her hair, especially when she does not feel anyone is looking at her. I understood that the Women's Day Celebration at Companionship was special and secure for her. This feeling of hers was also verbalised by Johanna, the programme coordinator of Companionship: 'People feel at home and safe at the organisation.' This shows how employees at the organisation feel about Companionship, especially Muslim women, who feel safe and secure there to the extent that they can unveil their heads and put on make-up and beautiful dresses.

The informants from Open Talks, too, mentioned an event that took place in a culturally mixed neighbourhood in Utrecht, to give an example of a successful event in the organisation in terms of creating diversity. This event, which aimed to promote multilingual conversations around the subject of 'Discover the Other', had again taken place with the motto of 'open to everyone':

'We had separate tables for women only, we had Muslim women who made the food. It was without meat; we made it vegetarian to be more inclusive. No pigs, no meat of any kind, and we had a separate space where women and men could pray if they wanted to. So, I think it was a quite success, with an international table, and also an English-speaking table. I think it was very diverse. And we also had some music from different cultures.' (Ida, main coordinator, Open Talks).

'We really considered this idea in the dialogue; we really formed the dialogue around Ramadan and the people. That's why not many white people were there ... like atheists or Christian people weren't really there. So, it's really, if you focus on one group, it's always missing.' (Gwinn, Volunteer, Open Talks).

These two quotations show different insights, from a manager and a volunteer, on the same event in terms of the organisation's ability to create a diverse atmosphere at an event. This particular event is worth mentioning because of two characteristics. Firstly, it was organised within the scope of National Diversity Day. In the first quote from Ida (Main coordinator, Open Talks), she

presents how the organisation prepared for that kind of a special event. We see how, besides the language, food and music are prominent in creating a safe and secure space at the organisation. However, Gwinn (Volunteer, Open Talks) did not find this event as successful as Ida described. She thinks that the event failed because it could not succeed in attracting one part of society while trying to get more people with differences.

Another role that this example played is related to the neighbourhood. As mentioned before, Open Talks cooperates with several partners in different districts of the city to be able to include more people in the conversations. Therefore, they move across different neighbourhoods in the city. The neighbourhoods known for their culturally mixed character and their socially and economically deprived communities are the focus points of not only Open Talks but also other social and welfare organisations in the city. The organisation's projects in those neighbourhoods are also important in reaching out to different people.

This section, 'Language, Food and Music', aimed to present how the business and social justice approaches in the programming can overlap with the practice. On the one hand, accessibility, tailoring of services and activities, and giving space for using different languages to include diverse groups emerge as important tools to enhance the diversity of organisations' participants and volunteers, from a social justice perspective. The use of food and music, on the other hand, become prominent as tools which only represent how diverse these organisations are, and how they attempt to include various diverse groups by attracting them sometimes with vegetarian food and sometimes with oriental music.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that both organisations occasionally handle both perspectives while managing diversity in their programming. It also represents the similar approaches and strategies that they use while trying to enhance the diversity of participants at the organisations. Firstly, programmes intended to reach out to underrepresented groups in the society are related to the moral values of the organisations. When the programmes that they implement are aligned with their societal goal and mission, the social justice perspective is manifested. It becomes more visible with their tailoring of services and activities for different individuals and organising of special events on sensitive subjects. Secondly, cooperation with partners and the way that organisations advertise themselves are important tools for both organisations to be able to create diverse activities and attract a wide range of people. This perspective, closer to the business case, is adopted by the organisations to increase their visibility

and recognition, and enable them to run further projects. Moreover, language plays an important role in their efforts, as well as music and food being essential instruments for bringing different people together.

7. MANAGING DIVERSITY IN THE WORKFORCE

This chapter aims to show how the organisations manage diversity in their workforces, including a large of team of volunteers, a few paid staff and the board. The first section talks about the diversity climate within the organisations, explaining the diversity within the board, volunteers and participants, as well as mentioning other types of diversities besides ethnocultural diversity. The second section focuses on the management of diversity amongst the volunteers in the organisations. The last section shows the dilemmas the organisations face while maintaining diversity. The data presented in this chapter are extracted from interviews with both managers and volunteers at the organisations, but mostly the volunteers. In other words, this chapter aims to demonstrate mainly the standpoint of volunteers towards the diversity practices at the organisations.

7.1. Diversity Climate

Roberson (2006, 216) finds that studies on diversity climates highlight workforce demographics, and how much people value and comfortable with diversity, fairness and inclusion. Kossek and Zania (1993) describe employee perceptions of diversity climate as how employees see efforts to promote diversity within the organisation and their thoughts about the recipients of these efforts. Inspired by these descriptions, I reflect on the diversity climate in organisations through the perceptions of the managers and volunteers, and focus on the personal experiences of managers and volunteers. Thus, in this section, I will show how employees describe the atmosphere in their organisations, in order to learn more about the positions and strategies employed by the organisations. I emphasise cultural diversity followed by other kinds of diversities which are noticed and worthy of mention within the scope of this study. It will let the reader see how diverse the workforce is, and thus the climate, within the selected organisations in the eyes of its managers and volunteers. So, in this chapter, I present in turn the diversity of the board, volunteers and participants within the organisations in terms of cultural background and also the age, gender, political, religious, educational and professional diversities present in both organisations.

Board Diversity

In diversity management literature, Fredette et. al (2016) argue, from the perspective of the business case, that the inclusion of different groups on the board enhances the performance of the organisation. The board member from Organisation Open Talks mentioned that its board is not diverse, and this needs to be changed for the organisation to become more inclusive. She criticised the board for not being diverse in terms of gender, culture and age: 'We're now two men and two women, but we're not the youngest. And we're all white.' (Anna, Board Member, Open Talks). Two paid persons and the board members who are also volunteers are the leading decision-makers in the organisation, and according to Anna, 'that part is not diverse' and 'has to change' because this non-diversity of the board does not represent equal participation of diverse groups in the decision making processes of the organisation. Even though the organisation builds up partnerships with other organisations working with minority groups in the city and offers tailor-made activities to be more inclusive, the non-representativeness of the board in terms of diversity 'affects the sustainability of the contribution'. The reason seems that partnerships happens occasionally and does not constantly represent the diverse groups that the organisation targets (Anna, Board Member, Open Talks). She continued, remarking that they wanted to find other members, younger and with different backgrounds, but they could not achieve this. The reason, according to her, is that, firstly, they have a small board and organisation and, next, the voluntary work of being a board member is not something young people in particular would choose: instead people tend to seek paid jobs to support themselves and/or their families (Anna, Board Member, Open Talks). Our conversation with Anna ended expressing her concerns with regard to board diversity once again. However, according to Fredette et. al (2016), meaningful changes would not arise just through the inclusion of diverse groups on the board: it needs to go further. This part will be more deeply explored in the analysis of diversity management with regard to Open Talks' programming.

In Companionship the managers with whom I talked did not express any concern in regard to the lack of diversity within the board. It seems that they find the board quite diverse. Aamir, who is the founder and the main coordinator, is at the same time one of the board members of the organisation. As indicated in the Annual Report (2018-2019, Companionship) and expressed by Aamir, the other two board members are women. Aamir also gave me information about the professions of two other board members, one is a journalist and the other is a nurse (Main

Coordinator, Companionship). The names of the two other board members indicated in the report are regular Dutch names and there is Aamir, who has Moroccan origins and has lived in the Netherlands since his childhood. However, an interesting story was revealed during the interview, concerning one of the board members. She had been hostile towards Muslims, but after getting to know Aamir, she gained awareness of Muslims, started volunteering for Companionship and is now a board member (Aamir, Main Coordinator, Companionship). This story fits the social justice approach, suggesting the organisational values of being inclusive and raising awareness are aligned with its managing of its employees through moral considerations, as opposed to the business approach of diversity management which just considers the demographic representation of the board (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010, Weisinger 2017).

Volunteers' and Participants' Diversity

As mentioned before, one of the first findings of this study is that neither organisations keeps track of their volunteers' and participants' background information and, thus, the managers do not know the exact numbers of volunteers with migration and non-migration background in the organisation. Therefore, to be able to gain a better picture of 'diversity' within organisations, I asked both organisations' managers whether they could make a guess about the percentage of Dutch and non-Dutch volunteers in their organisations. Ida, who is the main coordinator of Open Talks, estimated that 90 per cent had a Dutch background and 10 per cent were English speaking. I asked further whether she could make a comparison between the number of volunteers with migration and non-migration backgrounds. It was not easy for her to tell this since 'some speak very good Dutch. When you're the second generation or bicultural, it's difficult to say' (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks). Moreover, she said that she knew the older generation was mainly native Dutch, whereas the origin of the younger generations of Dutch citizens is hard to know since it is more common for them to be bicultural or multicultural. A volunteer also mentioned that they had a few dialogue facilitators with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds in the organisation (Jeroen, Open Talks).

Johanna, the programme coordinator at Companionship, estimated the ratio of volunteers with a migration background to those with a non-migration background as 70:30 per cent: 'The group of Dutch volunteers is a bit smaller than other nationalities'. Wilhelm, who has been volunteering at Companionship for approximately two years, also mentioned Dutch volunteers

being in the minority in the organisation. Johanna, however, illustrated the diversity of volunteers in the organisation by counting Dutch volunteers in the language courses.

Like the volunteers within the organisations, background information about the participants and visitors is not recorded in either Open Talks or Companionship. Moreover, there is a relationship between the backgrounds of volunteers and participants since both organisations recruit their volunteers from the groups who participate in their activities and benefit from their services.

While explaining the diversity climate within the organisation, Johanna, from Companionship, described and counted the different nationalities who were present at the organisation's activities:

'At all activities, we have people from all different nationalities, so Aamir is from Morocco, we have Syrian, Egyptian, Tunisian, Turkish, Moroccan, Dutch ...eh... well, Spanish - you name it: it's very diverse' (Johanna, Programme Coordinator, Companionship).

Thus, Johanna described the diversity of Companionship's participants by indicating their nationalities. According to her, those people coming from different countries represent how diverse the organisation is. To describe her saying that they have these different national and cultural backgrounds in the organisation fits more with the business case for diversity management, which allows descriptions to be made based on the group, culture or nationality. Weisinger (2017) calls this kind of approach 'representational diversity', referring to demographic differences, and links it to the business case.

In Open Talks, the informants did not communicate such demographic information or interpretation with regard to the nationalities of the participants. Instead, Ida (Main coordinator, Open Talks) describing the diversity within the participants, said that apart from native Dutch people, the organisation welcomed many 'newcomers', referring to refugees, expatriates and international students.

Beyond Ethnocultural Diversity

The diversity climate within the selected organisations has been interpreted from an ethnocultural perspective until now. However, both organisations emphasise other characteristics than the ethnocultural diversity of their participants and volunteers. Notions about language, profession, education, age, gender, religion and political diversity were mentioned during the

interviews conducted with both managers and volunteers. In the following I briefly describe how the organisations manage other types of diversities.

Language Diversity

Language diversity can be observed as a result of the ethnocultural diversity of their participants and volunteers at both organisations. In Open Talks, I heard many English-speaking guests and volunteers. In Companionship I realised that Arabic is a language frequently spoken within the organisation, mainly by the volunteers and sometimes by visitors. When asked in the interviews, Aamir (Main Coordinator, Companionship) replied that, at the morning breakfast that I joined, there were both volunteers and participants from seven nationalities including Pakistanis, Egyptians and Tunisians as well as Moroccans, and they were all Muslims. The dominant majority of Moroccans and a group of Muslim people were noticeable at the times when I was present in the organisation. During the breakfasts and meals that I joined, I witnessed religious singing and praying in Arabic. Apparently not all the guests understood Arabic or were Muslims, but a clear majority did according to my observations. Managers from Companionship whom I asked about this case gave similar answers that I had a wrong interpretation. Firstly, Aamir (Main Coordinator, Companionship) said that I obviously happened to come when many Muslims were there and missed some of the events where different people joined in. Secondly, as Johanna (Programme Coordinator, Companionship) argued, I was biased in considering them all from Morocco because there were some with other origins such as Tunisia and Egypt. Thus, they somehow rejected the suggestion that the composition of the organisation could be solely reflected by this group which I usually encountered. However, Wilhelm, who is one of the Dutch volunteers, confirmed my observation, telling me that the 'majority is Moroccan, but there are also [people with origins in] Egypt, Libya, Netherlands, Russia.'

Professional and Educational Diversity

Furthermore, diversity in terms of professional and educational backgrounds was another subject that arose during the interviews. Both organisations comprise volunteers with various professional and educational experiences. Informants from Open Talks verbalised that 'most [dialogue] facilitators are highly educated' (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks) and 'mostly it's for people who are really well educated, people who like to discuss with others' (Jeroen, Volunteer, Open Talks). The organisation perhaps does not make a special effort for this but it naturally happens as the informants expressed. Likewise, informants from Companionship said that their

volunteer team includes very different backgrounds with diverse professions and educations. Nour (Volunteer, Companionship) confirmed, following Aamir (Main Coordinator, Companionship), that there are doctors, judges, lawyers and police officers volunteering in the organisation. These volunteers carry out consultation and information sessions for the community when needed. Johanna (Programme Coordinator, Companionship) also indicated that their Dutch volunteers in the language courses consist of highly educated people. Moreover, interns, in both organisations, bring a different dynamic. They are usually young university or vocational school students from diverse disciplines and do volunteer work at the organisations. They are significant in balancing the educational and professional diversity of the organisations as well as age diversity.

Age Diversity

Therefore, age diversity came up as another dimension during the fieldwork. It was mainly discussed with Open Talks, especially with a young woman volunteer who deems herself 'one of the youngest in the organisation' (Gwinn, Volunteer, Open Talks). She, too, got connected to the organisation through her master's studies. She described the age diversity in the organisation: 'I think we have two different kinds of groups, like in the forties and in twenties-beginning of thirties' (Gwinn, Volunteer, Open Talks). She also told me that there is a group of older people who are present at almost every activity. She gave an example from a dialogue meeting which failed in terms of creating age diversity amongst participants. Furthermore, a volunteer from Companionship admitted that volunteers are often above a certain age because people usually get connected to these type of organisations after a certain age, they 'start to think'. (Wilhelm, Volunteer, Companionship).

Gender, Religious and Political Diversity

References to gender, religious and political diversity were openly mentioned in the interviews conducted with volunteers in Open Talks, whereas they were not mentioned in the Companionship interviews very often. Volunteers from Open Talks reflected that the organisation is quite diverse in terms of gender. Gender diversity was not mentioned in Companionship. However, at the events that I attended in both organisations, women were frequently in the majority.

Furthermore, Jeroen (Volunteer, Open Talks) mentioned the *dialogues* organised to be able to create more religious diversity in the organisation. He gave examples of the partnerships that

the organisation had entered into, in the past, with other religious groups and institutions such as Jewish community and mosques. In Companionship too, Aamir (Main Coordinator) and Nour (Volunteer) mentioned how people and groups from different religions visit, work with and attend activities at the organisation. However, as Wilhelm (Volunteer, Companionship), who has an interest in and knowledge of Islam, emphasised, an Islamic atmosphere can be felt in the organisation. 'When I came to [Companionship], although it's officially not a Muslim organisation, but a humanist organisation, still the practice is here' (Wilhelm, Volunteer, Companionship). He seemed, in a meditative mood, to be comfortable in this atmosphere and to enjoy hearing the Arabic praying.

7.2. Managing Diversity of Volunteers

'That's an art. You need to be flexible but some of them need more. What they like as a volunteer is that they can do it in their own way. So, we're quite flexible.' (Ida, Main Coordinator, Open Talks)

This was the reply of the main coordinator to my question about how she manages the volunteers in the organisation. Volunteer management and diversity within the volunteer team were some of the most prominent subjects discussed with informants during the interviews. The volunteer management within organisation complies with the information regarding the diversity descriptions and strategies (See Chapter Five) obtained from written documents and interviews with managers. Therefore, this section aims to understand the volunteer management within the organisations in the eyes of their volunteers by putting more emphasis on practices regarding 'diversity and inclusion' and the experiences of the volunteers interviewed.

7.2.1. Attracting more volunteers/Becoming a volunteer

The two organisations use different strategies for attracting more diverse volunteers into their organisations. The main strategy, seen in both organisations, is that they get new volunteers (and also enlarge their networks) through connections with other partners. This was explicitly stated by Ida (Main coordinator) from Open Talks. The more they move across the different neighbourhoods, the more they work with different partners. In addition to this, she asserted that the organisation works with the Volunteer Centre, the university and university college. She emphasised that the organisation has close connections with University College, especially for hiring new interns (Ida, Main coordinator, Open Talks).

Companionship's strategy for attracting more volunteers is linked again with 'its method'. As mentioned before, the organisation's strategy is to be able to get people who they have helped back as volunteers. These people are encouraged to give back to the organisation through volunteering. In this way, the organisation aims to strengthen and emancipate its target group, who are mainly vulnerable people. Thus, diversity within the volunteer team in Companionship is closely linked to the diversity of its participants, visitors and help seekers. Volunteers are thus described as the 'heart' of the organisation in Companionship's annual report (2018). Johanna (Programme Coordinator, Companionship) told me that after spending some time in the organisation and becoming more and more active, volunteers become an integral part of the organisation. In other words, she said they become volunteers in the organisation gradually and in a natural way so that they can feel themselves belonging to the organisation. Moreover, she explains that people get to know them through other people who already know Companionship. People who are pleased with the activities and services in the organisation generally let others know and invite them along.

Wilhelm, who has been volunteering at Companionship for two and a half years, also joined the organisation in this way. He relates that a pianist with whom he makes music invited him to an event at Companionship to make music together. After that first event, he became a volunteer. He said that he started with small tasks given to him by Aamir, such as making music at festivities, dealing with IT related tasks or fixing the couch situated in the facility's hall (Wilhelm, Volunteer, Companionship). He also said during our conversation that he volunteers at another initiative where he lives (Wilhelm, Volunteer, Companionship). Moreover, Nour, who volunteers at Companionship as a psychosocial counsellor, got to know and connected with the organisation thanks to the efforts of Aamir. As she told it, Aamir had sent several mails to her business email address and invited her many times to the organisation (Nour, Volunteer, Companionship). Nour, who didn't take the emails seriously at the beginning, became curious about Aamir and his organisation. After a while, she decided to reply to his calls. The case of Nour shows how Aamir became connected to more people and broadened his network to attract more people from diverse backgrounds into his organisation. Other volunteers whom I met and had the opportunity to talk with were either living in the neighbourhood or knew Aamir through different channels.

The stories of volunteers' getting connected to Open Talks is totally different from those in Companionship. Gwinn came to know the organisation while doing her masters studies on

biculturalism. She met the organisation while looking for a place where she could conduct her masters study. Jeroen, the other volunteer interviewed, had been volunteering for Open Talks as a facilitator and organiser since the first *dialogue* conducted in Utrecht. He said that he already knew a little about Socratic dialogue and he was looking for somewhere to practice it when he met Open Talks, which was working as an initiative under UPLR (Utrecht Platform for Philosophy of Life and Religion) at that time. At Open Talks, I met volunteers working for many years as dialogue facilitators and/or organisers, 'recent' volunteers doing internships and internationals recently arrived in Utrecht. In addition to what managers told me about the strategies for having more volunteers, Wilhelm (Volunteer, Open Talks) also said that they ask people who join a discussion whether they would like to become facilitators. According to Gwinn (Volunteer, Open Talks) another way is that people hear from each other about the organisation and decide to come once. She also notes that she does not know much about the ethnocultural background of people in the organisation. The latter is expected since if one is not told, it is not always nice to ask about people's origins or backgrounds in daily communication. This shows that the cultural backgrounds of volunteers in Open Talks do not make much difference to their way of building effective communication with other volunteers and working together within the teams. Even though it was not explicitly expressed by the informants in the organisation, dialogue facilitators or organisers from different parts of the city or immigrant groups volunteering at Open Talks allow a wider audience become aware and informed of the discussions organised. This, on the one hand, extends the programme of the organisation and, on the other hand, contributes to its inclusiveness objective. Thus again, it becomes hard to draw a sharp line between the business and social justice approaches to diversity management.

7.2.2. Volunteer Management

As indicated in Open Talks' Annual Report 2019, volunteers, comprising 'interns, students, reintegrators, job seekers, trainees, newcomers and seniors', are part of the team that delivers opinion on sustainable involvement and better visualisation of the organisation. The general coordinator is 'the boss' in Gwinn's words (Volunteer, Open Talks). Ida is the main coordinator of the volunteer team. She is the one who knows about every project, assigns the tasks and teams people up with each other (Gwinn, Volunteer, Open Talks). Ida described these teams as being built up in different ways. She does not only team up people with different qualities and who can work together but also lets the teams find their form in a natural way (Ida, Main Coordinator,

Open Talks). She also describes this kind of formation as 'self-organising teams'. Gwinn also said that she had a nice working experience with other volunteers in the organisation. She told that Ida is open to any suggestion and is good in creating teams because she considers, and knows which people might get along better and are interested in similar subjects (Gwinn, Volunteer, Open Talks). She seemed to enjoy working with her colleagues in the organisation, as she told me about how they got good feedback after a proposal sent to a partner. Both managers from the organisation also told that volunteers can contribute in the selection of the topics to be discussed during dialogues (Ida, Main Coordinator; Anna, Board Member; Open Talks). Thus, Open Talks seems successful in actively including volunteers in the decision making processes in the organisation.

Being a volunteer in Companionship is a different experience compared to being volunteer in Open Talks according to my observations. For the community in Companionship, it means, at the same time, strengthening, emancipating and gaining a sense of usefulness for its target group. I also witnessed a couple of volunteering ceremonies there. In those ceremonies where mostly women participants become volunteers, a contract is signed by the person who will be volunteering. These people are honoured by the community, through taking pictures and congratulating the volunteers. Even the pictures from those ceremonies are shared on Aamir's Facebook page. This shows the importance given to volunteering by the organisation.

Team leaders are usually assigned by Aamir (Main Coordinator) in the Companionship. The other volunteers find a way to participate in activities; 'it's very easy to become involved' said Johanna (Programme Coordinator, Companionship). The volunteers who are most probably present in the organisation at least for the second time can find many tasks which are suitable for themselves. As she said, there are also many projects and ideas coming from volunteers. She continued: 'because they know better about the needs of others similar to them', their contribution to these kind of decision making processes is very important (Johanna, Programme Coordinator, Companionship). She also noted that the projects that come from volunteers, participants or guests are an important strength for the organisation and that is what makes the organisation successful. Nour (Volunteer, Companionship) too explained that volunteers are trained and learn how to deal with other people's secrets as confidential counsellors. She also told me that since she does not speak Arabic or other languages, the others at the organisation have to speak Dutch with her and that helps them learn Dutch better. Wilhelm (Volunteer,

Companionship) also noted that there are 15 volunteers coming to the organisation regularly. He confirmed that it is Aamir who assigns the duties most of the time, but also people can join any team according to their interests or capabilities, as in Wilhelm's case.

Moreover, when asked about his relations with others at the organisation, he simply said that once others in the organisation know him as a volunteer, it immediately facilitates their relations (Wilhelm, Volunteer, Companionship). From my observations too, I have seen volunteers having a good time with each other. Since there are lots who are Arabic speaking, they can sometimes talk in Arabic together. Moreover, volunteering and mingling with others in the organisation, speaking Dutch and meeting new people apparently makes volunteers more self-confident within their community. Sometimes radios or TV channels interview them, which I've followed on the internet during the pandemic: the organisation and its volunteers have become well known due to the organisation's foodbank service.

In conclusion, as diversity management literature suggested that social justice perspective is related to handle the tools reducing discrimination and exclusion as well as ensuring equal opportunities for different groups of people in the society (Weisinger 2017). Not only this idea comes prominent in both organisations while recruiting the volunteers into the organisation, but also business motives are carried out. Both organisations strive to recruit volunteers from diverse backgrounds into their organisations to be able to reach out to a wider crowd, to identify the needs of their target groups, to make their organisations heard and known within the city, to cooperate more partners and thus, to increase their activities, the number of their participants and their funding, which will result in the sustainability of their programmes. Thus again, in the management of volunteers, the business and social justice perspectives coexist in the practices of the organisations.

Lastly, I would argue that the fact that Companionship targets mainly the vulnerable groups within a neighbourhood where diverse people with diverse migration stories and from different socio-economic classes renders their approach closer to the social justice perspective. Due to the diverse neighbourhood where the organisation is located, the majority of the volunteers' coming from different cultures fortifies this stance of the organisation. Moreover, Open Talks too has a social justice perspective while recruiting their volunteers. The organisation is clearly open to anybody who wants to join, which can be seen from the diverse backgrounds of the volunteers at the organisation. Even though culturally diverse volunteers are in the minority

compared to Dutch ones, the organisations strives for a more diverse workforce. However, the fact that it does not aim at a specific target group when recruiting the volunteers suggests their position is further towards the social justice case.

7.3. Dilemmas on Ensuring Diversity

'Yeah. I think we're still not that diverse. I hope it will be more diverse. And I think we are getting there. There are a couple of international people. But, it's still um... I think... yeah, I don't see every volunteer and some volunteers are only in [dialogue] once a month. The main people are mainly, like, white people, like Dutch, no migration background, or like, I have a migration background because of my mother but I still don't see myself as a woman with a migration background. It's not a big impact, so I would love more diversity to see others' perspectives too. I think everyone working here has much the same perspective. It's a bubble actually. I think we mainly have the same ideologies. That's why people come here... but I think it also [would be] very interesting to have some [people] who are more politically on the right. We don't have that many, or not that I know.' (Gwinn, Volunteer, Open Talks).

Volunteers at Open Talks have different ideas when asked about their ideas on the diversity at the organisation. Jeroen, who has been organising and facilitating dialogues for many years at Open Talks, gave some examples of occasions when they were, according to him, successful in hosting people of different religions. He mentioned how, especially in the first years of the organisation when it was still functioning as a part of UPLR (Utrecht Platform for Philosophy of Life and Religion), the different religious and spiritual groups supported Open Talks (Jeroen, Volunteer, Open Talks). Since the organisation was functioning as a part of the UPLR, their cooperation with other religious and philosophical organisations was much more than today. However, he also said that the organisation overall could become more diverse by increasing its cooperation with various partners (Jeroen, Volunteer Open Talks). Gwinn (Volunteer, Open Talks) also criticised the organisation in terms of creating diversity. Her statement, along with Anna's (Board Member, Open Talks) which criticised the board for not being diverse, shows the ability of the organisation to criticise itself. According to the informants at Open Talks, the diversity efforts in the organisation are insufficient and the organisation needs different strategies and tools to be able to create an inclusive diversity climate.

Creating diversity inevitably means challenges and difficulties most of the time. Wilhelm and Gwinn (Volunteers) from Open Talks gave some examples of failed cases in terms of creating a diverse group of people in the conversations. The organisation had, once, difficulty mingling Muslims with non-Muslims and, another time, older people with younger ones. There is also tension around the discussion table from time to time. Anna, the board member, argues that they deal with such occasions through the methodology they use, referring to the method of 'appreciative inquiry'.

Whereas the managers or volunteers from Companionship did not explicitly mention such a challenge or difficulty, Aamir (Main coordinator) and Johanna (Programme coordinator) mentioned that people are inclined to be with others who look like themselves, so creating a setting with people from diverse backgrounds is a challenge in itself.

Furthermore, managers from both organisations expressed their concerns on the issue of ensuring diversity and continuity at the organisation, mainly within the volunteer team. Aamir (Main coordinator, Companionship), said that they have 200 occasional volunteers; they are not often present at the organisation but they come if called for a special event or activity. Anna (Board Member, Open Talks), also said that the number of volunteers is not stable, especially for the young groups from university, because they leave once they get a job. She said that even though new volunteers participate each year, they tend not to stay and they do not make much of a contribution unless they are there for two years. Open Talks seems to solve this problem by constantly striving to enlarge its volunteer team and include new people.

In sum, the presented picture principally shows both organisations' willingness to be more diverse in both its paid and voluntary staff? and participants. While managers made explicit their concerns about the sustainability of diversity within their organisations, they did not talk about how they overcome the challenges that they encountered on the way to creating a more diverse participant and volunteer base.

In conclusion, in this chapter, I showed the diversity climate, management of volunteers and dilemmas on ensuring the diversity at the organisations mainly from the eyes of its volunteers. Diversity management in their programming is closely connected to volunteer management in both organisations, since they usually recruit volunteers among their participants. The social justice perspective, again, is pronounced in Companionship since their style of drawing volunteers to the organisation happens more naturally. Also, as an organisation

which identifies itself as contributing to social cohesion in a multicultural society, Companionship achieves its mission and goal through managing the volunteers at the organisation. I also got the impression that since Open Talks applies the business perspective, there is an imbalance in terms of the cultural diversity of volunteers working for the organisation.

8.CONCLUSION

In the light of discussion regarding ‘diversity and inclusion’ in the workplace and inspired by a recently introduced concept called the social justice approach for non-profit organisations’ in the diversity management literature, this research project aimed to answer the following research question: *How are business and social justice approaches to diversity management reflected in the management practices of non-profit volunteer organisations pursuing diversity and inclusion?*

Extending the sphere of diversity management strategies and practices in non-profit organisations, I used business and social justice approaches not only to understand the management on the workplace of the selected organisations as discussed in the literature, but also to see how these perspectives influence their programming in view of their goal of becoming more diverse and inclusive organisations. Thus, in the previous chapters, having presented the diversity and inclusion perceptions of the two organisations, I demonstrated their diversity management practices in their programming, by referring the activities and participants of the organisations, and workforce, by mainly targeting volunteers beside the board and a few paid employees. Since neither organisation has a specific policy or document related to diversity and inclusion, I tried to reframe their perceptions of diversity and inclusion by reviewing their written documents, researching on their websites and checking the policies of the municipalities with which they are affiliated. Furthermore, I tried to collect and interpret the diversity practices at the organisations through interviews conducted with managers and volunteers in both organisations.

In addition to the central research question shown above, I formulated four subquestions to help reply to the central question. The subquestions were not explicitly answered throughout the empirical chapters but I showed how my data helped me to answer those subquestions and come to the conclusion. In the following, I answer these subquestions in turn.

Do non-profit voluntary organisations pursuing 'diversity and inclusion' have specific strategies for diversity management within the organisation?

As I repeated many times throughout the thesis, one of the first things I discovered in this study was that many non-profit organisations do not have specific documents mentioning 'diversity and inclusion'. I had obtained this information even before my fieldwork started through my web research and the talks that I had had with a few civil society employees. However, the organisations publish other types of documents periodically, such as annual reports (in the case of both organisations), a strategic foundation, work plan (in the case of Open Talks) and a general policy plan (in the case of Companionship) which present their mission, vision, goals and activities, besides short articles which are published on their websites and give content information about some specific topics, events and individuals at times. In those written releases, the organisations make some specific references to subjects related to 'diversity and inclusion'.

Even though not explicitly shown, there are some strategies which stand out in the written sources of both organisations and are related to their programming. The one that stands out in Open Talks is that they implement discussions and special projects in different neighbourhoods of Utrecht, especially the ones known for their culturally mixed character, such as Kanaleiland and Overvecht. The motivation for doing that, as mentioned in the organisation's mission, comes from their effort to include diverse perspectives and mindsets in the dialogues held on various topics, especially on contemporary debates in the city or country.

The strategy of Companionship is prominent in their written sources: to make their services and activities accessible for diverse groups of people, as well as to maintain cultural sensitivity. In other words, the organisation tailors its services according to the groups of people that they want to reach out to. For instance, the all-day and week-long walk-in hours for counselling, instead of needing to make an appointment, have been described as a strategy so that anyone can walk in easily on any day of the week to benefit from the counselling services. Apart from that, the importance given to partnerships appears to be a strategy intended to increase the diversity in both organisations. The motive behind the partnerships was initially not linked to diversity but to the aim of increasing activities that may help the organisations to find additional grants and sustain their programmes. Thus, I would argue that while the partnership strategy of both organisations seems correlated with the business approach, Open Talks' strategy of conducting dialogues in different parts of the city and Companionship's strategy of accessibility

show that the organisations take a social justice perspective, which presents an alignment between their objectives and strategies.

How do non-profit voluntary organisations pursuing 'diversity and inclusion' describe and manage diversity within the organisation?

The non-profit voluntary organisations that took part in this study refer to the concepts of diversity and inclusion in their written sources, as part of their objectives, mission statements and various content presented on their websites, rather than making explicit descriptions. My interviews with managers from both organisations also made an essential contribution to the clarification of the descriptions given by the organisations. In the light of such information, it was revealed that the two organisations describe diversity and inclusion mainly in terms of the demographic and characteristic differences of individuals, and through references to the concepts of social cohesion and cultural sensitivity.

The idea of differences is prominent in the descriptions of Open Talks. One of the principal objectives of the organisation is to be able to gather different kinds of people, who share the same city, encourage them to talk and create a space for them to exchange their ideas with each other. The idea of different people coming together and benefiting from the diverse character of the city stands out in the organisation's written documents. As Ida (Main coordinator, Open Talks) expressed at the beginning of our interviews, the concept of diversity refers to many characteristics of individuals, such as age, gender, profession, education and culture. Her description is a general one and addresses many kinds of diversity. As expected, the interviews conducted at Open Talks raised discussions on gender, age, religious, professional and educational diversity as well as diversity within the board, even though these questions were not intentionally asked. When considered the ethnocultural diversity, Open Talks' written sources and interviews with managers gives many references to the Dutch citizens with migration background as well as to the 'newcomers' indicating refugees, expatriates or international students. Thus, throughout the interviews with managers, the inclusion is explained through the efforts or projects aiming to include minorities and/or English speaking professionals residing in the city into the discussions organised and the volunteer team of the organisation.

While the concept of diversity is not explicitly described in the organisation's Annual Report, there are references to people from various backgrounds who comfortably meet at the meetings in Companionship. Especially in the information briefings carried out by the

organisation, the diversity of the participants becomes more important because they are aimed to get people from various backgrounds to come together, get to know each other and learn from each other. It could be a fire officer or a police officer meeting with the residents in the neighbourhood (Annual Report 2018, Companionship). According to Aamir (Founder and Main coordinator, Companionship) 'diversity' beyond religious or cultural differences should be considered. He had described 'diversity' as the effort of people with many differences to live together, and gave as an example the Netherlands, the country with 17 million residents (Aamir, Main coordinator, Companionship). According to him, one could have many identities besides being Dutch, so being a Dutchman does not mean leaving out other identities, for instance the Muslim or Jewish identity (Aamir, Main Coordinator, Companionship). While the organisation aims to create space for people from different religions or cultures to be there with their religious or cultural identities, it also aims to show Dutch society and culture and acquaint participants with it. Nour (Volunteer) amplified this latter as the encounter of women and men in the organisation and their learning how to behave around each other in the Dutch way. So, the organisation contributed to their participants' integration and, thus, helped them to become Dutch citizens (Schinkel 2018).

The concept of inclusion in Companionship are described mainly through the concept of social cohesion. Social cohesion is mentioned together with references to access to rights and resources, poverty, inequality and in conjunction with discussions about inclusion/exclusion (Oxoby 2009). The reason lying behind the preponderance of the theme of social cohesion, in the case of Companionship, is related to the objectives of the organisation. Companionship, as indicated in their written sources fundamentally targets vulnerable groups within society. These groups, as I was also told by the managers, comprise marginalised or excluded people because of their economic and social positions in the society. So, these people could be immigrants (recent or old), care givers for a family member, economically deprived people, those who cannot access the right information because of their language, those who are not aware of their rights, those who are physically and/or psychologically exposed to violence, the disabled, and women who lack the self-confidence to intermingle with the rest of society. One of Companionship's main services is providing counselling for these groups of people. The social cohesion and, thus, the inclusion discourse is built upon and operates within this frame in Companionship.

How is the business case for diversity management reflected in the diversity practices of the organisations?

The business approach reflects the efforts of organisations to enhance the representational diversity within the workforce, as described in the diversity management literature (Cox and Blake 1991, Weisinger 2017, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010). In terms of diversity within the workforce, Companionship presents a more diverse picture because it includes many more volunteers with migration backgrounds compared to Open Talks. One reason for this seems to be that Companionship is located in a multicultural neighbourhood of Amsterdam and its founder and main coordinator has a Moroccan origin. The latter seems effective in drawing people with migrant backgrounds into the organisation, both as participants and volunteers. Open Talks, on the other hand, seems to have less diverse working team, which was also explicitly expressed by the informants.

Since I mainly analysed the diversity management practices of the organisations from the point of view of their programming, I mentioned the practices carried out to enhance the 'diversity and inclusion' of participants through programming. So, as a business approach is also put into practice with an aim to increase organisations' profits, I discussed the practices which provide benefit to the organisations. One practice, which I also mentioned as one of the strategies defined by both of the organisations, is cooperation with diverse partners. Also mentioned above, this is an important tool for both organisations to enlarge their networks and sustain their businesses.

Open Talks aims to increase the diversity within its participant groups through partnering with different kinds of organisations. The partners that they work with involve, firstly, cultural or educational institutions with which they create projects for the general public. Its partnerships with the University College might be given as an example. Secondly, it occasionally cooperates with other social organisations which work in different neighbourhoods and usually target marginalised or isolated groups of people. The Iftar Dialogue, dialogues organised with the Arabic speaking community and undocumented migrant organisations are examples of this type of partnership. Another reason for partnering with other organisations is its significant contribution to enhancing the number of visitors which will be reflected in their reports and will probably gain more funding for the organisation for the next year. The greater visibility of the organisation through the different partners will increase the number of participants and volunteers. While the

sustainability of the diversity still remains an issue to overcome, working with diverse partners and groups of people enhances both the organisational performance and skills of the organisation as much as those of its volunteers.

Partnership with other organisations is a tool also employed by Companionship with a business motive because it aims to play a bridging role between their clients and the other organisations in the city. Cooperating with different partners and enlarging the network of the organisations usually proceed via the personal network of its founder and main coordinator Aamir. He is a well-known figure in the neighbourhood where the organisation is located and has operated for approximately 30 years. The organisation does not even have an official Facebook account: Aamir's individual account is used for sharing anything related to the organisation. Moreover, the managers and volunteers felt that Companionship does not need regular publicity because people spread information about it by word of mouth. This tells us that Companionship's tools are not totally designed from a business-oriented perspective but are run in a less professionalised way, through personal relations. To sum up, a more business-oriented approach is apparent in Open Talks as it employs more professional means and perspectives.

How is the social justice case for diversity management reflected in the diversity practices of the organisations?

Scholars define the social justice approach in non-profit organisations through the moral values which are adopted by the organisation and serve for the abolition of marginalised groups, redistribution of power and reduction of exclusion (Weisinger 2017, Weisinger and Salipante 2007, Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010). Within the scope of this description, the tools employed by Companionship bring its stance closer to the social justice perspective compared to Open Talks. However, both organisations use tools which can be interpreted from the social justice perspective, in both the management of their workforce and their programming.

Firstly, in the terms of its workforce, mainly the volunteer team, Companionship has more volunteers with a migration background, although their cultural origins are not known because they are not recorded. This is best explained by the Companionship Method, which is a product of the organisation's 30 years' experience. The part of this method that considers the volunteers aims to empower and enhance the skills of clients who ask for help from the organisation. The organisation aims to help them to increase their self-esteem and their integration into Dutch society, by offering volunteer jobs, encouraging them to take a greater part in the organisation

and to speak the language. These tactics accelerate the economic and social integration of the immigrant volunteers, especially of women (Slootjes and Kampen 2017), which is common in the case of Companionship where the majority of volunteers are women.

In regard to the programming, accessibility or tailoring the activities to enhance the participation of diverse groups of people is prominent in both organisations. Open Talks mainly achieves this with English-speaking tables and the English content on their websites. Also, it encourages volunteering by newcomers to Utrecht; in that way, it strives to include them not only in the organisation's activities but also in the social life of the city, as well as contributing to the creation of discussion tables with diverse groups of people. In the case of Companionship, as explicitly described in their written sources, the accessibility is operationalised as the main tool to be able to draw diverse groups of people – but mainly the excluded groups – into the organisation. Lastly, as well as Dutch, Arabic is frequently spoken in the organisation, both in its activities and among its volunteers, which makes it easier for some groups to participate. But, unlike Open Talks, which deliberately included English in its programme at a later stage, the Arabic language arises naturally from the background of its managers, visitors and volunteers at Companionship. The fact that the organisation is located in a culturally mixed neighbourhood becomes important for having more diverse people at the organisation.

Furthermore, the business and social justice approaches may coexist in the organisations. The activities and events organised around language, music and food show that in these events both perspectives exist because they both help to increase the visibility of the organisations and create space for people from different cultures.

In conclusion, the strategies and practices handled by these organisations are structured both from the business and social justice perspectives. However, two approaches are not wholly reflected in the organisations' management strategies and practices as described in the literature. The organisations practice different strategies according to their settings and conditions. For instance, in the case of Companionship the diversity and multiculturalism are conspicuous because of its Moroccan origin founder and the neighbourhood. However, in the case of Open Talks, which is substantially managed by a 'White, Dutch and highly educated' workforce as expressed by the managers and volunteers in Open Talks, their practices may not be successful in reaching out to ethnoculturally diverse groups. Also, this could be a result of Utrecht being less diverse in character than Amsterdam.

Furthermore, there is usually not a significant difference between the management of programming and volunteers in the organisations. The managements, of both organisations, do not specifically aim to enhance the diversity of its participants and volunteers, yet assert its necessity and importance for their organisations.

In a study conducted in UK voluntary organisations, Tomlinson and Schwabenland (2010) have shown that the business and social justice perspectives are complementary 'where there is clear overlap between the identities of clients and employees'. In this study, too, I would argue similarly, but with a slight modification: the diversity management practices of non-profit volunteer organisations structured from the business and social justice perspectives usually result in the types of participants and volunteers who are recruited being similar to those currently in place, since they cannot often exit from its networks; in other words, they stay in their "bubbles". So, two different types of organisation have presented similar conclusions.

Although this study does not wholly answer the question of how to deal with diversity in non-profit voluntary organisations, it gives some insights for policy makers. At the same time, interpreting the management of diversity within non-profit organisations from a social justice perspective enriches the scientific approach and possible solutions to the problem. Nevertheless, this study still lacks interpretation of the diversity management practices of the organisations. This can be enriched through recruiting of more informants from the workforce of the organisations. Also, as the social justice perspective suggests, this study could not reveal the power redistribution within the workforce because of the brevity of the fieldwork and the horizontal power redistribution in these kinds of organisations. To be able to examine this in more depth and reveal more information regarding power relations, longer observation in the field and iterative conversations with more employees are required.

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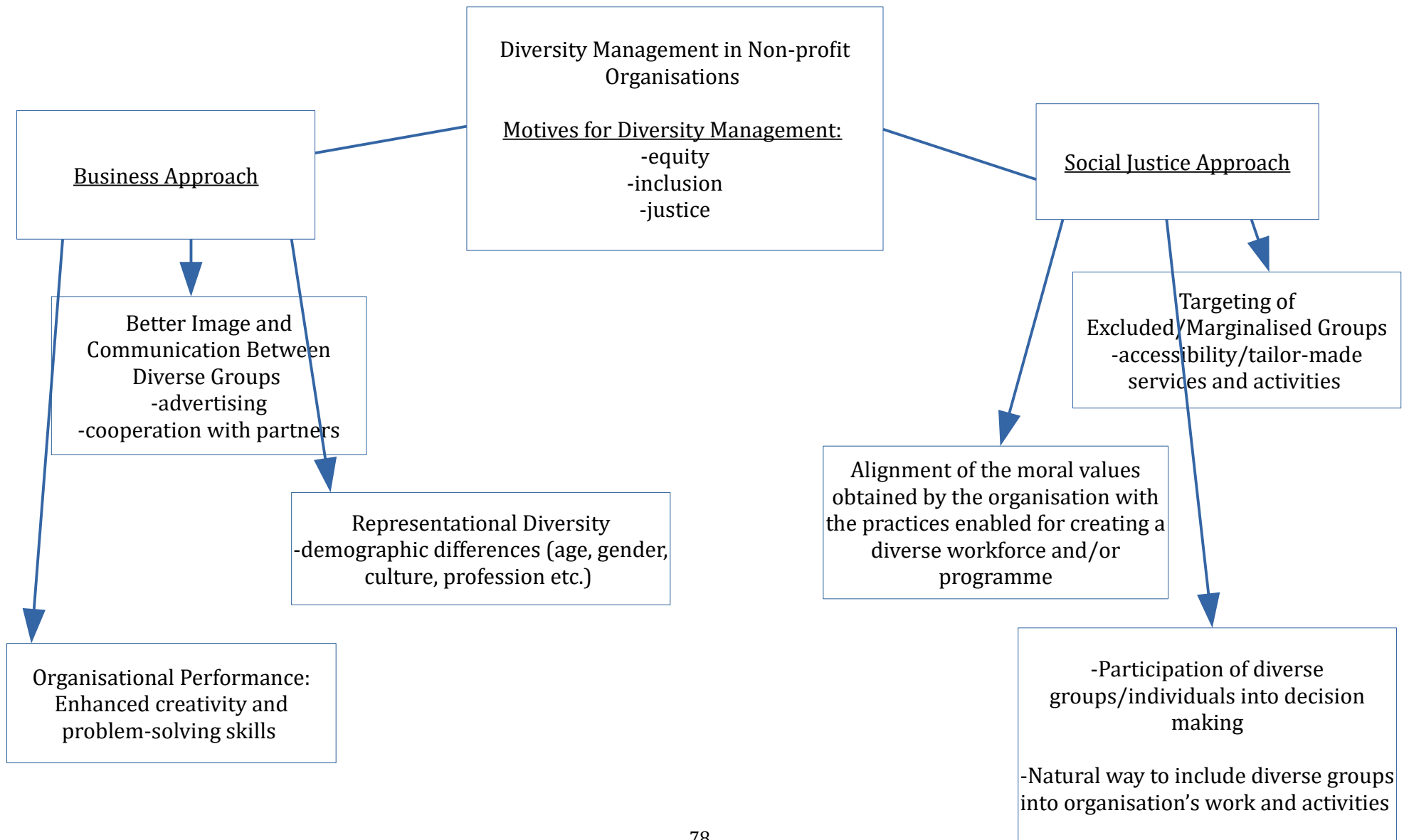
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Appendix I

Analytical Framework



Appendix II

Mapping of Nonprofit Voluntary Organisations

No	Name of the organization	Website	Type	Objective/ Target Group	Content related to Diversity and Inclusion	City
1	Stichting Opvoeden	stichtingopvoeden.nl	Non-profit Organization	Parenting / Immigrant Communities, Young People, Local Community	How diverse is the Netherlands? The numbers on the screen.	Utrecht
2	Unity in Diversity	uidnl.org	Non-profit Organization	Integration of refugees	Stichting Unity in Diversity is made up of like-minded persons from various backgrounds, working to build a unique community where diversity is celebrated, community integration is valued and sustainable development is pursued.	Den Haag
3	Stichting Al Amal	https://www.al-amal.nl/	Neighbourhood/ community Organisation	Integration of resident with a Migration background	Within Al Amal there is room for differences in people, thinking, doing and being. We respect and utilize the uniqueness of people and as a result can deliver customized work and connect to individual values and needs.	Utrecht
4	De Emigratie Generatie	http://www.emigratiegeneratie.nl/	Non-profit Organization	Elderly Migrant People	N/A	Utrecht
5	Queridon Taal and Horeca	https://www.queridon.nl/	Hospitality and Language School	Integration of refugees	N/A	Utrecht
6	Vluchteling Ambassadeurs	http://vluchtelingenambassadeurs.nl/	Non-profit Organization	Integration Refugees	Stories of refugee journeys - Highlight the importance of tolerance and diversity in The Netherlands	Amsterdam
7	New-Bees	https://www.new-bees.org/	Non-profit Organization	Refugees, Newcomers	NewBees prepares newcomers, refugees, for a job: for a place in society. We match newcomers to traineeships with local entrepreneurs and organizations, where talent and equality are key. We have developed a unique methodology and online matching platform and combine	Amsterdam Amersfoort Zandaam

					smart technology with social contact, so that we are always close by.	
8	Open Embassy	https://www.openembassy.nl/	Non-profit Organization	Refugees	OpenEmbassy zorgt dat nieuwkomers zinnig, gelijkwaardig en vlot hun weg in Nederland kunnen vinden. We bouwen inclusieve gemeenschappen van nieuwkomers en ervaren Nederlanders. We ondersteunen daarnaast individuele nieuwkomers met kennis en Acties.	Amsterdam
9	Stichting Diversity House	http://www.diversityhouse.nl/	Activity and community center and a grassroots project for sports & recreation, meeting and relaxation	Integration of refugee communities to Other communities in Amsterdam	This project will help tackle social inequality - caused by social factors such as race, religion, beliefs, values, language, disability, immigration status and education - and it will promote social cohesion, equality, diversity and inclusion within Dutch society.	Amsterdam
10	It's my Child Foundation	https://its-my-child-1.jimdosite.com/	Nonprofit Organisation /Foundation	(Migrant) Parents	It's My Child Foundation motivates, stimulates and guides Parents to repack and fulfill their parental role In a new environment.	Utrecht
11	Noom	https://www.netwerknoom.nl/themas-en-projecten/	Nonprofit Organisation	Older migrants	Diversity is our strength The Network of Organizations of Older Migrants (NOOM) was established with the aim of representing migrant elders, so that strong national advocacy is created. The NOOM is also working on improving the well-being of Older migrants in a broad sense.	Utrecht
12	Stichting Asha	http://www.stichtingasha.nl/	Nonprofit Voluntary organisation	Hindustani community	The Asha Foundation finds it important that the target group experiences its own culture and identity. In this way they can gain the strength to develop further. Moreover, the culture and identity experience forms an important basis for a smooth integration into Dutch society. But the Asha Foundation finds it especially Important that these experiences are shared With all	Utrecht

					citizens in the city.	
13	De Voorkamer	https://devoorkamer.org/	Citizens Initiative	Newcomers and locals	In 2016 De Voorkamer opened its doors in Utrecht, creating a cultural meeting space to promote inclusion and integration by stimulating and facilitating the talents of our diverse community. Since day one, we have striven to ensure the initiative is not only for our community, but created by them.	Utrecht
14	Welkom in Utrecht	https://welkominutrecht.nu/	Non-profit Organization	Refugees	Welkom in Utrecht helps refugees to build their own network, which contributes to their independent life. Real and personal contact with refugees is also important for the residents of Utrecht. It brings understanding and tolerance Towards this new group of fellow citizens.	Utrecht
15	Taal Doet Meer	https://www.taaldoe-meer.nl/	Non-profit Organization	Foreign-speaking Utrechters	New encounters in Utrecht	Utrecht
16	Jongerenwerk Utrecht	https://www.jou-utrecht.nl/over-jou	Nonprofit Organisation	Youth	N/A	Utrecht
17	U Centraal	https://www.u-centraal.nl/	Non-profit Organization	Residents	At U Centraal everyone participates and no one is excluded on the basis of gender, age, religion, sexual preference, ethnicity, disability or a combination of Factors.	Utrecht

Appendix III

Summary of The Field Work

Date	Organization	Event / Meeting	Method
16/12/2019	Unity in Diversity	Pilot interview for testing my proposal and interview guide	Interview
16/01/2020	Volunteer Center Utrecht	Meeting with an employee (Ayse) having a Turkish-Dutch background	Interview, Observation
18/01/2020	With collaboration of many organizations in Utrecht	Free Health Scanning Event for Residents of Kanaleneiland Neighborhood of Utrecht	Small Talk, Observation
21/01/2020	Open Embassy	For promoting the Open Society and other organizations that they work together & Promotion of Welcome App designed for newcomers	Small Talk, Observation
25/01/2020	Jongerenwerk Utrecht	Meeting with Ahmed* who is a social worker there with a Turkish Dutch background	Small Talk, Observation
01/02/2020	Stichting Diversity House	First meeting with the manager.	Small Talk
03/02/2020	U Centraal	Meeting with Elif* that I got connected in free health scanning in Kanaleneiland	Interview
03/02/2020	Open Talks	First meeting the manager	Small Talk
05/02/2020	Open Talks	Dialogue event which is called as 'Dialogue House'. In this type of event, different topics are opened to discussion in different tables.	Small Talk, Observation
10/02/2020	Companionship	First meeting with the manager	Small Talk, Observation
12/02/2020	Companionship	First interview with the manager	Interview, Observation, Small Talk
21/02/2020	Open Talks	My second interview. First was with its manager ten days ago. She put me in contact with this volunteer.	Interview
21/02/2020	Companionship	It was a community dinner where different people connected to the association are invited. In that evening, I had the opportunity to meet a volunteer who then helped me with English-Dutch translation.	Participant Observation, Small Talk
24/02/2020	Companionship- Monday Breakfast	Monday and Friday breakfasts are very common in this organization.	Participant Observation Interview

		I had the opportunity to observe one of these meetings. Also, I could have done the first interview in this organization with its manager and founder.	
27/02/2020	Open Talks – Dialogue on the Subject of Love	The second event in that organization on the English speaking table	Participant Observation
02/03/2020	Companionship – Monday Breakfast	My intention for that was to be able to interview a volunteer. But he didn't show up so I just joined the breakfast. I also met an other volunteer speaking English.	Participant Observation – Causal Talks
03/03/2020	Open Talks - Dialogue on 'Meeting Each Other' in a neighborhood known as 'not good' because of high immigrant population living there for years	This event is designed to be held in Dutch. I was the only English speaker that evening. The dialogue is held partly in English partly in Dutch. So, I felt alienated sometimes at that evening.	Participant Observation
05/03/2020	Open Talks – Meeting with a board member	My second interview with one from the management team in that organization.	Interview
08/03/2020	Open Talks – Women's Day Event	This organization have various events. This was organized for Women's Day. It was interesting to see how they interpret and celebrate this day here where the majority of volunteers are women. I also met someone who knows Org. B and its founder for long years. He helped me to understand some parts of the evening. I also met another volunteer who agreed upon joining me for an interview at a later time.	Participant Observation – Casual Talks
09/03/2020	Companionship – Meeting with a volunteer	First volunteer that I could interviewed in this organization	Interview

Appendix IV

Research Population

Organisation & Role of the Interviewer	Sex	Age	National/ Cultural Background	Pseudonym Given	Role at the Organisation
Open Talks – Manager 1	Woman	61	Dutch	Ida	General Coordinator
Open Talks – Manager 2	Woman	63	Dutch	Anna	Board Member/Secretary
Open Talks – Volunteer 1	Woman	21	Lithuanian-Dutch	Gwinn	Facilitator/Organiser
Open Talks – Volunteer 2	Man	66	Dutch	Jeroen	Facilitator/Organiser
Companionship – Manager 1	Man	72	Moroccan-Dutch	Aamir	Founder/General Coordinator
Companionship – Manager 2	Woman	43	Dutch	Johanna	Programme Coordinator
Companionship – Volunteer 1	Woman	52	Indonesian- Japanese-Dutch	Nour	Social Consultant
Companionship – Volunteer 2	Man	52	Dutch	Wilhelm	Musician/IT Technician/Handyman

Appendix V

Participant Information Sheet

Dear Participant,

I am a master's student at the Anthropology and Development Studies programme in the Faculty of Social Sciences at Radboud University. I am interested in ethnocultural diversity management practices in non-governmental organisations working with a team of volunteers. For that reason, I contacted your organisation and arranged a date, time and place for the interview.

The interview is planned to last one hour at most. The questions are designed to reveal both your organisation's and your personal ideas, expectations and experiences about diversity, inclusion and equality.

All interviews will be audio-recorded for transcription purposes. The material to be collected will only be shared with people involved in working with me on the research project. The participants and organisations will be mentioned anonymously in the study.

Participation in this study poses no known risks of harm. I encourage you to share only what you wish to share. In the unlikely event that you were to experience distress resulting from any aspect of your participation, you are welcome to withdraw if you wish. You are encouraged to ask questions about the study any time before, during or after the interview.

By participating in this study, you will be helping researchers and policymakers learn how to deal with diversity in a non-profit voluntary organisation setting.

Thank you for your participation,

Ceren Tunali

Master's Student

Anthropology and Development Studies Department

Radboud University

Appendix VI

Interview Guide adapted for Managers

A. Could you please describe yourself and your role in the organisation? Your age, gender, country of origin, educational background and your role and responsibilities in the organisation?

B. Can you describe your organisation? The scale and content of the organisation in terms of employees, volunteers, projects, activities, funding and the target group?

C1. What does diversity mean for you and for your organisation? How do you describe 'diversity' within the organisation? How do you manage diverse groups within the organisation? Is there any diversity policy that you follow or created? Do you have any specific strategies and attempts to improve and promote diversity in the organisation? For example, did you provide any guidelines or documents? Which ones did you find valuable and which ones ineffective?

C2. Do you think it necessary to promote and manage diversity within the organisation? Do you think it is essential to have a specific policy or guidelines on managing diversity?

C3. Have the diversity management or diversity practice in the organisation been effective in meeting the community needs? Do you think that it influenced the performance of the organisation?

D1. How do you practice and manage diversity within the organisation? Do you employ any practical measures and strategies?

D2. Can you describe how the projects and activities are designed and implemented in your organisation? Who is included in the design processes? How do you define the needs of the target group?

D3. How did diverse members of the organisation interact? Do you think that diverse members have equally taken place in decision-making processes, or are they given active roles in the organisation? How do diverse members of the organisation interact with each other?

D4. Can you describe one successful and one failed case related to diversity or multiculturalism within the organisation?

Conclusion: Overall, how do you view your organisation's attempt at promoting diversity? What areas, do you think, should be improved?

Appendix VII

Interview Guide adapted for Volunteers

A. Could you please describe yourself and your role in the organisation? Your age, gender, country of origin, educational background and your role and responsibilities in the organisation?

B. How did you become a volunteer in this organisation? Is there any prerequisite for being a volunteer? For how long have you been volunteering in here? How much time do you spend doing volunteer work per week?

C. Can you explain the activities and projects conducted by the organisation? Who organises those? Have you ever taken any responsibility in those activities and projects? What kind of responsibilities are these?

D.1. Can you describe the volunteer team a bit? From what backgrounds are there volunteers here? What kind of people do you meet? How do you work with them?

D.2. How diverse do you think that the volunteer team is? How do volunteers influence the projects and activities of the organisation?

E. 1. What does your organisation do in order to promote diversity within the organisation? Do you think that the efforts made by the organisation for promoting diversity are efficient or not? How can these efforts be more efficient, in your opinion?

E.2. Do you observe any special strategy or measure for attracting more people from diverse groups? Do you encounter any challenges while trying to create groups with different individuals? What kind of measures do you take, or do you observe, in order to overcome these challenges?

F. Can you describe one successful and one failed case related to diversity or multiculturalism within the organisation?

Conclusion: Overall, how do you view your organisation's attempt at promoting diversity? What areas, do you think, should be improved?

Appendix VIII

Example of coding

Quote/Citation	Code	Theme/Category
<p>So, we take care of the Ramadan. We take care of. We have events during the Ramadan, we do with an Iftar ...we think about it what it's right in that context and in the neighborhood depends on the neighborhood of course. Or we do it later,</p> <p>this year we have, 21st of May is international diversity day, we usually have a one big event then, last years, but now it's</p> <p>A most of the time during the Ramadan and now we decided for several reasons to do one week later and this after Ramadan.</p> <p>A girl group now in Kanaleiland, we go there, we start a dialogue and we try to educate them also a better of dialogue.</p> <p>So, we try to involve people through just advertising.</p>	<p>INCLUSIVENESS</p>	
<p>Diversity what we do, we need diversity around the table, diversity with different backgrounds with different view points, different experiences because that makes the dialogue worthwhile. If you are having a dialogue with all people who are like</p> <p>You, from your own bubble it's less interesting.</p>		<p>DIVERSITY STRATEGY</p>
<p>We have a mission statement... Which stimulates meaningful conversation between Utrechters with different backgrounds, about for them important issues, dialogue, respect, differences and needs new insights and connection and feeling of</p> <p>Belonging in the city. That's our mission statement and that's about diversity. It's more verschillen we call it, differences.</p>	<p>DIFFERENCES</p>	
<p>this is our community, this the Netherlands. This is the way of this country, it's very diverse, especially Amsterdam. And if we join hands and we can be stronger together. So people learn from each other, meet each other, especially IN meeting each other, that's why also breakfasts meetings is important to us. Bcs you meet each other and you talk to each other and you get to know each other. We can learn from each other, we help each other and we feel that a lot of misunderstandings or, ummh, if you have a judgment about somebody, a lot things of come from not meeting each other, not talking to each other, not understanding each other and we feel that very important issue. ..So, that's what Amsterdam and Netherlands it is. It's very diverse, we feel we can be strong together and meeting each others very important in it.</p>		