Ethnic and immigrant politics vs mainstream politics: the role of ethnic organizations in shaping the political participation of immigrant-origin individuals in Europe[1]

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ABSTRACT

Previous scholarship has reported contradictory results regarding the impact of involvement by immigrant-origin individuals (IOIs) in ethnic organizations on political participation. In this article we assess the effect of involvement in different types of organizations (ethnic, pan-immigrant and native) on participation in various types of political activities. We use cross-national micro-data from a population survey undertaken in 2004-2008 to IOIs in 9 European cities. Our findings indicate that ethnic organizations perform an integrative function for IOIs in the political sphere, but they mainly affect participation linked to immigration-related issues concerning specific ethnic groups and IOIs. Moreover, most effects of involvement in ethnic organizations on the different types of political participation examined are similar in closed and in open political opportunity structures (POS). We only find evidence of a moderating effect of the POS such that involvement in ethnic organizations depresses conventional political action in open POS settings while it increases political action in closed

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POS settings.

Introduction

While few scholars would contest that associations are key in the political participation of immigrant-origin individuals (IOIs), we have witnessed an intense public and scholarly debate as to whether migrant associations perform an integrative function by linking IOIs to 'mainstream' politics (Heath et al. 2013).[1] Debates have also focused on what types of associations — native, cross-ethnic or ethnic organizations — are more effective mobilizers. Evidence on the positive impact of native organizations is consistent across studies (Berger, Galonska, and Koopmans 2004; Lee, Ramakrishnan, and Ramírez 2007; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). In contrast, findings on the impact of IOIs' involvement in ethnic associations on their political inclusion are, at best, mixed (Berger, Galonska, and Koopmans 2004; Jacobs, Phalet, and Swyngedouw 2004; Togeby 2004; Morales and Pilati 2011). We argue that this is due to two main reasons: first, previous studies fail to distinguish among the various types of political action through which IOIs can participate; second, they fail to appreciate the role of the context in which ethnic organizations operate. Trying to address these limitations, this paper examines the impact of involvement in ethnic organizations in greater depth, by investigating the following research questions: Is involvement in ethnic organizations conducive to political integration in the country of residence, or does it lead migrants to engage with specific ethnic political agendas or to the withdrawal from any form of political participation? Does involvement in ethnic organizations have similar effects as involvement in native and pan-immigrant organizations on political

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participation? And does the effect of involvement in ethnic organizations change across political settings?

We address these research questions as follows. First, we distinguish different types of political participation. Because of the ineligibility of many IOIs to vote in several European countries, we focus on participation in extra-electoral political activities. Following a classical distinction among forms of political action in the literature on political behavior, we differentiate between protests and more conventional forms of extra-electoral action like political contacting (Barnes et al. 1979). Second, we differentiate between 'mainstream' and 'immigration-related' political action (Heath et al. 2013). 'Mainstream' political activities affect the population at large. IOIs may, for instance, participate in campaigns for better school services, contact a politician to advocate for more sports facilities in disadvantaged neighborhoods, boycott certain products for political reasons, or demonstrate against high levels of crime (Wong, Lien, and Conway 2005; Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009; Wong, Ramakrishnan, Lee, and Junn 2011; Morales and Pilati 2011; Diaz 2012; Heath et al. 2013). On the contrary, 'immigration-related' actions focus on specific agendas and issues strictly relating to a situation concerning people with an immigrant, foreign or ethnic background, such as contacting media to raise awareness of discriminatory practices against the immigrant population, or protesting against immigration or refugee policies (Okamoto 2003; Barreto et al. 2009). With this analytical framework, we are able to discern the specific role of involvement in ethnic organizations for the different types of political participation in which IOIs can engage.

Our second contribution is of an empirical nature. As most migrants in Europe settled in urban contexts, we examine political participation in nine European cities (Barcelona, Budapest, Geneva, London, Lyon, Madrid, Milan, Stockholm and Zurich) characterized by varying degrees of openness or closure towards the accommodation of immigration-related diversity, and which are representative of the variation in patterns of political participation found in large European cities. This cross-sectional

survey allows an examination of the conditional effects of involvement in various types of organizations on political participation by highlighting how this relationship may be moderated by the political context where such organizations operate (Kesler and Bloemraad 2010). Indeed, the nature and utility of the resources that organizations provide are context-dependent (Eggert and Pilati 2014), and this cross-context variation may affect the political participation of IOIs.

Understanding IOIs' political participation: the role of individual associational involvement

A number of studies in the US have shown that, even if IOIs often occupy a peripheral position in the participatory structure (Ramakrishnan 2005), their involvement in native-based organizations such as trade unions systematically fosters their political participation (Lee, Ramakrishnan, and Ramírez 2007; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). Likewise, in Europe, Berger, Galonska, and Koopmans (2004) show that involvement in German organizations promotes the political inclusion of IOIs. In relation to involvement in ethnic organizations, several studies in the US have examined its effect on transnational political action oriented to the country of origin or ancestry (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003, Portes, Escobar and Arana 2008; Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites 2015). Among these, some argue that 'hometown' associations — a type of ethnic grassroots organization formed by IOIs from the same origin country or town — are also important for the social and political integration of IOIs in the countries of settlement (Guarnizo, Portes and Haller 2003). For example, although hometown associations have a political agenda traditionally focused on 'home' country politics, in Chicago they took a leadership role in the 2006 marches for US immigrant rights (Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites 2015, 142).

Studies in Europe have also focused on ethnic organizations as mobilizing structures for transnational political activities (see, for instance, Bermudez 2009). Additionally, they have analyzed

the impact of IOIs' involvement in ethnic organizations on political activities relating to the country of residence finding controversial effects, even though never negative. Jacobs, Phalet and Swyngedouw (2004, 551-552) find that membership in ethnic organizations has some positive effects on informal political participation among Turks in Brussels and only has a positive effect in combination with trade-union membership among Moroccans. Tillie (2004) finds that ethnic membership has a significant effect on the degree of political participation examined by using a scale of items that includes aspects as diverse as participating in meetings relating to the neigbourhood and the probability of voting in local elections 'if they were held now' (Tillie 2004, 533). In the UK, Heath et al. (2013,182) show that belonging to an ethnic or cultural association is significantly related to signing a petition, participating in protests and joining boycotts. However, a study in Denmark on second generations born in the former Yugoslavia, Turkey and Pakistan showed that membership of ethnic organizations has no effect on participation in a range of activities — such as signing petitions, donating money to a political cause, contacting politicians or participating in demonstrations — among ex-Yugoslavs; whereas it has a strong, positive, and direct effect on participation among Pakistanis (Togeby 2004, 515-517). In the US, Wong, Ramakrishnan, Lee, and Junn (2011) find that membership in ethnic organizations increases the probability of Asian Americans to participate in political activities beyond voting, but much less so than membership in what they call 'integrated organizations'. The few existing comparative studies suggest that IOIs prevailingly involved in ethnic associations do not show a higher probability to engage in mainstream contacts and protests but display a greater interest in the politics of the country of residence (Morales and Pilati 2011). Considering the results of these studies we argue that, depending on the type of political activity considered and the context of settlement by migrants, different mechanisms account for the seemingly varying effects of involvement in ethnic organizations on political participation.[2]

Mechanisms accounting for variation in the effect of organizational involvement on political participation

Voluntary organizations can become fertile ground for political mobilization because they facilitate the accumulation of resources that foster political participation such as civic skills, knowledge, political information, social capital, or shared identities (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). Some resources, however, are more often provided by native than by ethnic or pan-immigrant organizations; and which resources become relevant depends on the issues at stake. In order to illustrate this point, let us focus on the resources required for participating in political action relating to 'mainstream' issues. These actions require, at the very least, political knowledge and information on the political affairs and issues relevant to the country of residence. Depending on the form of action they might also require financial capital (e.g. for lobbying activities) and social capital (e.g. for contacting or various forms of protest). All of these resources tend to be more abundant among natives than IOIs across all European countries (Messina 2007). Political interest concerning the city and the country of residence by IOIs is also lower than the one shown by natives (Morales 2011). Therefore, engagement in ethnic organizations, whose membership includes a majority of IOIs, will less likely enable IOIs to encounter people with more of such resources and political interest. This may have spillover effects that dampen IOIs' participation in 'mainstream' political activities. Furthermore, the social connections that IOIs can forge in ethnic organizations are likely to reach out to people of the same ethnic groups and less so to natives and to individuals of other migrant groups. This may increase the sense of attachment towards one's own ethnic group, and diminish the sense of attachment towards the community at large, further depressing mainstream political participation. This mechanism has been emphasized by those scholars who argue that ethnic loyalties negatively affect democratic values, and the ability of IOIs to 'bridge' with the wider community (Huntington 2004). Other studies show that

limitations in language proficiency can sometimes hinder the capacity of the leaders of ethnic organizations to mobilize members into mainstream local politics (Aptekar 2009), especially in places where first generation migrants are the majority, as it happens in several of the European cities included in our study.

Following these arguments, we advance the following hypothesis: involvement in ethnic organizations will have a lower positive effect than involvement in native organizations on political participation relating to mainstream issues (*Hypothesis 1).*

Equally, the mechanisms that link organizational involvement with political participation on immigration-related issues are likely to be dependent on the membership composition of the associations. For instance, ethnic organizations are in a better position to mobilize IOIs around tightly defined and shared identities because of their greater internal homogeneity in terms of membership. Lien, Conway and Wong (2003) argue that active involvement in ethnic churches and community organizations reinforces ethnic or pan-immigrant identities rather than a mainstream 'American' identity. These loyalties and identities are more likely to lead to participation in immigration-related political action. Ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations are also more likely than native-dominated community organizations to reach out to IOIs to participate in pan-ethnic collective action (Okamoto 2003; DeSipio 2011, 1194; Diaz 2012, 148).

Following these arguments, we advance the following hypothesis: involvement in ethnic organizations will have a greater positive effect than involvement in native organizations on political participation focusing on immigration-related issues (*Hypothesis 2).*

Contextual mechanisms accounting for variation in the effect of involvement in ethnic organizations on political participation

European countries differ considerably in the way they regulate the integration of IOIs through laws, policy implementation and the provision of services. This variation is examined in the scholarly literature through the study of political opportunity structures (POS). While the notion of POS is multidimensional, two dimensions are thought to capture sufficiently well the various ways in which polities aim to integrate immigrants (see, e.g., Koopmans et al. 2005; Cinalli and Giugni 2011). The first dimension concerns the laws and policies on the individual rights with which migrants are endowed; such as the regulations around access to citizenship and to different types of residence and work permits, the legal framework regulating employment rights, as well as the rights and policies to protect against discrimination. The second dimension focuses on the laws and policies that regulate migrants' access to collective rights; such as the opportunities granted to profess one's religion, access to group-specific or ethnic media, or to education in their own language. European countries and, often, subnational units within countries, show considerable variation along both of these dimensions. Open POS — that is, contexts granting various individual and/or collective rights to IOIs — have been shown to foster IOIs' political action (Koopmans et al. 2005; Bloemraad 2006b; Cinalli and Giugni 2011).

There are reasons to believe that the POS may also significantly moderate the effect that involvement in ethnic organizations has on political activities. Previous research shows that ethnic organizations are afforded a dominant role in open POS settings. In the Netherlands, the United Kingdom or Canada IOIs are encouraged to organize in ethnic associations that are then capable of conveying many political resources to their members because of their well-established structures and connections with local authorities (Bloemraad 2006a; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). In contrast,

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in closed political contexts like Italy, Germany, Switzerland, where the organization of social relations along ethnic lines is not encouraged (and often is discouraged), ethnic organizations are more limited in their capacity to offer their members symbolic resources that legitimize their political action. They can also offer little to attenuate the psychological alienation and the lack of political efficacy often associated with the absence of citizenship rights, given that they are not afforded full recognition as political brokers by policymakers (Pilati 2012; 2016; Eggert and Pilati 2014). According to these studies we would expect a negative impact of closed POS on the mobilizing role of ethnic organizations.

However, other studies show that the impact of closed POS on the mobilizing role of ethnic organizations is not necessarily negative. Migrant groups feeling directly threatened by a policy, or feeling politically dissatisfied and alienated by the system, are more likely to resort to protesting, often thanks to the mobilizing role of ethnic organizations themselves (Ramakrishnan 2005; Rim 2009, 795). In the US, reactive participation of this sort has been documented among Latinos in response to the US Congress bill HR4437, which increased penalties on undocumented immigrants. The mobilization of participants was significantly affected by their involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations (Barreto et al. 2009). Indeed, reactive participation can be driven by oppositional identities developed within ethnic organizations based on a shared minority status associated with ethnicity, race, or citizenship status (Lien, Conway, and Wong 2003; Okamoto and Ebert 2010).

The aforementioned arguments suggest a moderating effect of the POS on the mobilizing role of ethnic organizations. However, the direction of the moderating effect of the POS is not a priori obvious, given that the effect is likely to depend on the types of issues (mainstream vs immigration-related) and forms of action (protest vs conventional). We can nonetheless advance the following hypothesis: we expect that the effect of involvement in ethnic organizations on political participation will be moderated by the POS (*Hypothesis 3).*

Data sources

The empirical evidence presented in this article derives from survey data collected primarily between 2006 and 2008 to representative samples of IOIs in nine European cities: Barcelona, Budapest, Geneva, London, Lyon, Madrid, Milan, Stockholm and Zurich (Morales et al. 2014).[3] Although the surveys also included subsamples of the majority population, we only focus on the migrant subsample because the data for several variables that we analyze — namely, involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations or the POS scores — are not available or relevant for the majority population. While the collected information dates back a few years, the primary goal of this article is to examine theoretical and empirical relations between variables, rather than describing current levels of associational and political participation. We do not expect that the relationships we are interested in will be affected by the timing of data collection.

In each city the surveys were conducted on probability samples of both first and second generation IOIs stratified by origin, focusing on either two or three different migrant-origin groups, with at least 250 individuals for each group: in Budapest, Chinese, ethnic Hungarian immigrants, and a mixed group of immigrants originating from Muslim countries; in Barcelona and Madrid, Ecuadorians, other Latin American Andean migrants, and Moroccans; in Geneva, Italians and Kosovars; in Zurich, Turks, Kosovars and Italians; in Milan, Filipinos, Egyptians and Ecuadorians; in London, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indians; in Lyon, Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians; and in Stockholm, Chileans and Turks. These groups were selected due to their significance within the immigrant population of each city, and so as to include in each city, at least one group of long-standing immigration, one of more recent arrival, as well as one of Muslim religious background.

The cities vary in terms of migration flows. While post-war immigration characterized the

Swiss cities, London and Lyon, migration to Stockholm developed much later (primarily since the

1970s), and the most significant immigration flows to the Spanish cities, Budapest and Milan have

taken place since the end of the 1980s. Furthermore, some of the cities studied received flows that are

linked to their countries' colonial past (London, Lyon and the Spanish cities), whereas in other cities

the flows were more heterogeneous (Milan and Stockholm), or culturally closer and predominantly of

white groups like the ethnic Hungarians in Budapest and European immigrants in the Swiss cities. In

most cities, the overall immigrant-origin population constitutes between 10 and 30 per cent of the total

local population — with a relative size within the immigrant population ranging between 5 per cent for

Italians in Zurich or Indians in London, and 31 per cent for Algerians in Lyon and 51 per cent for

ethnic Hungarians in Budapest (Localmultidem 2008).

Sample sizes, sampling frames, selection processes and interview modes varied across the

cities. Whereas in some cities extracting samples of individuals from the population registers was

feasible (e.g. in Budapest, the Spanish cities and in Stockholm), in others the lack of a reliable

sampling frame required resorting to other sampling strategies (e.g. focused enumeration in London,

geographical sampling in Milan, random dialing in Lyon and the Swiss cities). The surveys were

jointly designed and are thus equivalent, and sometimes identical, in most other aspects. This makes us

confident that the results are strictly comparable.[4] All the individuals interviewed had resided in the

respective city for at least 6 months prior to the interview, and were at least 15 years of age. The pooled

sample includes 6,980 IOIs.

Dependent variables

Individuals can become engaged with politics in various ways: through participation in the

electoral process, by engaging in extra-electoral activities such as contacting officials, or by expressing

an interest in political affairs (Verba et al. 1995). In this study, we focus on political behavior only and analyze two modes of political participation that constitute valuable indicators of the degree of political inclusion of IOIs in the societies where they live: conventional extra-electoral political activities (including actions such as political contacting, donating, lobbying, and political consumerism) and protests (signing a petition, joining a strike and taking part in public demonstrations).

Additionally, we distinguish between 'immigration-related' political participation — that is, political action primarily related to a situation or issue concerning people with an immigrant, foreign or ethnic background —, and 'mainstream' political participation, which relates to issues and situations that affect the broader population. Hence, we examine the following four outcome variables: mainstream protest, mainstream conventional action, immigration-related protest, and immigration-related conventional action (see the online Appendix for the detailed coding of all dependent and independent variables).

Explanatory variables

Organizational involvement. Our main interest is to examine the effect of involvement in ethnic organizations. However, many of our hypotheses might also apply for pan-immigrant organizations, and because prior scholarship has not carefully distinguished between ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations we consider both. With this purpose in mind, the analyses examine involvement in various types of organizations, as defined by the ethnic composition of their membership. The questionnaire included a detailed battery of items on associational involvement in relation to a list of 17 types of organizations, as defined by the main sector and domain of their activities.[5] Respondents were probed about the membership composition of each organization in which they were members or had participated in activities in the previous 12 months. One question asked whether half or more members

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were of an immigrant background, and another whether half or more members were of their same ethnicity or country of origin/ancestry. Thus, we classify organizational involvement in three categories: organizations formed mostly by individuals of a single minority ethnic group (ethnic organizations), those where people from various immigrant backgrounds and ethnic origins mingle (pan-immigrant organizations), and those mostly composed of natives and where immigrants are a minority (native organizations).

We employ three count variables, with values that range, theoretically, between 0 and 17: involvement in N ethnic organizations, involvement in N pan-immigrant organizations, and involvement in N native organizations, whereby N indicates the number of different sorts of organizations (e.g., sport clubs, cultural organizations, environmental organizations, etc.).

Although we do not have longitudinal data and, consequently, the causal directionality between organizational involvement and political participation cannot be tested explicitly, our approach of studying political action as the outcome and organizational involvement as the 'explanatory' factor is supported by well-established scholarship that studies the effect of organizational involvement on political participation (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; van Deth, Montero, and Westholm 2007; see, however, van Ingen and van der Meer 2015). Nevertheless, in order to isolate the effects of organizational involvement and reduce the problem of endogeneity as much as possible, we include three indicators measuring involvement in ethnic, native and pan-immigrant political organizations. For this, we follow the distinction and classification proposed by Morales (2009), based on the main *prima facie* goals of each organizational type.[6]

Political context. Following previous research (Koopmans et al. 2005; Cinalli and Giugni 2011), the political context is operationalized through two index variables accounting for how 'closed' the POS is in terms of the individual and group rights granted to immigrants in each of the cities (and

countries). These two indices are measured at the migrant group and city level, as there are several important differences at the group level, and also for the same group across cities within the same country. For example, in Spain, immigrants of Latin American origin have a preferential access to Spanish citizenship, as they only need 2 years of residence to be eligible compared to the general rule of 10 years that applies to the Moroccan group also studied, and the accommodation of religious rights and other collective rights differs across cities within Spain. According to our indexes, the POS relating to individual rights classifies Stockholm as the most open city; while Budapest, and Zurich for Kosovars and Turks are classified as the least open ones. In regards to the group rights dimensions, Stockholm also stands out as the most open political context; while Budapest for the Ethnic Hungarians and the Chinese, and Milan for all groups are the least open ones (Cinalli and Giugni 2011).

Interactions. The moderating effect of the political context on the impact that involvement in ethnic organizations has on political participation is assessed with cross-level interaction effects between the organizational variables — namely, involvement in ethnic organizations and involvement in pan-immigrant organizations — and the POS indices. We do not examine the interaction of involvement in native organizations with POS, as we do not have hypotheses on a likely moderating effect of the POS on the mobilizing role of native organizations.

Control variables. Following classical studies of political behavior and specific studies on migrants' participation (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Tam Cho 1999; Leal 2002; Ramakrishnan 2005; de Rooij 2012), we include as additional control variables socio-demographic (gender, age, marital status), socio-economic (educational level attained, employment), as well as attitudinal (level of social trust, political interest) characteristics of IOIs. In addition, studies specifically examining political participation by IOIs have shown the significance of several immigration-related correlates

(migrant generation, length of stay in the country, religious affiliation, legal status in the country of residence, fluency in the host country language) on political participation (see, e.g. Morales and Pilati 2011). In particular, people who lack fluency in the language of the country of residence are restricted in their access to information about that country's politics (Heath et al. 2013, 41). Not having the citizenship of the country of residence has also been found to be a major barrier to participation (Bloemraad 2006a). A lower recognition of Islam in Europe (Bleich 2009) and their consequent exposure to discrimination is thought to affect Muslims' participation in politics. Finally, some studies have found lower levels of participation for second generations among certain ethnic groups in Britain (Sanders et al. 2014, 135). Descriptive statistics of all variables are reported in Table 1.

(TABLE 1)

Model specification and robustness checks

Given the survey design, and the fact that we are also interested in analyzing the effect of higher-level variables (POS) on lower-level units (individuals), we estimate multilevel models. Given the small number of level-3 units (cities), we use two-level models, with individuals at level 1 and groups within cities at level 2. For each outcome variable, to assess hypothesis 1 and 2, we estimate the following nested models: model 0 shows the intercept model; model 1 includes the individual-level variables; models 2a and 2b add the contextual variables one at a time because of high correlation between the two variables (Table 2 reports the summary of findings, and Tables 1A-4A in the online Appendix include the full models).[7] To assess hypothesis 3 we add the interaction terms to the models (Table 5A in the Appendix reports the full models for the significant interactions, while those including the interactions which were not significant are included in Tables 6A to 9A in the Appendix).[8]

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We also performed a number of analyses to test the robustness of our findings. Specifically, we re-estimated our models as follows:

(1)   For each of the outcome variables we re-estimated model 1 in tables 1A to 4A by replacing the organizational count variables with the following new variables: involvement in ethnic organizations (0 = not involved in ethnic organizations; 1= involved in one ethnic organization; 2 = involved in more than one ethnic organization); the same changes were applied to pan-immigrant and native organizations (see Table 10A in the Appendix);

(2)   For each of the outcome variables we re-estimated model 1 in tables 1A to 4A by replacing organizational variables with the following new variable that measures involvement in the various types of organizations: 0 = not involved, 1 = only involved in native organizations 2 = only involved in ethnic organizations; 3 = only involved in pan-immigrant organizations; 4 = involved in more than one type (see Table 11A in the Appendix);

(3)   For each of the outcome variables we re-estimated models 2a and 2b of Tables 1A to 4A by replacing the POS variables with dummy variables for cities and ethnic groups within cities, using a logit model (see Table 12A in the Appendix);

(4)   For mainstream conventional activities and mainstream protest, we re-estimated models 2a and 2b by replacing the POS variables with a level-2 control variable operationalizing natives' mean rate of participation in mainstream conventional activities and mainstream protest. We did not re-estimate the models for immigration-related activities as we lacked the information on participation in such activities for natives (see Table 13A in the Appendix).

Overall, our substantive conclusions do not change with these alternative specifications.

Results

The summary of our results, which relate to the impact of involvement in ethnic (and pan-immigrant) organizations on different types of political participation, is synthetized in Table 2.

(TABLE 2)

Looking at the main effects reported in Table 2, an important finding is that while participation in immigration-related activities is positively and significantly affected by involvement in any type of organization, the effect of organizational involvement on mainstream activities is less consistent. In particular, while involvement in native organizations positively and significantly affects political participation regardless of the issue focus and type of *repertoire*, involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations is positively associated with immigration-related political participation, but less so with mainstream political action. This nonetheless, as shown by the coefficients in Tables 1A to 4A in the Appendix, the effect of involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations is stronger than that of involvement in native associations for all the types of political action where the former have a significant effect.[9]

Therefore, Hypothesis 1, which posited a larger positive effect of involvement in native organizations for IOIs' participation in mainstream politics is only partially supported: on the one hand, involvement in native organizations is positively related to both mainstream and immigration-related political participation more regularly than involvement in ethnic or pan-immigrant organizations. On the other hand the stronger effects of involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations for mainstream political action (Table 1A and 2A in the Appendix) suggests that there is no larger positive effect of native organizations as had been expected. In turn, the findings support Hypothesis 2 suggesting a larger positive effect of ethnic (and pan-immigrant) organizations than native organizations on immigration-related political action (Tables 3A and 4A in the Appendix).

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Overall, the results support previous findings on the integrative function of native organizations (Berger, Galonska, and Koopmans 2004; Lee, Ramakrishnan, and Ramírez 2007). More importantly, they suggest an overall integrative function of ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations, especially through immigration-related politics. These findings are consistent with those studies showing that involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations provides a powerful basis for IOIs to be included in the local political sphere of the European cities analyzed (Jacobs et al. 2004; Tillie 2004), even if this is more likely to happen through participation in issues directly relating to migrants.

Turning to our third hypothesis on a moderating effect of the POS on the impact that involvement in ethnic organizations has on political participation, looking at the results of the interaction effects reported in Table 2, we only find limited evidence supporting our hypothesis. Most of the results show that the effect of involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations on the different types of political participation examined are similar in closed and in open POS. Only two of the eight possible interactions assessed for involvement in ethnic organizations are statistically significant, and none of those assessed for involvement in pan-immigrant organizations. Focusing on the two significant interactions (see Table 5A for the full models), the effect of involvement in ethnic organizations does not change depending on whether we focus on mainstream or immigration-related political activities and it only concerns conventional political action. Figures 1 and 2 depict the two significant interactions.[10]

Concerning mainstream political participation, the probability of participating in mainstream conventional political activities (Figure 1) is significantly higher for IOIs living in open individual rights POS contexts than for those living in closed contexts (the line for open POS is always above that of closed POS) for an average IOI engaged in 0 to 2 ethnic organizations. However, there is a slightly positive effect of involvement in ethnic associations on the probability to participate in mainstream conventional political activities in closed POS contexts. In contrast, in open POS settings ethnic

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organizational involvement depresses IOIs' political action. Therefore, IOIs in open POS have higher probabilities to participate in mainstream conventional political activities than IOIs in closed POS but such participation is negatively affected by involvement in ethnic organizations. This result may be partly driven by the sector in which ethnic organizations in open POS settings are involved. Separate analyses on our data confirm that cities with open POS, such as Stockholm and London, have high levels of IOI involvement in ethnic advocacy and ethnic religious organizations respectively. Prior studies showed that involvement in such organizations are not consistently associated with political action (Morales and Pilati 2011; Heath et al. 2013; Sobolewska et al. 2015).

(FIGURE 1)

Concerning immigration-related conventional political action, as Figure 2 illustrates, in closed POS in terms of individual rights, ethnic organizational involvement increases the predicted probability of participation in immigrant-related conventional political activities. However, it slightly decreases the predicted probability of participation in open POS settings. In addition, the effect of involvement in ethnic associations on immigration-related activities in closed POS is significantly stronger than in open POS. As Figure 2 shows, this holds at least for an average IOI involved in 3 or more ethnic organizations, as the line for closed POS is above that of open POS, at a significant level. Consistent with previous studies (Barreto et al. 2009), our findings suggest that ethnic organizations are crucial structures for 'reactive' participation in immigration-related activities in closed POS settings, where IOIs are afforded limited individual rights. In these contexts, ethnic organizations are therefore occasionally able to compensate for the lack of access to institutional resources. However, this reactive participation in relation to migration issues is not expressed through protest *repertoires* necessarily.

(FIGURE 2)

In summary, thus, we find some evidence that the POS context moderates the effect of involvement in ethnic organizations on political participation, but only for conventional forms of political action, in such a way that involvement in ethnic organizations depresses political action in open POS settings while it increases political action in closed POS settings.

Conclusions

In this article we analyzed the impact of involvement in ethnic, pan-immigrant and native organizations on different types of political participation of IOIs in Europe. Using a unique dataset with thousands of respondents of immigrant-background across nine European cities with different POS relating to integration policies and legislation concerning immigrants and their descendants, we examined the effect of the various types of organizational involvement, and their conditional effects upon the context of settlement, for mainstream and immigration-related political participation. With this approach, the article contributes to the existing scholarship in several respects.

First, it demonstrates the importance of approaching this topic through a more careful consideration of different types of political participation and of associational involvement. Our results confirm that ethnic organizations are equally important for the political participation of IOIs in European societies and their main effect on political participation is, in most regards, positive. However, the integrative role of ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations more consistently concerns immigration-related political activities (such as those relating to border control, non-voluntary repatriation, or access to public services for unauthorized immigrants). Involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations is therefore crucial for pursuing goals relating to IOIs' specific rights, as well as the representation of their interests and needs in the countries of settlement. We find no evidence to

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suggest that policies should only foster migrants' involvement in native organizations, as ethnic and pan-immigrant associations also perform integrative functions.

Second, we undertook a cross-setting study that assesses the moderating impact of the political context on the effect that organizational involvement has on political participation. Our findings highlight that in most cases the mobilizing power of ethnic organizations does not change across different POS. However, while in closed POS settings, involvement in ethnic organizations, when significant, systematically increases the probability to engage in political activities, in open POS settings it sometimes depressed it.

Therefore, our results provide some support to the suggestions by previous studies that the political environment shaped by the policies and legislation that afford migrants with varying individual and group rights actually matters for their political inclusion (Bloemraad 2006b; Koopmans et al. 2005; Cinalli and Giugni 2011; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). The POS is not only relevant for understanding to what extent IOIs participate in politics, as previous studies have shown. It occasionally shapes how useful certain resources — in our case, the multiple skills and social capital provided by associational involvement — are for political participation. While involvement in associations is quite low for IOIs across most European societies (see, e.g., Strömblad, Myrberg, and Bengtsson 2011, Figure 6.3) a differential access to these organizational resources will be a considerable source of political inequality, especially in closed POS. Future studies may delve deeper into this relationship by considering, for instance, if resources linked to organizational engagement also vary depending on the specific characteristics of the ethnic groups examined.

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Supplemental data

See the online Appendix.

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[1] We use the abbreviation (IOIs) to refer to immigrant-origin individuals, which include both immigrants in a proper sense and their descendants, namely second and third generations.

[2] Studies on the effect of involvement in pan-immigrant organizations, also termed pan-ethnic or pan-national organizations, on political participation at the individual level are scarce (see, however, Wong, Lien, and Conway 2005, and Diaz 2012).

[3] The exception is the survey undertaken in Stockholm, conducted in 2004.

[4] Full technical details of the surveys are available in Palacios and Morales (2013).

[5] The full list of types of organizations included is in the separate online Appendix.

[6] For London and the Spanish cities the questionnaire included a further probe asking the respondent whether the organization usually takes public stands, and we used these cases to confirm the empirical correspondence with the classification applied.

[7] The models were estimated with the *meqrlogit* command in Stata.

[8] Models are random intercept logit models. Interactions between contextual and organizational variables have been included after centering the organizational values while the contextual variables were already centered. The graphs are plotted by using the STATA commands *margins* and *marginsplot* after the models including the significant interactions.

[9] With a few exceptions, robustness checks in Tables 10A to 13A in the Online Methodological Appendix confirm our results, namely that involvement in ethnic organizations (less consistently also pan-immigrant organizations) significantly affect participation in immigration-related activities. In addition, they also confirm that the impact of involvement in native organizations is weaker than the impact of involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations. Therefore, overall our findings do not change and our inferences remain the same.

[10] Figures 1 and 2 plot the estimated probabilities for each significant interaction effect for an IOI with the following characteristics: man, in paid work, married, first generation, not a Muslim, with the citizenship of the country of residence, who speaks the language of the country of residence fluently, and with mean age, education, years since arrival, trust and the remaining organizational involvement variables. The figures only plot the predicted probabilities for the most frequent number of organizational affiliations, that is, values ranging from 0 to 4.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics by city (mean)

	BAR	BUD	GEN	LON	LYO	MAD	MIL	STO	ZUR	Total
Core variables										
Mainstream protest	0.17	0.06	0.17	0.01	0.37	0.08	0.04	0.45	0.04	0.13
Mainstream conventional action	0.20	0.06	0.20	0.05	0.33	0.07	0.04	0.58	0.09	0.15
Immigration-related protest	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.03	0.21	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.05
Immigration-related conventional action	0.13	0.03	0.11	0.05	0.18	0.06	0.04	0.06	0.06	0.08
Involvement in native organizations (0-11)	0.42	0.08	0.31	0.15	0.66	0.15	0.14	1.86	0.28	0.38
Involvement in pan-immigrant organizations (0-6)	0.11	0.01	0.25	0.05	0.27	0.07	0.04	0.22	0.09	0.11
Involvement in ethnic organizations (0-8)	0.16	0.04	0.18	0.14	0.13	0.15	0.14	0.24	0.27	0.16
POS individual rights (-1/+1)	0.04	-0.11	-0.14	0.13	0.24	0.04	-0.07	0.73	-0.24	0.03
POS group rights (-1/+1)	0.33	-0.30	-0.19	0.29	0.08	0.30	-0.28	0.67	-0.02	0.08
Control variables										
Involvement in native political organizations (0-5)	0.11	0.02	0.10	0.02	0.16	0.04	0.08	1.09	0.09	0.15
Involvement in pan-immigrant political orgs. (0-4)	0.03	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.08	0.02	0.01	0.15	0.03	0.04
Involvement in ethnic political orgs. (0-5)	0.08	0.02	0.07	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.12	0.10	0.06
Gender (male=1)	0.56	0.61	0.54	0.52	0.44	0.49	0.52	0.49	0.66	0.54
Age (15-94)	38.97	33.85	43.98	33.75	36.37	34.99	35.40	38.01	44.62	37.71
Education	0.57	0.75	0.57	0.72	0.59	0.48	0.64	0.63	0.49	0.60
In paid work	0.79	0.56	0.53	0.60	0.53	0.78	0.73	0.66	0.56	0.64
Married	0.61	0.51	0.70	0.48	0.53	0.54	0.63	0.60	0.77	0.60
Trust	0.48	0.60	0.51	0.49	0.34	0.52	0.47	0.45	0.49	0.49
Interest in residence country politics	0.54	0.61	0.60	0.42	0.72	0.44	0.37	0.62	0.57	0.53
Proportion of life living in country	0.23	0.28	0.59	0.76	0.80	0.20	0.27	0.60	0.55	0.46
Does not have country of residence citizenship or permit	0.11	0.08	0.20	0.02	0.06	0.16	0.20	0.00	0.18	0.12
Has country of residence citizenship	0.20	0.18	0.16	0.76	0.80	0.16	0.06	0.80	0.12	0.33
Has a permit to stay or is renewing it	0.69	0.74	0.64	0.22	0.14	0.68	0.74	0.20	0.70	0.55
Second or third generation	0.01	0.02	0.13	0.50	0.48	0.00	0.02	0.17	0.11	0.15
Muslim	0.28	0.31	0.44	0.44	0.70	0.34	0.29	0.29	0.51	0.40
Residence country language proficiency	0.87	0.54	0.71	0.82	0.93	0.74	0.16	0.89	0.38	0.65
N	741	823	649	886	705	866	900	508	902	6,980

NOTES: All variables are measured on a 0-1 range unless otherwise specified.
BAR=Barcelona, BUD=Budapest; GEN=Geneva; LON=London; LYO=Lyon; MAD=Madrid; MIL=Milan; STO=Stockholm; ZUR=Zurich.

Table 2. Summary of findings of the effect of organizational engagement in several types of political action, by POS

	Mainstream conventional political activities					Mainstream protest activities				
	Main effects	Interaction effects				Main effects	Interaction effects			
		Individual rights POS		Collective rights POS			Individual rights POS		Collective rights POS	
		Closed	Open	Closed	Open		Closed	Open	Closed	Open
Ethnic organizations	0	+	-	0	0	+*	+*	+*	+*	+*
Pan-immigrant organizations	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	0
Native organizations	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	NA	NA	NA	NA

	Immigration-related conventional political activities					Immigration-related protest activities				
	Main effects	Interaction effects				Main effects	Interaction effects			
		Individual rights POS		Collective rights POS			Individual rights POS		Collective rights POS	
		Closed	Open	Closed	Open		Closed	Open	Closed	Open
Ethnic organizations	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pan-immigrant organizations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Native organizations	+	NA	NA	NA	NA	+	NA	NA	NA	NA

NOTE: The main effects are extracted from Tables 1A to 4A in the online Appendix. Asterisks mark effects that are significant at the 0.1 level only. The significant moderating effects of the POS are highlighted in grey shade, they are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2, and the full models are reported in Table 5A in the Appendix. The full models of the interactions which are not significant are included in Tables 6A to 9A in the Appendix.
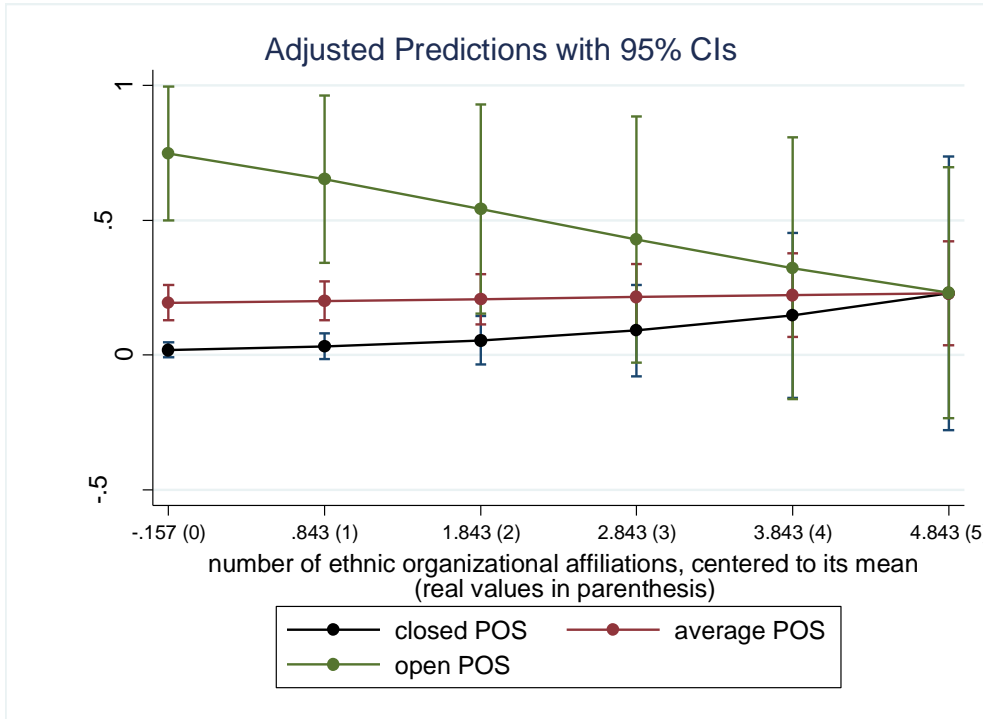
Figure 1

Adjusted Predictions with 95% CIs

number of ethnic organizational affiliations, centered to its mean
(real values in parenthesis)

closed POS — average POS
open POS

Figure 2

Adjusted Predictions with 95% CIs

number of ethnic organizational affiliations, centered to its mean
(real values in parentheses)

closed POS — average POS
open POS