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PART I

Chapter 17

General Perspectives: Citizenship, Migration, and Participation

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Introduction

Citizenship shapes a variety of dimensions related to the social, economic and political wellbeing of migrants. In this chapter, we particularly focus on how it affects migrants' participation in individual and collective political actions. We consider the institutionalized dimension of citizenship, that is, the set of legal norms, laws, policies, and ideas of the nation in the countries where migrants settle - what has been referred to as citizenship regime (cf. Chapter 4) - and examine how citizenship regimes shape constraints and opportunities of migrants' political participation. The number of years necessary to acquire citizenship for a foreign-born individual, the way access to citizenship for migrants' offspring is regulated by Nation-States, or the modalities by which the law links citizenship acquisition to marriage with citizens of the country of settlement - all affect migrants and second or third generations' chances to engage in the political sphere of the country of settlement. Citizenship regimes also shape whether and

how migrants are recognized as part of the political community of the settlement country and, therefore, how much they can legitimately behave as political actors within the broader polity. A large and established literature has provided evidence that the citizenship regimes of the countries of settlement shape migrants' possibilities to cast a vote, but also the levels and modalities of migrants' engagement in a variety of other political activities such as contacting political representatives, the media, making collective-claims, protesting such as demonstrating in streets or political activities by migrant organizations.

As a consequence, understanding how citizenship regimes shape migrants' political activities is of utmost importance, as the lack of participation by migrants threatens the equal protection and political representation of groups' interests within a country, as well as lower trust and governments' legitimacies. In this framework, this chapter discusses migrants' political participation in individual activities such as voting and extra-electoral political activities such as displaying a badge, or boycotting certain products for political reasons, that is, those activities relating to political objects, or aiming to change or to resist a particular change (for a discussion on the concept of political participation see van Deth 2014). Furthermore, it examines how citizenship regimes affect collective actions, that is, actions undertaken publicly with the aim of pursuing a common objective representing the efforts of an organized group, and oriented towards change or resisting change (McAdam and Snow 1997). Collective actions include political claims-making, such as protests or political activities undertaken by migrant groups and organizations. In this framework, even though migrants may show high levels of political exclusion from individual activities, their claims, needs, and interests may be voiced through the political actions of the organizations in which they are affiliated¹. Consequently, the chapter will illustrate how citizenship

¹ In this chapter, we do not refer to engagement in organizations *per sé*, or civic engagement, that refers to service-delivery and solidarity forms of actions as we only address, strictly speaking, political actions.

regimes directly affect political actions by migrants and activities by migrant organizations. Additionally, it will illustrate the moderating effect of the citizenship regime on the impact that several other factors have on political engagement. Particularly, research has found out that, while migrants may lack important institutional resources which are likely to hinder them from participating in the political sphere, part of these resources can be provided by intermediate social structures like associations in which migrants are involved (Gidengil and Stolle 2009; Rosenberg et al. 2018).²

Examining political participation by migrants

Studies examining migrants' political engagement have rapidly increased in the last few years (Kastoryano and Schader 2014)³. Drawing on a usual typology of political activities present in the literature on political behaviour, migrants' political engagement can be examined through a variety of actions, from voting to participation in contentious forms of action such as protests (Tam Cho 1999; Leal 2002; de Rooij 2012; Just and Anderson 2014; de Rooij 2012; Gonzalez-Ferrer 2011; Morales and Pilati 2011; Heath et al. 2013)⁴.

² While the chapter focuses on political participation by migrants, the latter often overlaps with pro-migrant activism by natives. This has been recently shown, for instance, in the case of solidarity protest movements and refugee activism (Rosenberger et al. 2018: 12).

³ For a more fluent reading, throughout the chapter when we use migrants we also refer to second and third generations, unless differently specified.

⁴ In addition to migrants' political engagement in the countries of settlement, studies have focused on migrants' political activities oriented to their origin countries, like external voting. The latter have been mostly investigated under the umbrella of transnational studies but it will not be taken into detailed account in this chapter (for an analysis of the impact of the citizenship regimes in Europe on transnational activities see Pilati and Herman 2018).

Voting is the most common form of political engagement despite, for many migrants, the possibility to vote is precisely impeded by the lack of citizenship, leading migrants to turn to other forms of actions to access the political sphere of the countries where they have settled (cf. Chapter 19 for a detailed analysis of voting). Citizenship determines migrants' voting chances, especially at the national elections⁵. Due to such constraints, some scholars have turned to the analysis of migrants' intention to vote (cf. Chadhary 2018; see, however, Strijbis 2014) or to the investigation of engagement in extra-electoral activities (cf. for Europe, Morales and Pilati 2011; de Rooij 2012). Among the latter, a broad literature has examined protest activities, the most-costly, and even less legitimated forms of actions, especially for disenfranchised populations such as migrants, despite being still one modality for migrants to get politically incorporated in the host countries. The collective dimension of protests has been principally examined by social movement scholars who have focused on political claims-making in the migration field (cf Koopmans et al. 2005; cf. Chapter 18 for a detailed analysis of political claims-making).

More recently, political mobilization by irregular migrants, refugees and asylum seekers including issues of deportation, have also been investigated (della Porta 2018; Rosenberger et al. 2018; see also critical citizenship studies such as Isin 2009; Tyler and Marciniak 2013, Ataç, Rygiel and Stierl 2016; cf. Chapter 21 for a detailed analysis on protests concerning asylum and deportation policies). When comparison of migrants and natives' patterns of political participation exists, empirical studies have provided evidence of low participation by individuals of migrant origin in most of the aforementioned political activities in Europe (de Rooij 2012; Maxwell 2010; Voicu and Comsa, 2014; Pilati 2018). Political participatory gaps between second generations and natives tend to be less marked than gaps between migrants and natives, although there are some exceptions regarding specific ethnic groups (in

⁵ As de Sipio (2012) argues, however, the Maastricht Treaty grants European citizens the right to vote in all European countries. Furthermore, several European countries, inter-alia Sweden or Belgium, also extend the local voting rights to legal immigrants, the only condition being residence.

the US cf. Ramakrishnan and Espenshade 2001; in Europe cf. Heath et al. 2013; Sanders et al. 2014; Pilati 2018)⁶. A number of factors – at the micro, meso and macro level – have been associated to such low rate of participation by migrants. While a major focus of this chapter is devoted to the analysis of the impact of the citizenship regimes in shaping migrants’ political participation, we briefly take a look at the variety of dimensions affecting migrants’ participatory patterns, within which the analysis of the role of citizenship regimes can be located.

Factors affecting migrants’ political engagement

Micro-level factors affecting participation

There is a sound tradition in political behavior studies of stressing that socio-economic characteristics are the primary determinants of participation, including participation by migrants and minorities (de Rooji, 2012; Heath et al., 2013; Tam Cho, 1999). Compared to the native population most migrants experience a differential access to various resources in Europe which are crucial for political participation (Messina, 2007). Migrants are mostly occupied in low skilled jobs. In addition, migrants’ offspring, namely second generations, have substantially lower access to educational opportunities than their native counterparts (Crul et al., 2012). Such characteristics affect migrants’ political participation. The

⁶ Heath et al. (2013: 186) find that the 1.5 and 2nd generation have participation profiles that are very similar to those of their white British peers. Nevertheless, there are negative effects of being a second generation among certain ethnic groups in Great Britain (Sanders et al., 2014: 135). Along similar lines, in the US, Ramakrishnan and Espenshade (2001: 894) and Pilati (2018) found support for the segmented assimilation hypothesis (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Pilati 2018), whereby different processes of political socialization, and modes of incorporation of migrant communities produce different segmented trajectories and generational patterns of participation.

strongest individual predictor of protest gaps across European cities is the level of education attained by individuals, next to political interest (Pilati 2018).

As argued by Tam Cho (1999: 1147), however, socio-economic status (SES) variables serve only as partial explanations for the minority and migrant population. Characteristics associated with the process of migration also affect migrants' political engagement. The degree of assimilation of migrants in the settlement country measured through the years lived in the host country or by holding the citizenship of the host countries is likely to have a positive and significant effect on political engagement (Bloemraad, 2006). De Rooji (2012: 465) finds that the length of stay significantly contributes to the explanation for differing patterns of political participation between migrants and the majority. Accordingly, the theory of exposure holds that the more exposure to the host country, the more migrants adapt (White et al., 2008). Political engagement also depends on the ability to speak the host country language (Morales and Pilati, 2011; Ramakrishnan and Espenshade, 2001). People who lack proficiency in the host country language are inevitably going to be restricted in their access to information about the host country politics (Heath et al., 2013: 41) although, compared to their parents, second generations are reasonably more fluent in the majority language (Diehl and Schnell, 2006). In turn, the level of discrimination experienced by individuals of migrant origin may trigger a reactive form of mobilization (Rim, 2009) and shape the formation of political preferences for immigrants (Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst 2011).

Substantial interest in politics, beliefs in the efficacy of political actions, or high levels of social and institutional trust may further significantly affect individuals' likelihood to get involved in civic and political actions (Heath et al. 2013). Social and political attitudes often act as mediating factors between resources and participation (Leal 2002; Maxwell 2010). Past studies have, however, additionally shown that levels of social trust and political interest differ among natives and individuals of migrant origin, with migrants scoring lower than natives on such attitudes (Dinesen and Hooghe 2010; Maxwell, 2010; Morales, 2011).

The role of organizations and their networks

Many studies have discussed the role of organizational resources for migrants' political engagement. Most of them have highlighted the positive role of associations in fostering migrants' political engagement, both in the US and in Europe (Jones-Correa and Leal 2001; Togeby 2004; Berger et al. 2004; van Londen, Phalet and Hagendoorn 2007; Morales and Pilati 2011; Giugni and Grasso 2019). Evidence shows a positive and consistent effect of native organizations across studies (Berger, Galonska, and Koopmans 2004; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). In contrast, findings on the impact of migrants' involvement in ethnic associations on their political inclusion are mixed, even though never negative (Berger, Galonska, and Koopmans 2004; Jacobs, Phalet, and Swyngedouw 2004; Morales and Pilati 2011; Togeby 2004; cf Pilati and Morales 2016 for a more systematic discussion on this issue)⁷. Studies showed that 'hometown' associations – a type of ethnic grassroots organization formed by migrants from the same origin country or town – took a leadership role in the 2006 marches for US immigrant rights in Chicago (Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites 2015 , 142). Jacobs, Phalet, and Swyngedouw (2004: 551– 552) found that membership in ethnic organizations had some positive effects on informal political participation among Turks in Brussels and only had a positive effect in combination with trade-union membership among Moroccans. In the UK, Heath et al. (2013: 182) showed 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

⁷ Involvement in ethnic organizations has been largely studied in relation to transnational political action oriented to the country of origin (Guarnizo, Portes, and Haller 2003; Morales and Pilati 2014; Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites 2015).

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 (Togebly 2004: 515– 517). In the US, Wong et al. (2011) found that membership in ethnic organizations increases the probability of Asian Americans to participate in political activities beyond voting. Some studies in the US showed that migrant groups feeling directly threatened by a policy, or feeling politically dissatisfied and alienated by the system, resort to protest often thanks to the mobilizing role of ethnic organizations themselves (Ramakrishnan 2005; Rim 2009, 795). In the US, reactive participation among Latinos in response to the US Congress bill HR4437, which increased penalties on undocumented immigrants, was significantly affected by their involvement in ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations (Barreto et al. 2009).

Pilati and Morales (2016) showed that the integrative role of ethnic and pan-immigrant organizations in European cities more consistently concerns immigration-related political activities, that is, activities relating to migrants' specific rights, as well as the representation of their interests and needs in the countries of settlement such as those relating to border control, non-voluntary repatriation, or access to public services for unauthorized immigrants.

European scholars have also emphasized the positive effect of networks among immigrant organizations for migrants' political engagement. Particularly, Fennema and Tillie (1999) focused on 'ethnic civic communities' – that is, networks among organizations mainly composed of people from the same ethnic group – arguing that networks among ethnic organizations are channels of political integration for minorities, as they contribute to the democratization of wider society by diffusing rules of 'civicness' and provide political resources as stimuli or channels of information (cf. also Vermeulen 2006). In turn, other studies showed that in contexts where social organization around ethnicity is not encouraged, the

chances for migrant organizations to mobilize in political activities are mainly associated to resources mediated by native organizations which largely prevail in the field of immigration (Pilati 2012).

Contextual constraints and opportunities

Next to individual and meso-level factors associated with migrants' chances to engage in the political sphere, political asymmetries also depend on constraints and opportunities shaped by the context, that is by the characteristics of the neighborhood, of the cities and of the countries where migrants have settled. As shown by Mollenkopf and Hochschild (2010), immigrant political incorporation occurs more rapidly in the United States than in many Western European states. This is associated to a number of contextual conditions, inter-alia, the American electoral system being more open to insurgent candidacies, and more rewarding of geographically concentrated electoral groups, thus making election of newcomers easier. The literature has made reference to the concept of political opportunity structure (POS), developed within the literature on social movements, to understand how the context affects political actions. Among scholars in the migration field, this concept has been widely associated with the characteristics of the citizenship regimes (cf. Koopmans et al. 2005; cf. Chapter 4 in this volume). The analysis of the citizenship regime has been especially important in the investigation of migrants' political participation in Europe given the variety of citizenship regimes across European countries (see however Bloemraad 2006). The hypothesis that has been put forward with regard to the context-participation link advances that the more open policies, laws and norms related to the migration field in the countries where migrants settle, the more opportunities migrants have to participate in the political arena. Open contexts provide easier access to political and socio-economic individual rights, to collective rights, and to the recognition of the specific cultural traits of the different ethnic groups, thus offering migrants an easier institutional access into the political system, than closed political contexts. Open political opportunity structures

(POS) enhance and favor the political integration of migrants and their political activities. In contrast, in closed contexts, migrants tend to have limited access to the resources necessary to engage in politics as they have lower upward mobility, limited political legitimation and lower possibilities to share broad collective identities based on crosscutting ties (Pilati 2016). Specifically, this hypothesis postulates that in ethnic citizenship regimes – representing closed POS whereby *jus sanguinis* and ties with natives prevail over other criteria of citizenship acquisition, like it occurs in Switzerland and Italy – the levels of migrants’ political claims-making are lower than in more open citizenship regimes like in Great Britain or in France (Koopmans et al. 2005).

Several mechanisms are considered to be at work (Pilati 2018). Previous studies indicate that contexts characterized by ethnic conceptions of citizenship limit access of foreign-born people to a number of resources (Koopmans et al. 2005). While various rights such as access to basic social services (i.e. urgency care) are equally granted to natives and migrants across most European countries access to other resources, such as employment opportunities, extensively vary. Different political contexts may also affect political engagement through changes related to native and migrant attitudes, strategies of social closure, discrimination and in-group solidarities. Ethnic conceptions of citizenship produce feelings of psychological alienation, widening the sense of political inefficacy. Furthermore, in closed POS characterized by high institutional constraints, migrants are less likely to trust the government and other local authorities (Ebert and Okamoto 2013). In addition, “where power differentials between individuals of different ethnic backgrounds are high, degrees of social closure are also high” (Cornell and Hartman 1998, ch. 6 in Wimmer 2008: 1002). Strategies of social closure to outsiders may be reflected both in diffused attitudes and practices of discrimination by natives, as well as in the development of in-group solidarities among migrants, with significant consequences on migrants’ chances to participate.

Despite being the most examined dimension, next to the citizenship regime, scholars have broadened the scope of analysis by incorporating the investigation of other contextual dimensions. At the national level,

the literature has shown the importance of other dimensions of the political opportunity structure such as the residence regimes (Gonzalez-Ferrer 2011) or of anti-discrimination legislations (Ebert and Okamoto 2013: 22), as well as of public opinion and political cultures (Just and Anderson 2014). In particular, easy access to residence permits favours engagement in domestic political activities and discourages engagement in country-of-origin political activities (Pilati and Herman 2018). Masuoka et al. (2019) find that in the US, registration is also a barrier to political inclusion. In turn, according to Ebert and Okamoto (2013: 22), weak anti-discrimination legislation acts as an institutional threat, creating an unwelcoming climate for migrants who are less likely to trust the host countries' institutions, therefore affecting their chances to participate. A high share of radical right and anti-immigrant parties in the electoral vote may behave like an institutional threat as well, given that the presence of xenophobic radical right parties seems to cause an increase in racism and xenophobia due to the influence on people's frame of thought (Rydgren 2003). Scholars have also highlighted the impact of discursive opportunities (Cinalli and Giugni 2011) or the way political parties frame the immigration issue (Zamora Kappor 2017). At the local level, scholars have emphasized the role of the way parties mobilize immigrants (Garbaye 2002; Maxwell 2010). Garbaye (2002) demonstrated that local party politics and the organization of local government on electoral representation of ethnic minorities are of primary importance for ethnic minorities' representation in electoral competitions. Likewise, a study examining election outcomes to municipal councils over the course of six elections found that discrimination by party gatekeepers plays a more significant role in perpetuating the underrepresentation of immigrants than do individual resources or structural variables (Dancygier et al. 2015). Overall, empirical evidence on the role of the POS shows that European countries and cities where levels of political engagement by migrants are relatively high tend to be characterized by open contexts, that is, they tend to privilege those policies and laws which facilitate migrant integration (Morales and Giugni 2011). Likewise, most of these studies show the negative consequences of a closed political context on migrants' political engagement. This

nonetheless, some studies in the US show a positive effect of a closed political context on political engagement. Group boundaries constructed through local threats and segregation seem to facilitate collective actions thanks to the development of a shared minority status based on race, ethnicity, citizenship, and potentially also on language among migrants (Okamoto and Ebert 2010). Ramakrishnan (2005: 116–143) also shows that factors related to political threats played a great role in increasing Latino migrant voting participation in the US during the 1990s. Reactive participation in rallies across the United States has been also documented among Latinos in response to HR4437 which increased penalties on undocumented migrants (Barreto, Manzano, Ramirez and Rim 2009).

Below we dig, in more depth, into the effects of the citizenship regime on the diverse array of political actions migrants can engage into.

The impact of citizenship regimes on migrants' political participation

The individual level

Empirical evidence on the relationship between citizenship regimes and migrants' participation shows that the characteristics of the citizenship regime shape, first of all, migrants' possibility to vote⁸. In the USA, Lien (2004) shows that barriers to citizenship diminish the overall voting participation rate of Asian Americans relative to other racial groups⁹. A study on immigrants' turnout rates in Norway demonstrates that early access to voting rights influences subsequent trajectories of immigrant incorporation, in particular among immigrants from less developed states who may otherwise face high integration barriers

⁸ Turnout is associated with a number of other contextual characteristics (Ansolabehere and Konisky 2005; Söderlund, Wass, and Blais 2011; Voicu and Comsa 2014).

⁹ Masuoka et al. (2019) also find that among Asian Americans who are eligible there are narrow differences between those who are naturalized immigrants and the native-born.

(Ferwerda, Finseraas and Bergh 2018). In turn, in Ireland, despite the relatively short residence requirements for citizenship (5 years), the reduction in processing times for applications, and increased naturalization rates, migrant representation in electoral politics has remained very low in the period 2004-2014 (Szlovak 2017).

Lien, Conway, and Wong (2003) suggest that the barrier of citizenship is less significant for nonvoting political participation. Access to the latter does not require citizenship, so civic engagement and community-level political activities are also open to unauthorized immigrants and legal immigrants not yet eligible for naturalization (de Sipio 2012). Studies on European countries show, however, that citizenship regimes do shape migrant engagement in extra-electoral political activities as well (Morales and Pilati 2011). Concomitantly with education and political interest, the citizenship regime of the country where migrants settle is the factor which increase the predicted probability to protest the most in Europe and migrant–native gaps are lower where access to citizenship for foreigners is easier (Pilati 2018).

The collective level

Social movement scholars have also shown that in ethnic citizenship regimes levels of migrants' collective claims-making are lower than in more open citizenship regimes (Koopmans et al. 2005). Closed political opportunity structures decrease both migrants' opportunities of advancing collective claims and affect the issues characterizing migrants' claims. This nonetheless, even in the most exclusionary context, like it is the case for migrants in asylum and deportation centers, the literature has shown that activism has become significant, with coalitions engaging in various forms of contentious politics around the enforced dispersal, detention, and deportation of refugees. Protests on the issue of asylum and deportation are associated with the concept of citizenship from below (Tyler and Marciniak 2013 ; Ataç et al. 2016 in Rosenberg et al. 2018: 10). Tyler's (2013) analysis of a 'naked protest' by a

group of mothers, refused asylum seekers, and ‘illegal immigrants’ at Yarl’s Wood immigration removal center in England is an example of protest related to detention centers whereby women were explicitly protesting against the specific regime of citizenship in operation, which had led to the detention and imminent deportation of themselves and their children.

Collective actions by migrant organizations are also significantly shaped by the context, and the prevailing citizenship regime of the countries in which organizations operate (Eggert and Pilati 2014). Previous research shows that migrant or ethnic organizations are afforded a crucial role in open POS settings (Pilati and Morales 2016). In the Netherlands, the UK or Canada migrants and ethnic minorities are encouraged to organize in ethnic associations that are capable of conveying many political resources to their members because of their well-established structures and connections with local authorities. In these settings, organizations show a wider array of activities, including political ones (Fennema and Tillie 1999; Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad 2008). In contrast, in closed political contexts like Italy, Germany or Switzerland, where ethnic organizing is not encouraged - in terms of funds or political recognition - ethnic organizations are more limited in their capacity to offer their members resources that legitimize their political action. In closed POS, activities by migrant organizations tend to be oriented to service-delivery and provision, recreational or socio-cultural activities rather than to political activities and most of them are marginalized from politics while native organizations are more likely to sustain the political integration of migrant actors (Eggert 2011; Pilati 2012, 2016; Kalogeraki 2019). In ethnic citizenship regimes, chances for ethnic organizations to join political actions may be limited because migrant members and leaders may feel less legitimated as political actors. In turn, in assimilationist contexts (granting less collective rights) given that particularistic identities are not recognized, institutions may not fund ethnic organizations as extensively as in multicultural contexts (Cinalli and Giugni 2011). In addition, studies also show that the context affects the types of groups migrants can establish in the country where they settle. Where migrants have few resources, they tend to organize in informal groups,

primarily relying on their own resources. This has significant consequences on the type of political actions. Informal groups have, in fact, a limited capacity to expand their actions to a wide range of activities, tend to engage in actions with a local scope and primarily serve short-term needs (Kalogeraki 2019).

The role of citizenship regimes in moderating the relationship between intermediate structures of mobilization and migrants' political actions

In addition to a direct impact of the citizenship regime on migrants' political actions, individual and collective ones, studies have highlighted that the relationship between citizenship regimes and political actions is conditional upon the presence of intermediate structures of mobilization such as voluntary organizations (Eggert and Pilati 2014; Pilati and Morales 2016).

The conditional relationship has been investigated both at the individual level and at the collective level.

The individual level

Several studies have shown that the role of organizational resources may be partly counterbalanced by the negative and exclusionary effects associated to the contexts in which migrants settle (van Londen, Phalet & Hagendoorn 2007; Gidengil and Stolle 2009; Rosenberg et al. 2018; Kalogeraki 2019).

Pilati and Morales (2016) examine the impact of engagement in ethnic and native organizations on political actions across European cities. In most cases, results show that the mobilizing power of ethnic organizations does not change across countries with different citizenship regimes. Therefore, ethnic organizations are equally important for the political participation of migrants in different European countries and their main effect on political participation is, in most regards, positive.

However, in open POS settings involvement in ethnic organizations sometimes depresses the probability to engage in political activities. Furthermore, Pilati and Morales (2016) show that migrants' engagement in native organizations in open POS is not as consequential as in closed POS. Migrants in open POS may not need resources from native organizations to engage in political activities as they may rely on other resources, like SES resources, to engage in politics¹⁰. In contrast, in closed POS native organizations show, more consistently, positive effects on political participation as they become crucial bridging actors between political institutions and individuals of migrant origin (Berger et al. 2004; Barreto et al. 2009; Pilati 2012).

While involvement in associations is quite low for migrants across most European societies and a differential access to these organizational resources is a considerable source of political inequality, these results provide only some support that the POS shapes how useful certain organizational resources are for political participation.

The collective level

¹⁰ Results on a random samples of Turkish and Moroccan minorities in Rotterdam, however, show a direct positive relationship between their participation in various types of cross-ethnic organizations and local voter turnout (van Londen et al. 2007).

The citizenship regime interacts with migrant organizations as well in shaping patterns of migrant political participation at the collective level. A study on Berlin, Amsterdam, New York City, and San Francisco shows that, when the national context is not very hospitable to immigrant rights, some cities commit themselves to policies that promote immigrant integration thanks to the presence, inter-alia, of community-based organizations actively representing immigrants' collective interests in local politics and policy-making (De Graauw and Vermeulen 2016). This evidence has also been supported by findings from urban studies on local participation and ethnic diversity (Tran et al. 2013). In diverse migrant neighborhoods which are faced with linguistic and cultural barriers in accessing services, migrants rely more heavily on local organizations for support and information, and local organizing increases the community's collective capacity to mitigate the effect of neighborhood disadvantage on participation (Pilati 2016: 19).

Scholars have focused on the moderating impact of the citizenship regime on the relationship between organizational networks and their collective actions as well. Depending on the type of context where migrant organizations operate, organizational networks differently affect activities by migrant organizations. Resources that are useful for organizations' political actions may derive from organizational networks (information, economic resources, symbolic resources such as legitimacy) but such resources are themselves context dependent and their availability depends on various sociocultural and political factors, including the type of citizenship regime characterizing the countries of settlement (Eggert and Pilati 2014). The first studies on organizational networks and their activities undertaken in multicultural contexts, have confirmed, as mentioned, the integrative role of the ethnic civic community and the networks built by migrant organizations in the political arena of these contexts. However, in contexts where organization around ethnicity is not encouraged, ethnic civic communities do not seem to favour migrant organizations' participation in the political sphere. Investigating the interaction between context and organizational networks on migrants' organizational political activities, Eggert and

Pilati (2014) find the following results: first, migrant networks may be sources compensating for the lack of contextual opportunities enhancing the political engagement of migrant organizations through protest. In closed citizenship regimes, this is the case with migrant organizations having ties to other migrant organizations that have higher opportunities for joining protests. Second, migrant networks can favour the creation of political subcultures that are likely to be isolated from mainstream politics. This seems characteristic of cultural assimilation contexts. In Milan and Zurich, migrant networks have indeed been found to be sparsely interconnected and polarized around clusters of a few organizations that are marginalized from the political sphere in the residence country (Eggert 2011; Pilati 2012). Third, migrant networks are likely to foster migrant actors' political integration in multicultural contexts through conventional politics. This supports initial research undertaken in multicultural cities like Amsterdam, where the argument linking networks to migrant communities' political integration was first developed (Fennema and Tillie 1999).

Other scholars further show that in extremely hostile contexts, group resources are crucial for collective actions by refugees, among the world's most powerless groups. Research on refugee camps in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan show that when group resources, namely strong informal leadership networks, that is, informal social relationships between individuals with status, authority, and influence within a community are present, refugees are more likely to mobilize in contentious politics (Clarke 2018).

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview on the link between migration, citizenship and participation. It has unfolded the relationship between such concepts by considering studies focusing on migrants' individual and collective participation, taking into consideration a variety of political actions.

Participation has been investigated by considering individual actions such as voting and extra-electoral activities as well as collective actions including activities by migrant organizations. The chapter has dig into the direct effects of the citizenship regime on such actions, presenting some hypotheses and empirical evidence that has been produced so far in the field. In addition, it has discussed how the effect of the citizenship regime on political activities is moderated, at the individual level, by migrant' involvement in organizations and, at the collective level, by migrant organizations and their networks.

Across studies, results tend to be consistent: first, they show the negative impact of a closed citizenship regime on migrants' chances to engage in the political sphere. This concerns most individual actions including voting and non-electoral activities, as well as political activities by migrant organizations. Second, results show the moderating impact of the citizenship regime: at the individual level this is of little significant. With a few exceptions, in most countries there is a positive and significant effect of engagement in ethnic and native organizations on migrants' political activities. In contrast, studies on the role of organizational networks for the political engagement of migrant organizations across countries suggest that the citizenship regime definitely shapes the type of networks that migrant organizations establish with other organizations and the political activities that these organizations are active into. While this chapter has attempted to provide a broad framework on studies focused on the relationship between citizenship, participation and migration, there is nonetheless a major limitation we would like to emphasize in this conclusive part. Such limitation is connected to the study of citizenship through the lens of the citizenship regimes and to the analysis of migrant participation through the use of data drawn from quantitative individual surveys or political claim-making analysis. As argued by Lewicki and O'Toole (2017), however, the aforementioned studies tend to exclude the analysis of more informal forms of political mobilization, that is, small scale resistance such as consciousness-raising acts, or social media activism which occur in informal, personal and domestic arenas. Such forms of actions can be recognized as sites of political contestation too, regardless of public authorities' "formal" authorization

(Isin 2009 in Lewicki and O’Toole 2017: 156). These more informal political practices and acts, “practices or acts of citizenship”, become claims of citizenship to the degree that they do not challenge and seek to influence formal institutions as conceived in the literature focused on the citizenship regimes, but they challenge the roles allocated to migrants by dominant actors in public institutions, and those who claim authority over the interpretation of their role, without necessarily aspiring to transform institutional arrangements. The protests of the Yarl’s Wood mothers previously discussed (Tyler 2013) might be conceived in Isin’s terms as an ‘act of citizenship’, in that the mothers are demanding their, and their British born children’s, ‘right to have rights’. By this, motherhood becomes a site of collective resistance in migrant and indigenous struggles against the state (Tyler and K. Marciniak 2013: 150). In their study of Muslim women’s activism in the UK, Lewicki and O’Toole (2017) report activities such as art-drama and film-based forms of expression, day to day advice to statutory agencies and health care providers, organized pop-up prayer venues, consultation forums, research and blogging as tools of activism - all focused on challenging and changing local community practices.

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