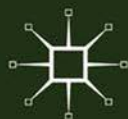


Migration,
Minorities and
Citizenship

SOCIAL CAPITAL, POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION AND MIGRATION
IN EUROPE

Making Multicultural Democracy Work?

Edited by Laura Morales and
Marco Giugni



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Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe

Making Multicultural Democracy Work?

Edited by

Laura Morales

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Laura Morales
Marco Giugni

1

Political Opportunities, Social Capital and the Political Inclusion of Immigrants in European Cities*

Laura Morales and Marco Giugni

Discussions about how public policies can promote more effectively the active engagement and participation of immigrants and their children¹ in the political and civic life of the countries where they live are at the core of current scholarly and public debates. In advanced democracies, there are recurrent disputes about the appropriateness and potential benefits or shortcomings of introducing legal reforms that would guarantee that large immigrant populations – and especially their native-born children – are not excluded from the political process and from political representation. As Jones-Correa (1998: 35 and 46ff.) notes, migrants' political marginalization has several potential negative implications for democratic politics: it undermines the process of democratic representation and accountability, it undervalues the role of active participation in the polity for the construction of the political community, and it perpetuates the view of immigrants and their descendants as outsiders to that community. Furthermore, the negative consequences related to migrants' political exclusion are likely to spill over to their social and economic integration, as the policy process will fail to address adequately their needs in these domains. Yet there are widely divergent views on what are the most effective ways to promote migrants' political inclusion, and on when and under what conditions should first-generation immigrants be granted full political rights.

In its basic outlines, these different views correspond to different 'models' or conceptions of citizenship and of how the polity absorbs newcomers to the community. While some conceptions of citizenship privilege territorial belonging to the community, others give much more importance to ethnic and cultural lineages in the attribution of membership status (Brubaker, 1992). Furthermore, when confronted with new entrants to the community, different conceptions of citizenship come to terms with ethnic and cultural diversity in contrasting ways. Some promote it and celebrate it, while others view ethnic and cultural practices as something that belongs in the private realm at the same time that the state should aspire to neutral action based on equal treatment and blindness towards diversity (see, for example, Taylor, 1992;

Soysal, 1994; Favell, 1998; Joppke, 1998; Entzinger, 2000; Rex, 2000). Clearly, there are very few examples of cases that follow purely each of these polar models, and conceptions of citizenship and their implementation into legal codes and practices are constantly subject to social and political change (Joppke, 2000), sometimes even leading to a certain degree of convergence that originates in divergent political strategies (Feldblum, 1998). Yet there is a growing consensus that different citizenship regimes do have a substantial impact on the degree of and paths to migrants' political incorporation or integration (Ireland, 1994 and 2000; Koopmans and Statham, 2000b; Koopmans et al., 2005; Bloemraad, 2006b).

In this regard, American and European scholarship has typically approached the study of the political engagement of migrants from sharply different perspectives. In the US, issues related to the political dimension of immigrant incorporation have been – until very recently – largely neglected by political scientists and sociologists, as the privileged focus of attention has been economic and social incorporation. Notable exceptions to this general sidelining of political incorporation is the work by Jones-Correa (1998), Gerstle and Mollenkopf (2001), Bloemraad (2006b), Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008), and Hochschild and Mollenkopf (2009a). Moreover, often the emphasis of the American literature has been either on tracing the historical and political processes that lead to migrants' political incorporation (for example, Savidge Sterne, 2001; Ueda, 2001; McKeever, 2001) or on identifying the individual predictors of migrants' political engagement (for example, DeSipio, 1996; Tam Cho, 1999; Leal et al., 2008).

In contrast, in general terms, the European scholarship has developed a larger body of work that is specifically concerned with the political dimension of migrants' integration. Partly due to a lack of adequate survey data, and partly due to the prevailing academic traditions, European academia has privileged the study of the contextual and institutional factors when accounting for the different levels and pathways of migrant integration into the political process (for example, Ireland, 1994; Rex, 2000; Togeby, 2004; Garbaye, 2005; Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008). And in so doing, it has borrowed a solid pre-existing theoretical framework that is able to account for the variations in migrants' political incorporation across settings: political opportunity theory (Koopmans and Statham, 2000b; Koopmans et al., 2005).

A more recent development in European scholarship has also stressed the importance of the group-level resources – notably the social capital generated by the patterns of interaction and linkage of migrants' organizations – in understanding why certain groups are more successfully incorporated into the political process (cf. Fennema and Tillie, 1999 and 2001; Jacobs and Tillie, 2004). This has led, on both sides of the Atlantic, to an increasing interest in the ways in which migrants' associations can contribute to speed or slow the political incorporation of the newcomers (cf. the essays in Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad, 2008).

In this book, we move a step forward in this research agenda by explicitly bridging these different but complementary research agendas and traditions. We believe that a proper understanding of the processes that drive the political inclusion (or exclusion) of immigrants and their descendants requires paying attention to the various individual, organizational and contextual factors that are likely to be relevant. As we discuss in the next pages, the study in which this book is based has carefully collected information on these three levels of analysis and, hence, takes on board the insights from both the American and the European traditions.

As we will argue – and as many of the chapters in this volume show – several aspects of the context of migrants' integration importantly shape their chances to become incorporated into the polity. But which context is the relevant one? Often in this field, scholars have privileged the national context in their studies (Brubaker, 1992; Soysal, 1994; Joppke and Morawska, 2003; Koopmans et al., 2005). This is an understandable development, as the thrust of citizenship and immigration policies is commonly defined at the nation-state level. However, it is at the local level where policies with a more direct impact on the daily life of migrants are designed and implemented (Body-Gendrot and Martiniello, 2000; Penninx et al., 2004; Borkert and Caponio, 2010). Local governments are the first to experience the policy challenges brought about by the ethnic, cultural and social diversity that immigration processes entail (Ireland, 1994; Rogers and Tillie, 2001; Jones-Correa, 2001), and their responses can complement, contradict or supplant national policies – especially in what is referred to as immigrant integration (cf. Alexander, 2003; Penninx, 2006). Consequently, local policies, local institutional settings and the prevailing public discourses at the local level can importantly shape the pace, intensity and level of migrants' incorporation into the public arena. Moreover, these aspects can substantially vary across local contexts even within the limits imposed by national policies – mostly, citizenship and flow control policies.

It is also at the local level that migrants usually have greater opportunities to become involved in political life. In several European countries, both EU and non-EU citizens are granted voting rights at the local level, and in all countries migrants are more likely to be able to mobilize successfully around co-ethnic candidates at the local level. It is also, primarily, the local context that determines the opportunities that migrants have to form civil society organizations, forge links with pre-existing local associations and parties, and rally together for collective action. Additionally, in various cities consultative structures have been established between the municipal government and the immigrant population, whereas in others the opportunities for migrants to participate in local decision-making are scarce. The larger concentration of immigrant-origin minorities in urban spaces also favours the development of common identities and of feelings of shared fate, thus fostering the emergence of group consciousness and group mobilization.

Furthermore, the local context provides the conditions that will shape the attitudes of the native population towards migrants, and the reaction of policy-makers and political elites to the newcomers and their descendants. Sometimes the political engagement of minorities is the result of specific political issues that emerge in mainstream city politics. Thus, focusing on the local level adds several layers of richness to the materials that one can analyse when studying migrants' political incorporation.

This book focuses on the local level – on large European metropolitan cities, in particular – and, therefore, it contributes to examine a level of government and of social interaction that is still understudied in a broad comparative perspective. As we will explain in greater detail in the coming pages, we have collected a vast amount of information that – without neglecting the importance of the nation-state in determining some of the conditions for migrants' political incorporation – inspects how the institutional, associational and societal dimensions of the local context alter the opportunities that migrants have to become included in the political process. As such, the book will illuminate the areas of policy intervention that local governments can identify in their quest to improve the conditions of integration of immigrants and their offspring.

This leads us to the need to highlight that one major problem in the study of migrants' political integration is the lack of conceptual clarity about what 'integration' means. What are the exact outcomes that policies and policy-makers should aim at achieving when promoting migrants' political incorporation? Whereas sociological and economic approaches to immigrant integration have extensively dealt with this conceptual issue – albeit not necessarily reaching a consensus – there is much less elaboration on the political component of integration or incorporation. Both the scholarly literature and the policy-makers have been using in an interchangeable fashion notions such as political incorporation, political integration, political assimilation and political inclusion. Often, it is not very clear whether all these notions are indeed equivalent and whether the desired outcome that is pursued is the same in all cases. Because the notion of political integration is central to our whole endeavour, in Chapter 2 Morales discusses the various conceptual and empirical angles that can be applied to the study of migrants' engagement in the civic and political communities of their countries of residence, and outlines the notion of political integration that we privilege in our approach to this topic at the same time that she discusses the main tensions inherent in the study of migrants' political integration. As is explained in that chapter, we believe that the most fruitful option is to conceive political integration as a relative notion that entails comparing the situation of migrants to that of the autochthonous population. Hence, we view political integration as equivalent to political inclusion and, consequently, as the absence of political exclusion.

From that conceptual starting point, this volume analyses in detail the various factors that lead to (or prevent) a successful integration of migrants into the political process. As we will detail later in this chapter, the volume relies on a unique international study that has collected data for 10 European cities on the individual behaviours, attitudes and characteristics of selected groups of migrants; on the associational fields of these same groups; on the socio-demographic composition of the migrant groups; and on the institutional and discursive political opportunities for migrants' integration. The uniqueness of the data lies not just on how extensive it is from the point of view of the number of cases and levels of analysis covered, but also on the fact that the data were collected following the same methods and using the same instruments in all the cities included.

In the remainder of this chapter, we introduce the study to the reader in more detail. The next section sketches out the main objectives and framework of the volume, at the same time that it describes what is our main contribution to the current scholarship on this topic. The third section provides some important details about the research design and the data that we use throughout the book, which we believe constitutes an important step forward in the empirical study of this subject. The final section anticipates some of the main findings and conclusions of each of the chapters in the volume.

Understanding migrants' political integration: micro, meso and macro factors

The main purpose of this book is to assess the degree of political integration (or exclusion) of migrants in various European cities following a multidimensional analytical perspective that takes into account three main sets of explanatory factors: the individual characteristics of migrants, their embeddedness in social (organizational) networks, and the political opportunity structures of their place of residence (country and city). Figure 1.1 summarizes the theoretical approach that underlies the focus of this volume.

All three kinds of explanations have their roots in different strands of the literature on political behaviour and participation. The role of individual characteristics and resources has long been stressed by students of political participation (see, for example, Verba et al., 1995; van Deth et al., 2007). Indeed, the resource model (Verba and Nie, 1972) has long represented the dominant paradigm in studies of political participation. In this perspective, aspects such as education and socio-economic status are strong predictors of participation. According to Verba et al. (1978), for example, political participation at the individual level is largely determined by civic resources (time, money and civic skills), which are usually the product of an elevated socio-economic status.

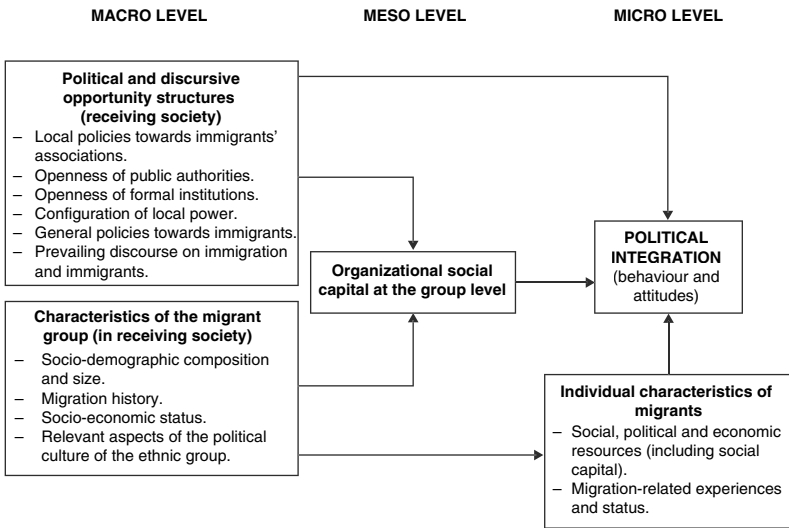


Figure 1.1 The theoretical approach

The comparative analysis of the political participation and, more generally speaking, the political integration of citizens of migrant origin in European cities must pay careful attention to individual characteristics that might explain why some participate while others do not, why some trust the political institutions of the receiving society while others do not, why some are interested in the politics of the settlement society while others are not, why some adhere to the habits and values of the receiving society while others do not, and so forth. All these aspects are influenced by the personal resources and skills migrants carry with them and are able to deploy. In this regard, one specific individual skill is likely to play a crucial role: the command of the language of the place of residence (Jacobs et al., 2004). The impact of this characteristic, of course, depends on which aspect of integration we are dealing with. For example, to be interested in the political affairs of the receiving society one clearly has to have at least some knowledge of the language. Similarly, one has to take into account the duration of stay in the country of residence and, partly related to that, the strength of the homeland ties of individual migrants. We should expect migrants who have arrived at an early stage of their lives or who have been born in the country of residence and who, hence, have only a weak relation with their country of ancestry to be politically more integrated. Yet, these as well as other predictions relating to the impact of individual characteristics on political integration need to be explored empirically, including through comparisons both across ethnic groups and across different settings. This is a major task

of this volume, and one to which it contributes substantially with novel and unique data.

A second strand of research on political participation has stressed the role of social integration (Almond and Verba, 1963). This body of literature emphasizes in particular the importance of being engaged in political, but also social and cultural, associations (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba et al., 1995; Pattie et al., 2003) as well as the mobilizing potential of community ties and integration into local networks. Some have also stressed the importance of integration within the community through the feeling of attachment to the community and the feeling of trust towards others (Putnam, 1993 and 2000; Hall, 1999). In this regard, the concept of social capital has become quite fashionable to capture those (positive) externalities that individuals can draw from their involvement in organizational networks and that they can bring into their political experience. Starting from the seminal works of Bourdieu (1984, 1986), Coleman (1988, 1990) and, more recently, Putnam (1993, 2000), the literature on social capital has witnessed an important growth in recent years (see Lin, 2001, and Portes, 1998 for overviews).

In the field of immigration and ethnic relations, this perspective has recently been brought to the fore by Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie (1999, 2001). Fennema and Tillie have argued that differences in political participation of ethnic minorities are linked to differences in what they call 'civic community', which they conceive of above all as 'ethnic' social capital of migrants stemming from participation in ethnic associational life. Drawing from a research tradition that goes back to Alexis de Tocqueville, Fennema and Tillie maintain that voluntary associations create social trust, which spills over into political trust and higher political participation. In their approach, however, the degree of ethnic civic community is measured through the density of networks between ethnic organizations (see van Heelsum, 2005, and Vermeulen, 2006, for a similar perspective). Thus, networks are seen as reflecting the amount of social capital at the group level. In this perspective, '[s]ocial capital at the group level is a function of (1) the number of organizations, (2) the variety in the activities of the organizations and (3) the density of the organizational network' (Tillie, 2004: 531).

While fundamental both in their findings and for having stimulated further research, the work by Fennema and Tillie has two main limitations for the study of individual participation and integration. Firstly, it focuses on organizational density and the social capital at the group level. Yet, social capital does not only derive from organizational networks as such, but is translated into individual resources through involvement in organizations and other social networks. The number, variety and density of organizations constitute the social capital at the group level, but if we want to explain the political integration of migrants we must take into account their involvement in voluntary associations and other structures of social interaction

at the individual level as well. Secondly, Fennema and Tillie have focused on ethnic social capital, neglecting the role of cross-ethnic and non-ethnic networks. In other words, associational involvement may spur 'bonding' social capital, but also 'bridging' social capital (Putnam, 2000), and research should be able to analyse the impact of both aspects on the political participation and integration of migrants. In fact, the quality of a multicultural democracy might well stem more from the bridging than from the bonding social capital, as the latter lies within a specific community, whereas the former overcomes the ethnic cleavage.

Recent work by a number of scholars, including Fennema and Tillie themselves, has tried to respond to both of these limitations. On one hand, they focus on the individual-level dimension of social capital by looking at how individual involvement in different types of associations might favour political participation and integration. The results of these studies were published in a special issue of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (Berger et al., 2004; Jacobs et al., 2004; Tillie, 2004; Togeby, 2004). These studies show, on the other hand, that non-ethnic or cross-ethnic organizations play an important role and have a distinct impact on the political participation of migrants.

This volume follows this line of reasoning by looking at the impact of organizational membership in different types of voluntary associations and networks on the political participation and integration of migrants at the individual level. We improve the existing research by taking into account the effect of the social capital that develops from organizational formation and involvement both at the individual and the group level (see, especially, Chapter 5 by Morales and Pilati, and Chapter 6 by Strömblad et al. in this book).

Together with political attitudes and motivations, individual characteristics and social integration form what has been called the 'civic voluntarism model' of political participation (Verba et al., 1995). In this perspective, 'three main factors influence the decision to participate: the personal resources used to participate, political attitudes that encourage participation, and connections to groups or people who ask one to participate' (Dalton, 2008b: 58). While it has dominated the existing literature, this focus on individual-level factors overlooks the crucial role played by the political and institutional context. Indeed, recent work on political participation has started to stress contextual factors, either on their own (Franklin et al., 1996) or in conjunction with individual factors (Anduiza, 2002; Bühlmann and Freitag, 2006; Morales, 2009).

This is all the more important in the case of migrants, as they often face a political and institutional setting that is completely different from the one they were used to in their country of origin. Hence, one should seriously take into account the impact of the context of settlement for migrants' political integration (Portes and Böröcz, 1989), and specifically the local

variations that we often find within countries. Local contexts are, in this regard, especially relevant because it is at the local level that many of the policies and political interactions that have a vital impact on migrants' lives develop. For example, the local setting largely determines how political parties and other political actors react to the arrival of new residents who can become – eventually – full citizens and voters (Jones-Correa, 1998). Additionally, in many countries local authorities have sufficient powers on a number of policy domains that determine migrants' capacity to become part of the local society, and very importantly, that determine their ability to engage in the policy process.

The concept of political opportunity structures has become fashionable in this respect (Eisinger, 1973; Kitschelt, 1986; Tarrow, 1994; Tilly, 1978; Kriesi et al., 1995). This is the third strand of research that we consider as important to arrive at a deeper understanding of the patterns of political participation and integration of migrants in European cities. This concept has its origin in the literature on social movements and contentious politics (see Kriesi, 2004 and Meyer, 2004 for reviews). Political opportunities can be defined broadly as 'consistent but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national signals to social or political actors which either encourage or discourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements' (Tarrow, 1996: 54). More specifically, they refer to all those aspects of the political system that affect the possibilities that challenging groups have to mobilize effectively. Among such aspects, one can mention the following main dimensions (McAdam, 1996): the relative openness or closure of the institutionalized political system; the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity; the presence or absence of elite allies; and the state's capacity and propensity for repression. All these aspects define 'options for collective action, with chances and risks attached to them, which depend on factors outside the mobilizing group' (Koopmans, 2004b: 65).

We maintain that the concept of political opportunity structures, originally crafted to account for social movement and protest activity, can fruitfully be applied to the study of the political participation and integration of migrants. In order to do so, however, we need to elaborate it further in at least three directions, as compared to its traditional usage in the social movement and contentious politics literature. First, in addition to the more traditional aspects relating to the general political opportunity structures, such as the access to the institutionalized political system or the configuration of power, one should also consider more specific features of the political context that influences in particular the attitudes and behaviours of migrants, most notably citizenship rights that open or close their access to the national community (Koopmans et al., 2005). The policies enacted and implemented by the political authorities of the country of residence obviously constitute an important aspect of institutional opportunities in this sense (Bloemraad, 2005; Ireland, 1994; Vermeulen, 2005 and 2006).

Second, we need to acknowledge that behaviours are not only constrained by political institutions, but that discourse matters as well. In other words, opportunities have both an institutional and a discursive side. The former aspects refer to the openness or closure of the institutional setting or the policies enacted by political authorities; while the latter determine which collective identities and substantive demands have a high likelihood of gaining visibility in the mass media, resonating with the claims of other collective actors, and achieving legitimacy in the public discourse (Koopmans et al., 2005).

Finally, while political opportunity theory has looked almost exclusively to when and how opportunities influence collective mobilization and social movements, we propose to apply institutional and discursive opportunities to explain the political participation and integration of individual migrants. The main idea behind this extension of the original reach of the theory is that political opportunities structure not just the incentives and disincentives for political mobilization at the group level, but that they also structure individual action. This is a logical extension of the applicability of these theories, as it is difficult to see how political opportunities would impinge on movement mobilization and protest if they do not affect individual participation decisions as well, and other research has successfully blended already the political opportunity structures approach with the traditional predictors of political participation in models of individual behaviour (cf. Leighley, 1995 and 2001; Morales, 2009).

In sum, this book aims to explain the political participation and integration of individual migrants of different national and ethnic groups by examining the role of their individual characteristics and resources, the impact of social capital accumulation at the individual and group level, and the general and specific political opportunities – both institutional and discursive – that characterize the country and especially the city in which they live. We now describe in some detail how we conducted the study and the data on which the volume is based.

The study

All the chapters that are included in this volume employ a large dataset that is the result of an ambitious effort to study migrants' political integration and social capital in several European cities. It is the result of a collective endeavour that was initiated originally by Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie in 2003 with the setting up of a network of European scholars that agreed to employ the same research design and methods of data collection in each and all of several European cities. Over the years, some teams were able to get funding for their projects and others did not, some started earlier – the Norwegian and Swedish teams, for example – and others had to wait a bit more to get sufficient funding. In the end, eight teams were able to run

the projects at some point between 2004 and 2008, and the data they have produced for 10 different European metropolitan cities is what we use in this volume.

The cities

As we have discussed in previous pages, studying migrant integration in the urban context is particularly fruitful for several reasons. First, migrants and their descendants in Europe are overwhelmingly concentrated in cities. Migrants are often over-represented in cities and urban regions, as these are places that provide not only better economic perspectives but more diverse and dynamic social networks and integration possibilities. As a result, an increasing number of European metropolitan cities contain large foreign-origin communities of between a tenth and a third of their total population. Yet, not only demographic factors make cities an important focus of research on the political integration of migrants. In addition, most European cities are relatively autonomous in formulating and implementing policies that have a substantial impact on migrants' daily lives, and the local context is increasingly the one where the integration of migrants is at stake (Rex, 2000; Penninx et al., 2004; Alexander, 2004).

From this viewpoint, the city is the setting that provides (or denies) migrants with the general and specific political opportunities, both institutional and discursive, for their political participation and integration. This is the reason why we selected a number of European metropolitan cities that reflect a wide variation in terms of the magnitude of immigrant flows, their timing and their composition. We have chosen to study cities in countries of long-standing immigration – London, Lyon, Oslo, Stockholm, Zurich and Geneva – as well as cities where immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon – Barcelona, Budapest, Madrid and Milan.

All the cities studied are centres of large metropolitan regions with strong economies. The annual per capita GDP generated in these places is usually significantly higher than the national figure (Table 1.1). This attracts migrants to these regions in larger numbers than the respective national average. The difference is most striking in the case of London where the proportion of migrants is more than six times that for Britain as a whole, although the North London boroughs covered by our analysis (Islington, Camden, Hackney and Haringey) are especially over-represented by ethnic minority groups even in comparison with other parts of the city. The proportion of Londoners who belong to ethnic minority groups is 29 per cent for the whole city.

In absolute terms, the British and Swiss cities stand out as the ones with the largest shares of immigrant population, with Budapest at the other end with barely 3 per cent of migrants. Most cities, however, are in intermediate situations of between 10 and 20 per cent of immigrant population. Another major difference across the cities studied is related to the dynamic element of migrants' presence in the city. In Barcelona, London, Madrid and Milan there