Education and Political Participation of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in the EU

An Overview of the Literature

CEPS Special Report/September 2009

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Abstract

According to the literature covering the impact of educational inclusion or exclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities on their political participation, it appears that most authors take for granted that having been educated facilitates actions understood to fall within this scope. This report reveals that this stance is largely undermined, however, by the fact that the levels of opportunity for participation by these groups are legally limited. In addition, the report delves into the different understandings of educational inclusion and political participation, which vary significantly from one author to the other.

CONTENTS

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1. Focus of the preliminary report

This report aims at providing an overview of the ways in which the academic literature (secondary sources) addresses the question of how the educational inclusion/exclusion of migrants and ethnic minorities affects their political participation. The purpose of this exercise is to present an account of the main academic views on the connection between the role of 'education' as a component of social inclusion in the 'European knowledgebase society' and the political participation of these vulnerable groups. The main arguments raised in these analyses are identified, grouped and assessed according to whether they deem education to have an exclusionary or a transformative effect on political participation.

First, it is necessary to point out that the relevant secondary sources identified generally tend to cover those issues related to the inclusion/exclusion of vulnerable groups in education separately from those issues concerning their political participation. Although a wide range of research has been undertaken on the inclusion of migrants and minorities through schooling, the connection with political participation is rarely established or even addressed in the various areas of social sciences and humanities. Moreover, the political participation of migrants and minorities is usually discussed for specific purposes far from a study of the exclusionary or inclusionary nature of educational policies. Indeed, the focus of the literature on the political participation of migrants has been on the diverse forms their political participation takes or on voting habits. It is here that some of the factors identified as contributing to their involvement in political action are mentioned. The specific topic of this preliminary report seldom constitutes the main aspect covered in these secondary sources. Instead, the emphasis is generally on either political participation as evidence of the integration of minorities and immigrants in the 'host' country or their inclusion in the education system for the purpose of their entry into the labour market. The secondary sources on the topics of education of these groups and of their political participation are therefore largely distinctive and the two themes are rarely interconnected.

The following section describes the ways in which this report has been prepared, starting with an account of the methodology for data collection. We try to understand why this task might prove to be a rather subjective and ideologically sensitive endeavour by providing a brief overview and analysis of the major themes. The main issues identified by the authors reviewed are presented and assessed in section 4. Finally, section 5 seeks to highlight key dilemmas when looking at inclusion or exclusion in education as a factor affecting political participation. The appendix presents a detailed table including the content of each document reviewed, its citation, abstract, topic and quotations, following the format provided by the coordination team of Project 3.

2.   Sources for data collection and analysis used in the literature review

The literature review was carried out in public libraries and more specifically in the social sciences departments. A wide range of specialised websites and periodicals were also consulted.[1] The main thematic issues investigated correspond to educational policies towards migrants and ethnic minorities and to their political participation. Literature covering the fields of citizenship and integration was also consulted. The selection of secondary sources includes authors who may be considered among the most recognised in this field across the disciplines of education, sociology and politics. Close attention was also given to the work carried out by other research projects, such as POLITIS "Building Europe with new citizens? An inquiry into the civic participation of naturalised immigrants and foreign residents in 25 countries".[2] This three-year project financed under the 6th Framework Programme of the European Commission's DG Research sought to assess the contribution of immigrants to European societies by investigating their perceptions of Europe, and more specifically, the different factors that promote or inhibit their active civic participation. The task of reviewing the existing literature was further facilitated by the publication in July 2008 of a Commission Communication on migration and mobility, and its challenges and opportunities for EU education systems.[3] This proved to be a useful tool because it provided an up-to-date presentation of the current European challenges and priorities in this field as well as a selected bibliography. In addition, the background document accompanying the Communication included precise statistical data.

As regards the personal scope, it needs to be stressed that migrants and ethnic minorities present very distinctive specificities when it comes to political participation. This consideration is particularly important when looking at political rights that relate to the power, capacity and entitlement to vote and to be elected. For the purpose of this literature review, it has been deemed appropriate to avoid interpreting political participation so restrictively. Indeed, these rights are mainly available to citizens of the country in which such rights can be claimed, thereby excluding immigrants who are not naturalised and refugees.[4] While over the past 10 years, the granting of voting rights to non-national residents has been on the EU political agenda, not much progress has been made so far (Groenendijk, 2008). Therefore, one can still argue today that most migrants lack real opportunities for participation (Castles, 2000). In his study of the political participation of third-country nationals in the EU-27, Geyer (2007) identified four normative domains in which the political participation of this group is regulated: voting rights, access to citizenship, advisory councils and arenas of dialogue, and the granting of freedom of association. By looking at the conditions for having access to rights in these fields, he argues that the length of stay and to a certain extent the colonial ties are the decisive elements in some EU member states. From a legal point of view, political participation is never conditioned on a particular level of educational attainment. Nevertheless, in some countries, language proficiency is a condition for having access to permanent residence and nationality, and as such can constitute a legal barrier to political participation.

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[1] Extensive consultation of databases such as ERIC, JSTOR, Sociofile and ISI was undertaken to guarantee that international debates with a high impact would be included in the report.

[2] The project's website (www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe) contains a large number of working papers and references.

[3] See European Commission, Green Paper on Migration & Mobility: Challenges and opportunities for EU education systems, COM(2008) 423 final, Brussels, 3 July 2008(a); see also European Commission, Staff Working Document accompanying the Green Paper on Migration & Mobility: Challenges and Opportunities for EU education systems, SEC(2008) 2173 final, Brussels, 3 July 2008(b).

[4] Ethnic minorities are not systematically excluded from such rights, however, especially when they hold the nationality of the state in which they are living.

Martiniello (2005) understands political participation as "the active dimension of citizenship". In his interpretation, it relates to the various ways in which individuals take part in the management of the collective affairs of a given political community and comprises "less conventional types of political activities such as protests, demonstrations, sit-ins, hunger strikes, boycotts, etc".[5] We follow his interpretation and use this wider meaning of political participation instead of solely focusing on the structural locations for political participation, and look at the actual representation, mobilisation and activism of the vulnerable groups at the centre of this review. In this light, the review includes several accounts of taking part in associations, membership of political or social organisations, attendance at demonstrations and similar variables. This interpretation, however, is not one that every author has used.

In the case of education, the understanding of what background an educated person should have is largely distinct from one author to another. While some understand it as educational attainment up to the level of primary school, others consider higher education and university degrees as the decisive factor. Educational attainment can be understood as including not only the level of literacy but also the years of schooling and the academic level reached. Some authors even tend to draw a distinction between education received in the host country and that received in the country of origin. Inclusion in the education system can also refer to receiving needs-specific teaching, which in the case of migrants and minorities can be interpreted in many different ways. The understanding and interpretation of the nature of the qualifications necessary for a migrant to be considered 'educated' are therefore very wide in the literature. For the purpose of this report, an inclusionary definition of education is used and basic levels of literacy are considered.

3. Impact of educational background on political participation

The transformative component of inclusion in the education system in political participation is generally assumed in a majority of the literature sources reviewed. Yet there is also evidence of political activity notwithstanding an absence or a 'low level' of education. In this section, we first look at this latter aspect before moving on to an assessment of the links found by several authors between political participation and the level of education of migrants and ethnic minorities.

3.1 Exclusionary components

In the literature reviewed, no manifestation of an exclusionary element attributed to education was identified. This is understood in the specification of the Includ-ED project as the negative impact of exclusion from the education system on political participation. Instead, the academic sources included under this heading cover the political participation of migrants and minorities who, despite their low level of educational attainment or literacy, have been shown to be politically active. The absence of education was rarely considered an exclusionary factor with regard to political participation. Furthermore, the opposite would imply that those persons who have not attained a certain level of education are not capable of or allowed to participate in the political system. As this section shows, there **are clear indications of political activism despite exclusion from education in the form of acts of contestation (and demonstrations), as well as membership of civil associations.**

This activism is first evidenced by indicators such as **participation in petitions, marches and demonstrations**. This was in particular reported in the accounts of the '*marche des Beurs*' of

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[5] See M. Martiniello, *Political participation, mobilisation and representation of immigrants and their offspring in Europe*, Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, School of International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Malmö University, Malmö, 2005, p. 5.

the 1990s in France (see Blanc-Chaleard, 2006), when the offspring of north African migrants engaged in a series of protest acts to question the national politics in relation to their treatment. Through these actions, second-generation migrants demonstrated political engagement and expressed specific claims with respect to the national politics of the country in which they were living. This occurred in spite of the fact that they had largely been excluded from the education system of the country in which they had been born. Indeed, the author characterises them has having a low level of educational attainment. Even so, by their actions these subjects became political actors. Through the scene thus created, these subjects became actors in the context of a national policy directed towards them. This social reality is currently the focus of citizenship studies based on acts as expressions of citizenship.[6] Such innovative theoretical framing shifts the emphasis from the institution of citizenship as an already held status to collective or individual deeds that rupture social–historical patterns. This involves looking at ways of being of an ethical, cultural, sexual and social nature as constitutive elements of citizenship.

Some of the documents and surveys considered refer to other indicators of the political participation of migrants with no evidence of a lengthy school attendance. For instance, when looking at the leaders of the **community-based Mexican organisations** in New England, it appears that their educational experiences were very distinct (Montero-Sieburth, 2007). After analysing their backgrounds, the authors found that only a third had continued their studies beyond a bachelor's degree. This did not prevent them from being elected representatives of these organisations and contributing to the promotion of social, civic and cultural elements of their lives as American residents. On the other hand, when looking at the political participation and **associational life** of Turkish residents in Brussels, Jacobs, Phalet and Swyngedouw (2006) found that although very active in associations and widely represented, Turkish-origin minorities were largely absent from Belgian political life, thereby questioning the extent of their political participation. But this may be explained by the limited opportunities for the political representation of this group in the Belgian setting. In Belgium, migrants need to have been legally resident for at least five years to be able to vote in local elections, under the condition that they swear allegiance to the country. Still, this only allows them to enjoy passive voting rights and they cannot be elected.[7]

3.2 Transformative components

A predominant line of argumentation in the existing academic literature is that political participation, and especially that of immigrants, is based on a multiplicity of elements that contribute to determining the extent to which the individual may wish to be mobilised and be an active member of the polity. Notwithstanding the socio-economic status (SES) theory,[8]

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[6] Drawing from E. Isin and N. Nielsen (eds), *Acts of Citizenship*, London: ZedBooks, 2008, p. 2:

> To investigate citizenship in a way that is irreducible to either status or practice, while still valuing this distinction, requires a focus on those acts when, regardless of status or substance, subjects constitute themselves as citizens or, better still, as those to whom the right to have rights is due. But the focus shifts from subjects as such to acts (or deeds) that produce such subjects. The difference, we suggest, is crucial.

[7] See the *Loi du 19 mars 2004 visant à octroyer le droit de vote aux élections communales à des étrangers*. For an overview of the legal channels for participation open to third-country nationals in each country, see F. Geyer, *Trends in the EU-27 regarding participation of third-country nationals in the host country's political life*, Briefing Paper for the LIBE Commission of the European Parliament, Brussels, 2007.

[8] The SES theory assigns special attention to a limited number of variables, which include for instance education, income, occupation and accommodation. For a detailed analysis of the role of these factors in

education is regarded as only one element among many, including gender, age and income. Indeed, the connection between education and political participation has been widely assumed since the 1980s.[9] This connection is not a particularity of migrants and ethnic communities, however. Instead, a central factor is "the structure of political opportunities present at any given time and in any given society, which is the result of inclusion–exclusion mechanisms developed by the states and their political systems" (Martiniello, 2005). Other issues surrounding the participation of immigrants include the length of residence, the circumstances that brought them to the country, naturalisation rates (Barreto and Munoz, 2003), their political ideas and values, their previous involvement in politics, whether they regard their presence in the country of residence as permanent or temporary, their feelings of belonging to the receiving or origin society and their knowledge of the political system and institutions (Martiniello, 2005). Odmalm (2005) has studied the influence of another factor that he views as decisive in the political participation of migrants notwithstanding the extent of opportunity in political structures, i.e. the role of identification with the host society.[10]

Educational attainment is therefore often regarded as an influential factor for the active political participation of migrants and ethnic minorities. At this point, it is important to stress that the authors reviewed refer to it as a key **indicator or factor at times of measuring political participation** (Barreto and Munoz, 2003). According to Adamson (2006), "a decent *estimation* of the probability of political participation can be achieved through an exclusive analysis of the length of education" (emphasis added).[11] Although in his article he then concentrates on the assessment of the best social context for fostering political participation, he does consider education one of the elements for calculating the degree of political participation.

Similarly, Jacobs (2006) perceives education as an essential element for the political participation of migrants and ethnic minorities. In his view, if exclusion prevails, they will not be able to **achieve the sufficient level of literacy** necessary to obtain the *bridging capital* into Belgian society. In this context, education in its capacity to provide and improve language skills is here deemed essential. According to Jacobs, the capacity to contest and participate is conditioned by the ability to use the language in which the political activities are taking place. Among migrants and ethnic minorities, language use and proficiency is mainly achieved through schooling. Yet this is not always the case, and as Montero-Sieburth (2007) explains, associations often provide an appropriate location to improve language skills.

Tillie (2004) sees school as a privileged setting for facilitating the **apprenticeship of 'citizen skills'**, which he considers to include debating, reading newspapers and being interested in political affairs. This of course implies that the education system is based upon the 'democratic model' of schools, which allows such activities to take place and enhances the capacities of pupils to interact and participate. School is also viewed by some authors as a powerful social agent contributing to upward social mobility and thereby increasing the *probability* of political participation, as they consider it socialising with respect to the host society (Swynggedouw and Phalet, 2007). Still, Swynggedouw and Phalet view the media and religious institutions as

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political participation see L.W. Milbrath and M.L. Goel, *Political Participation, How and Why do People Get Involved in Politics?*, New York: University Press of America, 1977.

[9] According M. Conway in *Political participation in the United States*, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1985, education is the most important component of socioeconomic status in influencing political participation.

[10] In his book *Migration Policies and Political Participation*, he challenges the socio-economic paradigm and introduces the concept of identification as a complement to relying on socio-economic variables.

[11] See G. Adamson, *Immigrants and political participation – Background, theory, and empirical suggestions*, Discussion paper, Fundamental Rights' Agency, Vienna, 2006, p. 14.

fulfilling the same function. According to them, these allow individuals to gain a greater **receptivity to local values and norms**, which, in their opinion, promotes political participation. Education is thus considered to be a "powerful agent to promote democracy", allowing immigrants to obtain the tools necessary for political acts such as voting. Schiffauer et al. (2004) mitigate this assertion by stating that *ideally* this should be the case and that school as a key component of state building and citizenship formation should aim at **civil enculturation**. Tam Sho (1999), however, maintains that socio-economic status variables such as education exhibit a clear effect only insofar as they socialise one to a greater **sense of 'civic duty'**, greater efficacy in voting and closer adherence to democratic ideals.

Along this line of thought, a distinction is sometimes drawn between **education in the country of origin and that in the country of residence**. According to Swynggedouw and Phalet (2007), education in the country of origin rather than in the host does not encourage the same level participation in the host country because it tends to make migrants feel more involved in their home politics compared with those of their host country. Garcia (1987) holds that while immigrants who have received education in their country of origin may be tempted to be drawn back to their home politics, those who have been educated in the host country are also provided with the necessary knowledge to be critical of the host political system.

Some research has also been conducted on the participation of immigrants and minorities in associations as a form of political participation. Indeed, **organisational involvement** is sometimes seen as providing bridging social capital by connecting the individual to a wider range of people. Furthermore, it has been argued that voluntary associations create social trust, which spills over into political trust and hence triggers greater political participation (Fennema, 2003). In the study carried out in the context of the POLITIS project, the majority of civically active interviewees had a high education level (79%), which in the meaning of the authors related to university or college education. At the same time, the results of the study gave rise to a methodological question. The interviewers themselves recognised that the results of the survey might be biased by their inclination to interview individuals having the same background as them, that is to say, those attending the university. That notwithstanding, the interviewees understood education as also giving them the necessary self-confidence to be active in such organisations (more particularly in the case of refugees). They equally identified schools as privileged locations for gaining valuable skills (e.g. communication abilities) for these kinds of activities (Kosic, 2008).

4. Conclusions and final reflections

Following the analysis of secondary sources on this theme, it is open to debate whether inclusion in the education system can be identified as a factor producing politically active migrants and ethnic minorities. Although the statistical data provided by the literature reviewed show a greater proportion of 'active persons' presenting an educated background, political participation appears to be dependant upon a wider number of other socio-economic and normative factors. It is true that education may be considered an incentive. Indeed, it is recognised as encouraging political participation as well as providing material grounds for involvement. Associations often compensate for the educational exclusion of migrants by offering training. It is also argued that associations facilitate acquisition of the 'citizenship skills' viewed as necessary for participation, such as debating and an interest in current affairs.

Furthermore, it cannot be asserted that exclusion from the education system prevents political participation. The literature reviewed shows that although school is a privileged location for gaining language and civic skills, immigrants and minorities who have been excluded from the host country's education system may nonetheless be very active politically. This outcome, as explained in section 4.2, illustrates the fact that school is not the only place where such

competences can be gained. The political participation of migrants and ethnic minorities is thus not dependant upon educational inclusion and the distinction between education in the country of origin and in the host country appears irrelevant. Exclusion from education does not prevent the political participation of migrants and ethnic minorities, nor should it. The literature has given less attention to the ways in which inclusion in the education system can be used as a normative and political argument for excluding migrants and ethnic minorities from membership in the national and European communities. In this regard, education can function as a legal barrier for having access to citizenship.

Although education and political participation constitute factors demonstrating the integration or inclusion of migrants into the society of the country where they reside, they are in fact two quite different concepts, which are difficult to compare and connect. While schooling is a structural dimension of integration, political participation is fundamentally linked to issues of membership and citizenship. The identification dimension is restricted to questions of how migrants are identified by themselves or through the eyes of others, and the structural dimension is defined by social and economical denominators. Linking the two or making one dependant upon the other entails the risk of conditioning the community of legitimate individuals able to act or participate politically on a certain level of schooling or language proficiency (or both). This idea could pose serious conflicts with the principle of non-discrimination and human rights. Politically active participants are so mainly when they are given the structural means to take part, and not because they are literate enough or they have attained a sufficiently high level of studies or because their education has considered their specific needs. What is more, the linkage between inclusion in education and political participation provokes tensions for those individuals in vulnerable situations because of their framing by law as 'immigrants' or 'ethnic minorities'. The claim and justification of inclusion in education can serve as a normative requirement in the hands of the state for justifying exclusion from political participation. The small proportion of literature on this latter subject demonstrates the need for more research in this area, while taking into account that linking the two is not ideologically free.

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Centre d'études de l'ethnicité et des migrations (http://www.cedem.ulg.ac.be/)

Centre for Information and research on civic participation (Circle) (http://www.civicyouth.org/)

Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC) (http://www.eric.ed.gov/)

European Commission, DG Education and Training, Migrant children and education: Challenges and opportunities for EU education systems (http://ec.europa.eu/education/news/news490_en.htm)

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[12] These websites were consulted throughout the preparation of this report (from August 2008 to December 2008).

European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER), Utrecht University (http://www.uu.nl/uupublish/onderzoek/onderzoekcentra/ercomer/24638main.html)

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (http://fra.europa.eu/fra/index.php)

Groupes d'études sur l'Ethnicité, le Racisme, les Migrations et l'Exclusion (http://www.ulb.ac.be/socio/germe/)

Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (http://www.cemes.org/jems.htm)

JSTOR (http://www.jstor.org/)

Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers, Malmö University Electronic Publishing (http://www.mah.se/templates/Page____51170.aspx)

NESSE network of experts (http://www.nesse.fr)

POLITIS project: "Building Europe with New Citizens? An inquiry into the civic participation of Naturalized Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 countries" (http://www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/)

Appendix
Interim report on the impact of educational inclusion/exclusion on the political participation of migrants and ethnic minorities

Source[13]	Citation	Abstract	Topic	Topic component	Quotation(s)
Malmö University Electronic Publishing, Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers	Martiniello, M. (2005), *Political participation, mobilisation and representation of immigrants and their offspring in Europe*, Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, School of International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Malmö University, Malmö.	This paper provides a qualitative overview of the state of the art on issues related to immigrants' political participation, mobilisation and representation, and presents some research perspectives to be explored in the future. It is divided into seven parts. The first part addresses conceptual and definition issues. The second presents and discusses the thesis of political quiescence of immigrants. Part three focuses on the explanations of the various forms of immigrant political participation. The fourth part presents a typology of the various forms of immigrant political participation in the country of settlement. Part five specifically discusses the issue of transnational political participation. The sixth identifies gaps in the literature to which new research perspectives might correspond. The concluding policy-oriented part addresses the issue of how to evaluate and assess the political participation of immigrants and their offspring in the country of residence.	Impact of education on different forms of civic participation	**Transformative** Political participation is to be understood as the active dimension of citizenship. It refers to the various ways in which individuals take part in the management of the collective affairs of a given political community. Education is one of a number of factors that determine the level of political participation of migrants.	"Whether immigrants and their offspring seize these opportunities in this changing institutionally defined framework depends on several variables. These include their political ideas and values, their previous involvement in politics (including experiences in the country of origin), the degree of 'institutional completeness' of the immigrant ethnic community, whether they regard their presence in the country of residence as permanent or temporary, their feeling of belonging to the host and/or the origin society, their knowledge of the political system and institutions, the social capital and density of immigrant associational networks, as well as all the usual determinants of political behaviour such as level of education, linguistic skills, socio-economic status, gender, age or generational cohort" (p. 8).

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[13] This literature review was conducted in September 2008 using public libraries as well as specialised articles and web pages as specified in section 3.

Fundamental Rights Agency website	Adamson, G. (2006), *Immigrants and political participation – Background, theory, and empirical suggestions*, Discussion paper, Fundamental Rights' Agency, Vienna.	This paper offers an overview of 'political participation' in relation to immigrants. By first looking at the general theories of political participation, the author seeks to establish patterns in this domain as applied to immigrants before raising some issues under the theme of ethnicity. In a second part, the author also raises methodological problems pertaining to researching this issue and finally mentions some best practices among member states.	Relationship between social and political participation among different social groups	**Transformative** In this article, the author stresses that the length of education is one of the most reliable indicators for the political participation of all. He concludes by stating that although there are a large number of other factors involved, inclusion in the education system contributes to enhancing voting rates among immigrants in Europe.	"Income, occupation, and education, constituting prominent features within the theory of socio-economic status are all, as will be recalled, positively correlated with political participation among any social group" (p. 35). "Our investigation maintains that education is the most important factor in any policy that seeks to increase political participation among immigrants" (p. 43).
Education Resources Information Centre	Barreto, M. and J. Munoz (2003), "Re-examining the 'politics of in-between': Political participation among Mexican immigrants in the United States", *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 25, No. 4, November, pp. 427-447.	This article undertakes a multivariate analysis of political participation among Mexican American immigrants. Traditional forms of participation such as registration and voting are not adequate tests of civic engagement for a population including 7 million non-citizens. Rather, this article examines non-electoral participation, including a meeting or rally, volunteering for a campaign or donating money to a political cause. This research employs a national sample of Mexican Americans, including immigrants and non-citizens, and the models reveal that Mexican American immigrants are politically active. The authors find that the foreign-born are not less likely to be active than native-born respondents, and furthermore, among the foreign-born, non-citizens are just as likely to participate as naturalised citizens. Although traditional	Relationship between literacy skills and choices and opportunities for social and political participation	**Transformative** This article investigates the extent to which non-citizen Mexican immigrants are politically active in the United States. While it focuses on the different forms such participation may take, it also looks at the factors common to politically active migrants. The authors identify education as one of a number of factors, along with English fluency, that are predictive of political participation. The various forms of actions include working for a political campaign or attending a public meeting or rally.	"[A]ge and higher levels of education are the best indicators of participation" (p. 440). "English fluency is an important asset in political participation. Those respondents with high levels of English proficiency were 13.5% more likely to take part in at least one political act" (p. 441). "Although age and income do not bear significant influences on participation, education, gender, and partisanship do account for some variance in measuring political participation. Similar to the model for all people of Mexican ancestry, education and partisanship are

		socio-economic status variables remain important, language fluency, percentage of life spent in the United States, and immigrant attitudes towards opportunities in the United States contribute additional predictive capacity to models of political participation among Mexican immigrants.			positive influences for participation among immigrants" (p. 443). "Although traditional demographic factors play a role in predicting participation, we have also isolated factors such as percentage of life in the United States, English fluency, and attitudes toward opportunities in the United States, and sending money back home that can influence immigrant participation" (p. 445).
Journal of Education Policy	Rijkschroeff, R., G. ten Dam, J.W. Duyvendak, M. de Gruijter and T. Pels (2005), "Educational policies on migrants and minorities in the Netherlands: Success or failure?", *Journal of education policy*, Vol. 20, No. 4, July, pp. 417-435.	In common with other European countries, the Dutch government has pursued an active educational policy for migrants and minorities focusing on integration. This article presents the results of a study on the objectives and results of this policy between 1970 and 2002. Were the desired objectives achieved or were the outcomes of the educational policy the opposite of what was intended? To what extent did the integration policy in the Netherlands get a chance to take effect or was it abandoned before it had the opportunity to succeed? First, the different assumptions and focal points of the Dutch educational policy regarding migrants and minorities in the past 30 years are discussed. Second, the educational position of the various ethnic groups is analysed. To conclude, the authors give an answer to the question regarding the extent to which the objectives of the educational policy on migrants and minorities were achieved and then go on to discuss the	Impact of education on different forms of civic participation	**Transformative** This article studies the different effects that Dutch educational policies have had on the participation of migrants in Dutch society. It concludes that the consistent, inclusive policy pursued by the authorities has contributed to the involvement of migrants and minorities at all levels of society.	"In more detail, three dimensions can be distinguished in the educational policy of the Dutch government on migrants and minorities: • [t]he socio-economic dimension • [t]he emancipatory dimension • [t]he socio-cultural dimension" (p. 422). "The objective of the general emancipation policy is to create conditions for a diverse society in which everyone, irrespective of gender or other principles of social stratification including ethnicity, age, marital status, ability and sexual preference, has the opportunity to lead an independent existence, and in which women and men may enjoy equal rights, opportunities, freedoms and social and other responsibilities" (p. 423).

		extent to which the integration policy of the central government in the field of education can be evaluated as successful.			"The consistency in the socio-economic and emancipatory dimensions of the educational policy on minorities has been striking over the past few decades" (p. 426).
JSTOR	Jacobs, D., K. Phalet and M. Swyngedouw (2006), "Political Participation and Associational Life of Turkish Residents in the Capital of Europe", *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, March, pp. 145-161.	This study addresses the question of the political participation of Turkish immigrants. In general, an active participation in the political system of the host country through membership of political parties, through voting, through holding elected office or through civil society activism is considered almost a *sine qua non* of complete integration into the host society. The Turkish experience is somewhat puzzling: Turkish immigrants in the European Union tend to have a strong associational life, dense social networks and an important sense of community, which should lead to increased political trust and political involvement. Yet this does not appear to be the case in the Belgian region of Brussels-Capital. The study discusses (dis)similarities in this context between Turks living in major Western European cities like Amsterdam, Berlin and Brussels, and tries to shed further light on the structure of Turkish associational life in Brussels and the issue of political involvement of the Turkish community in the Belgian and European capital.	Relationship between literacy skills and choices and opportunities for social and political participation	**Exclusionary** This article states that while minorities of Turkish origin are very active in ethnic-based associations, they are largely absent from Belgian political life. According to the authors, this is to some extent owing their experiences of extensive failure in schooling and hence a poor linguistic command.	"The second generation of the Turkish minority has considerable difficulty in overcoming its arrears in education and, consequently, language skills tend to suffer. This equally has some consequences for political involvement" (p. 146). "[E]ducational level seems to be a much more important element of integration and participation – equally comprising political participation. It is education [that] leads to sufficient "bridging" capital such as language skills and general knowledgeability on how to live in a place like Belgium" (p. 159).

Public library	Swyngedouw, M. and K. Phalet (2007), "La double citoyenneté des turcs et des Marocains à Bruxelles", in P. Delwit, A. Rea and M. Swyngedouw (eds), *Bruxelles ville ouverte*, Paris: L'Harmattant.	The authors conducted surveys among first- and second-generation Turkish and Moroccan minorities to compare levels and forms of organisation of these two groups with those of nationals. In this way, the authors seek to analyse these groups' feelings of citizenship and belonging to Belgium.	Relationship between social and political participation and ties to different social groups	**Transformative** The authors argue that the observed differences in the level of participation in social and political organisations of the country of residence stem from the different levels of schooling experienced in the country. According to them, school fosters a greater receptivity to Belgian values and citizenship. They deduce that immigrants who have been educated in their country of origin are less inclined to participate than those educated in Belgium.	« *une implication plus grande dans l'enseignement s'accompagne d'une plus grande réceptivité aux normes et valeurs belges* » (p. 156). « *en tant qu'instance socialisante centrale, l'enseignement joue un rôle crucial dans l'intégration des immigrés* » (p. 159).
JSTOR	Tam Cho, W. (1999), "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-) Voting", *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 61, No. 4, November, Cambridge University Press on behalf of the Southern Political Science Association, pp. 1140-1155.	Socio-economic theories have long been the cornerstone of political participation studies. However, these theories are incomplete and particularly unsuited to explaining behaviour found within immigrant minority communities. While increases in age and education provide skills that ease political participation, if these variables do not concurrently socialise an individual to stronger beliefs about the efficacy of voting and democratic ideals, they will not result in the expected higher participation levels. Prior studies oversimplify the effects of socio-economic status on political participation. Here, evidence is presented that socio-economic status variables merely provide the skills necessary for political activity in a suitable political context. Socialisation determines how these skills will be manifested.	Education as a way to achieve democracy and to allow people to be heard	**Transformative** In this article, the author states that a pure consideration of education and other socio-economic variables is not sufficient to explain political participation. Inclusion in education exhibits a clear effect only insofar as it socialises. It is the place where a "greater sense of civic duty, greater efficacy in voting, and tighter adherence to democratic ideals" appear. In this analysis, however, only the act of voting is considered.	"Education is postulated to have an especially strong effect because it reduces the costs and increases the benefits of voting in multiple ways. First, education increases the cognitive skills that facilitate learning about politics. Second, the better educated receive more gratification from electoral participation. Third, education helps people overcome the bureaucratic obstacles involved in the voting process" (p. 1143). "It is not higher education per se that increases one's likelihood of voting, but rather the socialization process that is provided through education" (p. 1144).

Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies	Tillie, J. (2004), "Social capital of organisations and their members: Explaining the political integration of immigrants in Amsterdam", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 529-542.	This paper studies determinants of political participation of immigrants in Amsterdam. A distinction is made between determinants on the individual level and determinants on the group level. On the individual level, gender, ethnic membership, cross-ethnic membership and social activities in the network of the respondent are of relevance. To explain individual political participation the paper suggests an explanatory model, which entails an interaction effect between individual determinants (i.e. organisational membership and the social network of the individual citizen) and the structure of the ethnic civic community as reflected in the structure of the network of ethnic organisations.	Relationship between literacy skills and choices and opportunities for social and political participation	**Transformative** In this article, the author focuses on the political integration of immigrants in the Netherlands. In analysing the factors that contribute to such integration from a sociological perspective, he identifies education, along with gender and employment, as essential elements of the social capital that determine the level of political participation.	"The political participation of lower educated citizens is said to be lower, since political participation requires a certain amount of citizen skills (debating, reading newspapers, interest in political affairs) [that] lower educated people would miss or would find it difficult to learn" (p. 536).
Journal of Education Policy	Johnson, S.M. and X.L. Lollar (2002), "Diversity policy in higher education: The impact of college students' exposure to diversity on cultural awareness and political participation", *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 17, pp. 305-320.	The current policy environment regarding affirmative action and diversity mandates in higher education makes it necessary to analyse the impact of exposure to diversity on the goals of higher education, including greater cultural awareness and the promotion of democratic citizenship. This essay discusses the findings of a study conducted at the University of Wisconsin-Whitewater – a regional, state university located in southeast Wisconsin enrolling approximately 10,000 students – in which students were asked about their attitudes and experiences regarding diversity. Regression analysis indicates that students with greater exposure to diversity in the form of college educational exposure, peer exposure and pre-college exposure had greater levels of cultural awareness and political participation.	Relationship between interaction with different minorities while studying and political participation	**Transformative** This article studies the impact of the diversity policies of a university on political participation. After establishing that diversity and cultural classes make students more culturally aware, the authors find that culturally aware students are more likely to participate in organisations.	"Diversity education also plays a foundational role in a democracy by equipping students for meaningful participation" (p. 305). "Overall, students who have a diverse peer group and are active in campus politics are significantly more likely to be active in the campus community than those who do not share these characteristics" (p. 319). "[E]xposure to diversity positively influences students' cultural awareness and democratic citizenship" (p. 319).

				Transformative	
International Migration Review	Garcia, J. (1987), "The Political Integration of Mexican Immigrants: Examining some Political Orientations", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (Summer), pp. 372-389.	The significant influx of immigrants, historically and contemporarily, has had a major impact on all aspects of American society. One area that has received some attention, but warrants more, is the extent of political integration of immigrant populations. Political integration is defined as a process whereby a sense of cohesiveness, membership, and attachment occurs for residents of the political community (political values, beliefs, citizen roles, etc.). Using the foreign-born segment of the National Chicano Survey, this article identifies three critical political orientations (i.e. individual/system blame, perceived discrimination and support for collective activities) and relates them to socio-cultural characteristics of the immigrants. Political integration for Mexican immigrants is a slow and uneven process. One implication of the unevenness of their political integration is the difficulty of mobilising this segment of the Hispanic community to augment an already politically active group.	Years of education are related to being engaged in protest and social change activities	**Transformative** The transformative factor of education is stressed in this article, although it is acknowledged that it might have various effects and that it does not constitute the only factor of relevance for social change and activities. Given that education allows a more favourable evaluation of the political system, its corollary is also of importance: it can enhance critical attitudes towards the host political system.	"Levels of English language proficiency and Spanish do serve as critical factors in political integration" (p. 378). "The retention of certain cultural attributes (particularly Spanish use) serves as a critical reservoir to impede potentially political integration. Education facilitates factors for political orientations" (p. 382). "Education does prove to be an important factor. It not only affects more favourable evaluation of the system, but [also] affects a critical view of such structural factors that affect people's life chances" (p. 386).
Public library	Kosic, A. (2008), "What motivates civic participation of immigrants? Antecedent and experiences", in D. Vogel (ed.), *Highly active immigrants: A resource for European civil societies*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang.	This chapter describes the underlying motivation and characteristics of immigrants who actively participate in distinct civic activities, varying from individual voluntarism to organisational involvement and political participation. Many studies on motivations and resources for civic participation examine the phenomenon of pro-social behaviour and of a specific form of participation: volunteering, and consequences of volunteering. Concerning the antecedents, civic participation is strongly associated with	Relationship between education and volunteering	**Transformative** In this article, the author finds education to be an essential tool for enhancing language competence. It is therefore considered one of the central antecedents to civic activism. Furthermore, according to the interviewees, it also supplies attributes that are extremely useful for voluntary activities.	"Education level was mentioned as a central individual resource. The overwhelming majority of the interviewees (79 per cent) have a high level of education, having completed tertiary education." "Many of the themes referred to their education as a relevant factor for their activism" (p. 96).

		the components of socio-economic status: education, occupation, and income. This chapter explores how immigrants in EU countries describe their motivations to become involved in civic activities and to stay active over time. It explores how far the narratives display the patterns that the reviewed theoretical and empirical literature suggests, and whether there are indicators that some elements are of particular relevance for active immigrants.		They are of the opinion that education provides the necessary background for occupying positions of responsibility, such as giving knowledge on legislation and self-confidence.	"Education and language competences are closely associated with [the] communicative skills requested [by] many civic organisations" (p. 97). "[M]any interviewees emphasize the importance of language in connection with education and self-confidence" (p. 97).
Journal of Latinos and Education	Montero-Sieburth, M. (2007), "The Roles of Leaders, Community and Religious Organizations, Consular Relationships, and Student Groups in the Emerging Leadership of Mexican Immigrants in New England", *Journal of Latinos and Education*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 5-33.	Although Mexican immigrants constitute the majority of the Latino population in the United States, in New England they are a growing minority contributing to the economic, social and cultural development of the area. Using in-depth interviews of leaders of Mexican organisations in New England, and anecdotal, historical and Internet data, this qualitative study analyses how Mexican national immigrants have been organising in New England since the late 1980s through community, religious and student-run organisations as well as through the support of the General Consulate of Mexico to create an emerging leadership. Tracing the development of the organisations and their identified needs and activities, the study highlights how these organisations have contributed to the emergence of a Mexican leadership with transnational and political implications at present.	Relationship between education and being members of associations	**Exclusionary** When looking at the leaders' educational backgrounds, it does not appear that they have all had a uniform level of inclusion in the education system. **Transformative** Yet it appears in this article that educational policies create a clear incentive for participating in organisations. This is evidenced by the activities of these organisations in the domain of educational assistance. The majority of members of these organisations have been through school and there is a large number of Mexican student-run organisations.	"All of the leaders were first-generation Mexicans in the United States, with the exception of 1, who had been born in the United States, taken to Mexico, and brought back as a child to the United States. Their educational experiences ranged from having completed primary school to postgraduate studies, with 4 of the 12 continuing their studies beyond their bachelor's degree. One leader had completed primary school, 4 had completed up to secondary or preparatory school, 1 had a bachelor's degree, 5 had master's degrees with 1 studying for a doctorate, and 1 had a medical degree" (p. 13).

Public library	Blanc-Chaleard, M. (2006), "Old and new migrants in France: Italians and Algerians", in L. Lucassen, D. Feldman and J. Oltmer (eds), *Paths of Integration*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 46-62.	Contrary to most European countries, France has had a history of near constant immigration since the 19th century. Historians only began studying immigration much later, however, within a context of the violent rise of xenophobia of the 1980s, a period when one of the leitmotivs of public opinion was to compare the recent non-European and Muslim immigrants, considered inassimilable, with the European immigrants of the past who had easily been assimilated into the French nation.	Level of education connected with being involved in protests related to institutional politics	**Exclusionary** In this chapter, the author makes a comparison between 'old' and 'new' migrants' integration in France. She assesses the inclusion of Maghrebi youths in France who, despite an ill-adapted school system, had strong political claims and acted accordingly.	"Social problems as a whole were focused on these young people. First of all, their poor results in school were linked to the failure of a system [that] was unable to adapt to a large scale….These young Arabs were more visible because of their willingness to make demands, which was something [that] was new in the history of immigration. These demands first took the form of peaceful protests, known as 'March of the Beur'" (p. 54).

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