

Introduction

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A glance at a newspaper or the wait staff in a restaurant, at high-technology hubs such as Silicon Valley, on the streets of cities like Berlin or Barcelona, or at the students in our classes makes it clear how many immigrants now live in North America and Western Europe, and how important they are to our cultural, economic, and social lives. A glance at the landscape of governance, however, does not give a clear or consistent image of immigrants' presence. In 2007, only twelve Representatives in the 435-member United States Congress were immigrants, as were only two each of the 50 governors and 100 senators. Immigrants cast only 6.3 percent of the vote in the American presidential election of 2008, despite being almost 13 percent of the total adult population (Garbaye and Mollenkopf forthcoming 2012). As of 2009, 11 deputies in the 622-seat German Bundestag were foreign-born (Alonso and Claro da Fonseca 2009). As of 2007, no French citizen of Mahgrébin origin had sat in the 555-member National Assembly.

[Update data for publication]

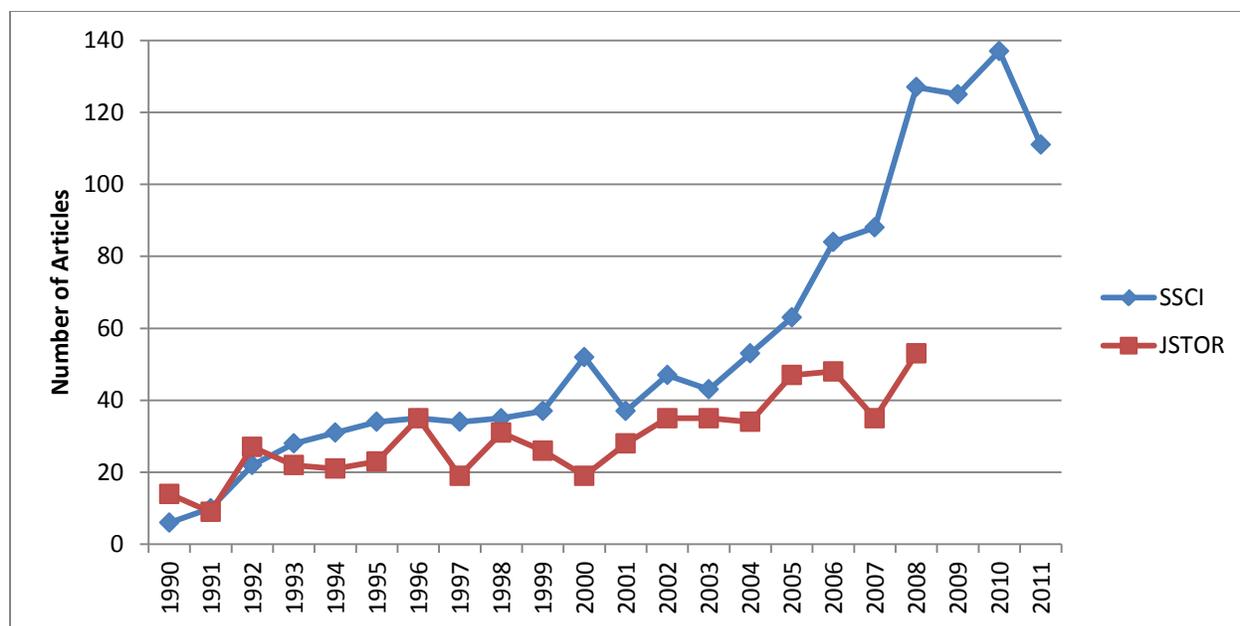
Immigrants have more representation in the national legislatures of a few countries; “in 2002, 45 foreign-born Members of Parliament sat in a 301-person House” in Canada (Bloemraad 2011): 263). And politics around immigration can occasionally be prominent. In the United States, rallies about immigrants' rights or hearings probing immigrant Muslims' patriotism appear on local and sometimes national television, thereby increasing public awareness of immigrants even in locations to which few newcomers have moved. European parliaments debate what clothes immigrants may wear and what values they must tolerate in order to become

citizens. Political parties and candidates offer programs to exclude, control, or welcome newcomers. Immigration and immigrant incorporation are important and volatile policy issues, and in many countries immigrants and their children are an increasing share of national populations -- but on both sides of the Atlantic, immigrants themselves are less visible as political actors than as social, economic, or cultural actors.

Until recently, migrants and immigration were also less visible in scholarship on politics than on other arenas of life. For more than a century, sociologists have been developing a rich literature on the subjects of immigrant incorporation and exclusion, ranging from often-reformulated understandings of assimilation through concepts such as segmented assimilation, racialization, multiculturalism, and transnationalism. For almost as long, economists have analyzed immigrants' labor market incorporation, human capital accumulation, and intra- and intergenerational mobility. Scholars of culture study media presentations by and of immigrants, changes in patterns of food consumption and child-rearing, and the multiple practices of gender and religion. Scholars of American history boast perhaps the most robust tradition of studying immigration and its impact on national development, as the epigraphs to this chapter imply.

Political scientists have not ignored immigration, of course; this book is built around the fact of excellent scholars studying immigrant political incorporation. And the number of studies, as well as the empirical bases on which strong analyses can be built, have been growing, as figure 1.1 shows:

Figure 1.1: Articles addressing immigration and politics, 1990-2011



Sources: SSCI: keyword search for "immig* NEAR/10 politic*" under the Topic Search (TS) setting. JSTOR: (immig* in Abstract AND politic* in Abstract, articles only, English only, only content I can access)

But perhaps because political engagement almost always comes after social and economic engagement with a new society, and may never be a part of many immigrants' direct experience, relatively few political scientists have developed general or systematic theories of whether and how outsiders get incorporated politically. Much research about immigrant movement into the public arena is microanalytic—oriented around case studies of particular groups or locations—and rarely focuses on identifying continuities and discontinuities across groups, space, time, or mode of political action. Seldom does the research situate immigrant political incorporation within a larger understanding of a country's political practices and institutions. To put the point another way, existing works use disparate approaches while often leaving the premises on which they rest and the elements of and linkages within their conceptual framework unspecified or unjustified. And when these premises and links are clarified, they are

generally used by a given author for his or her own research agenda, and seldom used more generally.

As a consequence, we have many illuminating particularistic accounts of how some set of immigrants are or are not brought into host-country politics, but few models with the scope and breadth necessary to shape a field and orient the collective research agenda. Broad theories developed to address political incorporation or exclusion of early twentieth century migrants to the United States¹ may still be useful, but they have seldom been tested rigorously enough to meet current standards of the discipline, and too few studies analyze whether the conditions that held then are sufficiently similar to those that hold now for the models to be transferable across a century. And since immigration is understood to be a relatively new phenomenon in most countries of Western Europe and the rest of North America, we have even fewer broad-gauged models of immigrant political incorporation outside the United States.

To address these lacunae, this book gives careful attention to two basic questions: (1) What are the appropriate premises from which to distinguish *immigrants*, define *politics*, and measure *incorporation*? (2) What are the analytic models that flow from those premises and that enable us to determine how and why immigrants are (not) brought into the political system of their host country? Let us consider each question in turn.

The first question is really three. To begin with,

- Who is an immigrant? Alternatively put, what if anything is distinctive about immigrants such that they should be studied separately from what might be seen as similar populations such as ethnic or religious minorities?

¹ Influential analyses of the politics around earlier waves of migration include, but are not limited to (Dahl 1961); (Erie 1988); (Smith 1997); (Gerstle 2001); (Higham 1992); (Tichenor 2002); (Zolberg 2006); and (King 2000).

Definitionally, it turns out to be surprisingly difficult to set boundaries around the category of immigrant, especially when one wants to compare across countries with different legal systems and self-understandings. Are low-skilled guest workers or high-skilled temporary employees immigrants? Or are they immigrants only in retrospect, that is, if their term of employment turns out to stretch for many years or if they end up never returning to their home country? Should the children of newcomers be understood as immigrants (as in the possibly problematic phrase, “second generation immigrants”)? Or are the children of migrants to be treated as immigrants only if they do not have citizenship in the host country where they were born and raised? Are ethnic Germans immigrants into Germany; are Puerto Ricans immigrants to the United States; are Jews making *aliyah* to Israel immigrants; are subjects of the former British Commonwealth or French Algerians immigrants when they move to England or France respectively? What about the French or Germans who move to Brussels to work for the European Union – are they Belgian immigrants?

Conceptually, we need sharper articulations of why immigrants should, or should not, be studied separately from other populations when one analyzes political incorporation. What substantive meaning lurks behind the control variable “place of birth” in a regression analysis? Should immigrants who are not naturalized citizens be analyzed differently from, say, Hispanics or Native Americans or African Americans who were born in the United States but feel disfranchised? How should we understand the political message being sent by young adult Germans of Turkish ancestry when they do, or do not, choose to become a German citizen? Does dual citizenship change what it means to be an immigrant or the process of incorporation? At what point should descendants of immigrants move into the analytic category of native-born?

After one has defined “immigrant” and determined its conceptual distinctiveness or lack thereof, one can move to the next question:

- What is political? How broadly or narrowly should one define politics when one examines immigrant incorporation?

Politics presumably includes conventional electoral activities such as registration, voting, party membership, and running for office; most scholars would also include protest movements, boycotts, and engagement with advocacy or interest groups. But should one include activities that are not typically part of the native-born repertoire, such as the decision to migrate, naturalization, participation in nationality-oriented cultural activities such as sports clubs, religious activities, and festivals, or acquisition of the host country language? Perhaps politics even encompasses "the style and orientation of everyday practices," as one author in this volume claims.

When defining the scope of politics, one must also decide whether to focus only on the politics of the host country and the actors and institutions operating within it, or whether we should focus instead on the politics of the migrants themselves, including political engagement in the countries of origin? Finally, should politics and political incorporation be understood as a group activity and attribute, or is the individual the appropriate analytical target? That is, if individual immigrants join extant political parties and lose any distinctive characteristics as political actors, is that political incorporation – or should the analyst look to see if the migrant group has attained legitimacy, visibility, and impact as a distinctive new political unit?

Finally, once the subject of interest and the scope of activity are clarified, one needs a clear definition of the outcome variable, so:

- What is incorporation, and what is the right starting point for identifying appropriate measures?

A researcher's determination of the central question to be answered with regard to incorporation will shape his or her research agenda. Should one seek to explain how immigrants contend against racialization and hostility, perhaps also paying attention to why immigrants may overcome such barriers? Or should one focus on how immigrants or their children can succeed within host society structures, while also attending to incorporative failures? Alternatively, perhaps one should seek to explain how immigrants change their host societies as a way to determine levels and mechanisms of incorporation.

A powerful conceptual framework for studying immigrant political incorporation also needs to specify how much political involvement is necessary for a person or group to be considered incorporated. Is sporadic involvement in any political activity, such as attending a rally or joining a group sufficient? After all, since many native-born citizens in North America and Western Europe do not participate regularly in politics, perhaps one can be fully incorporated politically without ever voting or expressing a policy preference. Or must a person or group become directly engaged in the electoral or governance process, or even succeed in attaining policy victories or resources, in order to deem them politically incorporated? In this view, immigrants and their children are not incorporated until they have descriptive and substantive representation in national parliaments or local governments, or until their group attains important policy goals.

Given an understanding of each of the three crucial terms, one can move to the next step: what analytic models flow from those premises and how do the models enable the study of how and why immigrants are (not) brought into the political system of their host country? Offering an

answer to that question is the task of each chapter in this book. But before turning to the chapters, we provide some context by locating the concept of immigrant political incorporation more firmly in current academic scholarship. We do not provide a full review of this now extensive body of work; our goal is to draw attention to the myriad definitions of the three crucial terms and the lack, in many cases, of a clear analytic framework for studying the question at hand. We then provide our own answers to the questions of who are immigrants, what is politics, and how should one approach the study of incorporation – after which the reader will be well situated to evaluate the contributors’ answers to the same three questions.

Recent Research on Immigrant Political Incorporation

As we noted above, over the past decade political scientists have generated a great deal of research on immigrant political incorporation; our initial search of the plausibly relevant literature yielded almost 800 articles from late 2009 through 2011, and about the same number from 2000 through 2008. Here we focus on the most cited or prominent recent publications, in order to show both the bases from which this book builds and the lacunae that it aspires to fill.

We used two search methods to identify the most relevant or most cited articles on immigrant political incorporation in peer-reviewed journals since 2005.² Once the roughly 50

² One search examined 21 journals that publish articles on immigration, for each year from 2005 through 2011. We performed two keyword searches: (immig* AND politics), and (immig* AND politics AND incorporation). (Each search used wild card characters to pick up variants of these keywords.) That generated an initial list from the 21 journals. We refined the initial list by searching the title, abstract, and keywords of each article for any of thirteen keywords or their cognates (such as immigrate, foreign-born, undocumented, guest worker, refugee, or second generation). We then screened and coded the articles as described in the text; that process yielded XX useable articles.

For the second search, we began with the same initial keywords and used them to identify the 25 most cited articles for each string in the Social Science Citation Index for every year from 2005 through 2011. We then searched the title, abstract, and keywords of those most-cited articles with the same list of thirteen specific keywords or their cognates. Among that second set of articles for each year, we identified the ten most cited, and screened and coded them as noted in the text. This search yielded XX useable articles.

most relevant articles were identified through the methods described in note 1, a graduate student who is expert in the field used a coding sheet developed for this purpose to identify features relevant to this volume.³ She determined if each article or chapter had a clear definition of immigrants, of politics, and of political incorporation. Where appropriate, she specified the empirical results having to do with immigrant political incorporation and the causal mechanisms linking independent variables and political outcomes. The code sheet also called for information on such things as the article's methodological approach, characteristics of the immigrant population, the host country or countries, the time period, the type of evidence used, and the political context and activity in the host country.

Analysis of the codesheets reveals four important conclusions. First, the quality of much research is high. Scholars conduct careful and extensive empirical research about nonobvious topics; they care deeply about the subject and the people whom they are investigating; they develop observations and insights that are illuminating and potentially valuable to political actors or policy makers as well as to scholars.

Second, across the four dozen articles and books, one may find almost as many usages for crucial terms such as immigrant, political, and incorporation as there are authors. For example, some articles combine newcomers and later generations, while others focus only on refugees, undocumented migrants, or families with mixed legal status. Some articles move back and forth between immigrants and minorities; in response to the prompt, "what group of immigrants is the article about," one codesheet reported, "Latino immigrants. However, at some

Finally, the same student coded XX recent prominent books or book chapters on immigrant political incorporation. We include a list of these articles and chapters in Appendix I of this volume [OR AN ONLINE APPENDIX], in case readers would like to review the same set of materials as ourselves. [NOTE: NOT INCLUDED IN THIS DRAFT OF THE MS.]

³ Our thanks to Michael Anthony George, Jennifer Kim, Erica Rhoden, and especially Carly Knight.

point the author starts referring to immigrants as Latinos and it's not clear if AU is considering foreign-born immigrants or native-born Latinos." In many cases, the codesheet responded to the same prompt with "does not specify," "unclear," or even "depends on the era – 17th century to present." In contrast, other articles focus on an immigrant group that is clear but arguably not generalizable – African and East European immigrants to Ireland, seventeen young adults whose parents had immigrated to Sweden from Cape Verde, skilled Chinese immigrants to Canada, or immigrants coming from countries with "oppressive regimes." All of these options may make sense given the author's intention in the research, but it is difficult to develop a broadly applicable model from such an array of focal points.

The range of activities understood as political is equally varied, and equally variable in its degree of specification. One article focuses on "early egalitarian policies that can partially explain subsequent multicultural and immigrant welfare policies." Another addresses the impact of immigrants on the success of the Liberal party in a recent election in Quebec. Several address transnationalism, but differ on whether to treat it as a concrete action, a state policy, or a discourse about the "myth of return." One specifies a clear Citizenship Policy Index. Articles examine why immigrants vote, which second generation citizens obtain political information, when coalitions develop or fail, or how market liberalism takes migrants "from a state of marginality into a visible public and political sphere."

These are only examples, almost randomly chosen, but they convey both the richness of conceptions of "the political" and the reader's inability to develop cumulative knowledge about politics through attention to this literature. Some authors' treatment of politics is precise and measurable; others' treatment is broad and interpretive. Some focus on behaviors of immigrants or their descendants; others focus on host country institutions, or practices and preferences of the

native-born. We found few that clarified the realm of politics before plunging into the analysis of immigrant political incorporation.

With regard to incorporation, again the dominant impression is of both conceptual richness and theoretical variety, not to say incoherence. The central focus of a few articles is precisely to define what immigrant political incorporation might mean. But in most cases, it is hard to distinguish the author's conception of politics or boundary around the term "immigrant" from his or her investigation of some facet of incorporation, or to know why that particular facet was chosen for examination. Furthermore, many articles do not carry their particular empirical findings into a general discussion of incorporative success or failure. Thus, one author finds that migrants from repressive regimes seldom participate in protest politics, but says little about the impact of that interesting pattern on overall inclusion. Another finds that the Mexican government is becoming more connected with Mexican migrants to the United States than ever before – but again that interesting trajectory is not linked to migrants' overall inclusion. Yet another examines a borough in Belgium, whose leadership moved from hostility to Muslims to a "relational model" characterized by pragmatic acceptance. This author does argue that the change is associated with Muslims' acquisition of citizenship and their increasing integration – but its generalizability is in question.

Third, many articles lack attention to the processes through which some set of immigrants and some facet of political (non)incorporation are linked. How immigrants (loosely defined) move through politics (variously defined) into successful or failed incorporation (partially defined) is often not included. As our coder put it, "mechanisms are often either ignored or simply inferred, rather than proven." Many articles similarly pay little attention to the implications of a chosen definition – if the researcher chose a broader or narrower definition of

immigrant or politics, would that change the result in important ways? That is to say, most publications in this burgeoning field do not offer an analytic framework that is transportable across time, space, group, or understanding of politics. This point is not necessarily a criticism of articles for which that was not a goal, but it is an indication of the need for the current volume.

Finally, some articles or book chapters do set the same goals as the chapters in this book – to develop an analytic framework that enables the study of immigrant political incorporation across groups, space, and time. These can be compelling and useful; indeed, many chapters in *Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation* are written by scholars who have engaged in similar exercises before, which is after all why they were invited to participate in this volume. The problem in this case is not the frameworks themselves, but rather the fact that they are scattered across many journals and several disciplines. After all, we needed to examine 21 specialized journals, as well as the items in the SSCI which often appear in the discipline's general-focus journals, to be sure of identifying most potentially relevant articles for this review. Bringing these authors into direct conversation with one another through this volume will enable readers to easily compare useful frameworks, and should encourage them to seek out these authors' other writings in the venues where they have already appeared. Starting, then, from a systematic examination of much of the most relevant and best work on immigrant political incorporation, we turn now to our own definitions of these three crucial terms.

How Are Immigrants Distinctive?

Even though for some analyses immigrants are appropriately merged with a subset of the native-born, distinguishing immigrants from otherwise similar native-borns is an essential starting

point. Given our interest in explaining political incorporation, two sets of characteristics are crucial in depicting immigrants – the structures and material resources that govern access to tools of democratic participation, and the social and psychological phenomena that shape a person’s or group’s orientation to the political domain. Whether these characteristics create a sharp divide or a seamless continuum between newcomers and native-borns is an empirical question, likely to vary across space and time.

Three structures and material resources are crucial: (1) legally defined immigration status and the nature of pathways (or the lack thereof) toward legal citizenship; (2) the verbal capacity to engage in political discourse, probably in the language of the host country; and (3) contextual knowledge that permits one to understand and participate in political activity in the host country. In parallel fashion, three social and psychological phenomena are crucial: (4) political socialization in the country of origin; (5) transnational bonds, including exit options and their level of appeal, remittances, and direct or media-based contact with people remaining in the country of origin; and (6) perceptions of inclusion, including a sense of conditionality or marginality, and the desire for inclusion.

Both sets of characteristics depend heavily on an immigrant’s age at migration and his or her length of residence in the host country. Ease in using a host-country’s language, absorption of contextual information, the content of political socialization, the intensity of transnational bonds, and the desire for inclusion all differ in predictable ways for children and adults. Legal status is generally the exception, although in some countries it too depends on age or length of residency (either of the individual or of his or her parents) in the host country (Hochschild and Brown forthcoming 2012).

Both sets of characteristics are also shaped by the number of immigrants in a given area of the host country, or by the density of a migrant group compared with the rest of the population in that area. Legal immigration status is again the exception, since it is a property of individuals. Access to political discourse, however, is likely to be closely related to numbers or density. The United States' Voting Rights Act, for example, requires a jurisdiction with more than 10,000 adult citizens in a single language group (or more than five percent of all of the voting-age citizens in that jurisdiction) to provide all written information related to an election in that group's language. Similarly, efforts to mobilize newcomers for political action or to provide them with contextual information are much more likely if there are a lot of people from a particular group or a high density of such people in a political jurisdiction. The strength of transnational ties and the commitment to inclusion can similarly be shaped by interactions and communications within a group – which will vary in content and intensity in accord with the group's size and density.

The composition of the immigrant population in relationship to the native-born population is also likely to affect both structural and psychological characteristics – in this case including legal status. People who are understood to be co-ethnics may enjoy relaxed rules for naturalization, may speak the language of the host country and be familiar with its political practices and norms, may have crucial contextual knowledge even if they were socialized in a different country of origin, and may have weaker transnational bonds and a stronger sense of inclusion in their new home. Examples include all Irish, Greek, or Portuguese co-ethnics, as well as ethnic Germans in East Europe, in German-speaking countries, or if displaced by World War II, Immigrants from former colonies may have similar special status with regard to naturalization and similar access to language, contextual knowledge, and acceptance by the native-born. For the nineteenth and

most of the twentieth century, for example, residents of countries in the British Commonwealth enjoyed birthright citizenship in the United Kingdom and many of its former colonies.

The characteristics that distinguish immigrants from otherwise similar native-borns warrant a closer look in order to discern their impact on political incorporation more clearly. Arguably immigrants' political opportunities are most sharply differentiated by their legal status. While one's status may evolve—e.g. undocumented immigrants can be granted legal permanent residency; legal permanent residents can become naturalized citizens—at a given moment, a person's status dictates his or her terms of incorporation. People who lack citizenship or a regularized route to it can vote only in some municipal elections of Western Europe, or in European Union elections. They can seldom run for office, or in the United States, donate to political campaigns. They are not attractive targets for mobilization by political parties or advocacy groups, which in many cases makes it hard for them to attain politically-relevant information or to persuade public officials to provide political materials in their native language. Absent citizenship or a clear path to it, immigrants are likely to be at best shut out of most forms of political incorporation and at worst the target of hostility and pejorative racialization.⁴

Furthermore, immigrants whose legal status precludes a route to citizenship may feel that they have no right to engage in the host country's political disputes or to make claims on public

⁴ For detailed information on elements of political incorporation in 31 OECD countries, see MIPEX, at http://www.mipex.eu/play/table.php?chart_type=bar (with countries, policies, and year added in). On a scale of 1 to 100 with regard to immigrants' political participation, countries range from under 15 (Poland, Czech Republic, and Romania) to over 85 (Finland and Norway). On the same scale with regard to the ability to attain citizenship, countries range from 20 or below (Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia) to over 75 (Sweden and Portugal). In general, the overall average of 53 for all countries on all of MIPEX's seven scales is higher than the average score on scales for education and the two measures of political incorporation, and lower than the average score for family reunification and long term residence of newcomers. That suggests that immigrant-receiving countries find it slightly easier or preferable to incorporate immigrants into society than to give them political power or the resources needed for economic success. The content of each scale and sources of information in the scales are available at <http://www.mipex.eu/>. (Most of this note is from (Hochschild and Brown forthcoming 2012).)

goods. They may fear harm from political – or any public – engagement such as language classes or other efforts to attain local knowledge. So they are likely to be politically inactive, even with regard to politics in their country of origin, and may prefer the safety of exclusion to the dangers of seeking inclusion.

Lack of facility in the host country's language may or may not inhibit immigrants' ability to be politically incorporated, compared with that of otherwise similar native-borns. Its impact will depend on whether the host country has a mechanism, such as the United States' Voting Rights Act, to help overcome language barriers, and whether co-nationals provide literal or metaphorical translation services for newer migrants.

The same observation holds for immigrants' lack of contextual knowledge. How well they can overcome the inevitable confusion attendant on joining a new political system depends on whether the polity actively seeks to provide essential information and on whether other immigrants or advocacy groups make the connections that newcomers need in order to understand, for example, the difference between Social Democrats and Christian Democrats or how to find the appropriate political official to report a concern. Each country and possibly each locality will have its own political peculiarities; while pathways toward incorporation can facilitate acquisition of this idiosyncratic knowledge, immigrants who need jobs and schools for their children may have little energy to spare for politics.

The psychological elements of migration also differentiate immigrants from similarly situated native-borns. If migrants received their prior political socialization in a country where opposition to rulers is dangerous, they may be more reticent about political participation than are people who come from backgrounds similar to that of western democracies. Conversely,

immigrants from a country with mandatory voting, multiple parties, or robust street politics, may find the United States' or England's elections rather thin gruel.

Immigrants' transnational ties are also likely to differ from those of otherwise similar native-borns; the exit option is a more viable, palpable, and perhaps attractive response to life in the host country. Their children are less likely to maintain transnational ties, but that likelihood will vary across polities, groups, and individual families. Note that maintaining transnational or dual loyalties or a vibrant sense of a possible return home may actually go hand-in-hand with political incorporation in the host country. Individuals or groups with strong ties to the country of origin may even be especially likely to become politically active in their new country, since they have an incentive to invest in efforts around the government's treatment of co-national immigrants or policies toward the home country.

Finally, a sense of conditionality, of being only grudgingly admitted, may distinguish migrants from native-borns (at least those in the majority population) or from other newcomers who are embraced as part of the original demos. People who fear deportation, who do not feel fully welcomed, or who perceive discrimination against themselves and other newcomers, may eschew involvement in politics. They may, however, occasionally take the opposite route -- making demands for standing as in the United States' 2006 marches for immigrants' rights and France's suburban riots of 2005 and 2006.

These six characteristics -- a combination of structural constraints, material resources, and psychological dispositions -- show immigrants to be different from others of their race, ancestry, religion, or class in ways that matter for the trajectory of political (non)incorporation. Thus we define immigrants as *individuals or groups who have moved, or whose parents moved, from their country of origin to a new country in which they plan to reside for a considerable period of time.*

They are most importantly identified by their legal status at entry; their potential for incorporation, along with other differences from native-born residents, is an empirical rather than definitional question.

This definition implies three observations. First, the category of “immigrant,” while distinctive from native-born, nonetheless encompasses great variation within and across countries. Doctors coming to Boston research laboratories from the Indian subcontinent have little in common with unskilled Mexican workers harvesting crops in southern California. Former colonial subjects, such as Indonesians in Amsterdam or West Indians coming to London, approach the host country very differently than do sub-Saharan African refugees in Lewiston, Maine, or Turkish guest workers in Berlin. And they are treated very differently when they arrive. Yet members of each of these groups are “immigrants” by our definition. Whether it makes analytic, empirical, and political sense to examine “immigrants” as a broad category even within a single polity, never mind across polities and continents, is the first issue to address when developing a model of immigrant political incorporation.

Second, place of birth alone does not fully distinguish an immigrant from an otherwise similar native-born in countries where migrants’ descendants have not chosen or cannot easily attain citizenship. Some second-generation residents speak the host country language haltingly and may not have developed contextual knowledge if they live in highly segregated enclaves and retain strong transnational ties. While Germany now provides immigrants’ children with a pathway to naturalization, acquisition of citizenship there and in some other European countries (such as Switzerland or Greece) is far from smooth. Outside North America and the European Union, many countries make it difficult for not only non-citizen residents but also their native-born children to acquire citizenship. Examples include the Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Japan,

Singapore, the Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana.⁵ So, even if important differences between immigrants and citizens are matters of degree rather than differences in kind, a crucial question in developing a model of immigrant political incorporation is how sharply to distinguish the legal status of immigrants and their children from some otherwise similar group.

Finally, apart from the defining characteristic of immigrant status, one must treat as an empirical question how much and in what ways immigrants differ from the dominant host country population. Mexicans moving to the United States have very little education, but they adhere to the same religious traditions as most Americans and generally hold values familiar to residents of the United States. Moroccans moving to the Netherlands, in contrast, are not only poorly educated but also espouse a religion and culture that feels profoundly alien to many people with western European background. Muslims in Canada find it easier to become incorporated than do Muslims in Germany. In short, what becomes a salient cleavage or bridge between newcomers and long-term residents in a given location is socially and politically constructed, and variable; the salient cleavage will be an effect as well as a cause of political incorporation. Therefore, we purposefully exclude a wide array of social, cultural, and economic attributes as defining characteristics of the category "immigrant."

How Broadly Should We Define Politics?

The second issue one must address when developing a model of immigrant political incorporation is what constitutes politics. Should political incorporation be understood in relatively narrow terms, distinguished from social and economic incorporation? Or, should one

⁵ Algeria, Botswana, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Nigeria, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe all have no provision for citizenship to children born of non-citizen parents, either at birth or upon reaching majority.

adopt a more expansive definition that avoids separating the political and social lives of immigrant groups and individuals?

It is tempting in the study of political incorporation, particularly as it applies to immigrants, to define politics in broad terms. The temptation occurs for several reasons. First, the analyst recognizes that whole domains of politics—voting, donating to campaigns, and office-holding, to name a few—are closed to many non-citizen immigrants. Yet, scholars are appropriately skeptical of the claim that citizenship is a prerequisite for a political life, even if we believe it is critical to full political incorporation, so they search for other ways in which immigrants express their political views and demands. Second, it is not always easy to distinguish non-political from political institutions, in part because engagement with non-political institutions can have real consequences for politics. Finally, by adopting an expansive view of politics, scholars can draw on the rich, multidisciplinary literatures on social and economic incorporation and extend those theoretical insights to the study of political incorporation. If one defines politics too narrowly, however, the applicability and analytic value of well-established models—for example, models of segmented assimilation or labor market participation developed to explain phenomena such as intermarriage, residential segregation, or ethnic economic niches—is called into question.

Nonetheless, we see real dangers to defining politics too broadly. An expansive definition is less tractable than a precise one, and risks diluting the significance of *political* incorporation itself. A useful model needs a definition of politics with substantial discriminatory and explanatory power. That is, we must define politics and political incorporation in such a way that we can effectively sort among groups and individuals in terms of more or less, and persuasively link variation in types of incorporation to variation in political outcomes of interest.

If politics is defined too broadly, it becomes difficult to distinguish the incorporated from the non-incorporated, let alone to make distinctions in degrees of incorporation. Defined without sufficient attention to the purely political, then incorporation in this domain becomes less plausible (and potentially less predictive) as a "right-hand-side" variable in accounts of political outcomes. What we seek to define and to measure is the type of incorporation that, we theorize, enables a group and its individual members to protect and advance their interests, hold leaders accountable, participate in decision-making for the polity, perhaps change some of the terms of political action, and so forth. Thus, in our view, one should conceptualize the political in a way that prioritizes those structures, processes and behaviors that bear most directly on such outcomes.

We offer a definition of *politics* that is precise, yet inclusive. It gives priority to the political, as distinct from the social and economic, but includes both conventional and unconventional forms of politics and political engagement. Additionally, our definition of politics permits goals that are material or symbolic, and phenomena outside as well as inside a country's borders. Thus, we define as political *any methods or tactics used, by individuals or groups, to make claims about the allocation of material or symbolic public goods. Politics takes place within the public, collective sphere.* By our definition, politics extends from the mainstream of voting to the margins of protest and civil disobedience, and everything in between. But it does not include behaviors related strictly to the labor market, the civic realm, or the private sphere of the family. When churches mobilize to provide sanctuary to undocumented migrants, we witness politics. When a home country association sponsors a street fair or neighborhood picnic, we do not. This is not to say that street fairs and other forms of civic engagement are insignificant, or unrelated to politics; it is to say that the relation of street fairs to

claims-making and democratic accountability needs to be demonstrated rather than assumed or asserted. For example, if a fair or gathering generates citizenship mobilization efforts, petition drives, or the venue for politicians to make appeals, it can be deemed political; if it is primarily festive, it may be important but is not (yet) political by our definition.

Political Incorporation: A Definition

From this definition of politics, we arrive at a definition of *political incorporation*. It prioritizes the political sphere, but is silent on particular forms of political engagement or levels of political efficacy. The definition also permits variation in degree, and recognizes both objective and subjective components of incorporation. Thus, we define political incorporation as *having the capacity for sustained claims-making about the allocation of symbolic or material public goods*.

The emphasis on capacity is critical, underscoring our view that incorporation requires neither action nor success. After all, the sizable minority of American citizens who regularly choose not to vote are nevertheless, by definition, politically incorporated. Similarly, the failure of black Americans to secure reparations for slavery is not in and of itself evidence that this group is outside the political realm. Capacity is a function of the individual's or group's standing in the polity (e.g. Is the individual or group recognized as a legitimate claimant?) and the material and psychological resources they can mobilize in support of their claims.

Also important to our definition of political incorporation is the emphasis on sustained effort, which calls attention to the role of time. Individuals' and groups' degrees of incorporation can best be determined by their capacity to make repeated claims, despite losses, on the political system. Mobilizing in support of a one-time effort to advance a particular claim is qualitatively

different, in terms of the implied level of political incorporation, from participating in a sustained campaign over a long period of time. A one-shot mobilization such as a protest or march is political and may lead to political incorporation, but it is not there yet.

Incorporation: What Are the Odds?

Having defined *immigrant*, *political*, and finally *political incorporation*, we arrive at our third question: how to analyze immigrants' capacity for sustained claims-making about public goods, and thus for political incorporation. The crucial analytic move here is the analyst's starting premise. Should one develop the study of immigrant political incorporation from an assumption that political incorporation usually happens though it sometimes fails, or from the assumption that failure (through racialization, exclusion, or rejection) is the norm and incorporation as defined above is the aberration? One's initial judgment about three considerations strongly influences whether one begins the analysis from a rebuttable presumption of incorporative success or failure. The considerations are: (1) whether immigrants themselves rather than some feature(s) of their political context have primary control over immigrants' capacity for political action; (2) the relative risks and rewards for immigrants of becoming politically indistinguishable from the native-born, of seeking political success through a distinctive racial, ethnic, or nationality group, or of remaining outside the political process of the host country as much as possible; and (3) whether the success of political incorporation is likely to vary along with economic and social incorporation, or to vary independently of other dimensions of public life.

Consider each assumption in turn. First, how much can immigrants or immigrant groups control the direction and content of their own and relevant others' political action? A researcher who believes that immigrants' preferences, resources, actions, and strategies are crucial for

determining the degree and kind of political incorporation is likely to anticipate considerable incorporative success. The logic here is that immigrants chose to come to the receiving country because they believed that doing so would improve their own and their loved ones' life chances; almost by definition, newcomers show courage, initiative, creativity, and simple stubbornness. They can continue to use those capacities in political engagement with the receiving country; initial difficulties and even failure need not be predictive of later outcomes. A researcher who starts with this set of considerations, therefore, is likely to hold relatively optimistic assumptions about immigrant political incorporation.

Conversely, a researcher who believes that the receiving context largely shapes immigrants' capacity to make sustained claims on public goods is more likely to anticipate little incorporative success. In this view, immigrants may face difficulties beyond reach of almost anyone's abilities and commitments, such as hostile or unresponsive host society institutions and laws, rejection by the native-born and political parties' indifference to nonvoters or temptation to use them as scapegoats. If these considerations loom large in the thinking of the researcher, he or she is likely to assume that incorporation will often fail.

Regardless of which set of considerations seem initially most important, the researcher needs to be sure to test the resulting assumptions against counterevidence. That is, in addition to studying blockages thrown up by the host country, the pessimistic researcher should examine how and why some immigrants or immigrant groups attain political success. Conversely, in addition to studying immigrants' capacities and actions, the optimistic researcher should examine aspects of the receiving context that work against immigrant efforts to incorporate.

The second consideration is the weighing of benefits and costs of encouraging immigrants to become politically indistinguishable from the native born versus promoting the

ability of distinct groups to make sustained claims on the allocation of public goods.⁶ This is a question both for immigrants themselves and for policymakers and citizens of the host country, so it is orthogonal to the first consideration. A researcher who believes that the benefits of remaining within a sharply defined group outweigh its costs may anticipate little incorporative success, at least through conventional politics. In this view, group solidarity is valuable because group members face hostility or discrimination from the receiving country's residents or laws, because group members are ambivalent about assimilation, or because group members seek public goods that can only be granted to a collectivity (such as changes in family law or state support for religious organizations). This initial set of considerations implies an assumption of greater difficulty in achieving these ends through individual political incorporation.

In contrast, if the researcher sees a preponderance of benefits from encouraging immigrants to become politically indistinguishable from the native born, he or she is likely to start from the premise that incorporative success is likely. In this view, moving into the mainstream as individuals benefits immigrants because it enables them to join seamlessly with co-ethnics who are already citizens and political actors, or to promote values and preferences that are not tied to nationality or immigration status. Political parties may find it easier to mobilize and attend to people who become part of groups that are already participants in the political system. Examples of such groups include business associations, trade unions, advocates for environmental protection or research on rare diseases, or any of the other myriad existing claimants on public resources whose goals are independent of racial, ethnic, or immigrant identity. In short, considerations that lead the researcher to see more benefits than costs to individual incorporation will promote a starting assumption of likely success in incorporative

⁶ As noted above, a third option is seeking to avoid political engagement altogether. But that falls outside the scope of "political incorporation" so we do not consider it further.

efforts. In both cases, the researcher needs to build into the model a close examination of counterevidence.

The third and final starting consideration is how and how much political incorporation is linked to economic and social incorporation. If the researcher judges that alignment across multiple dimensions of life is needed for individuals or groups to make sustained claims on public goods, he or she is likely to start with the assumption that immigrant political incorporation will be more challenging or take longer to accomplish, if it ever can do so. The logic in this case is that individuals or groups must have resources, both economic and social, to be politically effective. Groups need resources to battle discrimination and claim their rightful share of public goods; individuals need resources to be able to devote time and energy to politics. Resources come from economic success and social standing, so economic, social, and political incorporation are closely linked. If a researcher finds that logic persuasive, he or she is likely to see political incorporation as facing multiple significant barriers and therefore low chances of success.

However, if the researcher sees dynamics of political incorporation to be plausibly independent of economic success or social assimilation, he or she is likely to assume a fairly good chance for immigrant political incorporation. The crucial point here is that not all effective political action requires economic or social resources: protest movements can arise, advocacy groups or legal defense organizations can act on behalf of poor immigrants, political parties need the votes of poor as well as rich citizens. Thus a researcher who attends to conditions under which political impact does not rest on social or economic well-being is likely to start from the assumption that immigrants can indeed make sustained claims on public goods.

Trajectories through Time

A persuasive model of immigrant political incorporation must, finally, take the long view. Incorporation is a process, not a moment; the concept of *sustained* claims on public goods implies the centrality of time in explicating how immigrants do or do not fit into a receiving country. In our view, the idea of feedback loops is the most illuminating entry point into this process.

Conceptually, three dynamics are possible. (1) Feedback loops can be *positive*, in the sense that policies and practices to bring newcomers in create a new political constituency and powerful momentum. Political activism in turn generates even stronger policies and practices aimed at bringing outsiders in, which then strengthens the political momentum and increases the constituency, and so on. (2) Feedback loops can be *negative*, in the sense that policies and practices to bring newcomers in create a political backlash or resistance. The new policies and practices, along with their constituencies, may resist the backlash and deter it for a while, but eventually are overpowered. Opposition to incorporation leads to racializing or exclusionary policies and practices, which weaken the incorporative political momentum to the point that it fails. (3) No feedback occurs, or policies and practices contradict one another. In this case, opposing constituencies are sufficiently well matched that no side can gain a clear victory over the other; political momentum for any definitive trajectory is stalled. Some immigrants are incorporated while others are racialized or excluded, or most immigrants live in a half-way status of being tolerated but not included.

A complete model of immigrant political incorporation needs not only to define its terms and articulate, defend, and provide evidence for its starting premises. It also needs to explore the mechanisms by which feedback loops emerging from that starting point grow stronger or weaker,

are reinforced or reversed, or simply trail out into an indefinite unstable equilibrium of neither success nor failure. Only when one can explain the dynamics of (non)incorporation – showing why as well as what – can a researcher claim to have a model that will be useful across space, time, group, and political context. That is a tall order, but moving in that direction is the goal of the contributors to *Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation*.

The Editors' Starting Point

Authors in *Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation* do not all start from the same assumptions about immigrants' likelihood of political inclusion. Nor, for the reasons we just articulated, do they focus on the same definitions, mechanisms, behaviors, institutions, or beliefs. Before turning to the chapters explicating how to study (non)incorporation of newcomers, we thought it important to lay out our own starting point. Absent institutionalized discrimination targeting particular groups, the editors assume that the process of political incorporation can be reasonably successful over time, for most members of most groups across generations if not for immigrants themselves.⁷ Success is on balance more likely to generate further success than effective backlash, as immigrants or their children slowly become citizens, develop the capacity to make effective claims about the allocation of public goods, and in many cases have a chance to become political leaders and policy makers themselves.

Therefore, we would frame a model of immigrant political incorporation around the following starting points: 1) immigrants exercise considerable agency in the process of incorporation, although political contexts shape and may block their actions; 2) immigrants are most likely to attain initial political success by mobilizing as groups, but full incorporation is

⁷ This is, however, a rebuttable assumption and we note important cases in which immigrants are sustainedly excluded or racialized.

achieved only when individuals feel free to choose whether to meld into mainstream society or remain closely linked to their group; 3) political incorporation is possible in some circumstances without full economic and social incorporation, but will be easier and more stable if newcomers have material resources and are socially assimilated.

Goals for the Book

Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation is not an edited collection of chapters depicting and analyzing its subject in various locations or among various groups. Such a collection is worth doing; in fact, editors of this volume have edited or participated in books of this type [(Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009); (Jones-Correa 2005); (Jones-Correa 2001)]. Our purpose here is different – to present a handbook with an array of models of inclusion by scholars who usually focus more substantively on one or more countries, immigrant groups, or facets of politics.

In accord with the basic questions described above, *Models of Immigrant Political Incorporation* is divided into three sections: are *immigrants* an analytically and politically distinctive category?, how broadly should we understand *politics*?, and what are the appropriate starting assumptions, and theoretical premises, about *incorporation*? In each section, chapter authors differ in their answers to these questions as well as in their analytic frameworks for crafting research based on their own answers. So each chapter articulates and justifies its premises, then shows the research strategies growing out of them. The goal of the book is to provide enough breadth of conceptualizations and depth of attention to specific components of incorporation that readers can identify the model(s) that best suit their research agenda and then

adapt it for their own purposes. Researchers will thereby, we hope, produce more sophisticated, disciplined, and comparative analyses.

The chapter authors entered into the spirit of this unusual exercise with energy and imagination – even though some remain unpersuaded that the endeavor can succeed. Their concerns are as important as our goals, since they raise the issue of whether any unified model of immigrant political incorporation will inevitably be too stylized and inflexible to be useful in actual cases. It may be that immigrants are too diverse, contexts too disparate, the concept of political incorporation too protean, and outcomes too contingent for even an elegant and subtle model to do justice to multiple circumstances. We remain agnostic on that point; if this handbook can help political scientists become more attentive to causal dynamics, the need for clear definitions, measurable concepts, and testable hypotheses – as well as to the elements that are likely to vary across time, space, group, or context -- we will be satisfied.

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