Does Discrimination Forge Politically Engaged Immigrant Citizens? A Study on the Paradoxical Relationship Between Discrimination and Protests in the EU

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Abstract

As the portion of the foreign-born population continues to grow across the European Union, gaps in overall political participation between immigrants and natives persist. This is a cause for concern to European democracies, specifically regarding their representativeness of the entirety of the population that constitutes them and that they are meant to serve. While scholars have focused on more conventional forms of political participation, this research aims to specifically focus on protests as a non-conventional form of political participation while taking both experienced and perceived discrimination as the main motivators and major determinants of this type of political behavior. Using data from the Survey on Minorities and Discrimination in EU conducted by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in 2016, this paper argues that both the experience and perception of discrimination are positively related to participation in protest behaviors amongst citizens of immigrant origin. This paper uses a binary logistic regression with experienced and perceived discrimination as predictor variables, and participation in protest as the response variable, while controlling for six key factors: age, gender, income, generation of immigration, interest in politics, and education. Countries were also used as control variables to counter potential biases in the results from the clustering that often occurs with the use of survey data.

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A demonstration took place on the 14th of November 2022 on Westminster Bridge in London by the initiative of Albanian immigrants as an attempt to 'protest against the humiliation of Albanians in Britain' pleading for more respect from the Government (Rose, 2022). On the 5th of December 2022, violent protests broke out in Thessaloniki in Greece after a Roma-origin boy was shot in the head by a police officer for driving off without paying after filling his vehicle with fuel (The Guardian, 2022). Such recent events to the time this research was conducted have one object in common: minority groups are taking to the streets. Taking to the streets is a form of political participation: this is the act of protesting. Participating politically is a core element for the proper healthy function of democracy (Pilati, 2018). A true democracy is described as one where all the voices of the citizens are heard, where all individuals participate politically to their fullest extent, and where the government in place serves *all* its' people (Lijphart, 1997, p. 1). Therefore making the study of any minority group of great importance to democracy, as this will end up making the difference between a democracy, and an even better one. Important to note is the significant increase in the portion of the foreign-born population in the European Union (Eurobarometer, 2018). This increase emphasizes the importance of investigating this group in the eyes of researchers, especially in terms of the minority's political behavior.

Existing literature has investigated immigrant-origin citizens with an emphasis on their level of participation in the host country's politics. Researchers did this by looking at their overall political participation. Needless to say, political participation can take on many forms (Riniolo & Ortensi, 2021, p. 925). The main key findings suggest that common indicators impacting the political participation of citizens of immigrant origin include mobilization, assimilation, and individual-level factors, among others. The research concludes that there are significant gaps in political participation between immigrants and their native counterparts, across generations of immigrants, as well as between different

immigrant groups (Ortensi & Riniolo, 2020; Qi & Gonzalez, 2022). The phenomenon that is the constant growth of the foreign-born population in the host countries is happening alongside those identified gaps in political participation amongst this group of interest. As the number of the foreign-born population continues to grow and is seen to participate less in politics than its' native counterpart, also depending on the generation of immigration, there is cause for concern for the quality of democracy as it becomes less representative of the entirety of the population with time. Pilati (2018) affirms this stance by saying that having a significant part of the population being politically inactive may "lower governments' legitimacies, the acceptance of a democratic form of government, and the sense of collective responsibility and civic duty. It also threatens the equal protection and political representation of a group's interests" (p. 106).

Putting all of what has been said thus far into thought, an underlying puzzle is identifiable: non-natives do not participate politically as much, yet often seem to take part in protests. Hitherto, although existing literature has in part examined the relation between experienced discrimination and protest behavior, none examine the relationship between both *experienced* and *perceived* discrimination amongst individuals of immigrant origin. It is important to study this, as this mode of political participation shows initiative from the immigrant groups' side to participate in their home politics, express discontent, shed light on the occurring inequalities, and perhaps close the gaps that were proven to exist potentially deteriorating the democracy and its' legitimacy over time. Looking at the link between both experienced and perceived discrimination and protest behavior is interesting as it allows to include individuals who do not have citizenship of the host country, something studies having looked at voting behavior, for instance, could not provide as they excluded a significant portion of the immigrant population in the host country (Potochnik & Stegmaier, 2020; Qi & Gonzalez, 2022). As such, the research question guiding this academic work and that I aim to

answer is the following: What is the effect of discrimination amongst immigrant origin citizens on participation in protests? I will be arguing that higher levels of experienced discrimination amongst individuals of immigrant origin will make participation in protests more likely, as well as higher levels of perceived discrimination leading to the same outcome.

To answer this research question, I will be making use of data from the European Union Agency for Fundamental Human Rights survey on Minorities & Discrimination in the EU dating from 2016. I will take both experienced and perceived levels of discrimination as independent variables while taking self-reported protest behavior as the dependent variable. I run a Binary Logistic Regression analysis and I find that both experiencing and perceiving discrimination are positively related to participating in a protest, thus confirming my hypotheses. My main contributions with this research are the fact that more case studies are included as I'll be including more EU member states in the analysis not zooming in on specific cities, as well as the addition of another independent variable such as perceived discrimination.

First, I will go through the common theories used in analyzing outcomes of general political participation as well as participation in protests specifically. Second, I will walk through the data that will be used for the analysis, in terms of how it was retrieved, how the analysis will be conducted, and the important variables that will be used along with the operationalization. Third, I will go over the results of the analysis and their implications. I will then end with a conclusion mentioning the contributions and limitations of my research, as well as the implications for future research on the same field topic.

Theory

Political participation

Riniolo & Ortensi (2021) offer the most useful distinction between different forms of political participation. They make a distinction between three modes of participation: *political engagement* (discussing politics, seeking information), *conventional political* participation (political meetings, volunteering for a political party), and *non-conventional political participation* (demonstrations, associations) (p. 925). This is broader than the commonly used definition of political participation by Verba & Nie (1987) defining it as "the behavior designed to influence the choice of personnel and/or policies" (p. 2). In this academic work, I seek to specifically examine protest behaviors, which fall in the non-conventional political participation. All the literature on immigrant-origin citizens' political participation uses political participation as the dependent variable but studied it in its different forms depending on which one was found to be most relevant or interesting. Potochnik & Stegmaier (2020) looked at voter turnout, activity in campaigns, and civic engagement. Qi & Gonzalez (2022) looked at voter turnout as well. Bolzendahl & Coffee (2013) investigated party membership, voting, forms of general political activism, demonstrations, and meetings.

The existing literature on immigrants' participation in their domestic politics finds some common ground around what the common determinants of political participation are.

Mobilization was found to play a significant role in explaining political participation. The article written by Giugni & Grasso (2019) offers the most innovative approach that the other articles have only subtly and indirectly mentioned as a sub-category within other main indicators/explanations they offered. The authors look at what links *associational*

involvement to political participation. They offer four indicators: *social trust, group attachment, civic skills, and recruitment* (p. 587). The theory here is to say that associational membership will give individuals, especially those of migrant origin, the opportunity to build social trust and gain social skills through working and socializing with other peers of society, and this association becomes an agent facilitating political mobilization allowing such member individuals to be influenced and more encouraged to act as a group rather than alone. Pilati (2018) only implicitly backs this theory, as the author links how the level of experienced discrimination may lead to or spark political mobilization amongst immigrant groups (p. 107). Potochnik & Stegmaier (2020) also implicitly call on the importance of mobilization, through the example of the Gran Marchas in the United States against anti-immigrant legislation in 2006-2007 (p. 528). Qi & Gonzalez (2022) show even more directly the importance of mobilization in political participation, as they speak about how the political disinterest among Latinos and Asians in the United States can be associated with the lack of mobilization, leading to a lower voter turnout among these groups (p. 226). Ramarkrishnan & Espenshade (2001) are the only authors who added political mobilization as an indicator, but it is only an indicator for voter turnout and it looks at political mobilization in a given state, and not specifically at the associations where immigrant groups come together. The major issue with the existing literature and the factors mentioned up until now (first three paragraphs of this section) is that although there is some consensus on the specific traits to take into consideration, we find that all the articles come to complete each other and offer a fuller and wider range of indicators, there seems to be almost no consensus on the terminology. This allows member individuals to be influenced and more encouraged to act as a group rather than alone, it calls on important factors such as social trust, group attachment, and recruitment, all of which are needed to be carrying out protests as a group, or any other form of group political activity (Giugni & Grasso, 2019, p. 587). Potochnik & Stegmaier

(2020) also implicitly call on the importance of mobilization through the example of the Gran Marchas in the United States against anti-immigrant legislation in 2006 and 2007 (p. 528). Qi & Gonzalez (2022) show even more directly the importance of mobilization in political participation, as they speak about how the political disinterest among Latinos and Asians in the United States can be associated with the lack of mobilization, leading to a lower voter turnout among these groups (p. 226).

Assimilation was also found by Ramakrishnan & Espenshade (2001) to be important in political participation as the prior requires speaking the language of the host country or sharing common norms (p. 873). This is where the *straight-line assimilation theory* comes from, whereby immigrant condition and adaptation get better with each new generation of immigrants as they are more likely to adapt to the norms of the host country and fluently speak the language (p. 876). Bolzendahl & Coffee (2013) emphasize the role of norms, specifically, those of 'good citizenship' meaning citizenship where being politically active is valued, this is also where the highest political participation ends up being found (p. 60). Ortensi & Riniolo (2020) found that low adaptation was key in explaining the gaps in political participation. Adaptation refers to all characteristics immigrant groups can mimic of the natives, this also includes norms and fluency in the host country's language.

Common *individual-level factors* were found to have an influence on political participation amongst individuals of immigrant origin. Such factors include socio-economic factors such as income or social class (Pilati, 2018; Riniolo & Ortensi, 2020), level of education (Pilati, 2018), and family political socialization (Riniolo & Ortensi, 2020). The idea would be that higher levels of education would lead to more knowledge of politics and thus more participation. Having higher knowledge of politics leads to more awareness and formation of opinions, which makes an individual more likely to express those opinions

through political participation This same mechanism explains how having a family that is interested in politics would lead to more knowledge or transmitting that same interest to the individual thus leading to more political participation. Interest might matter as it not only has the same effect as knowledge through family, but it also tells us about their motivation to act. Qi & Gonzalez (2022) add *generation* as a predicting factor, as it intrinsically calls upon all the other previously mentioned factors such as speaking the language, sharing common norms, and socialization with natives, which later-generation immigrants are likely to have more of.

All the articles sought to measure political participation (the dependent variable in all the studies) using one method or another. They all differed in what specific kind of political participation they measured. Potochnik & Stegmaier (2020) measured participation by looking closely at voting, campaign activity and civic engagement, whereas Riniolo & Ortensi (2021) purposefully left voting out of their measurement to include non-citizens in their analysis. Piltati (2018) looked specifically at protest engagement, while Qi & Gonzalez (2022) looked specifically at voter turnout. Bolzendahl & Coffe (2013) and Ortensi & Riniolo (2020) were the most similar regarding what they looked at, as they looked at the widest ranges of forms of political participation in the same analysis such as party membership, voting, and forms of general political activism (demonstrations, meetings, etc…). Existing literature also differed in the age group of the individuals they included in their sample. Some studies include individuals as young as the age of 13 (Pilati 2018; Riniolo & Ortensi 2021). While others only looked at individuals starting the age of 18 (Qi & Gonzalez 2022; Ortensi & Riniolo 2020). However, there seemed to be more consensus on the classification of the immigrant generations. First generations are those who themselves and their parents are foreign born, second generations are those who are born in the host country with one or both parents foreign born, and third generations are those who

themselves and their parents are born in the host country (Potochnik & Stegmaier, 2020, pp. 531-532). They all also differed in the races/ethnicity groups of immigrants they took into consideration, and on whether they only took those who were naturalized or included non-citizens as well. Scholars end up finding that each immigrant group has experiences of their own that will lead to different outcomes in terms of political participation (Ramakrishnan & Espenshade, 2001, p. 876).

Discrimination & protests

Pilati (2018) is the only scholar to have included experienced discrimination as a predicting factor of political participation of immigrant groups, while also examining its impact on protest behavior. The author finds that individual characteristics such as level of education, occupational status, legal status in the host country, proficiency in the host country language, and experienced ethnic discrimination will play a role in predicting the gaps between first- and second-generation immigrants (p. 110). Fox (2000) researched the effects of religious discrimination on ethno-religious protest and rebellion. The author found evidence supporting the fact that “any challenge to a religious framework is likely to provoke a defensive and often conflictive response from the adherents of that religious framework" (p. 16). Indeed, demands for more religious rights were found to be positively associated with the protest variable. It is then said that religious discrimination is strongly linked to the formation of grievances over that discrimination (p. 17). This is an example of a type of discrimination that has been proven to lead to protests and conflict. Interestingly, Brinbaum, Safi & Simon (2018) investigated the differences that exist between the perception and the experience of discrimination in France. This was investigated because of the apparent

"disconnect between representations of discrimination and the population's actual experience" (p. 196). Wrench (2011) notes that the gap between the perceptions of discrimination and the actual experience of it likely stems from the difficulty of measuring it, as researchers must rely upon respondents' self-reported experience. The issue with any survey data is that it is not an exact science. Various methods of measurement have been explored such as experiments reproducing situations of discrimination also called the audit "testing" method (CAS, 2007). Brinbaum et al. (2018) find that the later generation of immigrants more frequently report ethno-racial discrimination than previous generations of immigrants as they are more sensitive to the sense of unfairness since they were born and socialized in France. This seems to contradict the expectations of previous work suggesting that later generations would be less susceptible to discrimination precisely because they have been more socialized and assimilated into the host country. Furthermore, the authors also find evidence supporting the fact that perceived discrimination is reported at a much higher rate than the actual experience of it (p. 198). Perception of discrimination is higher than what is experienced of it. Though this is purely in terms of what has been reported by individuals when questioned in a survey, this indicates little on how this is translated in practice in terms of immigrants' political behavior and the potential links that could be made there.

While analyzing the general findings of existing literature on the topic, it is generally concluded that political participation amongst citizens of immigrant origin is driven by several driven factors, but a main controversial one is protest behavior. Only Pilati (2018) has investigated the effect of experienced discrimination on protest behavior, but this was not the key factor of interest in their analysis, but more so a factor among others. It appears immigrants are motivated to politically participate when faced with discrimination and translate this into protest movements. However, we also see that there is a gap between perceived and experienced discrimination insofar that immigrants perceive discrimination to

be more recurrent than they experience it. None of the academic work has put the focus on the role of discrimination in predicting protest behaviors amongst immigrant citizens, and none have investigated perceived discrimination and its' effect on predicting this as well. This is the gap that I will aim to fill with my analysis. Including both experienced and perceived discrimination, I predict that higher levels in both indicators will lead to more participation in protests amongst individuals of immigrant origin. As such, two hypotheses can be defined for the analysis:

H1: Experiencing discrimination is positively related to protesting

H2:Perceiving discrimination is positively related to protesting

Evidence was found in support of experienced discrimination partially explaining protest behavior, as well as evidence in support of ethno-religious discrimination also leading to protests and conflicts. Therefore, it can be assumed for this analysis that by, the same mechanisms, more experienced and perceived discrimination will lead to more protests explaining immigrant citizens' apparent political action in this form of unconventional political participation despite being observed to be on the inactive side in the other forms.

Research design

Data

To statistically measure whether both experienced and perceived levels of discrimination influence participation in protests, I will be using data retrieved from the Survey on Minorities and Discrimination in the EU conducted in 2016. This survey was done

by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in all 28 member states of the EU. This is based on face-to-face interviews with a total of around 25,200 respondents of different minority and immigrant backgrounds across the EU. The sample includes people belonging to ethnic or national minorities. Namely individuals from Roma and Russia, as well as people born outside the EU (called first-generation respondents), and individuals with at least one parent born outside the EU (called second-generation respondents). Immigrants and descendants of immigrants came from Turkey, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia. Individuals who immigrated from any non-EU country in the past 10 years were included. All respondents were aged 16 years or older and had lived in private households for at least 12 months before the survey. While immigrants and descendants of immigrants were included in the survey based on their and their parent's country of birth, respectively, ethnic minorities were included based on self-identification. The sample size of each target group per country ranged from 369 to 1,408.

This survey worked towards random probability sampling, based on face-to-face interviews, except in Denmark and Finland where respondents were first screened for eligibility via telephone followed, then an appointment for a face-to-face interview would be made if eligible. The survey used national registers to find their target groups. The sampling followed the degree of concentration of the target population in the total population by excluding empty or low-concentration strata from the sample by setting a minimum level of concentration cut-off and oversampling more concentrated strata. The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights had a goal to achieve representativeness through random probability sampling for all target groups in each of the 28 EU member states. Many sampling strategies were used including direct single-stage sampling, multi-stage area sampling, random route approach when selecting households to interview, and location sampling, but a non-probability sampling had to be used in Luxembourg through quota

sampling as national authorities didn't grant access for the use the national register for sampling purposes (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights [FRA], 2017).

Operationalization

For this analysis, the variables derived from a specific set of questions I am interested in including in the analysis have not necessarily been asked in the same countries, and not all were answered by the same respondents. This has left me with an analysis of 19 EU member states with a total of 15 579 respondents, as these are the only observations that provided data for all the variables I have included in the analysis. To avoid erroneous standard errors and biased statistical significance tests due to potential clustering by country, I have attributed each observation a weight of 1 by creating a weight dummy variable in a way that gives each case an equal weight for the results. Due to the nature of the data, as it often occurs with survey data, a Complex Samples Logistic Regression will be used, where the variable *country* (country of interview) was used as a cluster, and the *case weight* variable was used as a weight. All the relevant assumptions for a logistic regression have been investigated (see Appendix). I am investigating those individuals who have reported protesting as well as the factors that push them towards displaying such political behavior, who in this case, represent the *outliers*. Therefore, this analysis is conducted knowingly exceeding the conventional threshold for the number of outliers. However, an analysis of leverage values and influential cases indicates that there is no cause for concern about the applicability of the model.

Dependent variable

The dependent variable and subject of the analysis of this research is participation in protests, which was obtained through the survey by having the respondents answer the following question: "In the past 12 months, have you taken part in a public demonstration?" to which they can answer "yes" (coded as 1) or no (coded as 0). This variable was chosen as it is a direct measure of self-reported protest behavior, as well as it captures data from a period of 12 months before the interview, the same timeframe used in one of the independent variables. Only 6.9% of respondents have reported having taken part in a protest in the past 12 months before being interviewed. The dependent variable is binary as it can only have two values, "yes" or "no". Therefore, I will be using the Binary Logistic Regression to see the effect of both experienced and perceived levels of discrimination amongst individuals of immigrant origin on their participation in protests.

Independent variable

One of the main contributions to the studies on discrimination's effect on participation in protests amongst immigrant groups is that I have two independent variables to measure it: experienced discrimination and perceived levels of discrimination. For measuring experienced discrimination, I will take the variable obtained by the survey where respondents had to answer "Have you experienced discrimination because of skin color/ethnic origin/religion in the past 12 months in any 10 areas of life?" to which they could answer either "yes" to having experienced discrimination in one or more areas of life (coded as 1) or "no" to not having experienced discrimination in any area of life (coded as 0). This is a measure of the overall experience of discrimination, where respondents must have responded

yes to having experienced discrimination in at least one of the domains of life asked in the survey, which includes when looking for work, at work, education, access to healthcare, access to housing, and when using other public or private services. This variable was derived from the 10 specific variables of each area of life also provided by the survey, where respondents having answered "yes" to one or more of these different areas were included in this overall variable of having experienced discrimination in the 10 areas of life. I chose this variable as it was the most general variable in the survey that encompasses all different areas of life where an individual could experience discrimination instead of focusing on one aspect at a time, which was not necessarily relevant for this research as the aim is to investigate the overall experiences of discrimination. This question also asks the question on a time period of 12 months before the interview, a timeframe that matches one of the dependent variable. Only 26.6% of respondents answered "yes" when asked about having experienced discrimination in one or more areas of life in the past 12 months before the interview.

For measuring perceived levels of discrimination, I will take the variable obtained by having the respondents answer what they think "In your opinion, how rare or widespread is discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin or immigrant background in your country?" to which respondents can answer either "non-existent" (coded as 0), "very rare" (coded as 1), "fairly rare" (coded as 2), "fairly widespread" (coded as 3), "very widespread" (coded as 4). The variable measuring experienced discrimination is binary, while the variable measuring the perceived levels of discrimination is ordinal. When asked how prevalent discrimination is, the most common answer was "fairly widespread" with 29.9% of respondents having chosen this answer, followed by 24.2% of respondents have answered "fairly rare".

Control variables

In line with the reviewed literature, there are several important control variables to add to the analysis: generation, interest in politics, monthly income, education, gender, and age. To measure generation, the respondents were asked what generation of immigrants they are, and they either answered: "first generation" (coded as 0) or "second generation" (coded as 1). In this survey, 78.9% of respondents reported being first-generation immigrants. I use this as a control as second generations are more likely to be more fluent in the host country's language and be socialized in that country, potentially lowering the chances of being discriminated against (Potochnik & Stegmaier, 2020). I will control for interest in politics, through a variable measuring respondents' answers to the question "how interested would you say you are in politics?" where they could answer "not at all interested" (coded as 1), "not very interested" (coded as 2), "quite interested" (coded as 3) or "very interested" (coded as 4). The majority of respondents answered "not at all interested", making up for 41% of total responses while only 6.5% answered "very interested" in politics. I control for this as findings on political participation suggested that general political interest is positively correlated to political participation, this could also be the case with protests (Riniolo & Ortensi, 2020). I control for gender where respondents place themselves as either "male" (coded as 1) or "female" (coded as 2) or "other" (coded as 3). A majority of 52% of respondents identified themselves as being male. I control for this as the literature suggests that men are more likely to participate politically than women, this may also be the case for protests (Ortensi & Riniolo, 2020). I control for age through a variable that measures age in years. The youngest respondent was 16 years old, and the oldest respondent was 85 years old. The average respondent is around 38 years old. I control for income which is measured monthly in bands ranging from "less than 25 euros" (coded as 1) to "4001 euros or

equivalent" (coded as 22). The average respondent earns around 751 to 900 euros per month. I control for this as research suggests that political participation is impacted by individual socio-economic factors, this may also play a role in protests (Ramakrishnan & Espenshade, 2001). I control for education measured by asking respondents "highest achieved education anywhere?" where they can answer "Never been in formal education/Never completed primary education in [country]" (coded as 1), "Primary and lower secondary education" (coded as 2), "Upper secondary, vocational, post-secondary, short cycle tertiary education" (coded as 3), "Tertiary education" (coded 4). The average respondent has only completed their primary or lower secondary education. I control for education as it has an impact on knowledge, known to influence political participation, therefore this perhaps may also be relevant to control when analyzing protests (Ortensi & Riniolo, 2020). In addition to this, I control for the countries by adding dummy variables of the 19 EU member states where Austria serves as the reference group. Each dummy represents a country where for instance Belgium is coded as 1, and not Belgium is coded as 0, or another where Greece is coded as 1, and not Greece is coded as 0, and so on and so forth.

Results

A Complex Samples binary logistic regression analysis has been used as a way of countering potential bias in the results due to clustering around countries, a common issue when using survey data such as this one. Table 1 summarizes the results that have been given after conducting the analysis, it includes both the logit coefficients as well as the odds ratios.

Two models are shown: Model 1 is the basic model that only includes the dependent variable (participated in a protest in the past 12 months) and the two main independent variables of interest (both experienced and perceived discrimination); Model 2 is the basic model along with all the other relevant variables I aimed to control for including age, gender, monthly income, education level, interest in politics, generation, and the 19 EU countries included in the analysis (excluding Austria that is used as the reference group when controlling). A first overall remark on the models that can be made is regarding how well they help predict the outcomes of the dependent variable, also called the model fit. As it appears, the addition of the controls in model 2 is more efficient at explaining the outcomes of participation in protests and is a more improved model than the basic one. However, although an improvement from Model 1, Model 2 still only achieves a Nagelkerke's R^2 value of 0.203. This is considered low, as this measure can reach all the way to 1 if the model excels at explaining outcomes, unlike Cox and Snell's R^2. The results are displayed in the table below:

Table 1. Complex Samples binary logistic regression analysis of the probability of having participated in a protest in the past 12 months (with odds ratios)

	Model 1		**Model 2**	
(Constant)	-3.155***	0.043	-5.039***	0.006
	(0.184)		(0.419)	
Experienced Dis.	0.430***	1.537	0.401***	1.494
	(0.100)***	[1.246; 1.896]	(0.061)	[1.313; 1.699]
Perceived Dis.	0.312***	1.367	0.108*	1.114
	(0.059)	[1.208; 1.547]	(0.043)	[1.017; 1.221]
Age			-0.005	0.995
			(0.004)	[0.986; 1.004]
Gender			-0.118	0.888
			(0.111)	[0.703; 1.123]
Interest in politics			0.664***	1.943
			(0.052)	[1.743; 2.166]
Education			0.301***	1.351
			(0.065)	[1.179; 1.548]
Income			0.015	1.015
			(0.014)	[0.986; 1.045]
Generation			0.432***	1.541
			(0.102)	[1.244; 1.909]
Belgium			0.047	1.048
			(0.060)	[0.923; 1.189]
Cyprus			-1.284***	0.277
			(0.047)	[0.251; 0.305]
Denmark			0.616***	1.851
			(0.067)	[1.607; 2.132]
Finland			0.118*	1.126
			(0.044)	[1.026; 1.236]
France			0.392***	1.480
			(0.057)	[1.312; 1.669]
Germany			-0.141*	0.868
			(0.051)	[0.780; 0.967]
Greece			-1.423***	0.241
			(0.055)	[0.215; 0.271]
Ireland			- 0.515***	0.597
			(0.066)	[0.520; 0.686]
Italy			-0.021	0.979
			(0.050)	[0.882; 1.087]
Luxembourg			-0.464***	0.629
			(0.058)	[0.557; 0.710]
Malta			-0.139	0.870
			(0.090)	[0.720; 1.052]
Netherlands			-0.346***	0.708
			(0.062)	[0.621; 0.807]
Poland			-0.684***	0.505
			(0.081)	[0.426; 0.598]
Portugal			-1.270***	0.281
			(0.063)	[0.246; 0.321]

Slovenia		-1.995***	0.136
		(0.065)	[0.119; 0.156]
Spain		0.038	1.038
		(0.059)	[0.918; 1.175]
Sweden		0.802***	2.231
		(0.051)	[2.004; 2.482]
United Kingdom		-0.904***	0.405
		(0.053)	[0.362; 0.453]
-2LL	9604.548	8316.709	
Cox and Snell's R^2	0.018	0.960	
Nagelkerke's R^2	0.037	0.203	
N	15579	15579	

*Note: binary logistic regression coefficients with standard errors in brackets. odds ratios with 95% confidence intervals in brackets. ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05.*

It is necessary to be reminded of the two hypotheses this research aimed to provide statistical evidence for. The first hypothesis was defined as *H1: Experiencing discrimination is positively related to protesting.* As Table 1 shows, the logit coefficient of experienced discrimination is positive in both models. The logit coefficient obtained by Model 1 was of 0.430 and of 0.401 in Model 2. This is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) in both models. The coefficient would have needed to be positive to see that experiencing discrimination is positively related to participating in a protest. Indeed, results show that the odds of a person that experiences discrimination protesting is 1.53 [CI:1.246; 1.896] times greater than the odds of a person that does not, and 1.49 [CI: 1.313; 1.699] times greater when controlling for other factors. Those experiencing discrimination are more likely to protest than those who do not. This is in line with what was expected to be found: the relationship between experiencing discrimination and participating in a protest is a positive one. There is therefore evidence to support this hypothesis, we can accept H1. The second hypothesis was defined as *H2: Perceiving discrimination is positively related to protesting.* Once again, for there to be evidence supporting this hypothesis, the observed logit coefficient needs to be a positive one. In Model 1, the logit coefficient of perceived discrimination is 0.312, this is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). In Model 2, it is equal to 0.108, this is also statistically significant (p

< 0.05). This indicates that in any case, the relationship between perceiving discrimination and participating in a protest is a positive one. The odds of an individual protesting increase by 1.11 [CI: 1.017; 1.221] times for each one unit increase in perceived levels of discrimination, and by 1.36 [CI: 1.208; 1.547] times according to Model 1. Individuals that perceive high levels of discrimination are more likely to take part in a protest than individuals that perceive lower levels of discrimination. This positive relationship is also in line with what was expected to be found and supports the second hypothesis, which stipulates a positive relationship between perceived discrimination and participation in protests. Therefore H2, also, can be accepted. The results thus seem to support both of this research's hypotheses: we find that both experiencing and perceiving discrimination are positively related to participating in a protest. Not only does the evidence support the hypotheses, but it is also apparent that experiencing discrimination has a larger effect on the probability of protesting than perceived discrimination, this is an interesting finding. Previous work suggests that the perception of discrimination is typically higher than the actual experience (Brinbaum et al., 2018). This may indicate that first-hand experience of discrimination matters more in predicting protest behavior, though perceiving it remains a valid and substantial indicator in and of itself.

Regarding the control variables, three of the main six were shown to be significant. Indeed, generation has a positive logit coefficient of 0.432, this is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). This shows that being a second-generation immigrant is positively related to participating in a protest. As shown in Table 1, the odds of an individual who is a second-generation immigrant protesting is 1.54 [CI: 1.244; 1.909] times greater than the odds of an individual who is a first-generation immigrant protesting. Second-generation immigrants are more likely to protest than their first-generation counterparts. This is a surprising finding as it contradicts what was expected to be found as the existing literature suggests that second

generations would be less likely to protest as they would also be less likely to experience discrimination than their first-generation counterparts, as well as being more involved in conventional forms of political participation (Pilati, 2018). This is due to the tendency and expectation of second-generation immigrants to have a better command of the host country's language, go through socialization in the host country and share common norms with natives (Potochnik & Stegmaier, 2020). Interest in politics is also statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) and has a positive logit coefficient of 0.664. Data shows that the more interest an individual takes in politics, the higher the probability of said individual partaking in protests. The odds of an individual protesting double [CI: 1.743; 2.166] for each one unit increase in interest in politics. Someone interested in politics is more likely to protest than someone who is not. This further supports findings of existing literature stipulating that more politically interested individuals are more likely to politically participate, so it is not surprising as a finding in this case (Pilati, 2018). Education also seems to matter: it has a positive logit coefficient of 0.301, which is statistically significant ($p < 0.001$). Findings show that the odds of an individual having completed higher levels of education protesting is 1.35 [CI: 1.179; 1.548] times greater than the odds of an individual only having completed lower levels of education protesting. This is not surprising as existing research has already investigated this and established the positive relationship that exists between education and political participation (Giugni & Grasso, 2020). For what concerns the countries that were controlled for, the logit coefficients of 14 countries are statistically significant ($P < 0.001$). This is interesting as the odds of an individual protesting in Sweden, for instance, is 2.23 [CI: 2.004; 2.482] times greater than the odds of an individual in another country protesting. Country-specific theories have not been looked at to know why being in some country would make it more likely for individuals to protest than being in another. Perhaps a single case design would be more

useful to further investigate this, a goal that was not prioritized for this research as the aim was more so looking into a general tendency rather than being case-specific.

Conclusion

The existing research on political participation amongst immigrants seems to have already found apparent gaps not only between this group and their native counterparts but also across generations of immigrants and different immigrant groups. This is due to several factors involving socioeconomic resources, political interest, assimilation, and mobilization, amongst others. As a result, natives are seen to participate more, and later immigrant generations are seen to participate more than earlier generations. However, the puzzling observation of the many recent protests led by the initiative of the immigrant population raises the question as to why these immigrant groups who were known to be rather politically inactive in the host countries are often frontline when it comes to protests. The question this paper sought to answer was the following: What is the effect of discrimination amongst immigrant-origin citizens on participation in protests? I argued that not only does experienced discrimination play a significant role in explaining this puzzling behavior given previous research, but that perceived discrimination also plays an important role in explaining this. I ran a binary logistic regression, more precisely a complex samples logistic regression due to the nature of the survey data susceptible to clustering, where evidence supporting our two hypotheses was found. Both experienced and perceived discrimination are found to be positively related to protesting, whereby an individual that has experienced discrimination in the 12 months before the interview is more likely to partake in a protest, and an individual who perceives high levels of discrimination is also more likely to partake in a protest than an

individual who perceives low levels of discrimination. Regarding the control variables, interest in politics and education were both found to have a significant and positive relationship with participation in protests, which was expected considering past investigations on the topic. However, surprisingly generation also was found to have a positive relationship with participation in a protest despite previous research suggesting otherwise. Second-generations were found to be more likely to participate in protests than their first-generation counterparts. It was not expected that this would extend to protests as well, assuming second generations would be less likely to experience discrimination due to overall adapting to the host country on a deeper level. I discuss the limitations of my research and potential paths for future research for the remainder of this conclusion.

As with all scholarly work, especially in the social sciences, there are limitations. The first one involves the variable used to measure self-reported participation in protests. Indeed, the variable used in this study only asks whether individuals have taken part in a protest in the 12 months before the interview, which can be too short of a timeframe for such political activity. It can be assumed that protests occur far less often than other types of political participation more often occurring, such as voting for instance. Another limitation revolves around the number of cases that were included. This survey was initially carried out in the 28 EU member states but ultimately only 19 of them made the cut due to missing responses on certain questions and in certain countries. A third limitation reflects the fact that this research does not take the host country's political and cultural context into account, factors that may significantly help in understanding why protests in some countries are more likely than in others. Or that despite experiencing and perceiving discrimination, the window of opportunity to express discontent with this may be shut. I would therefore suggest future work to combine more data from other countries and contexts, asking questions with a far larger timeframe to capture more global and representative results. Following this direction,

including more cases from all around the world could possibly lead to finding that the relationship between experiencing or perceiving discrimination and protesting may be non-existent, insignificant, or even negative in certain cases.

Immigrant citizens typically participate less in the host country's politics but seem particularly motivated to partake in protest movements when faced with discrimination. The main concern for European democracies, and for democracies all over the world for that matter this is not exclusive to Europe, stemmed from the politically inactive part of the population increasing in numbers threatening the quality and representativeness of those democracies. Since evidence seems to point to immigrant citizens being aware when being discriminated against by displaying their grievances, this gives some optimism to show that the immigrant population is not as inactive, and passive as previous concerning findings had indicated. Though it remains unclear if this unconventional form of political participation fends for preserving democracy on its own, and whether this minority group sees an increase in conventional forms of political participation afterward.

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Appendix

Assumptions check

Multicollinearity

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.027	.005		5.016	.000		
	perceptiondisrecoded	.025	.002	.097	11.457	.000	.889	1.125
	Experiences of discrimination because of skin colour/ethnic origin/religion in the past 12 months in 10 areas	.043	.006	.066	7.806	.000	.889	1.125
2	(Constant)	-.160	.014		-11.086	.000		
	perceptiondisrecoded	.012	.002	.048	5.707	.000	.841	1.189
	Experiences of discrimination because of skin colour/ethnic origin/religion in the past 12 months in 10 areas	.038	.005	.057	6.984	.000	.871	1.148
	interestpolrecoded	.064	.002	.212	25.840	.000	.878	1.139
	Age	.000	.000	-.013	-1.539	.124	.816	1.226
	GENDER	-.004	.005	-.007	-.952	.341	.968	1.033
	Monthly income in income bands	.003	.001	.042	5.136	.000	.865	1.156
	Highest achieved education anywhere	.020	.003	.055	6.704	.000	.876	1.142
	generationrecoded	.039	.006	.055	6.229	.000	.764	1.309

a. Dependent Variable: protestrecoded

All VIF is under 5, and none are above 10, therefore there is no cause for concern. All Tolerance is above 0.2, therefore there is no cause for concern. However, the average VIF is slightly above 1, with an average of 1.1592, therefore there could be cause for concern but not too worrisome as it is not substantially higher than 1.

Outliers

Casewise Diagnostics[a]

Case Number	Std. Residual	protestrecoded	Predicted Value	Residual
996	3.212	1.00	.0920	.90803
1014	3.390	1.00	.0416	.95844
1029	3.338	1.00	.0564	.94365
1046	3.209	1.00	.0928	.90720
1078	3.299	1.00	.0673	.93270
1283	3.266	1.00	.0768	.92318
1299	3.479	1.00	.0164	.98362
1310	3.244	1.00	.0830	.91704
1325	3.225	1.00	.0883	.91172
1361	3.203	1.00	.0945	.90551
1374	3.279	1.00	.0730	.92704
1697	3.203	1.00	.0945	.90546
1834	3.319	1.00	.0618	.93821
2047	3.216	1.00	.0909	.90911
2180	3.225	1.00	.0883	.91172
2214	3.364	1.00	.0491	.95087
2262	3.289	1.00	.0703	.92966
2276	3.291	1.00	.0696	.93036
2501	3.473	1.00	.0182	.98175
3594	3.581	1.00	-.0125	1.01245
3595	3.509	1.00	.0080	.99197
3702	3.548	1.00	-.0031	1.00310
3792	3.348	1.00	.0534	.94657
3793	3.572	1.00	-.0097	1.00965
3797	3.639	1.00	-.0287	1.02870
3831	3.536	1.00	.0004	.99964
3838	3.486	1.00	.0145	.98548
3867	3.370	1.00	.0474	.95264

Here, I asked SPSS to identify the outliers with a standardized residual above 3.2. This was also done with values higher than 2.58 as well as 1.96. The outliers in this case concern by very subject of study: those having partaken in a protest. Therefore, the research was carried out despite the outliers.

Influential cases

Residuals Statistics[a]

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	-.0873	.3541	.0964	.08514	15579
Std. Predicted Value	-2.158	3.027	.000	1.000	15579
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.004	.013	.007	.001	15579
Adjusted Predicted Value	-.0875	.3544	.0964	.08514	15579
Residual	-.35412	1.04422	.00000	.28262	15579
Std. Residual	-1.253	3.694	.000	1.000	15579
Stud. Residual	-1.253	3.695	.000	1.000	15579
Deleted Residual	-.35440	1.04491	.00000	.28280	15579
Stud. Deleted Residual	-1.253	3.697	.000	1.000	15579
Mahal. Distance	1.709	29.611	7.999	3.427	15579
Cook's Distance	.000	.002	.000	.000	15579
Centered Leverage Value	.000	.002	.001	.000	15579

a. Dependent Variable: protestrecoded

There is no Cook's Distance above 1, the highest one present in the data is of 0.002.

Therefore, there is no cause for concern.

Relevant coding

Dependent variable

a. Protest: Originally labelled **PB17_3**. Respondents were asked: "In the past 12 months, have you taken part in a public demonstration?"

1. Yes = 1
2. No = 2

ii. Recoded into a dummy variable labelled as **Protestrecoded**

1. Yes = 1
2. No = 0
3. Missing values = 96-99

Independent variables

b. Experienced discrimination: Labelled **Dis12overall10.** Respondents were asked: "Experiences of discrimination because of skin color/ethnic origin/religion in the past 12 months in 10 areas"

i. No = 0

ii. Yes = 1

1. Variable calculated from all the variables in the survey on the individual specific areas in life. If respondents answered 'yes' to at least one of those questions, they were counted within this variable

c. **Perceived discrimination:** Originally labelled **RA03_2.** Respondents were asked: "Prevalence of discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin or immigrant background in [country]"

    1. Very rare = 1
    2. Fairly rare = 2
    3. Fairly widespread = 3
    4. Very widespread = 4
    5. Non-existent = 5

ii. Recoded into a dummy variable labelled as **Perceptiondisrecoded**

    1. Non-existent = 0
    2. Very rare = 1
    3. Fairly rare = 2
    4. Fairly widespread = 3
    5. Very widespread = 4

Control variables

d. **Gender:** Labelled as **HH03.** Respondents were asked: "Gender?"

i. Male = 1

ii. Female = 2

iii. Other = 3

    1. According to the survey, 14 cases have chosen category "other" but according to the survey have been randomly recoded in the

other two categories for reasons of confidentiality and data protection

e. Age: Labelled as **HH02.** Measured in years. 1 = 1 year old, 2 = 2 years old, etc…

f. Interest in politics: Originally labelled as **PB16.** Respondents were asked: "How interested would you say you are in politics?"

1. Very interested = 1
2. Quite interested = 2
3. Not very interested = 3
4. Not at all interested = 4

ii. Recoded into a dummy variable labelled as **Interestpolrecoded.**

1. Not at all interested = 1
2. Not very interested = 2
3. Quite interested = 3
4. Very interested = 4

g. Income: Labelled as **SI03_3_H.** Respondents were asked: "Monthly income in bands"

1. D less than 25 Euro (or equivalent) = 1
2. B 26-50 Euro (or equivalent) = 2
3. I 51-100 Euro (or equivalent) = 3
4. O 101-150 Euro (or equivalent) = 4
5. T 151-200 Euro (or equivalent) = 5
6. G 201-250 Euro (or equivalent) = 6
7. P 251-300 Euro (or equivalent) = 7
8. A 301-400 Euro (or equivalent) = 8

9. F 401-500 Euro (or equivalent) = 9
10. E 501-600 Euro (or equivalent) = 10
11. Q 601-750 Euro (or equivalent) = 11
12. H 751-900 Euro (or equivalent) = 12
13. C 901-1100 Euro (or equivalent) = 13
14. L 1101-1300 Euro (or equivalent) = 14
15. N 1301-1500 Euro (or equivalent) = 15
16. R 1501-1750 Euro (or equivalent) = 16
17. M 1751-2000 Euro (or equivalent) = 17
18. S 2001-2250 Euro (or equivalent) = 18
19. K 2251-2600 Euro (or equivalent) = 19
20. U 2601-3000 Euro (or equivalent) = 20
21. U 2601-3000 Euro (or equivalent) = 21
22. J 4001 Euro (or equivalent) or more = 22

h. Generation: Originally labelled as **Generation.** Respondents were asked: "First- or second-generation migrant".

1. First generation = 1
2. Second generation = 2

ii. Recoded into a dummy variable labelled as **Generationrecoded**

1. First generation = 0
2. Second generation = 1

i. Education: Labelled as **EDU_achieved.** Respondents were asked: "Highest achieved level of education anywhere?"

1. Never been in formal education / Never completed primary education (/or level in [COUNTRY] yet) (ISCED 0) = 1

2. Primary and lower secondary education (ISCED 1+2) = 2
3. Upper secondary, vocational, post-secondary, short cycle tertiary education (ISCED 3 to 5) = 3
4. Tertiary education (ISCED 6-8) = 4

j. **Dummy variables of countries:** Example: labelled as **Denmark.** Created from **country** (country of interview)

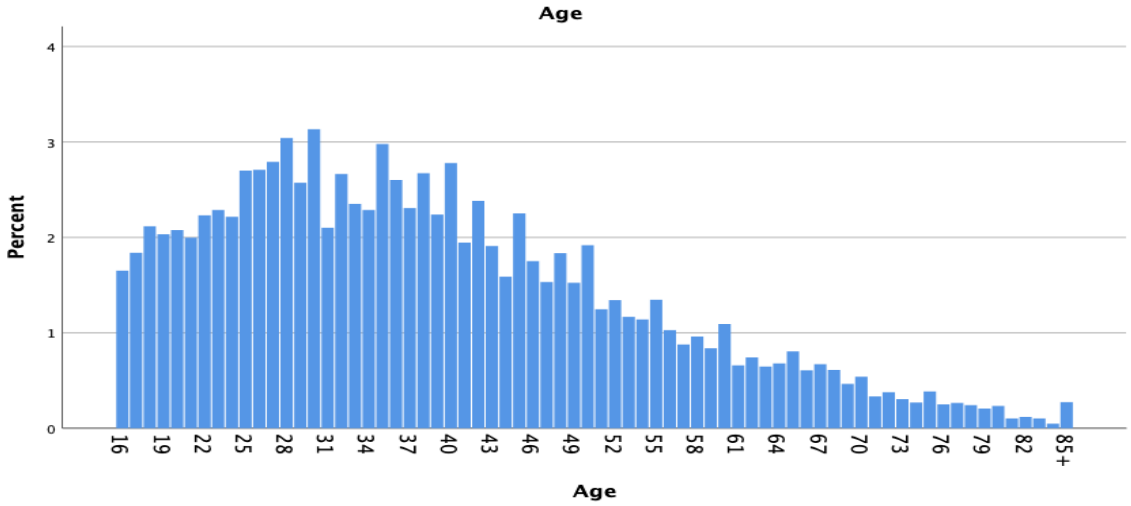
1. Denmark = 1
2. All else = 0
    a. Etc…

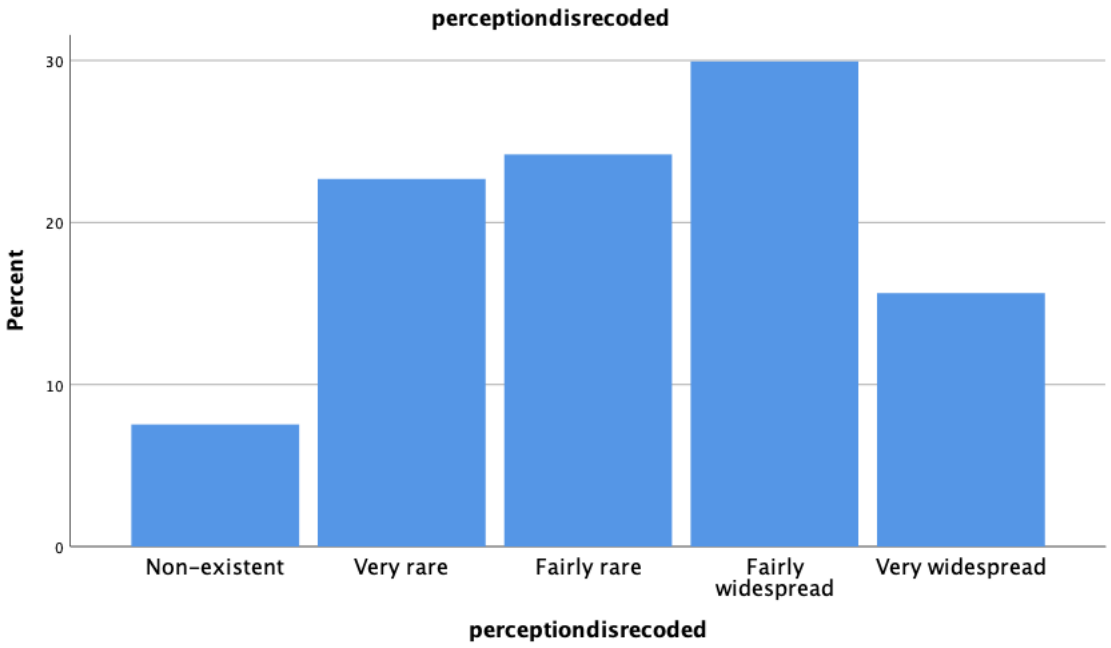
Descriptives

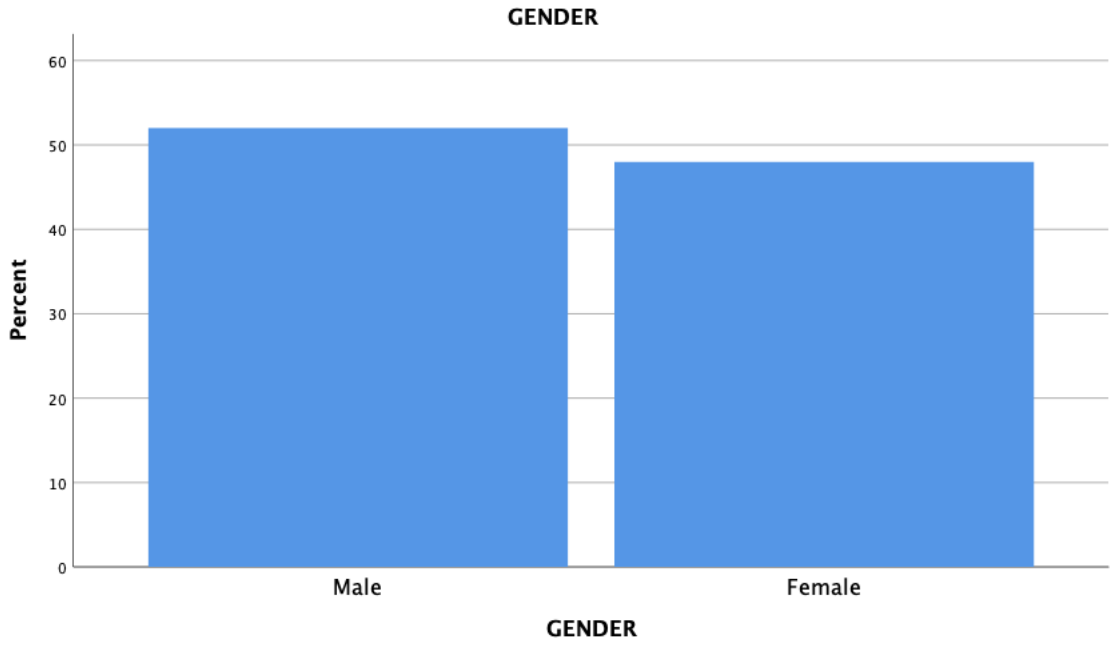
Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		Std. Deviation
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
protestrecoded	25184	1.00	.00	1.00	.0692	.00160	.25375
interestpolrecoded	25000	3.00	1.00	4.00	1.9275	.00590	.93326
generationrecoded	15984	1.00	.00	1.00	.2113	.00323	.40822
perceptiondisrecoded	24700	4.00	.00	4.00	2.2346	.00752	1.18258
Monthly income in income bands	25184	21	1	22	12.60	.033	5.182
Age	25184	69	16	85	38.71	.095	15.092
GENDER	25184	1	1	2	1.48	.003	.500
Experiences of discrimination because of skin colour/ethnic origin/religion in the past 12 months in 10 areas	25076	1	0	1	.27	.003	.442
Highest achieved education anywhere	25122	3	1	4	2.42	.005	.821
Valid N (listwise)	15579						

Frequencies



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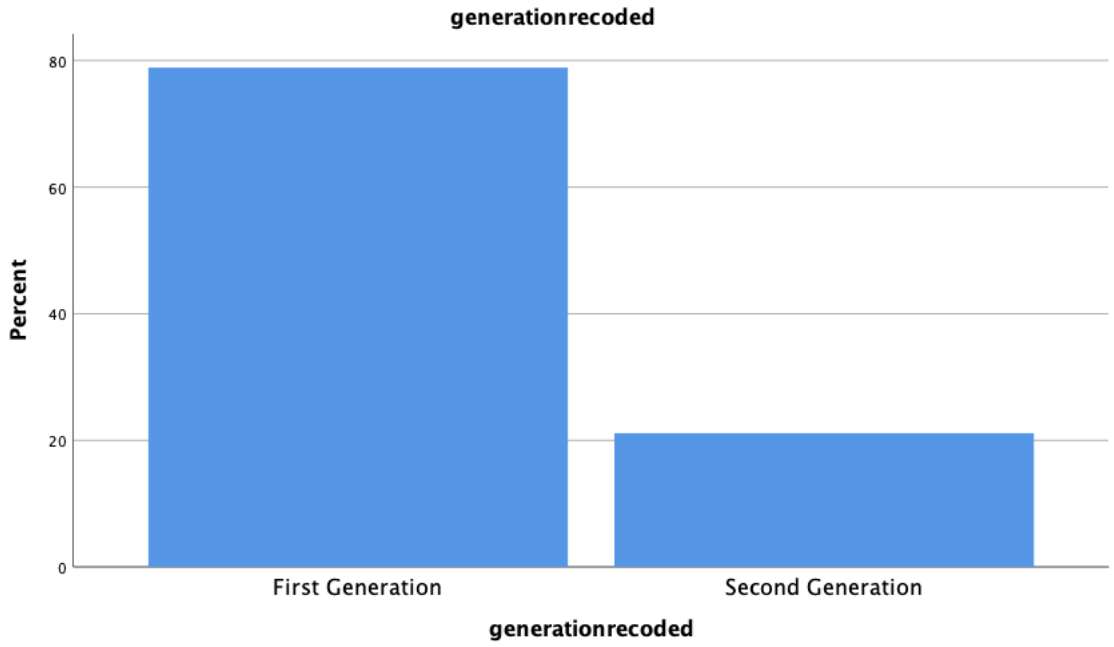
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percent
Male
Female
GENDER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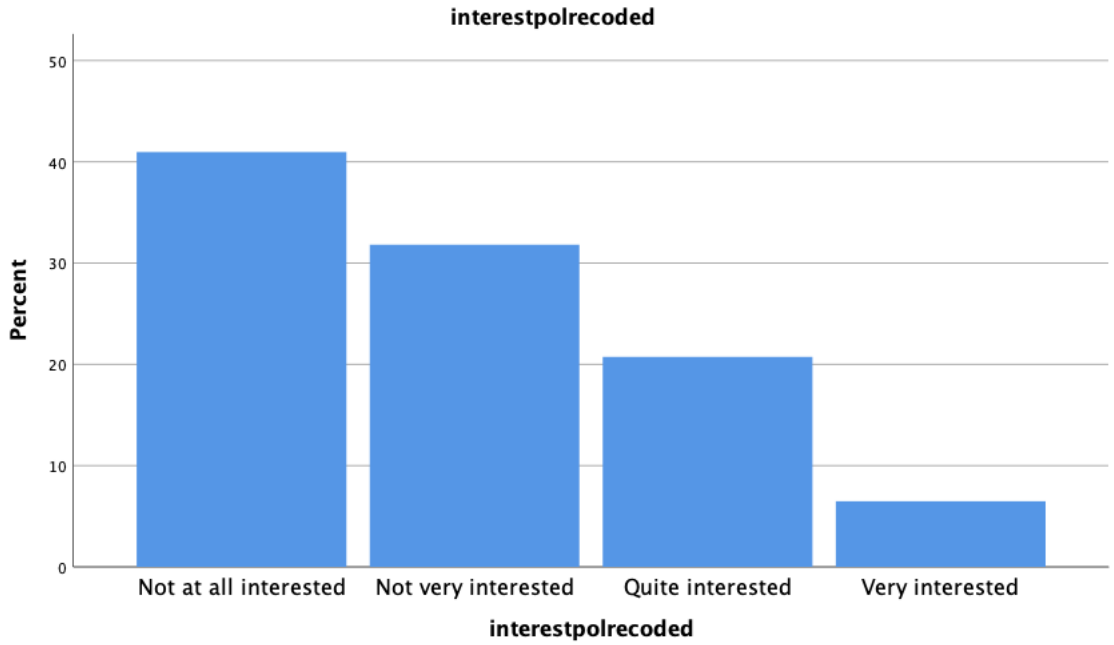
80
60
40
20
0
Percent
First Generation
Second Generation
generationrecoded


interestpolrecoded
Percent
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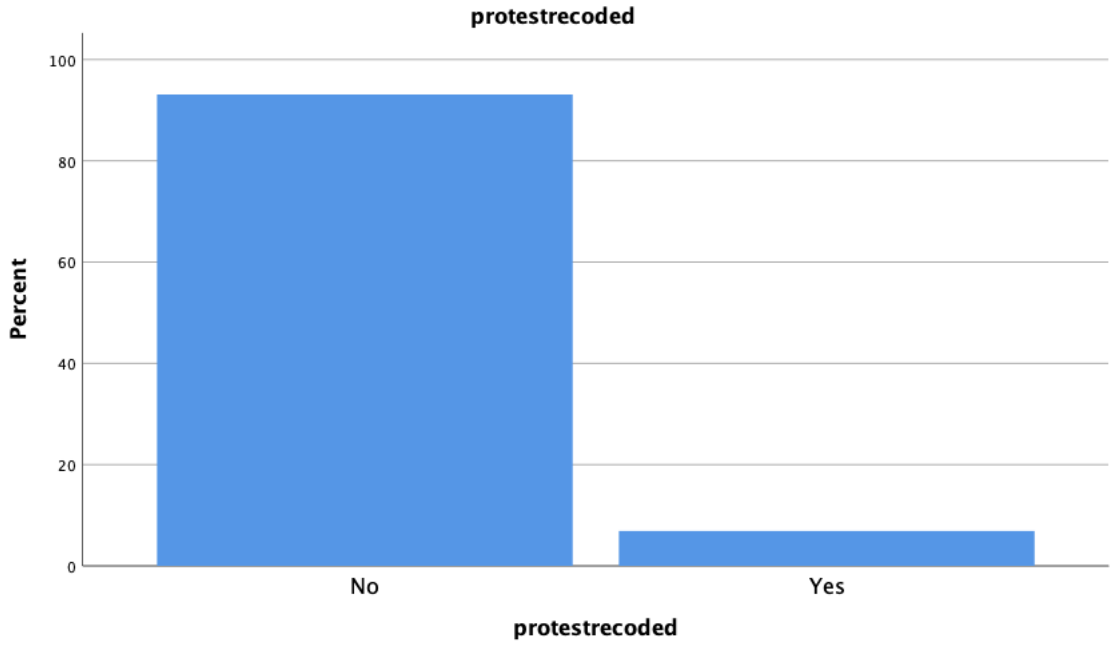
40
30
20
10
0
Not at all interested
Not very interested
Quite interested
Very interested
interestpolrecoded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Percent
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80
60
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20
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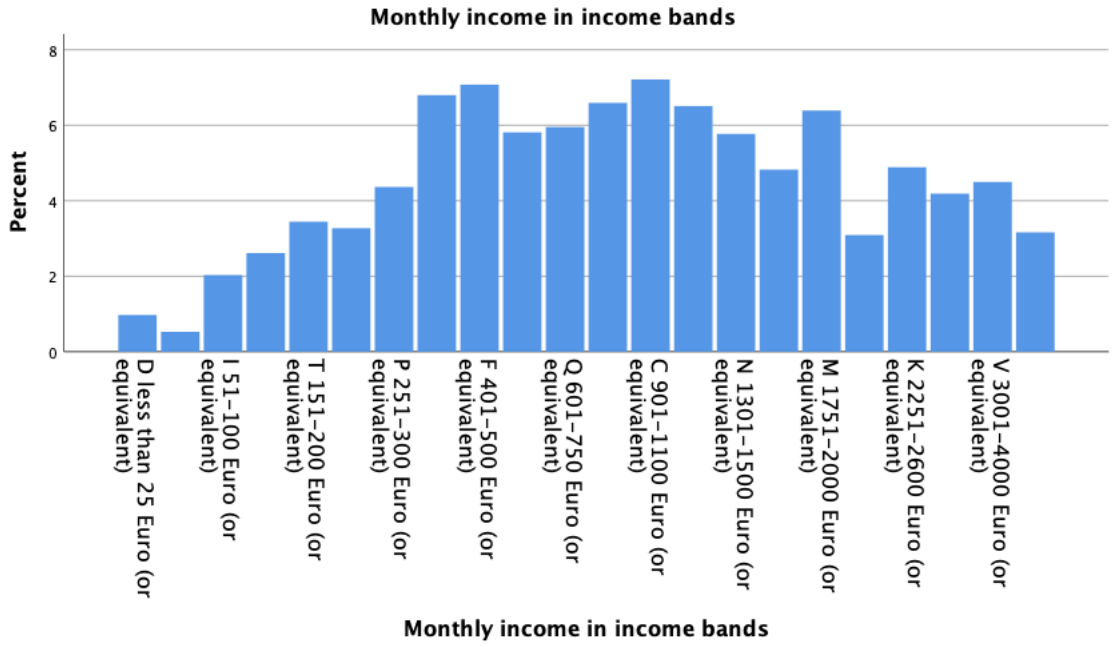
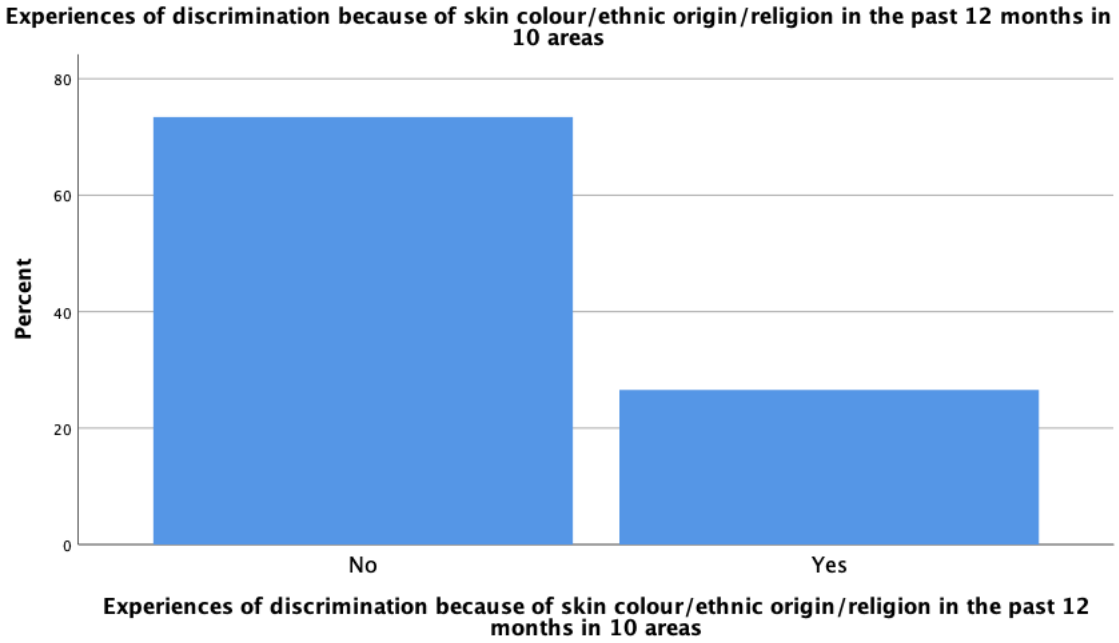
No
Yes
protestrecoded


Monthly income in income bands
Percent
0
2
4
6
8
D less than 25 Euro (or equivalent)
I 51–100 Euro (or equivalent)
T 151–200 Euro (or equivalent)
P 251–300 Euro (or equivalent)
F 401–500 Euro (or equivalent)
Q 601–750 Euro (or equivalent)
C 901–1100 Euro (or equivalent)
N 1301–1500 Euro (or equivalent)
M 1751–2000 Euro (or equivalent)
K 2251–2600 Euro (or equivalent)
V 3001–4000 Euro (or equivalent)
Monthly income in income bands


Experiences of discrimination because of skin colour/ethnic origin/religion in the past 12 months in 10 areas
Percent
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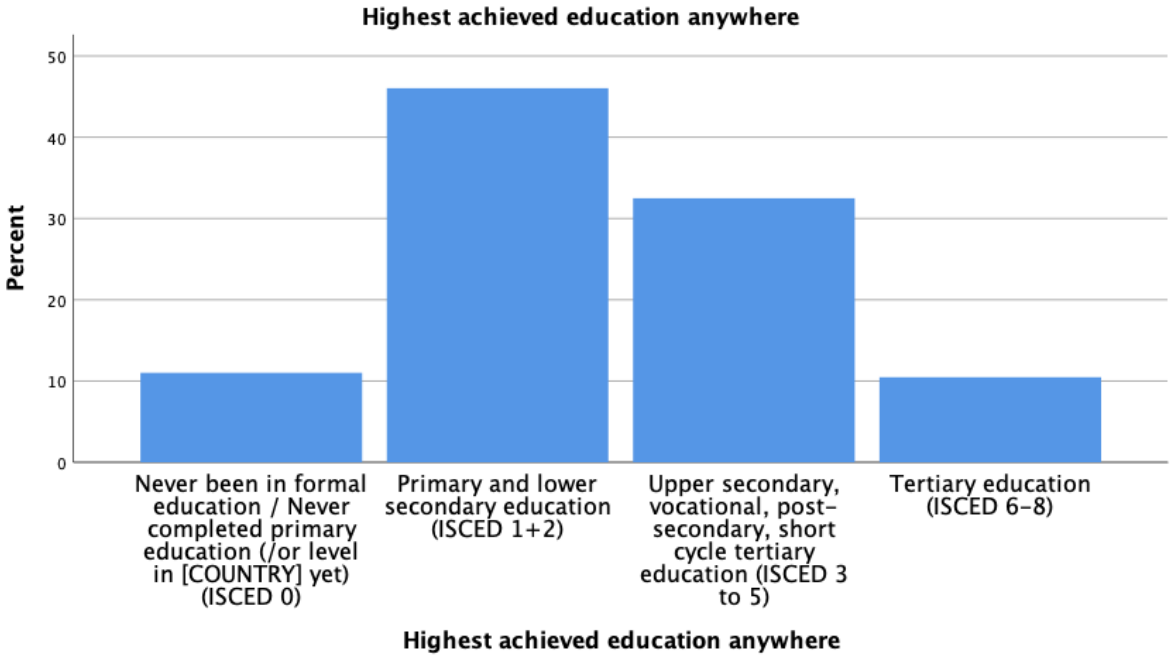
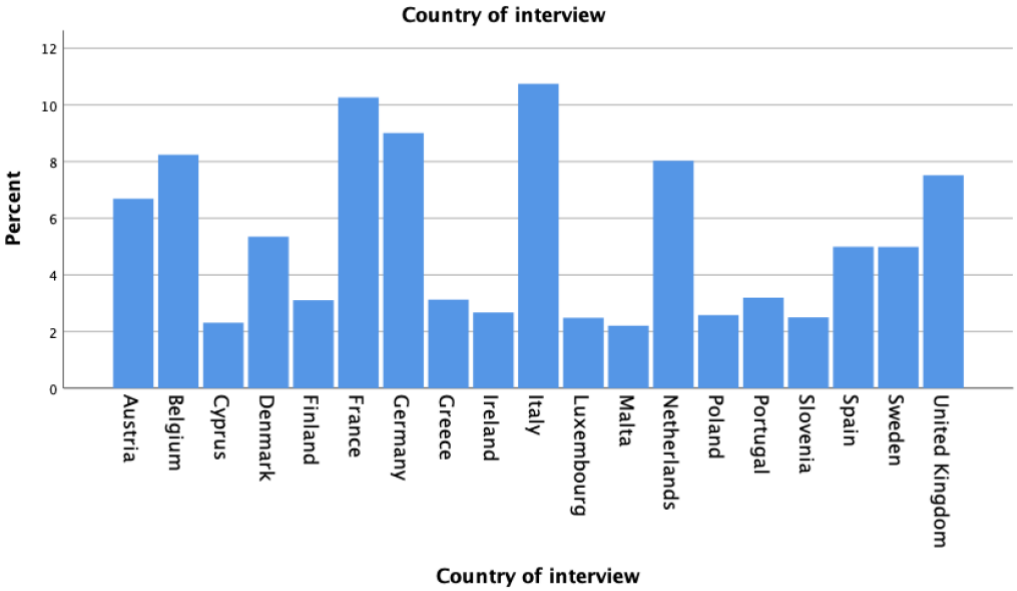
20
40
60
80
No
Yes
Experiences of discrimination because of skin colour/ethnic origin/religion in the past 12 months in 10 areas


Highest achieved education anywhere
Percent
50
40
30
20
10
0
Never been in formal education / Never completed primary education (/or level in [COUNTRY] yet) (ISCED 0)
Primary and lower secondary education (ISCED 1+2)
Upper secondary, vocational, post-secondary, short cycle tertiary education (ISCED 3 to 5)
Tertiary education (ISCED 6-8)
Highest achieved education anywhere


Country of interview
Percent
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Austria
Belgium
Cyprus
Denmark
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Ireland
Italy
Luxembourg
Malta
Netherlands
Poland
Portugal
Slovenia
Spain
Sweden
United Kingdom
Country of interview