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“How In Are You?”

Investigating the effect of the membership in a
transnational organisation on political participation

A case study conducted in the German context

Bachelor thesis



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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to examine the effect of the membership in a transnational organisation on its members' level of political participation in domestic politics in Germany.

Currently, a sharp increase of people seeking asylum in Germany is recognised. A question frequently being raised targets at the challenge of their successful integration into German society, including political integration.

In practice, the engagement in a transnationally acting organisation bears a valuable option for migrants, and asylum seekers, to maintain civic ties to their home country and build new civic ties with the receiving society. Nevertheless, there is an academic discourse on the actual impact of the membership in a transnational organisation on the members' level of political participation in politics of the receiving country. Attempting to clarify the relationship, a qualitative case study has been conducted in the German context. Here, a number of in-depths interviews were accomplished with the members of an African- German transnational organisation.

The results hold that the membership in a transnational organisation indeed fosters a migrant's level of political participation in domestic politics, and consequently stimulates his political integration into the society of the receiving country. Although the interviewees indicate that the prospect of meeting new people caused their membership rather than politically motivated aspects, an enhanced political engagement is recognised as a side effect. For that reason, policy makers are advised to strengthen the establishment of transnational organisations.

1. Introduction

“It is here. He is, so to speak, the potential wanderer: Although he has not moved on, he has not quite overcome the freedom of coming and going. He is fixed within a particular spatial group, or within a group whose boundaries are similar to spatial boundaries. But his position in this group is determined, essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself” (Simmel, 1950, p. 1).

What the famous German sociologist Georg Simmel expressed in the 1950's is a phenomenon which is still, and to an increasing extent, relevant in the modern world. Simmel's “stranger” can be seen as a first description of a migrant, explaining a person moving from one country to another. During the 20th century, the process of migration was characterised by a uni- or bidirectional territorial change. This was induced due to so- called push- factors, such as high unemployment rates in the home country, and pull- factors, such as expected job opportunities in the receiving country. As the famous German researcher for migration affairs Pries (1998) outlines, people consequently changed their country of residence either for a certain period of time- referred to as bidirectional change that implies a return opportunity-, or forever, which is called a unidirectional change.

Being present for almost 70 years, this process further developed to the phenomenon of pluridirectional change: Instead of a gradual process of acculturation and integration into the receiving country, as the ideal result of uni- or bidirectional change and described by classical assimilation theory, transnationalism evoked the imagery of a permanent back-and-forth movement in which migrants live simultaneously in two or more societies and cultures, tying them together into so called “deterritorialised” communities. This implies the continuous civic activities of a human in both his home country and the country to which he migrated (Pries, 1998). Civic activities consist of a wide range of activities starting with regular phone calls and visits to the home country. However, a more concrete opportunity for a migrant to maintain active civic ties with the home country is to engage himself in the receiving country on behalf of the home country (DeSipio, Pachon, Rodolfo & Lee, 2003).

One instrument of this so- called transnational engagement is the participation of migrants in so- called transnational organisations (Pries, 2013). This type of organisation is located in the receiving country but acts in both the interest of the receiving country and the migrant's home country. For that reason, a transnational organisation consists of members from two different

nationalities, and therefore can function as a mediating entity between them (Brettel, 2005). Section 4.1 further concentrates on the concept of transnational organisations.

A question frequently being raised in regard to people migrating from one country to another is the aspect of their social, political and economic integration into the society of the receiving country. Gsir (2014, p. 7) mentions that when a migrant shows civic engagement in two different societies, “this can raise the question of his/ her loyalty to each nation- state”. The issue of interest is whether civic activities oriented towards the country of origin in effect reduce the civic participation of the migrant in the receiving country, and thus limit integration (Gsir, 2014).

Empirically, there is a strong discordance in terms of how the membership in a transnational organisation actually influences the level of integration of migrants into the society of the receiving country. This is particularly controversial in regard to the political integration of migrants in the new country of residence. Certain studies that are conducted in the US American context reveal that the membership in a transnational organisation impedes the level of political participation of migrants in the receiving country whereas others stress that this sort of engagement enhances the level of political participation of migrants in the receiving country. Others, again, defend the outcome that members of a transnational organisation do neither more nor less participate in the politics of the receiving country compared to migrants who are not a member in such an organisation. A more detailed review of these studies can be found in section 3. What follows from this discordance, however, is that there is a need for clarifying the actual impact of the membership in a transnational organisation on the level of a migrant's political activity in the politics of the receiving country.

Capturing the above, the study aims at the clarification of the issues being present in the US American context by conducting a case study in the European, or more specifically German, context. Here, it is examined how the membership in a transnational organisation affects the level of passive and active political participation of African migrants in domestic politics in Germany. Section 1.1 gives an outline of the increasing number of Africans migrating to Germany, and by that supports the researcher's choice to investigate the effect of the membership in an African- German transnational organisation on their level of political participation in German politics.

1.1. The current development of African- German migration

As mentioned above, this paragraph concisely describes the recent development of African-German migration and justifies the choice for the investigating of the membership in a transnational organisation on their level of political participation in domestic politics as follows.

According to the German Federal Office of Statistics (2016), around 5000 non- European people migrated to Germany in 2014. Hereof, 601 migrants do have an African background. Compared to 1698 migrants from the Middle East, the number seems to be rather small and therefore less impacting on German society than a nationality migrating to a greater extent. However, as Baraulina, Kreienbrink and Riester (2011) emphasise, the number of African people migrating to Germany continuously rises and Germany's relations with Africa become increasingly important. Reflecting the latest statistical survey, the authors further specify that around 268. 400 African migrants were officially registered in Germany in 2010.

Hence, the rather small number of African migrants in Germany suggests that it is somehow difficult for Africans to form an African community in Germany. Compared to migrant groups that are more frequently represented- such as the aforementioned Middle Eastern migrants-, African migrants may face a higher necessity to integrate themselves into German society in order to get in contact to other people.

Following from that, the successful integration of African migrants into German society is a relevant matter on Germany's agenda. In effect, it is crucial to investigate the effect of the membership in an African- German transnational organisation on the members' passive and active political participation in Germany. A more detailed description of the study's social and scientific relevance can be found in the subsequent section.

1.2. The study's social and scientific relevance

As referred above, this paragraph outlines the social and scientific relevance of the study.

In terms of the study's social relevance, Europe, and Germany in particular, currently faces an enormous increase of refugees who seek asylum. Certain political parties, and also the media, sometimes go as far as calling this increase a “migration crisis”. Questions being raised in response to the increase in migration are manifold; however, a striking one targets at the possibilities of how to successfully integrate these people into the society of the receiving countries. An important dimension is the civic integration into society, implying a successful

political integration as its ultimate goal (Pries, 1998). Therefore, the study is closely linked to the current incidents happening in Europe by invoking the potential impact of the membership in a transnational organisation on the level of a migrant's passive and active political participation, being the ultimo of successful civic integration. Consequently, the study has a policy implication, being to clarify if it is reasonable to stimulate the further development of transnational organisations among newer migrant groups who are coming to Germany in order to foster their successful political integration.

Regarding the study's scientific relevance, it has been said before that multiple studies concerning the aforementioned topic were conducted in the US American context. However, the current research lacks sufficient data contextually to Europe and Germany in particular. The study will therefore substantively contribute to the existing empirical insights since it is conducted in the European context. In addition, it also has been said that previous US American studies lack a coherent outcome of results. For that reason, the study ideally helps to clarify the actual impact of the membership in a transnational organisation on the level of passive and active political participation of migrants in domestic politics.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

From the above, it appears that the thesis deals with a complex topic and includes numerous terms, concepts and theories. In order to ensure a comprehensive overview of the above, its structure is outlined in the following.

To start with, the main research question as well as its sub questions are expressed within the next section. In addition, section 3 discusses the outcomes of the current academic research which attempts to examine the effect of the membership in a transnational organisation on a migrant's level of political engagement in the US American context. Here, the author also includes her expectations related to the study and states the hypothesis being investigated.

Within the fourth section, the researcher conceptualises four terms being relevant in the context of the study, namely the definition of a transnational organisation, the modes of participation within a transnational organisation and the factors which motivate migrants to become a member of a transnational organisation. Completing the conceptualisation of significant terms, the concept of political engagement is defined. The fifth part exposes the methods being applied during the study. Here, the research design is described as well as the case selection and sampling procedure. Moreover, the methods part encompasses the operationalisation of the study and the aspects on which the data analysis is grounded. Section

6 introduces the transnational organisation under study including an outline of its goals and objectives.

Additionally, a central fragment of the thesis consists of the analytical part in section 7 within which the four sub questions are examined. In order to have a comparable data base, the eighth paragraph displays controlling data on the political participation of migrants who are not a member of a transnational organisation. Merging the primarily collected data with the ones being available, section 9 both discusses and relates the findings to each other. The centrepiece of the study, section 10, concludes on the findings and answers the research question by the means of the sub questions being analysed in section 7. Furthermore, the policy implication deriving from the study is stated in the conclusion, as well as additional suggestions for further research. The latter build on a detailed description of the data limitations being detected in the study, and potential remedies. The reference list can be found in section 11.

2. Research question

Within this section, the research question under study and its sub questions are presented.

Deriving from the problem statement which is formulated in the introduction, the research question is the following:

To what extent does the membership in a transnational organisation affect the level of passive and active political engagement of African migrants in domestic politics in Germany?

The empirical explanatory question includes two variables, being the independent variable “membership in a transnational organisation” and the dependent variable “level of passive and active political engagement”. Therefore, the study investigates the effect of the membership in a transnational organisation on its members' level of passive and active political engagement.

Related to the main research question, four sub questions are developed. They are expected to facilitate the research in terms of clarifying the objective of the study, and structured as follows:

- 1) *What kind of transnational organisations exist in Germany within which African migrants can participate?*
- 2) *What kind of motivation do the members of a transnational organisation have to participate in a transnational organisation?*

- 3) *Which steps does the transnational organisation undertake to stimulate the passive and active engagement of their members in domestic politics in Germany?*
- 4) *How do members of a transnational organisation perceive their level of passive and active political engagement in domestic politics in Germany?*

3. Theoretical background

In this part of the thesis, a review of existing literature regarding the research topic as formulated above is made. Based on that, the researcher develops the hypothesis being investigated during the process of the study.

Having reviewed the empirical evidence from previous studies, they show a strong discordance in terms of *how* the engagement of migrants within a transnational organisation affect their level of political participation. Whereas some scholars found evidence that the transnational engagement fosters the political participation of migrants in domestic politics in the receiving country, others state that it acts as an impeding factor. Others, again, found that the transnational engagement neither has a stimulating nor an impeding effect on a migrant's level of political participation.

Starting with the latter, Morales and Morariu (2011) measured the influence of transnational political engagement of Latino and Hispanic migrants on their level of political and civic integration in the receiving country, namely the United States of America. Here, it turns out that the participation in a transnational civic organisation does not have any significant effect on the level of political participation of a migrant.

Contrary, Pantoja (2005) outlines that a high level of a migrant's interest in homeland politics, and his engagement in transnational organisations that are particularly active in his home country, impedes his level of civic and political participation in the receiving country. This has an ancillary effect, being that migrants who maintain strong civic and political ties with their home country are less likely to naturalise in the receiving country and therefore face lower levels of civic and political integration. Pantoja (2005) bases his findings on a randomly administered survey that has been conducted with 413 participants by telephone. Here, the participants are Dominicans who migrated to Washington in the United States of America.

Different from these divergent outcomes, DeSipio, Pachon, Rodolfo & Lee (2003) found a positive impact of transnational engagement on the political engagement of migrants in

domestic politics in the receiving country. Their study shows that migrants who are a member of a transnational organisation are more likely to participate in US politics than non-transnationally engaged migrants. Moreover, this likelihood rises if migrants hold a membership in more than one transnational organisation.

Similarly, Fitzgerald's (2004) study revealed that the application of Mexican home town politics can stimulate the engagement of Mexicans in their local communities and local politics. He mainly conducted fieldwork but also hold certain in- depths interviews with Mexican employers working in one American labour Union. Moreover Fitzgerald (2004) had contact with union officers and additional staff from the labour Union. The methodology applied by Fitzgerald (2004) will be identically applied during this study which is further justified in section 5.3.

In 2006, De Sipio initiated a cross- sectional survey with 1602 Latinos who immigrated to the US. The study confirms the outcomes of his previous study from 2003: It turned out that Latino immigrants taking part in transnational organisations are more likely to participate in US civic and political activities compared to Latino immigrants who are not transnationally engaged. De Sipio (2006) applies a striking theory behind this outcome. First, he states that political learning is transferable. This means that the transnationally engaged can transfer the knowledge and skills they have received in the transnational organisation on their participation in domestic politics in the receiving country. Second, it is theoretically assumed that migrants who are engaged in a transnational organisation have a certain objective in mind which fosters their level of political engagement in domestic politics. This implies for instance to build stronger civic and political connections from the home country to the receiving country, to manifest the home country's interests in the receiving country, or both. De Sipio's theory appears to perfectly meet the content of the researcher's study, and therefore has been chosen as its theoretical background.

3.1. Expectations and hypothesis

Within this paragraph, the researcher briefly outlines her expectations related to the outcomes of the study, and the hypothesis being tested.

From the aforementioned theory and the results deriving from previous studies, the researcher expects that the membership in a transnational organisation may stimulate the political engagement of African migrants in domestic politics in Germany. If her expectation is confirmed, the researcher further assumes that the establishment of particular transnational organisations- which fulfil the characteristics which are outlined in section 4.1, 6 and 7.2- as well as the participation within them will be fostered in Germany in the future.

In relation to the above, the following hypothesis is being tested in the study:

(H) If an African migrant participates in a transnational organisation, he/ she is more likely to be politically engaged in domestic politics in Germany than African migrants who do not participate in a transnational organisation

In order to collect comprehensive academical evidence, the researcher applies available secondary data which are compared to the results of her own study. A detailed description of the researcher's study can be found in section 5. Section 5.3 justifies the consultation of a secondary data set more detailed; nevertheless, it is briefly mentioned that a lack of a proper control group being willing to participate in the study causes its application.

4. Conceptualisation of significant terms

This section outlines the four concepts being relevant for the study. First, the concept of a transnational organisation is described, followed by a definition of the different modes of participation in a transnational organisation. This is done because the modes of participation are important dimensions of the independent variable “membership in a transnational organisation”. Then, the factors that motivate migrants to become a member in a transnational organisation are briefly expressed. Finalising the section, the dependent variable “passive and active political participation” is carefully defined.

The author is aware that a large number of concepts might cause confusion for the reader. Nonetheless, the definition of the four concepts is crucial for the comprehensive elaboration of the research question and its sub questions. Attempting to reduce the risk of confusion, the particular relevance of each concept is briefly mentioned.

4.1. Conceptualisation of a transnational organisation

In this part of the paper, the researcher carefully conceptualises the term “transnational organisation” since it is one of the most relevant ones applied during the study.

According to Brettel (2005), a transnational organisation is an organisation consisting of members from two different nationalities: One native and one foreign nationality. In this study, the native nationality is German; the foreign nationality is represented by African nationalities.

The transnational feature of this type of organisation is characterised by the fact that although the organisation is located in one country, it also acts on behalf of the country where the second nationality stems from. Therefore, transnational organisations often serve as a bridge, or mediator, between natives and migrants (Brettel, 2005). Illustrating the mediating function of a transnational organisation, Brettel (2005, p. 876) applies an example from the US American context: “Participants [of a transnational organisation] can be both Indian and American, they can develop social and political relationships with both Indians and Americans, and they can promote both Indian and American causes.”

Brettel (2005) adds that transnational organisations can vary in terms of their size and their aim. There might be small-, medium-, and large- sized transnational organisations depending on the number of members. Moreover, some transnational organisations are more socially or politically engaged than others. This depends on their particular goals, and the reason why they originally have been founded. In 5.2, this aspect is captured to determine the criteria for selecting the transnational organisation under study.

Definition of a transnational organisation

A transnational organisation is an organisation being active on behalf of two nationalities, generally spoken, it consists of a native nationality and a foreign nationality. For that reason, transnational organisation have the potential to function as a mediator between two nationalities.

4.2. Conceptualisation of participation modes

In the following, the modes through which members can engage themselves in a transnational organisation are described. The concept is considered as relevant, because the independent variable “membership in a transnational organisation” consists of different dimensions, being the modes of participation.

For the conceptualisation, the options of civic participation as defined by the Center for Civic Education (2016) in California, United States of America, are applied. This is justifiable, because the participation in a transnational organisation can be understood as a mode of civic participation. The following participatory options are considered to be most important:

- Joining the organisation's meetings (either regularly or irregularly)
- Participating in discussions
- Organising events and/ or collective activities
- Doing outreach and promotion on behalf of the organisation, such as campaigning
- Writing letters on behalf of the organisation to public officials
- Lobbying for the interest of the organisation
- Wearing the organisation's button (if existing), or putting a related sticker on the car
- Trying to make new members
- Contributing money to the organisation

Definition of the modes of participation in a transnational organisation

The participation in a transnational organisation is perceived as a multidimensional concept, starting with the (regular or irregular) attendance of collective meetings and ending with the financial support of the organisation.

4.3. Conceptualisation of factors that motivate a membership

The subsequent section illustrates the factors that generally motivate people to engage themselves in organisations, for instance on behalf of social or political interests. These will be taken into account for the investigation of the second sub question, being *what kind of motivation do the members of a transnational organisation have to participate in a transnational organisation?* However, the researcher will keep an open structure for the investigation to be able to include new insights that were not expected in advance.

Since the membership in a transnational organisation is considered as an important and thus highly influential tool to participate in politics, the researcher applies the concept of factors that motivate people to participate in politics on the concept of factors that motivate migrants to become a member in a transnational organisation. The decision is justifiable, because migrants who are active in a transnational organisation take the chance to participate in the environment that explicitly affects them. Their reasons are similar to the motivation of people to participate in politics.

In 1995, Verba, Schlozman and Brady determined the predominant causes that clarify why people actually decide to participate in politics. It turns out that there are four umbrella themes:

1. **Selective social gratification-** The participant expects to get a so- called “social reward”, in form of:
 - I find it exciting to participate
 - It offers a chance to be with people I enjoy
 - It is the chance to meet important and influential people
 - It is the chance for recognition from people I respect
 - I did not want to say 'no' to someone who asked
2. **Selective civic gratification-** The participant expects to fulfil his civic duty if he shows his engagement:
 - I fulfil my duty as a citizen
 - It is the chance to make the community (or nation) a better place to live

3. **Selective material benefits-** The participant expects certain subjective material benefits if he is engaged. Mostly relevant selective material benefits are the following:
 - It offers the chance to further my job or career
 - I might want to get help from an official (from the organisation) on a personal or family problem
 - I might want to get a job with the government some day
 - The recreational activities offered by the organisation
4. **Collective policy outcomes-** The participant expects to make a difference in politics if he engages himself:
 - The chance to influence government policy (in home or host country, or both)

Conceptualisation of factors that motivate migrants to join a transnational organisation

Four overarching themes describe the factors why people (migrants) decide to participate in politics (within a transnational organisation), being selective social gratification, selective civic gratification, selective material benefits and collective policy outcomes.

4.4. Conceptualisation of political engagement

This part of the paper provides the reader with the concept of political engagement that is applied for the study. Conceptualising “political engagement” is inevitable since the level of a migrant's political engagement is applied as the study's dependent variable. Within the following, it is distinguished between passive and active political participation.

Starting with the latter, Van Deth (2014) distinguishes between four dimensions of the aforementioned concept. In his regard, political engagement can only take place by active participation. However, active political participation can vary in terms of its intention, and consequently in its scope. The following table gives a concise overview of the four dimensions of political participation, ranging from *Political Participation I* to *Political Participation IV*:

Table 1: Modes of political participation

Operational concept	Intention of actions	Specimens of typical modes
Minimalist definition- <i>Political Participation I</i>	Actions reflect the classical participation in politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voting • Party membership • Contacting politicians
Targeted definition- <i>Political Participation II</i>	Action are directly targeted at the Government/ State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signing a petition • Demonstrating • Blocking streets • Painting slogans • Doing flash mobs
Targeted definition- <i>Political Participation III</i>	Actions are targeted, but aim at certain (social) problems or the community itself	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reclaim-the-street-party
Motivational definition- <i>Political Participation IV</i>	Actions do have a personal motivation, and sometimes become radical	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political consumerism • Buycotts • Boycotts • Risking physical or psychological torture

(Source: Van Deth, 2014; recreated by author, 2016)

Two significant insights can be followed from the aforementioned table: First, active political actions vary in regard to their objectives (such as influencing the Government/ the State, or aim at the solution to a problem). Second, active political actions do have specific characteristics depending on their intentional scope. For instance, voting and party membership serve the classical participation in politics whereof more radical actions such as the acceptance of physical and psychological torture reflect a strong personal motivation to participate in politics.

Contrasting, Ekman and Amna (2012, p. 288) propose to look beyond the mode of active political participation, because it is “a bit pointedly, only the rest of the iceberg”. What is meant by this is that political participation is more than voting or the participation in demonstrations. According to Ekman and Amna (2012), people increasingly tend to participate in politics in diverse ways: Consequently, if these diversions become excluded, the recognised level of political participation is biased.

For that reason, the researcher decides to include the more passive, or latent, modes of political participation which Ekman and Amna (2012) suggest. Concretely, these are the following:

- Reading the newspaper
- Watching the news on television
- Listening to the news on the radio
- Following the news on the internet

Moreover, Ekman and Amnan (2012) refer that modern citizens are neither uninterested and uninformed about politics nor do they lack political efficacy. They rather take a more latent position in which they seek out information about politics, and stay interested. Following from that, Ekman and Amnan (2012) take a step further and assume that only when citizens feel that it is really imperative, they will start to actively participate in politics.

Definition of the modes of political participation

Political participation comprises two major components, being active and passive modes of political participation. Passive political participation predominantly bases on the comprehensive seek for political information. Active political participation includes four sub categories further specifying forms of political engagement ranked by aim.

Having defined the relevant concepts, the subsequent fifth part of the thesis presents the methodology being applied for the study. Amongst other aspects, the study's operationalisation including the aforementioned concepts can be found there. According to Dooley (2009), the operationalisation ideally considers the relevant conceptualisation but also the research design and case selection. For that reason, the researcher decided to elaborate on the operationalisation during the following chapter on methodology.

5. Methodology

The following part provides the reader with the methodology applied for the study. If other researchers are planning to conduct a similar study during the next years, this facilitates a proper replication. For that reason, the research design, the case selection and sampling procedure, the operationalisation and the data basis on which a conclusion is drawn are expressed.

5.1. Research design

Starting with the research design, a qualitative cross- sectional case study is administered. Two main components are investigated, covering the characteristics of both the transnational organisation and its members. A cross- sectional study is considered as appropriate, because it is intended to solely investigate the effect of the membership in a transnational organisation on the passive and active political engagement of African migrants in domestic politics in Germany. Consequently, a manipulation evoked through particular treatments- as it is usual for classical experiments- would bias the results of the study (Dooley, 2009).

However, the application of a cross- sectional study risks a main threat to the internal validity of a study, being the potential influence of third variables which have not been taken into account during the study. Practically, it means that if the researcher investigates the effect of the membership in a transnational organisation on the passive and active political engagement of African migrants in domestic politics in Germany, it could be the case that a correlation is found which is caused by the influence of a third variable. A re- test might help to lower the risk of spuriousness by testing for confounding variables.

Being aware of this potential threat to internal validity, the researcher still decided to stick to the particular independent variable as described above. This is tolerable due to empirical evidence deriving from the US American context: Here, the membership in a transnational organisation affects the political participation of migrants in domestic politics. The results also keep constant while being tested in a multivariate statistical model including other factors such as socio- economic status, civic involvement and mobilisation, acculturation and racial group concerns, region, and national origin group (DeSipio, 2011). It is expected that the lacking influence of confounding third variables in the US American context holds constant for this study.

Concerning the study's external validity, it shall be mentioned here that only a limited number of interviews can be conducted. This is caused by the fact that the researcher currently works under constraints in terms of time and money. However, the outcomes of a small number of interviews cannot be generalised. In order to improve the external validity for future studies, the researcher advises to replicate the study with more participants. Apart from this, it might be helpful to conduct the interviews not only in one transnational organisation but in different ones. A detailed description of the African- German transnational organisations existing in Germany can be found in section 7.2.

5.2. Case selection and sampling procedure

This part of the thesis clarifies the case selection and the sampling procedure for conducting the aforementioned cross- sectional study.

As described above, it is the aim of the study to perform a cross- sectional case study investigating the potential impact of the membership in a transnational organisation on the passive and active political participation of African migrants in domestic politics in Germany. An in- depths cross- sectional case study within one transnational organisation in Germany will be performed. Therefore, the transnational organisation is recognised as the unit of analysis whereby the members are the units of observation. The purposely chosen transnational organisation is picked contextually to two reasons, as outlined in the following. They are ranked in regard to the particular steps that are required by the sampling procedure:

- 1) **Aim of the organisation.** Only transnational organisations that pursue a culturally, politically or socially educating aim are considered. This leaves out transnational organisations that tend to come together only due to leisure time facilities such as playing games, drinking and other socialising activities.
- 2) **Willingness to cooperate.** The transnational organisation under study is chosen based on their member's willingness to cooperate with the researcher. It is the highest priority of the researcher to respect the ethical principle of autonomy, implying that the participants voluntarily take part in the study (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004)

Although the transnational organisation functions as the unit of observation in the study, it is its members who are considered as the units of analysis. Contrary to the choice of the

transnational organisation within which the study takes place, the participants of the study are not purposely chosen. The researcher only considers one general aspect, being that every participant decides for himself whether he wants to participate or not. As mentioned above, voluntary participation is the key issue in research ethics and therefore strongly considered by the researcher (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004).

5.3. Operationalisation

During this section, the two main concepts of the study are operationalised and the data collection methods are concisely described.

As outlined in section 4.4., the forms of passive and active political participation are investigated by the concepts of Van Deth (2014) and Ekman and Amnan (2012). Since there is no ranking possible, the concept of political participation is nominally measured.

For the investigation of the second main concept, being the various options of participation in a transnational organisation, the conceptualisation of the Center for Civic Education (2016) outlined in section 4.2 is applied. To narrow the complexity of the concept, it is investigated by a dichotomous measurement level, being “a membership in a transnational organisation” or “no membership in a transnational organisation”. At this juncture, it shall be mentioned that all interview partners are a member in a transnational organisation.

Attempting to add empirical evidence to the research topic, the researcher collects qualitative primary data by the conduction of in- depths interviews. As briefly referred in section 3, the decision bases on Fitzgerald's study in 2004. Although his purpose partly diverges from the purpose of the researcher- since Fitzgerald (2004) investigates the effect of home town politics applied in a labour union on the level of social and political participation of the workers- the choice of methodology is considered as appropriate. The reason is that both studies aim at the determination of the actual effect of the engagement in an organisation- which is by definition shaped by the values and politics of its members' home country instead of solely by the receiving country- on its members' level of political participation in the new country of residence. Moreover, both studies are supposed to do so by collecting data contextually to one particular organisation.

In order to get results that both fit the content of the study and the researcher's constraints in terms of time and money, five interviews are held in total whereby the founder of the organisation is interviewed twice. As the founder and first chairman of the organisation, he is

well- informed about the matters of interest particularly being related to the organisation. Therefore, the first interview with him is supposed to support the researcher in finding an answer to sub question 3, being *which steps does the transnational organisation undertake to stimulate the passive and active engagement of their members in domestic politics in Germany?*. Moreover, he and three other members are interviewed in regard to sub questions 2 and 4, being *what kind of motivation do the members of a transnational organisation have to participate in a transnational organisation?* and *how do members of a transnational organisation perceive their level of passive and active political engagement in domestic politics in Germany?* The first sub question, being *what kind of transnational organisations exist in Germany within which African migrants can participate?* is answered by studying the working papers of Sieveking& Faist (2008) and Vollmer& Warneke (2011) as well as related research being accomplished by Pries (2013). This famous German researcher for migration affairs has also been consulted in the introductory section of the thesis. Completing the literature, a paper from the German Federal Trade Union (2016) is also taken into account.

The accumulated results of the four sub questions- together with data deriving from the subsequently mentioned control group- answer the main research question, being *to what extent does the membership in a transnational organisation affect the level of passive and active political participation of African migrants in domestic politics in Germany?*

In consideration of the aforementioned control group, the level of political engagement among African migrants who are not a member of a transnational organisation should be investigated. Without a control group, the researcher cannot draw a valid conclusion from the findings. Ideally, the researcher intended to interview four to five African migrants who do not engage themselves in a transnational organisation.

Unfortunately, this control group could not have been accomplished due to a lack of suitable and willing participants. Considering Guillemin& Gillam's (2004) guidelines on ethical research, the researcher respects these circumstances and relies on available secondary data. Having resolved the issue, the author continues with her research and adds a related recommendation for further research in the end of the paper.

5.4. Data analysis

This part of the paper clarifies on which substantial aspects the researcher answers the sub questions and consequently the main research question. Therefore, it outlines the basis on which a conclusion from the conducted study can be drawn.

Actually, there are two overarching components leading to the answers to the sub- and main research questions: The first one consists of five parts being grounded on the features of the transnational organisation itself and its founder. Here, the transnational organisation's goals and objectives are examined as well as the particular actions being initiated to stimulate the political engagement of its members. Regarding the founder of the transnational organisation, it is investigated if he evaluates it as important that the members engage themselves in politics, and if he suggests the membership in the transnational organisation under study to stimulate this engagement. Finally, it is investigated if the founder estimates that members of the transnational organisations are better integrated in Germany compared to those who are non- members.

The second overarching component also comprises five sub aspects. They are based on certain characteristics of the members of the transnational organisation. At this juncture, both the quality (or, the intensity) and quantity (or, the extent) of the member's activities within the transnational organisation are taken into account. Moreover, it is assessed what exactly the members expect from their membership in the transnational organisation. Consequently, it is studied how important political engagement is for the members. In this regard, the researcher sets the focus on the members' level of political engagement as assessed by the members themselves. Finally, the extent is inspected to which they appraise their membership in the transnational organisation to stimulate this engagement.

Hence, based on these ten aspects, a final conclusion is drawn by the researcher.

6. The transnational organisation under study

In order to comprehensively inform the reader about the features of the transnational organisation under study and to justify its selection, a concise description of its organigram is stated in the following. Capturing the first aspect on which the subsequent analysis bases- as outlined in section 5.4-, special attention is put on the organisation's goals and objectives. Due to reasons of confidentiality, the original name of the organisation is replaced by a fictional one.

The African- German transnational organisation “African Association” is settled in the German federal state North- Rhine Westphalia (NRW). Founded in 1996, the transnational organisation has a long history of being active both in Germany and Africa, predominantly in the Republic of Chad which is one of the poorest countries in Africa. Indeed, African Association is one of the first transnational organisations being established in North- Rhine Westphalia (Interview 5, Q4). Moreover, it is important to mention that African Association is a politically independent organisation which does not strive for financial enrichment (African Association, 2006).

The guidelines under which African Association operates clearly define its aim and the organisation's entities. This paragraph exclusively refers to the most relevant aspects.

Regarding the organisation's goals and objectives, it is African Association's primary aim to foster the integration of African people into German society as well as to strengthen the relationships between Germans and Africans (Interview 5, Q1). The most essential instrument to achieve this goal is the arrangement of cultural and social exchanges, such as the events “Afrika im Klassenzimmer” (“Africa in class rooms”) and “Afrika Tag” (“African day”). During these events, African and German children and adults get the opportunity to get in touch with each other (Interview 5, Q2). In effect, prejudices become minimised and a mutual understanding for different cultures is fostered (Interview 5, Q1).

Apart from the activities located in Germany, there is a strong intention to sustainably improve the living conditions of the Africans living in the Republic of Chad. Their project work predominantly concentrates on Koumaye, which is a small village located in the country's South. As outlined on the official web site of African Association (2016) and being mentioned during the fifth interview in question one and two, the manifold projects being initiated in Koumaye can be summarised as follows:

- Organising educational facilities (also for girls, which is unique in the Republic of Chad)

- Promoting inter- religious education, including values such as tolerance and appreciation for different religions
- Creating future perspectives for graduates and by that limiting the number of people moving from the villages into the cities. In effect, a decreased agglomeration prevents the further pauperism of rural areas
- Fostering the alphabetisation of adults (also for women, which is unique in the Republic of Chad) and caring for health matters
- Looking after environmental protection, such as planting trees and installing solar panels
- Strengthen the civil society towards a democratic local development

Considering African Association's entities, there are the first and second chairman, the secretary, the treasurer and the manager of cultural assets. Originally, African Association consisted of more than hundred members; however, due to reasons of efficiency and effectiveness, its entities decided to split the organisation into several sub organisations. For that reason, today's African Association is a small organisation with less than ten members, all being engaged in the projects outlined above.

As described in section 5.2, the criteria on which the organisation under study is chosen are the active fulfilment of a certain culturally, politically or socially educating aim as well as the willingness to cooperate. From the above, it can be seen that African Association has both cultural and social goals but also strives for a more democratic local development of the Chadian village Koumaye. Therefore, the first criterion is clearly fulfilled. Being in contact with both the founder and additional members, they granted permission to cooperate with the researcher. On top of that, the members being approached not only granted permission but showed a high level of interest for the study and were eager to start with the conduction of the interviews.

7. Analysis

Having outlined the above, this part of the paper answers the four sub questions which are formulated at the beginning. As described in section 5.3, the first sub question is answered on the basis of available secondary data. Sub questions two, three and four, however, are answered through the analysis of the interviews which were conducted with the founder and members of African Association. To keep the information structured, each sub question is answered individually and ends with a concise sub conclusion.

Before the focus is set on the first sub question, a brief description of the interviewees' attributes is added below. With this, the members' demographic characteristics as well as their qualitative and quantitative engagement within African Association is considered. As it is described in section 5.4, the latter covers the first aspect on which the data analysis of the organisation's members bases.

7.1. Description of the interviewees' attributes

With reference to the interviewees' attributes, two male and two female members were interviewed. Being both the founder of African Association and an active member, the founder was interviewed twice. In this connection, one interview was conducted in regard to the organisation's history and activities; the other one grounds on the interview scheme which is applied for all participants and consequently assesses member- specific aspects.

The interviewees are aged between 54 and 69 years. Two of them refused to indicate since when they live in Germany, the others mention that they migrated 29 respectively 27 years ago. In order to act highly effective and efficient, all interviewees hold a particular position with specific tasks and duties. Apart from the founder- who is also the first chairman- the second chairman, the secretary and the treasurer are interviewed.

Remembering the first criterion on which the data analysis bases- as outlined in section 5.4- both the quality and quantity of the members' engagement within African Association varies. Somehow surprisingly, it cannot be said that their particular positions determine the quality: Instead, the interviewees engage themselves based on personal preferences and skills.

To start with, all interviewees respond that they regularly attend the monthly meetings and pay a certain contribution fee. Both the first chairman, who is also the founder of African Association, and the treasurer mention that it is their duty to foster the connection to third

parties, being other African- German transnational organisations as well as the institutions where the Germany- based projects such as “Afrika im Klassenzimmer” are initiated (Interview 1, Q5& interview 4, Q2& Q5). Furthermore, the treasurer announces to write and publish the organisation's annual reports and to coordinate upcoming appointments (Interview 1, Q5). It is the first chairman's main task to handle the public relations between Germany and Africa, especially to the Republic of Chad. This includes regular conversations with various stakeholders and the promotion of a continuous cultural exchange between Germany and Africa (Interview 4, Q2& Q5). A mixture of the above is also realised by the second chairman (Interview 3, Q5). In addition to these essential tasks, the secretary is responsible for processing the application forms, for instance being required for public funds (Interview 2, Q5).

Picking up the different modes of participation within a transnational organisation, as conceptualised by the Center for Civic Education (2016) and outlined in section 4.2, the members of African Association predominantly engage themselves by attending the organisation's meetings, coordinating events and activities, doing outreach and lobby work on behalf of the organisation and support the organisation financially.

Regarding the quantity of the interviewees' engagement, the second chairman, the treasurer and the secretary coherently state that the amount of time spent for the claims of Afrika e.V varies. There are peak times where numerous appointments, meetings and conferences take place whereas other weeks are more quiet (Interview 1, Q6& interview 2, Q6& interview 3, Q6). The treasurer further assumes one or two hours per week to be spent on behalf of African Association (Interview 2, Q6). Differently, the first chairman refers that “pretty much all” activities being undertaken by him are done because of African Association (Interview 4, Q6, l. 106). This suggests that the first chairman does not only invest an immense amount of time but also shows a strong sense of belonging to African Association.

7.2. The African- German transnational organisations existing in Germany

Recalling the first sub question, it investigates the different kinds of transnational organisations existing in Germany within which African migrants can participate.

Historically, the establishment of transnational Africa- German organisations substantively rose during the 1980's; a particularly sharp increase is recorded since the 1990's. In their working paper being published on behalf of the Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC), Vollmer& Warneke (2011) explain this by the expansion of related development programmes being initiated by the government. During their elaboration, the authors also highlight that there is still a lack of the exact number of transnational African- German organisations that exist in Germany. What can be said though is that according to Pries (2013), around 10. 300 migrant organisations were registered in Germany in 2012; however, the number does not distinguish between uni- bi- or transnational organisations.

Nonetheless, Vollmer& Warneke (2011) were able to determine the number of transnational African- German organisations being settled in the German federal state NRW. Based on the latest statistical survey in 2007, around 240 transnational German- African organisations have been count whereof one is the transnational organisation under study “African Association” (Vollmer& Warneke, 2011). Despite the fact that the exact number of transnational African- German organisations being located in Germany remains unknown, Vollmer& Warneke (2011) point out that NRW- as the most densely populated federal state- hosts most of them. For that reason, this number can be chosen as a plausible reference for the study.

Concerning the ratio between NRW- based African- German transnational organisations and transnational organisations of a different nationality, a comparison with the number of Italian- German transnational organisations is accomplished. According to the training institute of the German Federation of Trade Unions (DGB), 44 Italian- German transnational organisations were officially registered in NRW in 2010. Apparently, a certain gradient is recognised between the numbers. Whereby 240 African- German transnational organisations are present in NRW, the 44 Italian- German transnational organisation make up a fifth of this count. The academic world provides numerous theories intending to explain this phenomenon; a detailed description indeed spreads the scope of the thesis. Briefly mentioning the predominant explanation, certain researchers suggest that it is more difficult for migrants coming from non- European Union (EU) member states to engage themselves in German politics than for migrants originating from the EU member states. Consequently, third states (such as African countries), compared to Italy or other EU member states, express an enhanced demand on

transnational organisations where they can become politically active (Vollmer& Warneke, 2011).

Redirecting the focus back on African- German transnational organisations, Sieveking& Faist (2008) outline that they are very diverse; indeed, the identified heterogeneities impede their assignment into clear categories. However, Sieveking& Faist's (2008) notion reflects Brettel's (2005) conceptualisation of a transnational organisation, as it is expressed in section 4.1. Illustrating these blurred lines, Vollmer& Warneke (2011) published a detailed description of these differences.

Most strikingly, the authors (2011) mention variations in terms of an African- German transnational organisation's explicit and implicit goals and objectives. According to them, African- German transnational organisations have politically- or socially motivated goals, or goals being orientated towards a cultural, economic, religious or even entrepreneurial direction. Respectively, the organisation's self- understanding is highly relevant. For instance, there are African- German transnational organisations striving for an ethnic or political aim meanwhile others intend to foster their culturally educating self- understanding. Vollmer& Warneke (2011) precisely specified the purpose of African- German transnational organisations: Their findings hold that organisations of this type predominantly become active in terms of the integration of African members in the receiving country, the development of anti- racism programs which take place in the receiving country and the initiation of educational activities. Moreover, these organisations coordinate developmental projects which are located in the sending countries.

On the official web site of the German Federal Office for Political Education, Pries (2013) confirms these insights. Furthermore, Pries (2013) adds that transnational organisations differ in terms of their size, the availability of financial assets and their formal recognition. Concerning the latter, most transnational organisations are publicly registered associations which usually do not strive for profit, either being a single organisation or belonging to a certain umbrella organisation. On top of that, they show variations in regard to their members: Here, the educational level and particular demographic features such as age play a crucial role. Perceiving this, Vollmer& Warneke (2011) stress that the heterogeneous backgrounds of the members might be both a burden and blessing for an African- German transnational organisation. For instance, varying language skills impede the communication between the members; nevertheless, a diverse social capital is considered as a valuable enrichment (Vollmer& Warneke, 2011).

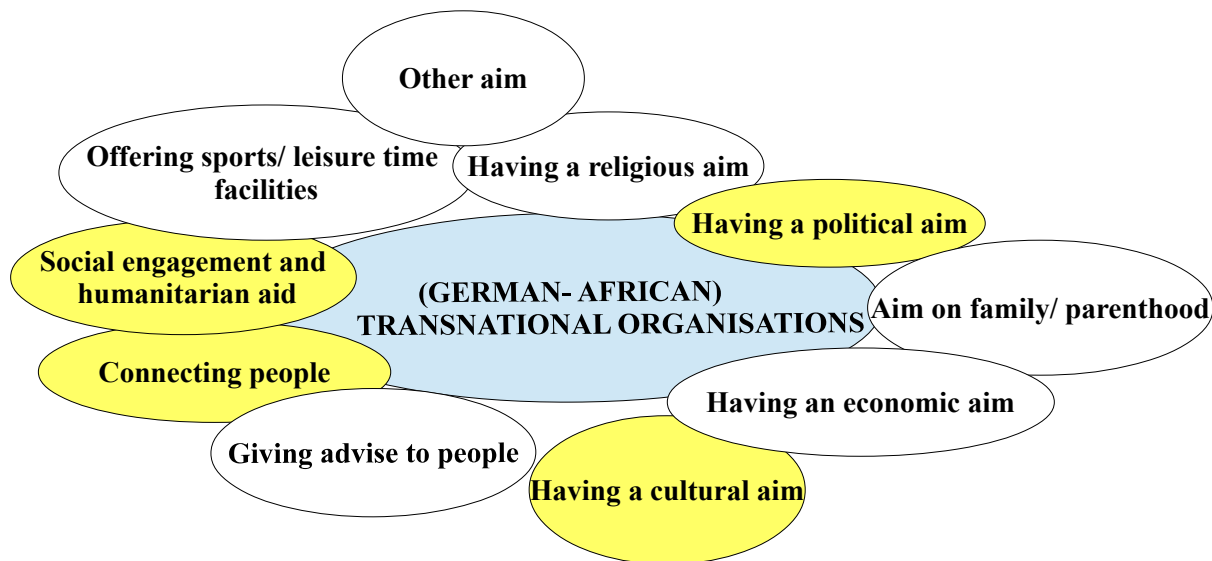
Apart from this, African- German transnational organisations display differences how they mobilise both their internal and external resources. While some rely on membership subscriptions and donations, others initiate public spendings in form of subsidies or take part in national and international funding programmes. Concerning the relation with their external environment, certain African- German transnational organisations tend to have more frequent informational exchanges to third transnational organisations, public administrators, the media and social movements compared to others. As for a transnational organisation's purpose and self understanding, mixtures of the above are frequently found.

Summarising the above- mentioned insights, Vollmer& Warneke (2011) and Pries (2013) consistently refer that African- German transnational organisations are multidimensional, and in effect multifunctional.

Previously having recognised the multidimensionality of transnational organisations in 2008, Sieveking& Faist conclude that they mainly vary in terms of the integration strategies being offered to their members. However, the researchers also determined that notably in the context of African- German transnational organisations, they have in common that their goals and objectives are orientated towards the needs and interests of their members, and that both African people and Germans are members of the organisation. Both features are being shared by all African- German transnational organisations, regardless of their aforementioned heterogeneities (Sieveking& Faist, 2008).

Attempting to determine the umbrella niches within which transnational organisations can be categorised, both Vollmer& Warneke (2011) and Pries (2013) refer to the following classification; nevertheless, as described above, most transnational organisations belong to more than one of these niches:

Figure 1: Categories of transnational organisations, sorted by aim



(Source: Pries, 2013 & Vollmer& Warnke, 2011; recreated by author, 2016)

By the example of African Association, the author aims to clarify the aforementioned multidimensionality by matching the organisation to the niches outlined above. Pursuing a cultural and political aim, African Association belongs to both the categories of a culturally and a politically orientated transnational organisation. Moreover, its members' social engagement together with the purpose of fulfilling various development programmes in the Chadian village Koumaye places African Association within the category of a socially active transnational organisation that realises humanitarian aid. Their overall objective to foster the integration of African people living in Germany into society implies that African Association is also an organisation aiming at the connection of people. For an improved visualisation, the aforementioned categories applying to African Association are highlighted in yellow.

Apart from African Association, there are other African- German transnational organisations located in Germany. The main ones in Germany, and NRW in particular, are Der Zentralrat der afrikanischen Gemeinde in Deutschland e.V. ("The Central Council of the African Community in Germany e.V") and Der Afrikanischer Dachverband Nord e.V. ("The African Umbrella Organisation North e.V"). As for African Association, a clear assignment of these organisations to one of the niches mentioned above is not possible due to their multidimensional activities (Vollmer& Warneke, 2011).

Subsequently, a neatly arranged table includes an overview of the information stated above. Nevertheless, a concluding paragraph can be found attached to the table.

Table 2: The features of African- German transnational organisations

	German- African transnational organisations
First year of formation	During the 1980's
Quantity	240 in North- Rhine Westphalia
Heterogeneous/ Homogeneous character?	Heterogeneous
Most striking differences	Goals/ objectives
	Self- understanding
	Purpose
	Size
	Availability of financial assets
	Formal recognition
	Demographic aspects of members
	Mobilisation of internal/ external resources
	Relation with external stakeholders
Aims	Cultural aim
	Giving advise to people
	Connecting people
	Social engagement/ humanitarian aid
	Offering sports/ leisure time facilities
	Religious aim
	Political aim
	Aim on family/ parenthood
	Economic aim
Most impacting organisations in NRW	Other aim
Most impacting organisations in NRW	The Central Council of the African Community in Germany e.V
	The African Umbrella Organisation North e.V

(Source: Created by author, 2016)

7.2.1. Sub conclusion

Within this conclusion, the first sub question is concisely answered.

From the analysis so far, it becomes clear that the determination of African- German transnational organisations existing in Germany is somewhat difficult. This is caused by two factors. First, the number of African- German transnational organisations continuously rises since the 1980's but their exact number has not been determined yet. Nevertheless, Vollmer & Warneke (2011) were able to express the count of these organisations being located in the German federal state NRW. According to the latest statistical survey, 240 African- German transnational organisations were registered in NRW in 2007 which is five times as much as the number of Italian- German transnational organisations. Second, the heterogeneous features of the African- German transnational organisations that exist in Germany impede the assignment to pre- classified categories (Pries, 2013). Instead, most of them are multidimensional in terms of their aim, and therefore belong to more than one category. Keeping both aspects in mind, the largest and therefore most influential African- German transnational organisations being active in Germany are Der Zentralrat der afrikanischen Gemeinde in Deutschland e.V. ("The Central Council of the African Community in Germany e.V.") and Der Afrikanischer Dachverband Nord e.V. ("The African Umbrella Organisation North e.V").

Now being aware of the African- German transnational organisations existing in Germany, it remains interesting to inspect what kind of motivation African migrants have to join such an organisation. This is investigated within the following paragraph by the means of the second sub question.

7.3. The interviewees' reasons for participation

As referred above, the second sub question investigates the kind of motivation the members of African Association have to participate in a transnational organisation. This is also represented by the second aspect on which the analysis of the members' features bases, as explained in section 5.4.

Being conceptualised in section 4.3, Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) determine four predominant causes clarifying why people decide to participate in politics, and therefore what motivates them to become a member of a transnational organisation. For a short wrap- up, these causes are the following:

1. Selective social gratification- The participant expects to get a so- called “social reward”
2. Selective civic gratification- The participant expects to fulfil his civic duty if he shows his engagement
3. Selective material benefits- The participant expects certain subjective material benefits if he is engaged
4. Collective policy outcomes- The participant expects to make a difference in politics if he engages himself

Based on the outcomes of the interviews, the members' motivation to participate within African Association varies among the first and second category. The founder mentions three main causes which motivated him to establish African Association. First, he refers that he finds it exciting, and that the organisation offers him to meet people he appreciates (Interview 4, Q3). Both aspects belong to the category of selective social gratification. Moreover, the founder had a selective civic motivation in mind, being that he wants to make the world a better place to live in. To achieve this, he refers to the various projects being initiated in Germany as well as in the Republic of Chad (Interview 4, Q3).

Regarding the remaining three interviewees, it was excitement which motivated them to become a member of African Association as well (Interview 1, Q2& interview 2, Q2& interview 3, Q2). Similar to the founder of African Association, interviewee 3 adds that the membership enables him to keep in touch with people he enjoys (Interview 3, Q2). This aspect is included in Verba et al.'s (1995) category of selective social gratification. Interviewee 1, however, shares the founder's selective civic motivation to make the world a better place to live in. In this regard, she also refers to the organisation's programmes targeting at the cultural exchange between Germany and the African countries. Contrasting, interviewee 2 stresses that the founder of African Association convinced her to join the organisation; in effect, she could not refuse to become a member. Not resisting the membership is an aspect belonging to selective social gratification (Verba, Schlozman& Brady, 1995).

For a first concise overview, the reader is invited to consult the following table:

Table 3: Causes for membership

	Interviewee 1	Interviewee 2	Interviewee 3	Interviewee 4
Selective social gratification	Excitement	Excitement	Excitement	Excitement
		Could not say “no”	Meeting new people	Meeting new people
Selective civic gratification	Improving the world			Improving the world

(Source: Created by author, 2016)

Next, the interviewees' expectations are investigated which they had in mind when joining African Association. At this juncture, it is recognised that they had various intentions, ranging from personal to rather impersonal ones and some being more positively formulated than others.

To start with, it was the founder's main prospect that the organisation supports him in minimising his loneliness. He outlines that after he migrated to Germany, he suffered from the lack of relatives and friends so he hoped to meet like- minded people within African Association (Interview 4, Q3). In addition, he admits that by the various projects, he believed to be able to make a difference for the people living in Africa, and in the Republic of Chad in particular (Interview 4, Q3). Differently, interviewee 3 expected that by his membership within African Association, the exchange of cultural values between Germany and the African countries is improved. More detailed, he assumed to enhance the mutual understanding between Germans and African people (Interview 3, Q3).

A less personal expectation is highlighted by interviewee 1 who predominantly supposed the continuing progress of the Germany- based projects such as “Afrika im Klassenzimmer”. In relation, she presumed an on- going engagement of the founder to promote African Association and its activities (Interview 1, Q3).

Unlike the others, interviewee 2 did not had a positive prospect in mind when she became a member of African Association. As outlined above, it was the founder of the organisation who convinced her of the membership. Being expressed in interview 2, question 3, interviewee 2 did not feel well- prepared but anxious due to a lack of related pre- information about the aim of African Association.

In relation, the researcher evokes if the members' expectations were fulfilled and, if not, what needs to be accomplished in order to fully realise them.

Starting with interviewee 3 and the founder of African Association, they coherently appreciate the actions being achieved by the organisation. Additionally, both are satisfied with the outcomes (Interview 3, Q4& Interview 4, Q4). Nevertheless, they add one issue that needs to be improved, consisting of the reliable cooperation with the Chadian government (Interview 3, Q4a& interview 4, Q4a). According to the founder, the Chadian government is characterised by corruption and the non- willingness to implement sustainable development programmes. Both aspects impede the humanitarian aid African Association strives for. For that reason, interviewee 3 and the founder hope for a change in the governmental system which in turn facilitates African Association's project- based missions in the Republic of Chad (Interview 3, Q4a& interview 4, Q4a).

In terms of the previous fears interviewee 2 expressed, she states they did not come true. Instead, the experiences she gained while attending the organisation's regular meetings continuously diminished her worries. Up until now, interviewee 2 concludes that she became increasingly confident and grateful for her membership within African Association, and she does not want anything to be changed (Interview 2, Q4). Interviewee 1, however, formulates that African Association's projects were processed as expected. Consequently, her expectations were fully accomplished which make additional improvement obsolete (Interview 1, Q4a).

Preceding the concluding paragraph of this section, the subsequent table provides a first structured overview of the aforementioned results:

Table 4: The member's expectations

	Interviewee 1	Interviewee 2	Interviewee 3	Interviewee 4
Expectation	Continuing projects	Anxiety	Exchanging cultural values	Minimising loneliness
	An engaged founder		Fostering African-German understanding	Realising projects in Africa
Expectation fulfilled?	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Room for improvement?	No	No	Cooperation of Chadian government	Cooperation of Chadian government

(Source: Created by author, 2016)

7.3.1. Sub conclusion

The following paragraph briefly summarises the aforementioned insights, and answers the second sub question.

Assessing the members' motivation to join the transnational organisation under study, the predominant cause is that they find it exciting to participate. This is accompanied by the chance to meet new people, and to change the world into a better place by engaging him-/herself on the behalf of others. Therefore, it can be concluded that members mainly join a transnational organisation due to selective social and civic gratification, as defined by Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995).

The members of African Association had their individual expectations before they joined the organisation; so had the founder before its establishment. At this point, some expectations are more positive than others, ranging from personal hopes to rather impersonal prospects. Nevertheless, most of them were fulfilled whereby two out of four interviewees refer to a certain room for improvement. This is defined by a more reliable cooperation with the Chadian government in order appropriately realise African Association's development projects in the Republic of Chad. Nevertheless, the members appreciate their membership within African Association and benefit from the actions undertaken by the organisation.

Having examined the interviewees' motivation to become a member of African Association, the next part of the thesis concentrates on the organisation's initiatives particularly aiming at the stimulation of the members' engagement in domestic politics in Germany.

7.4. The transnational organisation's political activities

Concisely being outlined above, the third sub question targets at the steps which the transnational organisation undertakes to stimulate the passive and active engagement of its members in domestic politics in Germany.

In relation, the remaining four aspects concerning the analysis of the transnational organisation's features- as described in section 5.4- are captured. Being investigated through the second interview that has been conducted with the founder of African Association, these four aspects firstly evoke the particular actions being initiated by the transnational organisation to stimulate the political engagement of its members. Moreover, the founder is asked if he finds it important that the members engage themselves in politics. Following, it is investigated if he evaluates the membership to stimulate political engagement, and if he

assesses that members who are politically active are better integrated in Germany than African migrants who are not a member of African Association.

Regarding the actions particularly aiming at the stimulation of the members' political engagement, the founder of African Association concedes that it is not a manifested objective of African Association to stimulate the members' political activity. This is why African Association does not initiate certain activities related to the stimulation of the members' political participation, neither in terms of passive nor active political activities (Interview 5, Q3). In preference to the manifestation of the members' political participation in Germany, the founder of African Association appreciates the members' contribution to develop a more democratic orientated future the Republic of Chad. Nevertheless, he admits that this is indeed supported by their engagement in politics in Germany, for instance by signing petitions against corruption in the Republic of Chad (Interview 5, Q3& Q4). For that reason, the members' political engagement in politics in Germany is an instrument to achieve more democratic procedures in the Republic of Chad. Still, even if it is not a manifested aim of African Association to stimulate its members' political activity, this is recognised as a latent side- effect in order to achieve the goal of developing a more democratic pathway in the Republic of Chad.

Following, it is investigated if the founder of African Association evaluates it as important that the members engage themselves in politics. He responded that he highly appreciates political engagement, for a couple of reasons. Generally, he refers that it is important to “stand up”; otherwise, any kind of changes are impossible (Interview 5, Q5, l. 94). One substantial aspect the founder finds it worth to “stand up” for is the improved integration of African people into German society (Interview 5, Q5, l.94 f.). Another reason why the founder acknowledges the political engagement of the organisation's members is that they collectively advocate for injustices happening in Germany, such as the discrimination of African migrants (Interview 5, Q5).

Further studying if the founder of African Association assesses the membership within African Association to stimulate the members' political participation in Germany, he captures the aforementioned issue of discrimination by giving a detailed example. According to him, an incident happened a time ago during which a couple of Nigerian migrants were treated rigorously by the police. Enjoying the night life, a few people complained about the behaviour of the Nigerians and called the police. In effect, the police utilised their truncheons and seriously injured two of the Nigerian migrants. Although the Nigerians were not a member of

African Association, they contacted the founder and explained their situation. Calling for an urgent meeting, the members of African Association collectively decided to initiate a demonstration in order to draw public attention on the occurrence. The founder points out that the demonstration was successful, and the organisation received a lot of support of other people who are not a member of African Association (Interview 5, Q5).

What the founder expresses by the example is that the actions undertaken contextually to African Association indeed stimulate the members to engage themselves in politics in Germany. The participation in demonstrations belongs to the active engagement in politics, targeting at a particular goal (Van Deth, 2014). For a more detailed outline of additional modes of political participation, the reader is invited to take a look at section 4.4. In relation, sub question four focuses on the extent to which the members of African Association engage themselves through the different modes in German politics.

However, before sub question four is investigated, it remains relevant to examine if the founder assumes that members of African Association are better integrated into German society compared to African migrants who are not a member of the organisation. The founder strongly confirms this, arguing that collective activities such as the aforementioned demonstration bring the members closer to German inhabitants (Interview 5, Q6). This is caused by the fact that those actions attract public attention, and enhance the dialogue between African migrants and Germans. Moreover, the active engagement on behalf of a certain interest stimulates the members to become concerned with German habits, and compare them with habits deriving from the African context. Effectively, the dialogue between these different nationalities is fostered once again, which brings the African migrants closer to the German society (Interview 5, Q6).

Capturing the above mentioned insights at a glance, the attached table provides a concise overview:

Table 5: An assessment of politically relevant aspects concerning African Association

	Founder of African Association
African Association's politically orientated activities	No latently politically orientated activities; political engagement is an instrument for goal achievement rather than an objective
Evaluating the members' political engagement as important	Yes
Evaluating the membership within African Association to stimulate political engagement	Yes
Evaluating members of African Association to be better integrated in German society than non- members	Yes

(Source: Created by author, 2016)

7.4.1. Sub conclusion

In order to summarise the aforementioned insights, a concise conclusion is formulated within this paragraph including the answer to sub question 3.

Concerning African Association's activities, the organisation does not initiate actions particularly aiming at the stimulation of the members' political participation in Germany. Rather, their engagement is meant to foster a more democratic development in the Republic of Chad, for example by signing petitions against corruption. Vice versa, signing petitions in Germany against corruption in the Republic of Chad is indeed a political activity initiated by African Association, and therefore stimulates the members' political engagement. Confirming this, the founder of African Association further refers to a demonstration collectively being coordinated by the members of African Association.

In relation, the founder of African Association appreciates the political engagement of the organisation's members. To him, it is important to actively engage themselves since current difficulties, or serious problems such as the incident between the Nigerians and the German police, is not supposed to change automatically. Finally, the founder of African Association announces that according to his understanding, members of African Association are better integrated into German society than African migrants who are not a member. He explains the improved integration by a continuous dialogue between Germans and members of African Association, which in turn brings the nationalities closer together.

Having answered the third sub question, the time has come to focus on the members' actual level of political participation.

7.5. The members' level of engagement in German politics

As referred above, this section concentrates on the fourth- and final- sub question of the thesis. Here, it is investigated how the members of African Association perceive their level of passive and active engagement in domestic politics in Germany.

In order to do so, Ekman& Amna's (2012) conceptualisation of passive political participation and Van Deth's (2014) definition of active political participation are applied, as defined in section 4.3. For a short recapitulation, Van Deth (2014) categorises the modes of active political participation according to their intention of action. Consequently, the following four categories are identified:

1. Minimalist definition- *Political Participation I*
2. Targeted definition- *Political Participation II*
3. Targeted definition- *Political Participation III*
4. Motivational definition- *Political Participation IV*

In relation, Van Deth (2014) defines particular political activities that belong to one of these particular categories. Those as well as the ones defined by Ekman& Amnan (2012) were included in the interviews with the participating members of African Association. In addition, the members were previously asked for how important they evaluate political participation, and to what extent the membership within African Association stimulates their level of political engagement. Taken together, the three components reflect the remaining aspects that ensure the comprehensive analysis of the members' features. The cumulated aspects can be found in section 5.4

Keeping a structured approach, it is firstly explored for how important the members of African Association assess political participation. In this respect, the four interviewees consistently indicate that political participation has a high relevance for them (Interview 1, Q7& interview 2, Q7& interview 3, Q7& interview 4, Q7). Two interviewees further specify their individual notion concerning political activity; apparently, they declare divergent views. Interviewee 4 stresses that according to him, political engagement is an essential option to express the disagreement with a certain situation, and consequently to change something in society (Interview 4, Q7). Being more restrictive, interviewee 1 concedes that although she appreciates political participation, she feels rather disenchanted about the actual impact of her personal engagement. More specifically, she does not have the impression to actually make a

difference by getting involved in politics (Interview 1, Q7).

As mentioned above, Ekman& Amna's (2012) and Van Deth's (2014) conceptualisations of political participation are now utilised to determine the members' modes of political engagement.

To start with, it is investigated to what extent the members of African Association passively engage themselves in politics, as defined by Ekman& Amna (2012). The four interviewees coherently refer that they read the newspaper and watch the news on television. Other than interviewee 3, all of them listen to the news on the radio. Furthermore, except from interviewee 1, interviewee 2, 3 and 4 follow the news on the internet (Interview 1, Q8& interview 2, Q8& interview 3, Q8& interview 4, Q8). According to these outcomes, the interviewees regularly practice passive political engagement which is defined by Ekman& Amna (2012).

In terms of the members' modes of active political participation, which are exemplified by Van Deth (2014), all interviewees signal that while holding German citizenship, they apply their right to vote; however, none of them is a member of a political party. Although only interviewee 3 and 4 personally approached a politician in favour of a certain interest, all interviewees signed at least one petition. Concerning the attendance of a demonstration, all interviewees except from interviewee 3 express that they participated in at least one demonstration (Interview 1, Q8& interview 2, Q8& interview 3, Q8& interview 4, Q8). In this regard, interviewee 2 adds that she attended only one demonstration, being the one organised by African Association against the discrimination of Nigerian migrants (Interviewee 2, Q8). A more detailed description of the context and progress of the demonstration can be found in section 7.4.

Nevertheless, none of the interviewees ever blocked streets, drew political slogans or attended a flash mob. However, interviewee 1 and 2 once engaged themselves on reclaiming the streets and both of them indeed practice political consumerism. By doing so, interviewee 1 avoids (chemically- contaminated) products from China whereas interviewee 2 puts special attention on purchasing fairly traded groceries. Taking one step further, interviewee 2 advises others to boycott certain brands which are known for unfair labour conditions and inhumane treatment of the workers. Being asked if they take the risk of physical or psychological damage while signalling a political expression, interviewee 3 and 4 confirm this while interviewee 1 and 2 deny to do so (Interview 1, Q8& interview 2, Q8& interview 3, Q8& interview 4, Q8).

Moreover, interviewee 1 and 3 highlight that they undertake an additional mode of political

participation not being mentioned on the pre- determined list. In this respect, interviewee 1 refers that she regularly attends politically educating journeys (Interview 1, Q8). Differently, interviewee 3 participates in online group discussions about political themes. (Interview 3, Q8). Furthermore, a few local newspapers sometimes publish short articles about politically ambivalent topics that are written by him.

Taking the aforementioned data, the interviewees were asked to assess their level of political participation in Germany. Measured through an ordinal scale, interviewee 1, 2 and 3 suggest to belong to the medium level (Interview 1, Q9& interview 2, Q9& interview 3, Q9). Contrasting, interviewee 4 evaluates himself to be highly politically engaged. Beyond that, he calls himself an independent politician who has a “political soul” (Interview 4, Q9, l. 137).

In response, the extent is investigated to which the members evaluate their membership within African Association to stimulate their political engagement in German domestic politics. Interviewee 2 and 4 strongly confirm this whereas interviewee 3 points out that before he joined African Association, he was a member in another African- German organisation, the “Äthiopischer Kulturverein” (“The Ethiopian Cultural Association”). Admittedly, he quit his membership after he became a member of African Association due to time constraints. Irrespectively of the kind of organisation within which he is- or was- a member, interviewee 3 states that he similarly engaged himself in politics. For that reason, he cannot say that it is only the membership within African Association that stimulates his political engagement. Nevertheless, he indeed refers that it has a strong impact (Interview 3, Q9).

Illustrating a deviant view point, interviewee 1 outlines that her membership within African Association does not foster her political engagement. Instead, she sees her membership and her level of political participation as two different, non- related components (Interview 1, Q9).

Having examined the above, the interviewees were finally asked if their political engagement is supposed to change either in quality (or, intensity) or in quantity (or, extent) by quitting African Association. Reflecting the information above, interviewee 2, 3 and 4 announce that they would engage themselves both less in quality and quantity if they dismiss their membership (Interview 1, Q10 f.& interview 2, Q10 f.& interview 3, Q10 f.). Opposed, interviewee 1 first denied a change in the intensity and extent to which she participates in politics. Shortly after, she admits that there might be a potential decrease in the extent to

which she engages herself in German politics, explaining this by her strong commitment to African Association (Interview 1, Q11).

For a structured overview of the aforementioned data, the reader is invited to consult the subsequent table:

Table 6: The members' engagement in German politics

		Interviewee 1	Interviewee 2	Interviewee 3	Interviewee 4
	Appreciating political participation	Very much	Very much	Very much	Very much
Modes of passive PP	Reading the newspaper	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Watching the news on television	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Listening to the news on the radio	✓	✓	✗	✓
	Following the news on the internet	✗	✓	✓	✓
Modes of active PP					
<i>I Minimalist definition</i>	Voting	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Party membership	✗	✗	✗	✗
	Contacting politicians	✗	✗	✓	✓
<i>II Targeted definition</i>	Signing a petition	✓	✓	✓	✓
	Demonstrating	✓	✓	✗	✓
	Blocking streets	✗	✗	✗	✗
	Painting slogans	✗	✗	✗	✗
	Doing flash mobs	✗	✗	✗	✗
<i>III Targeted definition</i>	Reclaim- the-street- party	✓	✓	✗	✗
<i>IV Motivational definition</i>	Political consumerism	✓	✓	✗	✗

	Buycotts	✗	✓	✗	✗
	Boycotts	✗	✓	✗	✗
	Risking injuries	✗	✗	✓	✓
	Additional political engagement	✓	✗	✓	✗
	Level of political engagement	Medium	Medium	Medium	High
	Effect of African Association	Partly	Yes	Yes	Yes
Abbreviation: PP= Political participation					

(Source: Created by author, 2016)

7.5.1. Sub conclusion

This section concludes on the findings made above, and thus answers sub question 4.

As table 6 expresses, political participation is an important issue for all interviewees. Mostly being passively engaged through reading the newspaper and watching the news on television, the interviewees also actively participate within Van Deth's (2014) first dimension called *minimalist definition*. At this juncture, voting is the mostly preferred mode of political participation. Within Van Deth's (2014) second dimension, being the first component of *targeted definition*, the interviewees are less politically engaged: The only mode being indicated by all interviewees is “signing a petition”. Concerning the second component of *targeted definition*, two interviewees once participated in reclaiming the streets. In terms of *motivational definition*, a moderate engagement can be concluded whereby a significant insight consists of the fact that two out of four interviewees are willing to take the risk of physical or psychological damage while expressing their political opinion. Furthermore, two interviewees refer to additional modes of political participation which they undertake.

Most of the interviewees assess their individual level of political participation as “medium” whereof interviewee 4 understands himself to be highly politically engaged. Three out of four interviewees evaluate their membership within African Association as a stimulating factor on their political participation.

All in all, it can indeed be said that African Association fosters the political activity of the

members. Here, the most striking example is the demonstration organised by African Association, which was the premier for some of the interviewees.

In order to compare the above mentioned results with the general level of political participation of migrants, complementary data are outlined in the following section.

8. Control group

As mentioned above, this part of the thesis concentrates on the political participation of migrants who are not necessarily a member of a transnational organisation such as African Association. Due to the lack of primarily collected data, the researcher relies on available secondary data.

Hence, two data limitations are inevitable to mention in advance. To start with, the availability of secondary data is indeed constrained. As Bürklin (2010) criticises, the first related data were compiled in 2005; nevertheless, a representative statistical survey is still lacking in Germany. For that reason, he stresses the importance to increase the effort on reviewing the level of political participation of migrants in Germany.

In 2011, Vollmer & Warneke (2011) examined two forms of political engagement which are pursued by African migrants in Germany, being the membership in a political party and the engagement within a service workers union. Notwithstanding, the dependent variable “membership in a transnational organisation” is not transparently considered. This causes the first data limitation.

In a first attempt to collect comprehensive and valid data, Müssig & Worbs (2012) published a working paper in cooperation with the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees. Covering the political attitude and both electoral and non-electoral forms of political participation of migrants in Germany, their results share an excellent reputation and indeed belong to the most recent ones in Germany. Müssig & Worbs' (2012) comprehensive data base consists of the *European Social Survey* (ESS) from 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2010 as well as the *German Longitudinal Election Study* (GLES) from 2009. Moreover, the authors consulted the *Socio-Economic Panel* (SOEP) from 2010, the *Political Barometer* and *New Citizens Study* from 1999 and the *integration survey* published by the German Federal Office for Demographic Affairs (BiB) in 2000.

Still, Müssig & Worbs (2012, p. 5) point out that this field of research remains to be “under construction” since their data neither distinguish between different nationalities nor evoke the

impact of the membership within a transnational organisation. Not exclusively invoking the political engagement of African migrants in Germany implies the second data limitation. Moreover, similar to the study by Vollmer& Warneke (2011), the independent variable “membership in a transnational organisation” is not considered. Nonetheless, their research gives at least an insight on both the voting behaviour of migrants and certain additional forms of political participation such as signing petitions. This fits the conceptualisation of political engagement as expressed in section 4.4 and consequently being applied in section 7.5.

Following the chronological progress, Vollmer& Warneke's (2011) assess the proportion of Germans and Africans who are a member of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD). Although the authors intended to publish this proportion for all German political parties, the SPD remained to be the only cooperating party. After all, it can be said that 0.97% of the German people were a member of the SPD in 2005, compared to 0.086% migrants with an African background who affirm their membership (Vollmer& Warneke, 2011).

Having said this, Vollmer& Warneke (2011) refer to the proportion of Africans who are active in service workers unions. According to Vollmer& Warneke (2011), service workers unions are an appropriate instrument to increase the pressure on politicians and their political programmes, for instance on strengthened labour rights. However, the results hold that only 2.5 % of the African employees who are subject to social insurance contributions are a member of a service workers union. In comparison, 3.7% of the Italian, 4.2% of the Turkish and 9.7% of the German employees confirm a membership. Vollmer& Warneke (2011) explain this phenomenon by the high unemployment rates among African migrants: Appreciating the circumstance of being employed, African migrants- compared to other nationalities- tend to accept unfair working conditions and consequently refuse a membership in a service workers union.

As aforementioned, Müssig& Worbs (2012) investigated the political attitude of migrants and four (non-) electoral forms of political participation. Not distinguishing between different migration nationalities, their control group consists of people who are of German origin, referred as non- migrants.

Since political interest is considered as a prerequisite for political engagement, it is the first aspect being examined by Müssig& Worbs (2012). Apparently, there are differences between

people without a migration background, and those with a migration background. Within the group of migrants, variations are detected between migrants of the first and second generation. Non- migrants and migrants of the second generation show similar proportions in terms of “rather high” and “high” political interest (42.5% respectively 18%; 39.1% respectively 19.6%). Here, it turns out that migrants of the second generation more frequently refer to a “high” level of political interest compared to non- migrants. Notwithstanding, only 29.9% of the first migrant generation announce a “rather high” level of political interest. Even less (12.8%) seem to be highly interested in politics. For all groups, the percentages remain identical when it comes to a “rather low” and “low” interest in political activities.

In relation, Müssig& Worbs (2012) surveyed the level of political efficacy among migrants and non- migrants. As such, political efficacy describes the competence of people to understand political affairs. According to Müssig& Worbs' (2012) results, 4.5% of the first generation migrants, 5.8% of the second generation migrants and 7.5% of the people without a migration background mention to “never” have problems in understanding political affairs. More striking differences are detected in regard to the ratio of “frequent” problems. Whereof only 7.6% of the non- migrants and 8.9% of the second migrant generation declare that they often face difficulties, 13.4% of the first migrant generation indicate this.

Concerning the allegiance to a German political party, only one third of all migrants but around 52% of the non- migrants confirm a particular sense of belonging. However, migrants and non- migrants coherently prefer the union parties CDU/ CSU (14.1% respectively 17.8%) and the SPD (15.1% respectively 15.8%) over smaller political parties. Regarding the latter, the Green Party is mostly preferred by both migrants and non- migrants (6.5% for both groups).

Nevertheless, non- migrants apply their right to vote more often compared to migrants who hold the right to vote. Measured through the participation in the last three federal parliamentary elections, 83% of the non migrants participated on average meanwhile 75% of the migrants did so (Müssig& Worbs, 2012).

Having investigated the political attitude of migrants and their electoral engagement, the authors set the focus on non- electoral modes of political participation. As it can be seen in the following, these modes belong to Van Deth's (2014) types of *minimalist* and *targeted*

participation which are outlined in section 4.2. Generally, it cannot be said that migrants engage themselves significantly less than non- migrants. Exploring the frequency of contacting politicians, signing petitions and attending demonstrations, Müssig& Worbs (2012) found that 32.1% of the migrants and 40.5% of non- migrants undertook at least one of the above. Corresponding, 67.9% respectively 59.5% refused the engagement in one of the aforementioned non- electoral forms of political engagement.

Ranking the three forms by choice, signing petitions is the most preferred non- electoral mode of participation as answered by migrants and non- migrants (25% respectively 31.4%). Signing petitions is followed by contacting politicians (9.8% of the migrants did so and 13.9% of the non- migrants). On the third and last rank, attending a demonstration is placed (8.4% for both groups).

Merging the results of the author's primarily collected data with the outcomes of Vollmer& Warneke's (2011) and Müssig& Worbs' (2012) studies, a discussion part is added in the following. By that, it is aimed to compare the level of political engagement of African migrants who are a member of a transnational organisation with the political participation of all migrants.

9. Discussion

As referred above, this section compares the results of the author's case study with the outcomes of Vollmer& Warneke's (2011) and Müssig& Worbs' (2012) research. However, as previously mentioned, the results of the author's case study are a random sample which is not externally valid. For that reason, the study gives a first insight but does not include generalisable outcomes.

Two aspects require prior notification. First, the reader potentially gets the impression that the results are indeed treated as generalisable within this paragraph. To stress that this is not the case, any first conclusion is formulated as an estimation. Such an estimation can be found at the end of each compared mode of political participation. Second, Vollmer& Warneke's (2011) question on a migrant's membership within service workers unions and Müssig& Worbs' (2012) examination of a migrant's political efficacy are not further considered. This is caused by the fact that both aspects were not examined during the author's study; consequently, a comparative basis is missing.

Starting with the level of political interest, Müssig& Worbs' (2012) study reveals that 12.8%

of the first migrant generation but 19.6% of the second generation are highly interested in politics. In comparison, all interviewees indicate a high level of interest in politics (Interview 1, Q7& interview 2, Q7& interview 3, Q7& interview 4, Q7). By implication, the results suggest that African migrants who are a member of a transnational organisation share a higher level of political interest compared to the general population of migrants.

In terms of the allegiance to a political party, Vollmer& Warneke (2011) found that 0.086% of the African migrants are a member of the German political party SPD. More generally, Müssig& Worbs (2012) state that one third of all migrants feel a certain sense of belonging to a particular political party. Both outcomes diverge from those explored by the author. The interviewees consistently point out that they neither feel attracted by the programme of a political party nor are they a member of a political party (Interview 1, Q8& interview 2, Q8& interview 3, Q8& interview 4, Q8). Hence, it seems that African migrants who are a member of a transnational organisation are less likely to join a political party compared to migrants who are not a member of a transnational organisation. A possible explanation might be that they channel their time, affiliation, passion and energy to the transnational organisation and consequently lack the same for a political party. *Vice versa*, migrants not being a member of a transnational organisation might have the time and interest to support a political party.

Concerning the voting behaviour of migrants, Müssig& Worbs (2012) express that 75% of all migrants who hold German citizenship participated in the last three federal parliamentary elections. Regarding the author's study, all interviewees- who also hold German citizenship- mention that they vote regularly. Based on this, it can be assumed that African migrants who are a member of a transnational organisation apply their right to vote slightly more than other migrants.

The final comparison bases on non- electoral modes of political engagement, namely signing a petition, contacting politicians and attending a demonstration. Being a part of *minimalist* participation, as defined by Van Deth (2014), Müssig& Worbs (2012) reveal that 25% of all migrants signed at least one petition. The author's study, however, founds that all interviewees signed at least one petition (Interview 1, Q8& interview 2, Q8& interview 3, Q8& interview 4, Q8). Relative to that, 9.8% of all migrants ever contacted a politician and 8.4% attended a demonstration (Müssig& Worbs, 2012). Belonging to Van Deth's (2014) form of *targeted* participation, two interviewees confirmed their contact to politicians and three attended a demonstration (Interview 1, Q8& interview 2, Q8& interview 3, Q8& interview 4, Q8). This

gives the impression that African migrants who are a member of a transnational organisation are more likely to engage themselves in non- electoral politics than other migrants.

Undermining the author's estimations, Vollmer& Warneke (2011, p. 41) refer that the membership within a transnational organisation is “a very important option” for African migrants to become active in politics, and consequently fosters their engagement in politics. Especially Africans who do not hold German citizenship (yet) recognise inveterate obstacles to become active in politics, for instance in terms of voting. The membership in a transnational organisation offers them additional participatory options, such as the possibility to attend demonstrations or sign petitions.

10. Conclusion

Having extensively elaborated on the subjects that arise in the context to the research topic, which is further depicted below, this section means to be the final part of the thesis. Here, the author concludes on the outcomes made above and declares the final answer to the research question. In addition, a policy implication and suggestions for further research are formulated.

Initiated through the question of successful integration, which is frequently raised due to the rising number of people who currently seek asylum in Germany, it was the aim of the thesis to examine the effect of the membership in a transnational organisation on a migrant's level of political participation. This proves to be relevant since the notion of successful integration consists of multiple dimensions, including political integration as its ultimate goal (Pries, 1998).

Being a central option for migrants to unionise themselves, the impact of the membership in a so- called transnational organisation on a migrant's level of political engagement in domestic politics evokes a strong academic discourse. To resolve the conflicting outcomes, a qualitative case study has been conducted in the German context. Capturing the fact that the number of African migrants continuously increases in Germany, and thus has a growing impact on German society, the study was accomplished in the African- German transnational organisation African Association. To perform the qualitative case study, four interviews were conducted with the members of the organisation. In addition, the founder of African Association has been interviewed. Completing the data base and by that including a control group in the study, the researcher consulted a set of available secondary data.

Comprehensively assessing the aforementioned level of political participation, an accurate

definition of the concept is applied. It distinguishes between two main forms of political participation, namely passive and active political participation. In that sense, the research question being examined is the following: *To what extent does the membership in a transnational organisation affect the level of passive and active political engagement of African migrants in domestic politics in Germany?*

Functioning as building blocks, the following four sub questions substantially undermine the research question:

- 1) *What kind of transnational organisations exist in Germany within which African migrants can participate?*
- 2) *What kind of motivation do the members of a transnational organisation have to participate in a transnational organisation?*
- 3) *Which steps does the transnational organisation undertake to stimulate the passive and active engagement of their members in domestic politics in Germany?*
- 4) *How do members of a transnational organisation perceive their level of passive and active political engagement in domestic politics in Germany?*

The extended answer to each sub question is stated within section 7; nonetheless, the researcher repeats the main insights in the following which lead to the answer to the main research question.

10.1. Main insights deriving from the sub questions

Concerning the first sub question which investigates the African- German transnational organisations within which African migrants can participate in Germany, the research yields that organisations of this type are very diverse. Being particularly heterogeneous in terms of their aim and structure, there are numerous options for African migrants to join a transnational organisation. Although the actual number of African- German organisations existing in Germany could not have been determined due to a lack of available data, 240 of them are based in the German federal state North- Rhine Westphalia. As the most densely populated federal state, this number is reasonably taken to cover most of the African- German transnational organisations in Germany.

In terms of the second sub question, the outcomes of the interviews indicate that three aspects caused the members' participation within the African- German transnational organisation African Association. None of the members referred to a politically orientated reason; instead, a certain excitement, the chance to meet new people and the possibility to improve the world caused the membership of the interviewees. Those three aspects are part of selective social and civic gratification, as defined by Verba et al. (1995).

Analysing the steps which are undertaken by African Association to stimulate its members' level of passive and active engagement in domestic politics in Germany, the results hold that political stimulation is not a manifested objective of African Association. Nevertheless, the activities initiated by African Association incidentally encourage the members to engage themselves in politics. In particular, this is realised through the collective coordination of demonstrations which take place on behalf of African, and German, interests. Being a component of active political participation, the boosted attendance of demonstrations is accompanied by two rather passive modes of political engagement, namely reading the newspaper and watching the news on television.

Focusing on the fourth sub question, the members of African Association assess that their level of participation in domestic politics in Germany varies between a medium- and high level. Furthermore, they report that the membership within African Association indeed stimulates their level of political engagement. In order to have a comparable data base, secondary data were consulted to examine the level of political participation among migrants in general. Unfortunately, the current research lacks a comprehensive data set in the German context. Specifically, it is neither distinguished between different nationalities nor do the researchers consider the membership in a transnational organisation. Therefore, the following statements should be treated with caution. From the research being available, it turns out that migrants generally engage themselves less in politics compared to people who do not have a migration background. Apart from the participation in elections, which is only possible for people holding German citizenship, there are differences in non- electoral forms of political participation. Most strikingly, 25% of the migrants being studied signed at least one petition and only 8.4% of them attended a demonstration.

Apparently, these outcomes differ from the ones deriving from the interviews. Still, it shall be stressed that the results of the author's qualitative case study are not generalisable and require further research, as suggested later. Compared to 25% of the migrants who signed at least one petition, all interviewees indicate to have done so. Moreover, in comparison to 8.4% of the

migrants who attended a demonstration, three out of four interviewees confirmed their participation.

Taken together, the answers of the four sub questions lead to the answer of the main research question. The main research question, however, is elaborated in the following paragraph.

10.2. The final answer to the research question

From the aforementioned elaboration, the research question is answered as follows. Although the members' political stimulation is not necessarily a primary goal of transnational organisations, certain activities encourage the members to become more politically active in domestic politics in Germany. Therefore, most members of transnational organisations might assess themselves to be medium- or highly engaged in politics. Not being a crucial goal for migrants to become more active in politics, their membership in a transnational organisation can be caused by socially or personally orientated aspects. Still, there is no doubt that the membership in a transnational organisation has indeed a stimulating effect on the members' level of political participation. Taking a closer look at this, the research reveals that the stimulation of political engagement is an ancillary effect of the membership in a transnational organisation rather than a main objective. Hence, it can be concluded that the membership in a transnational organisation fosters the level of a migrant's political participation to a greater extent. This outcome indeed confirms the researcher's expectation which is formulated in section 1.2: Here, the researcher assumes that the membership in a transnational organisation has a certain stimulating effect on an African migrant's level of political participation in Germany.

Consequently, the hypothesis of the study, namely *if an African migrant participates in a transnational organisation, he/ she is more likely to be politically engaged in domestic politics in Germany than African migrants who do not participate in a transnational organisation*, is confirmed as well.

Nonetheless, it is important to stress that the confirmation is based on data which might be insufficient. This insufficiency is also outlined in section 8; more specifically, it is referred to the fact that these secondary statistical data lack a distinction between different nationalities. Moreover, the most important variable of this study, consisting of the membership within a transnational organisation, is not transparently examined. A clear overview of the data limitations being present in the study as well as suggestions for their solution in future studies

can be found in the next paragraph.

10.3. Data limitations and their remedies for future studies

As mentioned above, the study contains certain issues that limit its empirical evidence. Being aware of this problem, the researcher suggests four aspects in order to improve the academic state of the art concerning the research topic. Hereof, two recommendations target at the improvement of secondary statistical data which were applied for the control group. Two additional aspects refer to the qualitative case- study which has been conducted by the researcher herself.

The data limitations are clearly highlighted in the sections where they are detected. This shall ensure that the reader gets a funded understanding of their origin, and which impact they have on the outcomes. However, the data limitations are recapitulated in the following table to provide the reader with a structured overview of their presence. Related to them, the researcher formulates four suggestions how the data limitations can be solved during future studies. Illustrating them, an extended version of the aforementioned table is added at the end of the paragraph.

Table 7: Data limitations

Type of study	Section	Data limitation
Qualitative case- study	7	Study is conducted in only one transnational organisation
		Only a small number of members participated
Secondary statistical data	8	Data do not distinguish between nationalities
		The membership in a transnational organisation is not explicitly considered

(Source: Created by author, 2016)

Concerning the researcher's qualitative case- study, it is proposed to replicate the study within transnational organisations of a different type, and of different nationalities. This may solve the first issue, being that the study has been conducted in only one transnational organisation. As the first sub question reveals, African- German transnational organisations are very

heterogeneous with regard to their aim, size and other factors. This might be valid for transnational organisations of other nationalities. Concrete insights of the above will help to elucidate the actual impact of the membership in a transnational organisation on a migrant's level of political participation. The second data limitation consists of the fact that only four members were willing to participate in the study. To increase the study's external validity, it is advised to replicate the study with more participants being active in the same transnational organisation in order to get generalisable results.

Moreover, it is advised to collect statistical data with regard to the political participation of migrants distinguished by nationality. This solves the issue that existing data fail to do so, and consequently allows for more specific statements about the political activity of different migration groups. On top of that, it is suggested to statistically examine the effect of the membership in a transnational organisation, also with regard to nationality. Similar to the former suggestion, these results clarify the impact of the membership in a transnational organisation for different migration groups. Potentially unveiling nation- specific differences, more purposeful actions aiming at the successful integration of migrants can be undertaken by policy makers and other responsible institutions.

Table 7 a: Data limitations and their solutions

Type of study	Section	Data limitation	Solution
Qualitative case- study	7	Study is only conducted in one transnational organisation	Replicate the study in more transnational organisations
		Only a small number of members participated	Try to find more members who are willing to participate
Secondary statistical data	8	Data do not distinguish between nationalities	Collect data that distinguish between different nationalities
		The membership in a transnational organisation is not explicitly considered	Explicitly invoke the membership in a transnational organisation, and its effect

(Source: Created by author, 2016)

Having pointed to the study's data limitations and their solutions for future studies, the researcher would like to stress that the study still achieved its purpose. Recalling the purpose, it was the aim of the study to enhance the current research, and further clarify the effect of the membership in a transnational organisation on an African migrant's level of political participation in domestic politics. This objective is indeed fulfilled. Concerning the second purpose of the study, being to give an advice to policy makers how to proceed with the establishment of transnational organisations, the reader may consult the following (final) part of the thesis.

10.4. A final policy recommendation and future outlook

As aforesaid, the study comprises certain data limitations but still contains valuable information which shape the launch of related policy programmes. Due to the increasing number of people who seek asylum in Germany, there is a need for prompt and highly efficient actions- undertaken by the government and other stakeholders- that foster the integration of these people into German society. As the study reveals, the establishment of transnational organisations bears an option for migrants to get in contact with others; as a side effect, they also become more politically active. In relation the researcher recalls the final objective of the study- which is also formulated in the introduction of the paper-, being to give an advise to policy makers. Following from the results, policy makers are advised to support the establishment of transnational organisations that fulfil a certain aim, for instance on social or cultural issues.

Perspectively, the development of transnational organisations as well as research conducted on related themes remains an interesting field of study. The researcher will follow their future progress carefully and with a high level of interest.

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