Discrimination that Matters: Replication with Extensions of "Perceived Discrimination and Political Behaviour" (2020)

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Abstract

This paper offers a replication of "Perceived Discrimination and Political Behaviour" (Oskooii 2020) with two extensions. Oskooii (2020) offered solid evidence that exposure to societal discrimination turns minorities away from mainstream political participation and political discrimination facilitates mainstream political participation, whereas both political and societal discrimination inspire stronger in-group attachment. In this paper I retest the original models with different control variables and reestimate these models using matching. In the extension, I study the association of political and societal discrimination with non-electoral political participation and support for violent protests. Further I test if political and societal discrimination are associated with higher ethnic based engagement among newly arrived immigrants. This paper confirms that both types of discrimination increase levels of in-group attachment with limited supporting evidence for immigrants. Consistent effect of political discrimination on mainstream political participation is also confirmed. Finally this paper finds exposure to societal discrimination as a positive predictor of non-electoral participation and support for violent protests.

Keywords: discrimination, minorities, immigrants, identity, replication

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Introduction

In the light of an intense immigration debate and increasing support for the anti-immigrant agenda, widespread discrimination against minorities and immigrants received more attention in political psychology (Dancygier and Margalit 2020; Lajevardi 2020; Valentim 2021). Moreover, the focus also shifted onto political consequences of discrimination (Pérez 2015; Hobbs and Lajevardi 2019; Lajevardi 2021; Matthes and Schmuck 2017). This paper presents a replication (two robustness checks and two extensions) of "Perceived Discrimination and Political Behaviour|" by Oskooii (2020) published in the British Journal of Political Science. The paper builds on author's previous work (Oskooii 2016), providing solid evidence that exposure to societal discrimination demotivates people from participating in mainstream politics, while exposure to political discrimination enhances it. Such evidence was recognised as valuable and the theory coherent among scholars in migration studies and political psychology.[1]

The aim of this analysis is to extend the analysis from the original paper further by estimating the original models in a more causal inference setting (through matching) and by extending the analysis to other forms of political behaviour and populations. Therefore, the replication tried to accomplish two main aims. The first is to try framing the original findings in a more causal terms and interpret the exposure to political or societal discrimination as a mover to political behaviour. The second is to inspect if other forms of political behaviour follow the same pattern as voting (being the main form of

[1]By the time of writing, the original paper has 120 citations on Google Scholar. It is also important to notice that numerous papers on minority and ethnic politics published in the top three journals in political science or relevant publications in migration studies and political psychology cite the paper.

mainstream political engagement in the original paper and if effects of discrimination found among minorities travel to other similar communities, such as immigrants. The paper is organised in four sections. The first section provides the overview of the original paper, while the second presents the design and steps of the replication. Section three brings the results and the analysis, followed by discussion and conclusion in the fourth section.

Understanding Discrimination: Overview of the Original Paper

Oskooii conceptualises discrimination as an outcome of prejudice - a derogatory belief or attitude about individuals generalized on the basis of their group memberships (Oskooii 2016, 2020), which entails making a distinction between individuals or social groups through favouring of or against them, due to their membership to the group or some other group traits (Oskooii 2020, 869). The major theoretical contribution of Oskooii (2020) is in developing and testing concepts of political and social discrimination. Political discrimination exists through "laws, policies, practices, symbols, or political campaigns and discourse that aim to deprive some citizens of resources or rights based on group membership" (Oskooii 2020, 868). Societal discrimination goes more granular and happens in day to day interactions of individuals (Oskooii 2020). The difference in these two types is in their source, and in both types targets of discrimination could be individuals and groups.

Existing research indicate that perceived discrimination has numerous and sometimes divergent consequences. Among the most prominent consequences are increased levels of anxiety and decrease in self-esteem (Schmitt et al. 2014; Bourguignon et al. 2006). Political consequences of perceived discrimination are usually studied among minority populations, since they are exposed to higher levels of discrimination (Lajevardi 2020; Lajevardi et al. 2020; Pérez 2015; Ward 2019). The literature maps divergent consequences of perceived discrimination on mainstream political participation. Schildkraut (2005) finds that discriminated individual retreat from mainstream politics and turn to their in-group (Schildkraut 2005). Not all research confirm this finding, i.e. Tyrberg (2020) demonstrates that exposure to discrimination can lead to more electoral participation. Interestingly, Schildkraut (2005) finds that individual level discrimination is less likely to induce group solidarity than group level discrimination (Schildkraut 2005).

Based on social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 2010, 2004; Huddy 2013), Oskooii (2020) proposes that societal and political discrimination produce different effects on political behaviour. Revising existing research, Oskooii (2020, 2016) proposes that societal discrimination causes withdrawal from mainstream politics because individuals feel powerless, isolated and anxious due to exposure to individual targeting. On the other hand, political discrimination, because is more systematic, equips targeted individual with the sense of shared fate with other group members, which could inspire engagement with mainstream politics (Oskooii 2020, 2016). Yet, in the case of in-group engagement, Oskooii (2020) proposes that both types push individuals to engage more with their

in-group. Societal discrimination would make individuals seek comfort and solace in their in-group, while political discrimination would make them seek protection in group numbers and possibility of action against discrimination (Oskooii 2020, 2016).

Oskooii (2020) utilises comprehensive Ethnic Minority British Election Study, conducted in 2010. This survey was conducted on a representative sample of British ethnic minorities, collecting in total 2.787 interviews using computer-assisted personal interviewing technique. Oskooii (2020, 873-874) provided and tested four hypotheses:

1. On average, exposure to political discrimination increases the likelihood of political participation.

2. On average, exposure to societal discrimination decreases the likelihood of (mainstream) political participation.

3. Exposure to societal discrimination, on average, enhances in-group attachment and engagement.

4. Exposure to political discrimination, on average, enhances in-group attachment and engagement.

Oskooii (2020) tests these hypotheses through four outcomes; mainstream political participation is operationalised as voting on local and general elections (binary indicator), while in-group engagement is operationalised through participation in ethnic-based organisations and clubs (binary indicator). Attachment is operationalised through preferred identity, ranging from only identifying with in-group identity, over identifying with in-group and out-group identities, to identifying only with out-group

identity (three point scale). Societal and political discrimination were operationalised through 12-point index where 0 represents no discrimination whatsoever, while 12 represents highest possible score of discrimination. Index represents a complex measure that provides information about experience of specific types of discrimination (i.e. being) and the frequency of their occurrence, both on individual levels. Oskooii (2020) controls for an array of relevant variables: gender, age, education, income, ethnicity, country of birth, language, worship attendance, dominant identity, party identification, interest in politics, levels of political knowledge, attitudes about voting and political efficacy, satisfaction with democracy and trust in parliament. [2]

Oskooii (2020) uses logit and multinomial models to test his hypotheses. Analysis provided evidence in support for all four hypotheses. Coefficients (Oskooii 2020) demonstrate directionality in accordance with hypotheses and achieve statistical significance in 0.1 level. To validate the results, each model is accompanied by analysis of changes in predicted probabilities (using first difference methods). This analysis also confirms initial results. Oskooii (2020) provided two other robustness checks. One was to estimate so called simplified models from which attitudes about voting and political efficacy, satisfaction with democracy, and trust in parliament were omitted. These models also provided support for hypotheses. Another way of checking robustness was to simplify indicators of societal and political discrimination to only street-level discrimination and discrimination in governmental services (Tables 5 and 6 in the Online

[2] Oskooii's way of measuring discrimination is more refined than the usual scope of large representative surveys that catch experience of discrimination through binary measures (i.e. the ESS) or do not ask questions about frequency of discrimination.

Appendix of the original paper), which also confirmed initial results.

Replication Design

Overall aim of this replication is to improve understanding of the effects of political and societal discrimination. Based on available classifications, this replication study aims to check if results are robust when using different specifications (of control matrix) on original data (Freese and Peterson 2017, 152) or when different methodologies are applied on the same data (consequently on the same population) (Clemens 2017). This replication will also offer two extensions, which should have same analytical specifications but different populations or samples, based on Clemens (2017) classification. The first extension diverges from Clemens (2017) idea because it uses the same sample, but different outcomes. The aim of such extension is to check if distinct patterns of engagement and disengagement due to societal and political discrimination would be observed in other instances of political behaviour related to out-group, but less mainstream than voting in elections. The second extension is more in accordance to Clemens (2017) classification, where I study a population of newly arrived immigrants using the same analytical approach as the original study. Due to data constrains, this replication falls in the domain of conceptual replications, because key variables were not measured in the same way, but still intend to measure same concepts (Freese and Peterson 2017; Irvine 2021; Stroebe and Strack 2014). Therefore, comparability between the original study and the second extension is limited.

Before explaining in more details design, scope and justification of each replication procedure, I need to discuss the intended quantity of the replication in the context of data limitations. Because most replications are done in cases of experimental research (that rely on OLS estimation), preferences are that a successful replication replicates the existence of the effect and the size of the effect (Anderson and Maxwell 2016). Yet, using generalised linear models imposes restrains in estimating and comparing the sizes of effects that do not exist in OLS models. Generalised linear models contain unobserved heterogeneity that is independent from the outcome variable and dependent on variances of omitted control variables (Wooldridge 2010; Mood 2010). Due to fixed variance of the error term, the effect of the key explanatory variable also contains the degree of unobserved heterogeneity (dependent on the variance of control matrix). Yet, as Wooldridge (2010) reminds, because unobserved heterogeneity is not related to outcome variables, it does not impact capability to make conclusions about the directionality of the effects. Caution is also required when interpreting statistical significance of replicated coefficients due to differences between samples and sizes (Maxwell, Lau, and Howard 2015). As Anderson and Maxwell (2016) recommend, I report confidence intervals alongside *p-values*.

Robustness checks are presented in Study 1.[3] As discussed, the first set of robustness checks provide original models with altered set of control variables. Despite the fact

[3]Section 1 of the Appendix offers summary statistics and correlation plots for the key treatment variables, proving that in the original design, two variables are not correlated beyond 0.5, suggesting they could both be used in a single model.

that Oskooii (2020) offered a comprehensive set of control strongly related to political participation and voting among minorities, there are two potential avenues of expanding these models. The first one is to use more complex controls where Oskooii (2020) used binary indicators. The intention here is to use controls that carry more information where possible. Therefore, I introduced continuous measure of party identification instead of binary and instead of country of birth, I introduced indicators for UK citizenship and duration of stay in the UK.[4]

The second avenue is to expand the simplified model in different directions based on the current literature (Wysocki, Lawson, and Rhemtulla 2022). Variables that measure attitudes about voting and political efficacy, satisfaction with democracy and trust in parliament are replaced with other variables. Vast literature on economic perceptions indicate that casting a ballot, as well as vote choice are influenced by both evaluations of personal economic conditions and national economy (Healy, Persson, and Snowberg 2017; Hansford and Gomez 2015; Lewis-Beck, Nadeau, and Elias 2008; Wlezien, Franklin, and Twiggs 1997). For that reason I include evaluations of individual and national finances in the past and future. Research on immigrants' and minority political engagement finds that social capital and social networks strongly impact their political participation (La Due Lake and Huckfeldt 1998; Teorell 2003; Giugni, Michel, and Gianni 2014). I include indicators for involvement in ethnic social networks, local community affairs and perception of increase in prejudice among out-group. Social identity theory would also suggest that those with developed social networks and

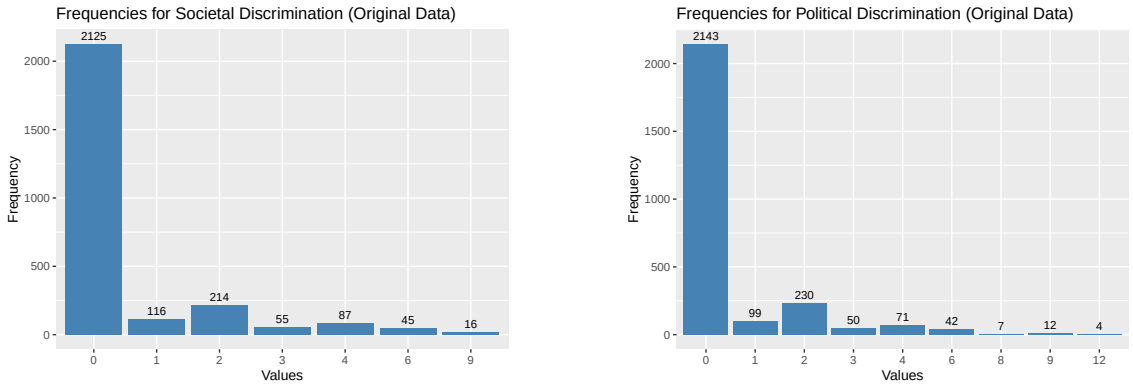
[4]More details are available in the Appendix (Section 2).

involvement in local community might be more resilient to discrimination (Schmitt et al. 2014).

The second set of robustness checks represent estimating the original models using matching (Ho et al. 2007; Iacus, King, and Porro 2019). In the original paper, Oskooii (2020, 877) provides evidence in Figure 2 that outcomes for mainstream political participation are evenly distributed across dominant ethnic groups. In Figure 1, I inspected the distribution of the main treatment variable and established that out of 2128 respondents in the sample, only 352 reported societal discrimination, while only 362 reported political discrimination. A look at the distribution also indicates that lower levels of discrimination are far more frequent than higher. Such distributions might indicate a lack of balance in the data that diminishes reliability of coefficients in the model. Upon inspection, it was established that data indeed suffer from imbalance (see Appendix, Graphs 5 to 16 and Tables 15 to 26 used in the matching procedure).

Matching allows to regard self-reported discrimination as a binary treatment and makes discriminated and non-discriminated respondents as similar as possible on other covariates (Ho et al. 2007; Iacus, King, and Porro 2019). The trade-off is that this procedure downsizes the number of observations, but keeps them, in this case, in a range between 400 and 600 observations, which is enough for reliable estimation. Following the common approach in political science, I estimated initial models using coerced exact matching (Iacus, King, and Porro 2012; King and Nielsen 2019). This procedure improved the balance for each individual variable, but failed to improve the overall balance of the

Figure 1: Distribution of Frequencies for Specific Types of Discrimination



(a) Societal Discrimination **(b)** Political Discrimination

sample (in each iteration the measure of multivariate imbalance measure was equal to 1) (Iacus, King, and Porro 2012).[5]

Instead, I estimated models using less reliable methods - propensity score matching (Guo, Fraser, and Chen 2020; Ho et al. 2007; Stuart 2010). Following the advice of King and Nielsen (2019), I checked that in every instance, propensity score matching indeed improves the balance in the data (see Appendix, Graphs 5 to 16 and Tables 15 to 26 used in the matching procedure). Inspection of different measures, such as standardised mean difference and cumulative distribution function measures (CDFmax) indicated that different methods and links achieve varying levels of balance on individual variables. To ensure robustness of results, I estimated models using combinations of different methods (full, nearest and optimal) and links (probit and logit) (Ho et al. 2011). After matching, models were re-estimated using weights from matching. FInally, average treatment

[5]R scripts with code for this procedure are available with other replication materials and tables with results are provided in the Appendix.

effect on the treated (ATT)[6] was computed with means of G computation and reported in the form of risk ratios and odds ratios respectively (presented from Table 33 to 44 in the Appendix.

Extensions are presented in Study 2. The first extension included estimation of original models using different outcomes: non-electoral participation[7] and support for violent protests. I consider non-electoral participation as another form of participating in mainstream politics, which inquires higher costs of engagement than voting. Recent research indicated that broadly defined discrimination increases non-electoral participation (Bilodeau 2017; Tran, Baluran, and Hassan 2024; van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008) of minorities. Besco et al. (2022) on the other hand causally demonstrated that exposure to harmful political speech (more close to political discrimination) does not have an effect on political engagement or protesting.[8] Grewal and Hamid (2024) revealed that discrimination (measured with indicators of societal and political discrimination) increases support for anti-system attitudes and violence among immigrants in Germany. Bilodeau et al. (2023) also finds that exposure to discrimination fosters protest participation. Therefore I test four hypotheses in the first set of extensions:

1. On average, exposure to political discrimination increases the likelihood of

[6]MatchIt allows for estimation of the average treatment effect (ATE) as well, but it was more pertinent to estimate the effect of discrimination inside the group individuals who reported it, instead of the entire sample (Ho et al. 2011).

[7]Non-electoral participation includes forms of political engagement that are neither voting, nor ethnic based, but are close to understand as civic engagement with intention to influence politics through means such as protesting, signing petitions, volunteering in civicl society or trying to reach one's political representatives. Additional details are provided in the Appendix.

[8]It is worth noting that, Schmuck and Tribastone (2020) do not find the effect of harmful speech on support for violent protests, but only for non-violent.

non-electoral political participation.

2. On average, exposure to societal discrimination increases the likelihood of non-electoral political participation.

3. On average, exposure to political discrimination increases the likelihood of support for violent protests.

4. On average, exposure to societal discrimination increases the likelihood of support for violent protests.

With the second extension I am trying to establish if the effects of perceived discrimination Oskooii (2020) found for minorities would be replicated in the case of immigrants. Data used in the original research survey minorities that have been living in the UK for longer periods of time, while I turn to the data covering immigrants that have not spend more than three years in the UK at the time of the survey. Reminds of the importance of contextual factors in the data collection of the research being replicated, therefore, I am trying to minimise the contextual differences by analysing data on immigrants collected around the time when the original data were collected in the UK. The data from the first wave of "Causes and Consequences of Socio-Cultural Integration Processes among New Immigrants in Europe" (SCIP) project were collected in 2010 and 2011 in the UK (Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands) which satisfied this condition (Diehl et al. 2016). The survey covered only two groups of immigrants, Polish and Pakistani, which is significantly less than coverage in the original survey. For that reason, I supplemented the analysis by estimating the same set of models on the Dutch data from the same wave of SCIP. I test hypotheses three and four from the original paper, assuming that exposure

to both societal and political discrimination will be associated with greater levels of ethnic based participation.

SCIP dataset, yet provides only partially comparable set of variables. Key treatment was measured through instances of discrimination and their frequency. The difference that imposes limitation to comparability is that instances were measured on individual level, while frequency was measured on group level. Because instances of discrimination still allowed for differentiation between societal and political discrimination, I created two different treatments - a three-point index summing up the instances of discrimination and the other six-point that combines individual instances with opinion of frequency of group discrimination. Only ethnic-based engagement was measured in a directly comparable way with the original research, therefore I model the effect of societal and political discrimination on this outcome. Identification was not measured directly, but asking for respondents opinion about reconcilability of cultural values allows to proxy for identification (Tables 57 to 58 in the Appendix).[9]. The SCIP data did not measure political efficacy, satisfaction with democracy and opinion about duty to vote, therefore, only simplified models from the original research were estimated. Survey also did not cover country of birth in equivalent way (since no respondent was born in the UK or the Netherlands) and party identification with parties in the UK (or the Netherlands). These variables also had to be omitted in this extension.

[9]Because the survey focused on newly arrived immigrants, question about voting referred to voting in the home country elections.

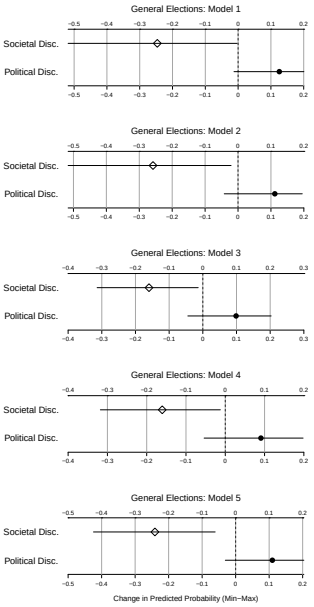
Analysis

Study 1: Robustness Checks

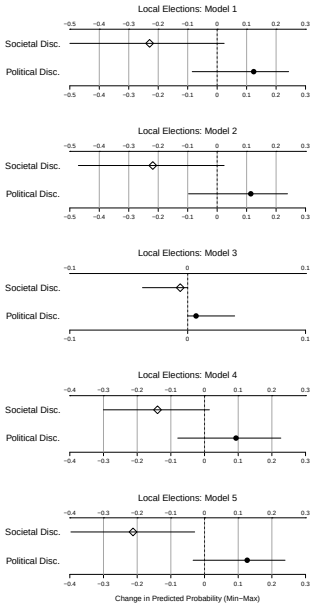
The first set of robustness checks tests the same set of hypotheses as the original paper. New set of models brings changes in the control matrix, while keeping the original outcome variables and applying the original methods. In the case of mainstream political engagement, results suggests that exposure to societal discrimination demonstrates more robustness when modelled with a different set of control, keeping both the directionality and statistical significance for voting on general elections. For local elections, only directionality is robust, but not statistical significance. With political discrimination, only directionality of the effect is consistently replicated for voting on general and local elections, but this effect did not demonstrate robustness to the set of new controls. I present complete models in the Appendix (Tables 2 and 3), with plotted coefficients for predicted probabilities (using first difference method, as in the original paper) provided in Figure 2.

In the case of in-group attachment, only three models were estimated, leaving out models that include variables about evaluations of personal and national economic circumstances. The theory surveyed did not indicate these variables as important controls for in-group attachment. In this case, societal discrimination is more robust to the new set of controls, keeping both directionality and statistical significance for ethnic-based engagement and identity choice (Figure 3). On the other hand, political discrimination does not seem to be robust for ethnic-based engagement, but it keeps

Figure 2: Mainstream Political Engagement: Predicted Probabilities for Specific Measures

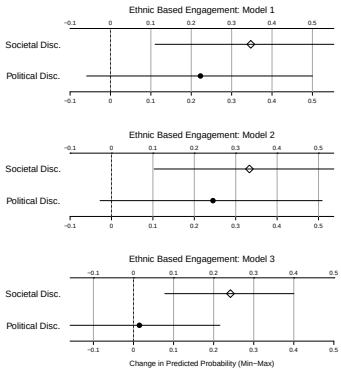


(a) Vote in General Elections

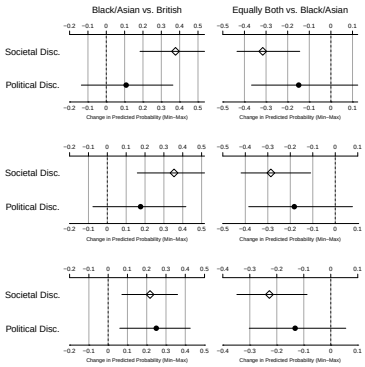


(b) Vote in Local Elections

Figure 3: In-group Attachment: Predicted Probabilities for Specific Measures



(a) Ethnic-Based Engagement



(b) Identity Choice

directionality as suggested in the theory. For identity choice, political discrimination becomes significant only when controlled for involvement in the community and social networks, and attitudes about the increase of prejudice (as in Figure 3b, lower graph). Complete results are available in the Appendix, tables 4 and 5

When the original hypotheses are tested using matching, results tell almost the opposite story compared to the first set of robustness checks. Indeed some notes on limitations need to be made. The original analysis tested the association between the outcomes and both societal and political discrimination in a single model. Measures of discrimination were also ordinal scales (0-12). In this setting only the effect of either societal or political discrimination is estimated, while the remaining type of discrimination is matched on. In estimation this suggests that if the effect of societal discrimination is estimated, both treated and non-treated respondents should be equivalently exposed to political discrimination. Matching analysis allows only for binary treatments, therefore the

dimension of intensity of discrimination is left out from the matching analysis.[10]

With propensity score matching, models were estimated for mainstream political engagement and ethnic-based engagement, while identity choice was left out. All estimated models indeed confirm that the directionality of the effect is replicable in (almost) all instances[11] As suggested by Oskooii (2020), societal discrimination indeed has a negative effect on mainstream political participation (Tables 1 and 3), while political discrimination demonstrates consistently positive effect on mainstream political participation (Tables 2 and 4). Yet, replicating statistical significance of the original results was not as easy.

Table 1: Vote in General Elections (Societal Discrimination): ATT Estimates as Risk Ratios - Complete Model

Model	Estimate	P-value	CI Lower	CI Upper
Full Probit	0.964	0.420	0.882	1.054
Full Logit	0.944	0.208	0.863	1.033
Nearest Probit	1.002	0.973	0.909	1.104
Nearest Logit	0.977	0.625	0.890	1.072
Optimal Probit	0.985	0.764	0.893	1.087
Optimal Pobit	0.954	0.304	0.871	1.044

In cases of mainstream political engagement, political discrimination is in all models, Tables 2 and 4 a statistically significant predictor of the outcome. Because matching corrects for imbalances and imitates experimental logic with survey data (Ho et al. 2007; Stuart 2010), the results could be interpreted that exposure to political discrimination

[10]Because measures are different conceptually, this robustness check is close to the idea of conceptual replication (Freese and Peterson 2017)

[11]The only exception being the nearest probit estimation matching procedure of the effect of societal discrimination on voting in general elections, that rendered an unexpected positive effect, see Table 1. For comparison, tables with risk ratios for simplified models are also provided in the Appendix, Tables 27 to 32.

Table 2: Vote in General Elections (Political Discrimination): ATT Estimates as Risk Ratios - Complete Model

Model	Estimate	P-value	CI Lower	CI Upper
Full Probit	1.098	0.047	1.001	1.204
Full Logit	1.109	0.039	1.005	1.223
Nearest Probit	1.165	0.002	1.058	1.284
Nearest Logit	1.148	0.008	1.037	1.272
Optimal Probit	1.176	0.002	1.060	1.305
Optimal Pobit	1.164	0.003	1.052	1.287

Table 3: Vote in Local Elections (Societal Discrimination): ATT Estimates as Risk Ratios - Complete Model

Model	Estimate	P-value	CI Lower	CI Upper
Full Probit	0.864	0.001	0.792	0.943
Full Logit	0.873	0.004	0.796	0.958
Nearest Probit	0.922	0.159	0.823	1.032
Nearest Logit	0.989	0.855	0.873	1.119
Optimal Probit	0.988	0.848	0.875	1.116
Optimal Pobit	0.952	0.362	0.855	1.059

Table 4: Vote in Local Elections (Political Discrimination): ATT Estimates as Risk Ratios - Complete Model

Model	Estimate	P-value	CI Lower	CI Upper
Full Probit	1.116	0.033	1.009	1.235
Full Logit	1.121	0.021	1.018	1.235
Nearest Probit	1.204	0.001	1.078	1.344
Nearest Logit	1.154	0.009	1.036	1.286
Optimal Probit	1.200	0.001	1.076	1.338
Optimal Pobit	1.222	0.001	1.089	1.372

has a causal influence on mainstream political participation. On the other hand, societal discrimination does not seem to have a statistically significant influence on mainstream participation (Tables 1 and 3). Such results indicate that casting a ballot remains under strong influence of minority individuals' interactions with state institutions. However, discriminatory societal interaction does not seem to have strong dissuading effect from voting, as proposed in the original research. Insignificant effect of societal discrimination suggests that among treated individuals there is a critical number of those who voted despite being exposed to discriminatory societal interactions.

Table 5: Ethnic based engagement (Societal Discrimination): ATT Estimates as Risk Ratios - Complete Model

Model	Estimate	P-value	CI Lower	CI Upper
Full Probit	1.295	0.003	1.094	1.531
Full Logit	1.352	0.002	1.119	1.633
Nearest Probit	1.244	0.024	1.029	1.503
Nearest Logit	1.203	0.061	0.992	1.458
Optimal Probit	1.247	0.015	1.043	1.490
Optimal Pobit	1.219	0.032	1.018	1.461

Table 6: Ethnic based engagement (Political Discrimination): ATT Estimates as Risk Ratios - Complete Model

Model	Estimate	P-value	CI Lower	CI Upper
Full Probit	1.217	0.036	1.013	1.462
Full Logit	1.200	0.048	1.002	1.438
Nearest Probit	1.226	0.048	1.002	1.500
Nearest Logit	1.169	0.107	0.967	1.412
Optimal Probit	1.244	0.037	1.013	1.528
Optimal Pobit	1.209	0.057	0.994	1.470

The effect of societal and political discrimination consistently replicates in accordance with original hypotheses.[12] Both types of discrimination represent positive and statistically significant predictors of ethnic-based engagement (Tables 5 and 6). Matching

[12]Results were not significant only with nearest logit procedure.

analysis provides solid support for hypotheses three and four, with possibility to update the interpretation. Risk ratios suggest that exposure to societal or political discrimination increases probability among exposed individuals to get involved on ethnic grounds between 1.2 and 1.3 times. Important addition to interpretation is that exposure to political and societal discrimination could be regarded as causal mover of ethnic-based engagement among minorities, as suggested by Oskooii (2020) and social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 2010, 2004).

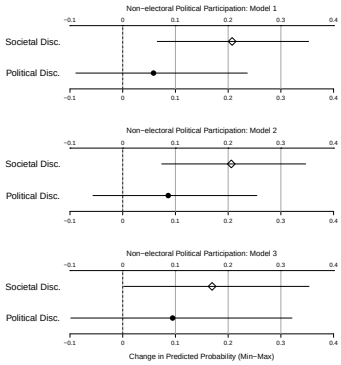
Study 2: Extensions

The first set of extensions proposed to test the association of political and societal discrimination with outcomes other then mainstream political participation and in-group attachment. I test the effects of political and societal discrimination using and adapting modelling strategies from the original paper. Non-electoral participation is treated as yet another form of mainstream political engagement, which inquires higher costs than voting, due to time and attention that non-electoral engagement asks. Support for violent demonstrations is definitely least mainstream form of participating in politics, but relevant form of participation in politics, specially for minorities exposed to discrimination and expression of grievances (Schmuck and Tribastone 2020; Schmuck, Matthes, and Paul 2017).

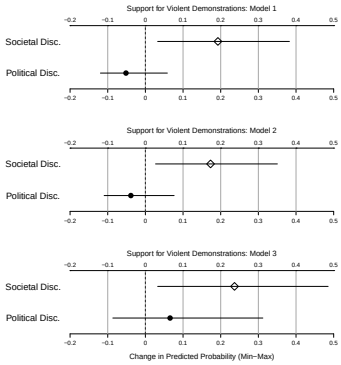
In modelling the effects of political and societal discrimination I used both fully specified and simplified modelling strategies from the original paper. Because not all control

from the original models seemed relevant, I estimated a third model that excluded worship attendance and attitudes about voting as duty from a fully specified model and introduced measures for participation in social networks, attitudes about national economic future and the use of Internet. Full models are presented in the Appendix (Tables 45 and 46), while plots with predicted probabilities are supplied further in the text.

Figure 4: Predicted Probabilities for Alternative Outcomes



(a) Non-electoral Political Participation: Specific Measures (Political and Societal Discrimination)



(b) Support for Violent Demonstrations: Specific Measures (Political and Societal Discrimination)

Using the original modelling strategy the analysis provides no support for hypothesis 1 - that political discrimination increases likelihood of non-electoral political participation. Even though directionality of the point estimate is in accordance with hypotheses, confidence intervals of predicted probabilities indicate that point estimate could be found below zero point, therefore that exposure to political discrimination could as easily be associated with distancing from non-electoral politics. Societal discrimination renders more robust, positive association with non-electoral political participation. With

introduction of additional control in model 3 (Appendix, Table 46), coefficient renders insignificant, but plots of predicted probabilities still locate the point estimate in a wide range above zero (Figure 4a). This suggests that association between exposure to societal discrimination and non-electoral political participation is robust enough to support hypothesis 2.

Support for violent demonstrations is strongly associated with exposure to societal discrimination (see Appendix, Table 45 and Figure 4b). Coefficients demonstrate directionality in accordance with hypothesis 4, with effect maintaining robustness in the presence of different control variables. Predicted probabilities also provide additional support for hypothesis 4, suggesting a range of values of the point estimate firmly above zero. For the effect of political discrimination, the analysis rendered inconclusive results. Coefficient is in no instances statistically significant, while introduction of different controls changes the initial negative association into positive (Figure 4b, lower graph). Having that in mind, there is no evidence in support for hypothesis 3.

The final set of extensions tried to test hypotheses 3 and 4 from the original research in the population of recently arrived immigrants. Due to data constrains, only models related to ethnic-based engagement could more consistently replicated (still in scope of conceptual replication). Because the SCIP dataset (Diehl et al. 2016) lacked variables for party identification and country of birth, first I re-estimated simplified models for ethnic-based engagement without these variables. Results presented in the Appendix, Table 47 (and Figure 17) show that original results are robust to exclusion of these

controls. Because SCIP surveys newly arrived immigrants, it did not ask about their identification with the host country nation, therefore I used a proxy variable that measured immigrants' attitude about irreconcilability of values between host country people and their ethnic in-group. Because variables do not measure identification in the same manner, results are not directly comparable.

In this set of extensions, I am using two different measures of discrimination. The key difference from the original paper is that frequency of discrimination is measured on the group level, while occurrence was on the individual level. Therefore, measures of political and social discrimination designated with 1 only measure the occurrence of discrimination, while measures designated with 2 combine individual occurrence with group frequency.[13] Despite using the same strategy, measures in SCIP dataset (Diehl et al. 2016) cannot match measures of the original paper due differences in variables. Additional problem is that only a small fraction of the sampled immigrants reported discrimination (see Figures 19 and 20 in the Appendix). Due to a very low number[14] of discriminated respondents, the analysis should be taken with caution. Descriptive statistics for key treatment and control variables is provided in the Appendix (Tables 49 to 53).

The effect of societal discrimination on ethnic-based engagement in both UK and Dutch sample is positive, but not statistically significant (Table 7). Although directionality

[13] Procedure of variable creation and manipulation is provided in the Appendix.

[14] This situation is equivalent to the lack of statistical power in experimental studies due to a small sample or a small number of treated participants in the overall sample.

follows the direction stipulated in hypotheses three (from the original paper), the support is very weak. Coefficients for political discrimination provide somewhat counterintuitive findings. In the UK sample it is evident that exposure to political discrimination dissuades immigrants from ethnic based engagement, although these results lack statistical significance. On the other hand, coefficients rendered from the Dutch sample provide supportive evidence for hypothesis four, with significance on .05 level (Table 7). The Dutch is almost twice the size of the British sample and contains more respondents who reported discrimination, which suggests greater reliability.

The analysis of predicted probabilities indicates that point estimate of societal and political discrimination are most likely found above zero (Figure 5). Predicted probabilities for political discrimination in the Dutch sample also provide supportive evidence for hypothesis four, indicating that point estimate could most likely be found firmly above zero point. In the UK sample, this confidence interval falls below zero point, suggesting lack of statistical significance of the point estimate. For societal discrimination in both samples, confidence intervals stretch below zero, signalling statistically insignificant coefficients. Taking all data constrains into consideration, there is partial supportive evidence for hypothesis four.

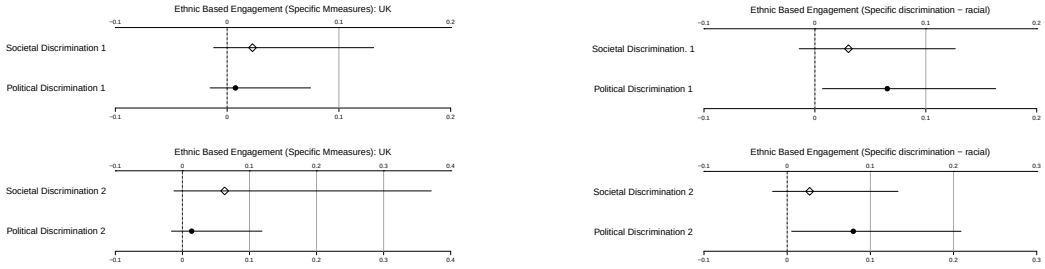
The analysis of proxied identification rendered divergent results in the two samples. Results for the UK sample lack statistical significance. Exposure to political discrimination is associated with accepting that values between ethnic in-group and the out-group are irreconcilable and negatively associated with neutrality towards this attitude.

Table 7: Ethnic Based Engagement: Specific Measures (Political and Societal Discrimination) for UK and NL

	Ethnic-Based Engagement			
	UK		NL	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Societal Discrimination 1	0.086		0.281	
	(0.766)		(0.479)	
Political Discrimination 1	−0.528		0.672**	
	(0.968)		(0.327)	
Societal Discrimination 2		0.078		0.057
		(0.364)		(0.186)
Political Discrimination 2		−0.277		0.245**
		(0.426)		(0.124)
Worship Attendance	0.138	0.138	0.211***	0.213***
	(0.130)	(0.130)	(0.060)	(0.060)
Political Interest	−0.350	−0.346	0.418***	0.419***
	(0.299)	(0.298)	(0.136)	(0.136)
Political Knowledge	0.656***	0.654***	0.196**	0.198**
	(0.204)	(0.204)	(0.099)	(0.099)
Irreconcilable Values	0.499	0.502	0.074	0.076
	(0.378)	(0.378)	(0.147)	(0.147)
Language at Home	0.240	0.239	−0.025	−0.028
	(0.503)	(0.503)	(0.209)	(0.209)
Female	−0.506	−0.501	−0.279	−0.272
	(0.577)	(0.576)	(0.244)	(0.244)
Age	−0.025	−0.025	−0.029*	−0.029*
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Education	0.146*	0.146*	0.020	0.019
	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.029)	(0.029)
High Income	0.184	0.182	0.075	0.060
	(1.134)	(1.134)	(0.771)	(0.771)
Med Income	−1.172	−1.173	−0.074	−0.078
	(1.079)	(1.080)	(0.361)	(0.361)
Missing Income	−0.205	−0.209	−0.039	−0.033
	(0.485)	(0.485)	(0.267)	(0.267)
Pakistani	−1.492***	−1.484***		
	(0.565)	(0.564)		
Bulgarian			−1.205*	−1.155
			(0.712)	(0.710)
Morrocan			0.923**	0.929**
			(0.450)	(0.450)
Polish			−0.264	−0.228
			(0.457)	(0.455)
Surinamese			−1.000*	−0.994*
			(0.555)	(0.555)
Turkish			0.038	0.036
			(0.390)	(0.390)
Constant	−6.760***	−6.791***	−3.875***	−3.881***
	(1.734)	(1.732)	(0.782)	(0.782)
N	1,238	1,238	2,479	2,479
Log Likelihood	−98.058	−97.945	−322.538	−322.919
AIC	226.116	225.890	683.076	683.839

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Figure 5: Ethnic Based Engagement (Specific Measures)



(a) UK **(b)** NL

(Appendix, Table 57). Societal discrimination is also positively associated with accepting irreconcilability of values (Appendix, Table 57). In the effect of all discrimination is statistically significant and more consistent. Exposure to political discrimination is positively associated with either being neutral or accepting irreconcilability of values, while exposure to societal discrimination has a negative effect and is associated viewing values as reconcilable.

Discussion and Conclusion

Judging a success of a replication, even with preferable better quality of data, is not an easy and straightforward task (Clemens 2017; Maxwell, Lau, and Howard 2015; Janz and Freese 2020). Due to methodological constrains (i.e. the use maximum likelihood estimation in the original models), criteria of 'success' had to be focused on the directionality of the effect, with inclusion of statistical significance or inspection of confidence intervals (Anderson and Maxwell 2016). Additionally, comparability of

the last set of extensions is limited due to different measuring strategy and different population, but still allows for conceptual comparison between them and the original findings.

Findings about ethnic based engagement are the ones that replicate consistently across different settings. Matching analysis even indicate that both societal and political discrimination can causally impact in-group attachment through participation in ethnic-based organisations. Theory proposed in the original paper (Oskooii 2020) strongly supports such evidence indicating that in-group attachment can be an active way of either protecting oneself in a group against state incurred injustice and also regaining one's self-respect (Tajfel and Turner 2010, 2004; Oskooii 2016). Results from the first set of robustness checks, might indicate that minorities are more likely to engage if exposed to societal discrimination, while minorities are more sensitive to political discrimination (as indicated in Figure 5b). Potential explanation could be that in the first several years spent in the host country, immigrants need to interact with state institutions frequently, while their contacts with host-country nationals heavily depend on education and language skills (Damstra and Tillie 2016) and time spent in the host country.

Matching analysis also provided a strong case for causal impact of political discrimination on mainstream political engagement, but no support for initially predicted impact of societal discrimination (which indeed was replicated consistently for voting in general elections in the first set of robustness checks in Figure 2). Potential explanation could be

found in Social Identity Theory itself (Tajfel and Turner 2010, 2004), namely this theory suggests that if an individual suffers from discrimination, their self-esteem is jeopardised and increase of identification with in-group or more core identities serve as a purpose of regaining that self-esteem (Schildkraut 2005; Pérez 2015; Bourguignon et al. 2006; Branscombe et al. 1999). Increase in identification with in-group (Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey 1999) or dis-identification from the out-group (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, and Solheim 2009) are endeavours intended to amend damages of discrimination. Voting as a form of participation, compared to ethnic-based engagement, does not provide capacities to directly amend damages of harmful societal interactions, which can explain the lack of effect of political discrimination in the matching analysis. Additionally, the literature also suggests that withdrawal is also related to avoidance of situations in which the loss of self-esteem might emerge (Armenta and Hunt 2009; Greene, Way, and Pahl 2006; Schmitt et al. 2014), which is not necessarily a situation of voting. As Oskooii (2020, 874) suggested, individuals may indeed become "disheartened by the democratic process", but that effect seems to be less consistent than it was initially found.

Political discrimination as systematic targeting of individuals from specific social groups as a consequence has an increased sense of shared fate and inclination towards collective action (Oskooii 2020). The manner Oskooii (2020) framed the impact of political discrimination is that exposure to it increases attainment to one's in-group identity and consequently increase the group pride, sense efficacy and receptiveness to action calls. For that reason, discriminated individuals would more likely participate in mainstream politics. Following this line, a positive association between exposure

to political discrimination and other forms of mainstream political engagement should be expected. Yet, results indicated political discrimination is a significant predictor of neither non-electoral participation, nor support for violent protests.

Social identity theory in this case suggests that if a state stigmatises minority individuals because of their identity, they should attain more to that stigmatised identity, depending on how initially they were attached to it (Pérez 2015). Therefore, a paradox (of participation) occurs, simply overemphasising a stigmatised identity in political participation might get minority individuals in situations to be exposed to discrimination over and over again. Yet, voting as an act is fairly anonymous and also low-cost form of participation. Therefore, stigmatised minority individuals can, in relative safety from recurring discrimination, vote. Other forms of participation, yet inquire some additional costs. Non-electoral participation or support for violent protests requires less anonymity and more individual stepping-forward.

Non-electoral participation and support for violent protests, on the other hand provide some mean to reclaim self-esteem and agency. To politically discriminated individuals, participation in non-electoral politics, might seem as a troublesome path of giving state officials more reasons for further targeting. On the other hand, different forms of non-electoral engagement can lead to deepening connections with like-minded individuals (from both in-group and out-group), which provides sense of wider security and re-establishes positive contacts with the out-group (Santoro, Vélez, and Keogh 2012; Hong and Peoples 2021; Kim 2017; Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller 2009).

Consequently re-establishing connections with the out-group can foster further political engagement (Santoro, Vélez, and Keogh 2012; Hong and Peoples 2021; Kim 2017). Research on violent protests would also indicate that supporting violence could be a way of taking back the agency deprived through societal discrimination (Grewal and Hamid 2024). Even though protest behaviour could also bring about the sense of community (Bilodeau et al. 2023), the support for violence is stressed here as a channel of agency, where by supporting violence, minority individuals have the means of direct response to harmful social interactions.

Numerous limitations of this replication have already been discussed. To reiterate most important of them, the Study 1 had to rely on propensity score matching, despite its known problems, and the new dataset from Study 2 still did not have completely comparable set of variables. Despite these limitations, it is evident that numerous findings from Oskooii (2020) can be replicated in directionality and statistical significance. New findings also suggest that the theory from the original paper, with some adaptations can include other forms of mainstream political engagement. As a contribution to understanding of the effects of discrimination, this paper offers evidence that ethnic-based engagement is indeed a strategy of coping with discrimination, that can be found among newly arrived immigrants as well. Political discrimination is confirmed to have a profound influence on voting behaviour. The most counter-intuitive finding suggests that societal discrimination might inspire political engagement that leads to strengthening of social networks. Further research might study this relationship in a more causally embedded setting and explain under what conditions societal

discrimination leads to further engagement instead of disengagement.

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