

Participation in Local Elections: Why Don't Immigrants Vote More?

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Abstract

Why do immigrants vote less in local elections when they have the right to vote? I present a new representative survey on participation in the 2015 municipal elections in the Canton of Geneva, Switzerland, and predict electoral participation with logistic regression models. Most immigrant groups vote less than the majority population. Four explanations are tested for this difference: social origin (resources), political engagement, civic integration and networks, as well as socialisation. Individually, all these explanations are associated with differences in electoral participation, but contrary to some recent studies, substantive differences between nationalities remain.

ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ELECTIONS: WHY DO IMMIGRANTS NOT VOTE MORE OFTEN WHEN THEY ARE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY?

Why are immigrants less likely to vote in local elections despite being given the opportunity? A new representative survey on political participation in the 2015 municipal elections in the Canton of Geneva, Switzerland is presented. Logistic regression analysis is used to predict electoral participation. Most immigrant groups are less likely to vote than the majority population. Four explanations are tested for this difference: social origin, political engagement, civic integration and networks, as well as socialization. Individually, all these explanations are associated with differences in electoral participation, but when all are tested at once, socialization ceases to be statistically significant.

Keywords: electoral participation, immigration, local elections, minorities, political participation, turnout

A principle of modern democracies is that the population should be able to participate in decision-making through elections. By voting for a particular candidate or party, individuals authorize legislators and governments to take decisions on their behalf. Where substantial parts of the population do not vote, the legitimacy of modern democracies is jeopardized. Broadly speaking, there are three reasons why individuals do not vote: they may not be entitled to vote (franchise), they prefer not to vote (choice), or nobody asked them to vote (mobilization, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995).

Foreign citizens are usually not entitled to vote in elections (Earnest 2015), but when they *are* entitled they often do not vote (Roosj 2012; Bird, Saalfeld, and Wüst 2010). The reasons for this lower turnout are not well understood, and different possible explanations have been provided. A common explanation is social origin: In Western countries immigrants are on average less educated, younger, and have lower incomes than the majority population – all factors commonly associated with lower turnout (Smets and van Ham 2013; Cancela and Geys 2016). Other common explanations are civic integration and socialization. The intuition is that as immigrants live in the country of destination and become full members of society, they become increasingly interested and involved in political questions and choose to vote. Socialization focuses on the fact that individuals whose parents vote(d) are more likely to vote: they have been habituated into voting (Neundorf, Smets, and García-Albacete 2013; Humphries, Muller, and Schiller 2013). Voicu and Comşa (2014) refer to ‘exposure’ and ‘transferability’ to describe these mechanisms. None of these explanations, however, differentiates between lack of interest and the absence of sufficient mobilization.

This article uses new individual-level data to examine the correlates of electoral participation in a specific local election. With a focus on a single election, institutional and many political variables are controlled for by design. By randomly selecting respondents from the electoral

list, it can be ruled out that the respondents did not have the right to vote. At the same time, for the municipal elections in the Canton of Geneva 2015 under study, every foreign citizen entitled to vote received a personalized letter to invite them to participate. Campaign material was available in seven languages. Moreover, voter registration is automatic in Switzerland. With this it can be ruled out that the respondents did not vote because they were completely unaware of their right to vote. This leaves us with the *choice* not to vote – as it exists across wide parts of society. The electoral turnout of different nationality groups varies, and the explanations tested are only able to account for part of the observed differences between nationality groups.

1. Electoral participation of immigrants

Not all sections of society are equally likely to vote in elections (van Deth 2014). In their meta-analysis of individual-level factors associated with an increased likelihood to vote in national elections, Smets and van Ham (2013) identified amongst others education, age, income, mobilization, having voted in the previous election, a sense of civic duty, political interest, and personality (see also Cancela and Geys 2016 for a meta-analysis focusing on the difference between national and sub-national elections). It follows that any section of society scoring lower on these factors is predicted to participate less; the lower turnout of immigrants is frequently explained this way.

Recent contributions highlight that the association between these ‘classic’ predictors and voting may be somewhat different for immigrants and foreign citizens than for native citizens (Wass et al. 2015; Spierings 2016). Nationality, however, is not a causal explanation and hides the reason why different passports reflect different electoral behaviour. In this article, four

explanations at the individual level are examined: differences in social origin, political engagement, social networks and civic integration, and socialization.

Smets and van Ham (2013) highlight that variables of social origin are consistently associated with turnout. This is particularly the case for sub-national elections (Cancela and Geys 2016). People with higher levels of education, older age, and higher income are more likely to vote (see also Persson and Solevid 2014). While Wass et al. (2015) report that these associations are somewhat weaker for foreign citizens in Finland than for native citizens, it can be expected – and will be demonstrated – that the associations apply to all nationalities.

Social Origin Hypothesis: Older, more educated, richer individuals, and those active in the labour force are more likely to vote.

Gender differences are also considered in this context, although there are no clear expectations that men and women would differ in their likelihood to vote (Smets and van Ham 2013).

A different set of explanations revolves around political engagement and political knowledge (Cowley and Stuart 2015). Interest in politics and political knowledge are consistently linked to electoral participation (Smets and van Ham 2013). While interest in politics and party identification may be mutually constitutive, both are associated with turnout. Particularly relevant for immigrant voters may be the perception of being part of a community, having a stake in the political life where they live. This sentiment is likely to be higher for individuals actively participating in associations like human rights associations (Bevelander and Pendakur 2009).

Political Engagement Hypothesis: Individuals with greater political knowledge, and those who participate in (human rights) associations are more likely to vote.

One reason for lower engagement may be the social network immigrants are located in, and civic integration more generally (Klofstad and Bishin 2014; Bevelander and Pendakur 2009). The intuition remains that individuals with a greater stake in the local community are more interested in politics and thus more likely to vote – this is a common argument for providing immigrants with the right to vote in local elections (Arrighi and Bauböck 2016). Wass et al. (2015) suggest that the longer individuals have lived in the current place, the more likely they are to vote in national elections (see also Voicu and Comşa 2014 who showed that over time the intention of immigrants to vote approaches what is common in the country of destination). Using agent-based models, Ruedin (2007) suggests that the relevant variable is not the time spent in a community as such: Personality traits seem to interact with the time spent in the community to create relevant personal contacts and emotional ties (compare Foschi and Lauriola 2014; Gerber et al. 2011). These ties may be approached via identity with the current country (Scuzzarello 2015; Wass et al. 2015), although in the meta-analysis by Smets and van Ham (2013) identification and trust in (local) institutions are not consistently associated with electoral participation.

Civic Integration and Network Hypotheses: Individuals with no clear return project, a longer residence in the community, and with frequent contact with Swiss individuals are more likely to vote.

Individuals with higher levels of trust in local authorities, and those who identify with the municipality are more likely to vote in municipal elections.

A final set of explanations examined is socialization. Children of voters are more likely to vote as adults than children of non-voters (Smets and van Ham 2013; Terriquez and Kwon 2015). Spierings (2016) looks at parent-child pairs of migrants and non-migrants and suggests that the association between parents' participation and electoral participation is stronger

among immigrants than non-immigrants. Relevant for foreign citizens is also whether they come from a democratic country where political participation carries different meaning than in autocratic states (compare Stockemer 2015 who examined turnout in developed and developing countries). This is a different form of socialization, and more electoral participation can be expected from individuals from democratic countries (Wass et al. 2015).

Socialization Hypothesis: Individuals are more likely to vote if their parents voted, and if they grew up in a free country.

2. Data and methods

To test these hypotheses, newly collected data on electoral participation in the 2015 municipal elections in the Canton of Geneva, Switzerland are used. The survey refers to the first round of the elections which took place on 19 April. The electoral register was used as the sampling frame, and 832 interviews were completed using CATI in October 2015. The questionnaire drew heavily on that of the 2011 *Swiss Electoral Studies* (Selects 2015) to maximize comparability. A few items were adapted to the context of the municipal election – e.g. the list of parties –, and additional variables were added to capture factors potentially relevant for foreign citizens. The data will be made freely available to all researchers.

The outcome variable asks whether respondents voted in the municipal elections (“In the municipal elections, less than half of voters actually vote. Which of the following statements best describes you?” – voted, did not vote, wanted to vote but ended up not voting, normally votes but not this time). The different response categories were combined into a binary variable, coded 1 if the respondent states to have voted, and 0 if the respondent did not vote, combining the three response categories capturing broad reasons for not voting.

For the analysis, the nationality of respondents is grouped into a reduced set of nationalities and groups of nationalities because of sample size. Nationalities were grouped according to their relative size in the general population of the canton of Geneva: Swiss nationals, French, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, other Western countries (includes Western European countries, the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand), Eastern European countries, and rest of the world. In the multivariate regression analysis, all foreign nationalities are combined.

Social origin is captured using age (in years), education, monthly income, being active in the labour market, and gender. Income was set to the mean of the response category (e.g. a respondent earning between CHF 4,000 and 5,000 is allocated an income of 4,500). The highest response category (more than 12,000) was set to 18,000, a plausible value given the distribution of incomes (BFS 2016). The survey asks about the highest level of education completed, which is converted into years, following typical length of education. Being active in the labour market is a binary variable, where all individuals working full time or part time were coded 1, and those disabled, in education, home-makers, retired, or unemployed were coded 0. The gender variable is 1 for women, and 0 for men; as is common in surveys, gender was identified by the interviewer and not asked.

Political engagement and knowledge is captured using objective political knowledge, and participation in human rights associations. Two questions measure political knowledge: knowing the president of the federal government, and knowing the number of EU member countries. The number of correct answers was divided by two, yielding a variable with three categories (0, 0.5, 1), treated as continuous. Although the database also includes variables on participation in labour unions and sports clubs, participation in human rights associations was deemed most appropriate for the analysis, as it is less likely to select certain kinds of individuals or occupations. All kinds of participation (membership, participation, donated

money, voluntary work) were coded as 1 (participation, with 0 denoting non-participation). Scale analysis suggests that participation in the three kinds of associations could not be combined in a reliable manner.

Civic integration and social networks are captured using the (lack of) a return project to the country of origin, a longer residence in the canton (in years), and contact with Swiss nationals (social networks, see also Giugni, Michel, and Gianni 2013). All immigrants were asked how likely they are to eventually return to their country of origin. The four response categories are treated as continuous. Frequency of contact with Swiss nationals is measured using five response categories and treated as continuous. The survey asked all respondents about contact with different nationalities, including their own. Scale analysis suggests that the variables measuring contact with different nationalities (France, former Yugoslavia and Albania, Portugal) could not be combined in a reliable manner. Two further variables capture the strength of identification with the municipality (four response categories, treated as continuous), and trust in municipal authorities (11 response categories, treated as continuous). Socialization is captured using whether the father voted when the respondent was 14 years old, and whether the respondent was born in a free democracy. The dataset includes a question on whether the mother voted, but not all women had the right to vote at the time – in Switzerland women’s suffrage was introduced only in 1971; in Portugal women gained full electoral rights only in 1976. The country of birth was used to determine whether a respondent was born in a free democracy, using data from Freedom House (2006). ‘Political Rights’ scores of 2005 – a decade ago – are used to capture likely socialization rather than the current situation. The score for Kosovo was set to that of Serbia (=3). In the analysis, all countries identified as completely free were set to 1 (free), with all other countries set to 0 (not completely free).

The analytical approach is twofold. On the one hand, I show that the variables identified above are associated with voting in general – all nationalities pooled. Each of these logistic regression models includes the predictor variables associated with a particular hypothesis. To render results accessible, predicted probabilities are calculated by setting all other variables to the mean, or 0 in the case of binary variables. I then show that immigrants tend to differ on these variables. For instance, it will be shown that age is associated with turnout, and immigrants are on average younger. On the other hand, I use logistic regression analysis with a wider range of predictor variables, including nationality. Although missing values are not a major problem, multiple imputation with 30 imputations was used in the combined analysis to maintain the sample size.

3. Results

3.1. Immigrants vote less often

Overall, 59 per cent of respondents state that they participated in the municipal elections, but there are significant differences between nationalities (Table 1): Electoral participation is higher for Swiss nationals than for foreign nationals. This different turnout has important repercussions because the political preferences of Swiss nationals and foreign nationals are not necessarily the same (Strijbis 2014; see also Supplementary Table S1), and because the right to vote potentially affects integration and naturalization (Pedroza 2015).

TABLE 1 AROUND HERE

As is commonly observed, self-reported turnout greatly overestimates actual turnout (Persson and Solevid 2014; Sciarini and Goldberg 2016). This is due to social desirability, but also the

over-representation of certain kinds of respondents in surveys – people more likely to vote are also more likely to participate in surveys (Sciarini and Goldberg 2016). Table 1 compares actual turnout according to the statistical office OCSTAT with declared participation according to the survey. The rate of overestimating turnout is roughly the same for all nationalities (1.6 to 2.1 times), and no attempt is undertaken to correct the overestimation.

3.2. Four explanations for lower turnout

All the four explanations examined in this article can account for differences in turnout. To begin with social origin, the probability to vote in the municipal elections is higher for older individuals, for those with more education, and for those with higher incomes. In a model of turnout with the predictor variables mentioned in this paragraph, the predicted probability to vote for a 20-year-old is 30 per cent, while the predicted probability for an otherwise equivalent 60-year-old is 60 per cent. Similarly, a person with basic education completed – 9 years of formal education – is clearly less likely to vote than a university graduate with 18 years of formal education: 50 per cent versus 66 per cent. A person with a low monthly income of CHF 2,000 has a 47 per cent probability of voting, compared to someone with a high monthly income of CHF 10,000 who has a 62 per cent probability of voting. Those active in the labour market are more likely to vote (64%) compared to those not active in the labour market (57%). There are no clear gender differences (57% for both).

Foreign nationals differ in social origin (Table 2) – and are for that reason less likely to vote. For instance, the average Portuguese in the sample is 44 years old, compared to the average Swiss at 59 years. The mean number of education for Italians in the sample is 11 years – 10 years for Portuguese – substantially less than the 14 years for the Swiss. Similarly, median incomes are substantially lower for traditional immigrant groups. Supplementary Table S2 demonstrates that the sign of the bivariate associations between the predictor variables and

voting in municipal elections tends to be the same for all nationality groups; differences in social origin are therefore likely to translate into differences in turnout.

Political engagement and knowledge are similarly associated with turnout. In a model with political knowledge and participation in human rights associations as predictor variables, individuals who answered both objective knowledge questions incorrectly have a predicted probability to vote of 43 per cent, whereas a person who answered both questions correctly has a predicted probability to vote of 68 per cent. It is plausible, however, that this association is driven by an interest in politics, where interested individuals are both more knowledgeable and more likely to vote. Moreover, political knowledge may influence interest in politics. Rather than trying to resolve this conundrum, a second variable is considered: participation in human rights associations. Individuals in any way active in this kind of association are more likely to vote (60% predicted probability) than those not active in human right associations (43%).

Foreign nationals tend to be less knowledgeable about politics, and are clearly less likely to participate in human rights associations (Table 2) – and are for these reason less likely to vote. For instance, Spanish nationals on average scored 0.32 out of 1 on the political knowledge questions, compared to 0.40 for Swiss nationals; or 29 per cent of Spanish nationals participate in human rights associations, compared to 57 per cent of the Swiss. Supplementary Table S2 shows that the sign of the associations tends to be the same for all nationality groups.

TABLE 2 AROUND HERE

More specific to immigrants, civic integration and having social networks with the majority population are associated with electoral participation. In a model of turnout with the variables mentioned in this paragraph as predictors, a person who is not at all considering to return to the country of origin in a permanent manner has a 44 per cent probability to vote, whereas one clearly considering to do so has a 37 per cent probability to vote. Similarly, individuals with frequent contact with Swiss nationals have a 62 per cent probability to vote, whereas individuals without frequent contact with Swiss nationals have a 43 per cent probability to vote. Individuals with the least trust in municipal authorities have a 37 per cent probability to vote, whereas the most trusting individuals have a 45 per cent probability to vote. Similarly, those who feel most attached to their municipality – having a strong local identity – are more likely to vote (45% predicted probability) than those least attached to their municipality (37%).

There are differences between nationality groups in the extent to which they are integrated and have networks involving the majority population (Table 2). The intention to eventually return to the country of origin is highest for Portuguese and Spanish immigrants. Italians are least likely to report frequent contact with Swiss nationals: 66 per cent of Italians report frequent contact, compared to Swiss individuals with 84 per cent. The base line here is not 100 per cent because not everyone has frequent personal contact with others in society, and because some Swiss nationals have been naturalized but may still prefer contacts in a distinct immigrant community. Levels of trust in municipal authorities tend to be somewhat higher for foreign nationals than for Swiss nationals. For instance, on a scale from 0 to 10, the mean response for Eastern Europeans is 7.9, or 7.2 for Italians, compared to 6.7 for Swiss nationals. This variable is therefore not suited to explain why immigrants vote less. Similarly there are no clear differences in identification between Swiss nationals and immigrants, and these two

variables are not considered in the combined models below. Supplementary Table S2 shows that the sign of the contact variable is the same for all nationality groups when considered separately.

Turning to socialization, individuals whose parents voted when the respondent was 14 years old are more likely to vote. This is the case irrespective of the parent. In a model of turnout with father's vote and political freedom as predictors, the predicted probability to vote is 53 per cent if the father voted, and 47 per cent otherwise. The corresponding values are 54 and 46 per cent in the case of mothers. In line with Spierings (2016) the influence of parental vote is relatively strong for most immigrant groups, but is not significant for Swiss nationals. Individuals from countries not classified as completely free a decade ago have a predicted probability to vote of 47 per cent, compared to 61 per cent for individuals from free countries. There are differences between nationality groups in the extent to which they have been socialized into voting (Table 2). For instance, 55 per cent of Spanish immigrants report that their father voted, compared to 82 per cent of Swiss respondents. Most immigrants in the canton of Geneva come from countries classified as completely free a decade ago, suggesting that this variable – albeit probably measuring an important factor – may have little statistical sway.

3.3. *Combined models*

In a final step, I consider the different covariates jointly in two regression models. The two models differ only in the inclusion of a variable that identifies Swiss nationals – and by inference foreign nationals. Figure 1 presents the coefficients of the logistic regression models in graphical form. Given are the estimates as dots along with one and two standard errors as lines of different thickness. Table 3 includes these models as conventional tables. We can see that the variables capturing social origin are associated with a higher probability of voting,

irrespective of the control of nationality. Once all other variables including nationality are taken into consideration, the coefficient for education is no longer clearly different from zero. The coefficients for political engagement, civic integration and networks, as well as socialization remain in the same direction as above, irrespective of the inclusion of nationality in the model. The standard errors for these variables are large, and apart from political knowledge and contact with Swiss nationals generally include zero. Notably the variables on socialization are not statistically significant. Put differently, the combined models presented in Figure 1 support three of the four explanations. Supplementary Table S3 demonstrates that this does not change when individual nationality (groups) rather than foreign nationality are used in the model.

FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE

Table 3 includes a series of models to explore the extent to which different explanations help predict turnout beyond what can be expected on the basis of social origin alone. To this end, the mean AIC is calculated across all imputations and compared across models. Smaller AIC values stand for a better model fit. Adding variables on socialization does not improve the model fit compared to a model including only social origin. Models including political engagement and civic integration come with better model fits, indicating that these factors likely shape turnout beyond differences in social origin.

Even if all four explanations are included, as is the case in Figure 1 and Table 3, variables capturing foreign nationality or specific nationality groups remain statistically significant correlates. This means that the four explanations presented are unable to account for the entirety of the differences between nationality groups, even when considered jointly. Put

differently, there are other – unobserved – differences between nationality groups that shape differences in electoral participation. While nationality remains statistically important, in terms of *understanding* differences in electoral participation we do not learn anything on the basis of this variable.

TABLE 3 AROUND HERE

4. Discussion and conclusion

This article has examined the electoral participation of foreign nationals in municipal elections in the Canton of Geneva and compared it with that of Swiss nationals. There is clear evidence that Swiss nationals are more likely to vote than foreign nationals. Four explanations were examined: social origin, political engagement, civic integration and social networks, and socialization. The factors that explain electoral participation of foreign nationals reflect those that explain electoral participation of Swiss nationals. While all explanations help understand differences in electoral participation, the two variables capturing socialization ceased to be statistically significant when other explanations were accounted for, notably social origin. Focusing on the US, Humphries et al. (2013) suggest that socialization in schools may be relevant alongside parental socialization, a variable not available in the cross-sectional data at hand. None of the explanations on its own, nor the combination of the four explanations, however, was able explain all the difference in turnout. For instance, a model accounting for the fact that immigrants from Portugal tend to be younger and less educated than Swiss nationals still leaves us with significant differences between nationalities.

Further research is necessary to understand the persistently lower turnout of immigrants across models and across time. Statistical interactions may improve the models, such as the interaction reported by Wass et al. (2015) that the age at migration and coming from a democratic country are interacting. On a quite different level, research like that by Sciarini and Goldberg (2016) may be important to understand the difference in reported participation. The difficulties of reaching foreigners from some nationalities in telephone interviews may indicate problematic over-representation of politically interested and educated citizens in some cases. That said, the rate of over-reporting was similar across all nationalities, suggesting that such biases are probably a minor concern.

Frequent contact with Swiss nationals is associated with higher turnout (compare van der Meer 2016; Foschi and Lauriola 2014). These findings are in line with the argument that ‘roots’ in the society matter for participation – not just time spent in the community. Further research is necessary, however, to better understand who has a stake in society, so to speak. In this context, (felt) discrimination may play an important role for some foreign citizen. Because of negative attitudes towards them (Berg 2015; Pecoraro and Ruedin 2015), immigrants may not feel welcomed and invest less in local affairs. Indeed, discrimination remains commonplace (Carlsson and Eriksson 2016; Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016), which could lead to political disengagement and withdrawal in a way poorly captured with the social network variables in the current dataset. In this sense, future research may examine the presence of co-ethnic candidates, something which may counter such disengagement. Important lessons may be learned from a systematic analysis of the stated reasons for non-voting – despite the fact that at first sight there are no substantial differences between Swiss and foreign nationals in the reasons given for non-voting.

In conclusion, the same factors seem to influence electoral participation of Swiss and foreign nationals. Immigrants tend to score lower on variables associated with electoral participation such as age, education, political knowledge, or contact with the majority population. This may translate into immigrants' perception of having less of a stake in society, although with somewhat different stated political preferences they may have political clout (Strijbis 2014). If differences in participation are indeed about having a stake in society as suggested here, we need not merely wait for the gap to disappear, but continue engagement with different immigrant groups.

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TABLES

Table 1 Self-reported and measured turnout by nationality

<i>Nationality</i>	<i>Measured (OCSTAT)</i>	<i>Self-Reported (Survey)</i>	<i>Overestimation</i>
Switzerland	42%	76%	1.8
Other Western Countries	39%	65%	1.7
France	38%	61%	1.6
Italy	34%	60%	1.7
Rest of World	27%	45%	1.6
Spain	22%	44%	2.0
Eastern Europe	–	40%	–
Portugal	17%	36%	2.1
Overall	38%	59%	1.6

Notes: Sorted by turnout; official statistics from OCSTAT; Eastern European countries are not identified by OCSTAT – their category ‘rest of Europe’ has a turnout of 32%, but includes other Western European countries; ‘rest of world’ refers to ‘other continents’ in OCSTAT.

Table 2 Differences on predictor variables by nationality (group)

	Social Origin			Female	Active	Engage.		Integration			Socializat.		
	Age	Education	Income			Political Knowledge	Association	Return	Contact	Trust	Attachment	Father Voted	Free Country
Switzerland	59	14	7,500	58%	47%	0.40	57%	1.4	84%	6.7	2.2	82%	100%
Eastern Europe	41	12	5,000	44%	64%	0.31	37%	1.4	67%	7.9	2.7	85%	2%
Spain	56	10	5,500	53%	67%	0.32	29%	1.8	68%	6.8	2.5	55%	100%
France	62	14	6,500	59%	36%	0.43	41%	1.4	81%	6.9	2.4	86%	100%
Italy	62	11	4,500	60%	34%	0.33	31%	1.4	66%	7.2	2.4	79%	100%
Portugal	44	10	6,500	42%	74%	0.35	19%	1.9	70%	6.9	2.3	72%	100%
Rest of World	49	13	4,500	55%	54%	0.35	29%	1.8	64%	7.3	2.4	67%	13%
Other Western	59	16	9,500	49%	44%	0.53	56%	1.4	72%	6.9	2.3	74%	98%

Notes: given are for social origin: mean age, mean years of education, median income, percentage female, and percentage active in the labour market; for political engagement and knowledge: mean political knowledge, and percentage active in human rights associations; for integration: mean score on return perspective, percentage with frequent contact with Swiss nationals, mean trust in municipal authorities, mean attachment to the municipality (identity); for socialization: percentage whose father voted when the respondent was 14 years old, the percentage coming from a free country, each time by nationality (group).

Table 3 Logistic regression by hypothesis and combined

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6
Social Origin						
Age	0.028 *	0.025 *	0.028 *	0.027 *	0.023 *	0.024 *
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Education	0.075 *	0.055 *	0.071 *	0.076 *	0.053 *	0.041
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Income	0.0086 *	0.0079 *	0.0081 *	0.0080 *	0.0069 *	0.0063 *
	(0.0022)	(0.0023)	(0.0022)	(0.0022)	(0.0023)	(0.0023)
Engagement						
Political Knowledge		0.713 *			0.671 *	0.730 *
		(0.232)			(0.237)	(0.242)
No Participation (ref.)		.			.	.
Association Participation		0.425 *			0.443 *	0.327
		(0.162)			(0.164)	(0.169)
Integration						
Return Perspective			-0.104		-0.087	-0.043
			(0.102)		(0.101)	(0.103)
No Contact (ref.)			.		.	.
Contact with Swiss			0.451		0.450 *	0.521 *
			(0.202)		(0.201)	(0.199)
Socialization						
Did Not Vote (ref.)				.	.	.
Father Voted				0.149	0.213	0.189
				(0.239)	(0.243)	(0.248)
Non-Free Country (ref.)				.	.	.
Free Country				0.311	0.313	0.079
				(0.246)	(0.251)	(0.256)
Non-Swiss National (ref.)						.
Swiss National						0.941 *
						(0.185)
Mean AIC	1045.4	1032.1	1038.8	1045.9	1026.6	999.6

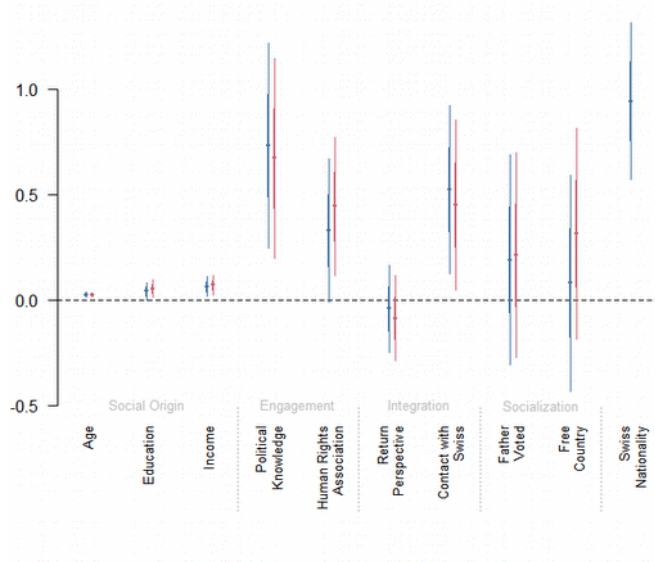
Notes: * = significant at $p < 0.05$; outcome variable = voted in municipal election; logistic regression model; predictor variables given on the left; shown are the log(odds) with standard errors in brackets, the intercepts are not shown; data were multiply imputed and the combined results are shown. For comparison, mean AIC across imputations for a model with only Swiss nationality as predictor = 1076.2; mean AIC for a model with only nationality (groups) as predictors = 1067.8

FIGURES

Figure 1 Combined models of voting in municipal elections

Notes: outcome variable: voted in the municipal elections, predictor variables: age (in years), years of education, monthly income (in 1000 CHF), political knowledge, participation in human rights associations, return perspective, frequent contact with Swiss, father voted when respondent was 14 years old, grew up in a free country, and being a Swiss national; two models are shown, with the variable on being Swiss national only included in the second model (shown in black). The figure gives the log(odds) of voting as dots, along with 1 and 2 standard errors (thick and thin lines).

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Notes: outcome variable: voted in the municipal elections, predictor variables: age (in years), years of education, monthly income (in 1000 CHF), political knowledge, participation in human rights associations, return perspective, frequent contact with Swiss, father voted when respondent was 14 years old, grew up in a free country, and being a Swiss national; two models are shown, with the variable on being Swiss national only included in the second model (shown in black). The figure gives the log(odds) of voting as dots, along with 1 and 2 standard errors (thick and thin lines).