Local-to-local electoral connections for migrants: the association between voting rights in the place of origin and the propensity to vote in the place of residence

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Abstract

The study of transnationalism raises important questions about the effects of political rights that international migrants enjoy in different places. We contribute to this debate asking the following question: Do international migrants who retain voting rights in the place of origin have a greater propensity to vote in the local elections of the country of residence than those who do not retain such rights? We analyse individual-level survey data of voting turnout in the 2015 municipal elections in Geneva, combined with information about voting rights in the municipality of origin (*local-to-local connections*) and in the country of origin (*national-to-local connections*). We find statistical effects of national-to-local connections only in models with no additional control variables, while the statistical effects of local-to-local connections are strong and robust. This points to an association between retaining voting rights in the municipality of origin and the propensity to vote in the local elections in the country of residence. We suggest that local-to-local electoral connections are produced by spill-over: By actively pursuing the diaspora, political parties, unions, and local electoral commissions act as vehicles of greater electoral participation not only in migrants' municipality of origin, but also in their municipality of residence.

Keywords: voting rights; transnationalism; migration; transnational voting; local elections

1. Introduction

The internet, satellite television, and inexpensive air-travel make it possible for migrants to maintain strong ties with their country of origin and with their country of residence at the same time[1]. Through the circulation of economic resources[2], ideas[3], and technology[4] international migrants can live across borders even if their country of origin is geographically distant from the country of residence. The notion of transnationalism summarises these different forms of 'living in' or 'living between' places. In this paper we explore the political facet of transnationalism, with a specific focus on electoral rights and voting turnout.

We start from the observation that it is becoming increasingly frequent for individuals who live abroad to retain the right to vote in the national elections of the country where they hold citizenship. Currently, around 130 countries allow such rights[5]. The rapid expansion of voting rights for nationals living abroad has been accompanied by a growing interest in the role of electoral rights in diaspora-building[6], the mechanisms through which contextual factors in the country of residence shape political behaviour in the country of origin[7], the strategies of political parties in the country of origin[8], and the effects of enduring links with the country of origin on political behaviour in the country of residence[9]. This burgeoning literature on transnational voting shows that authorities and

[1] Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton, "Transnational: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration"; Vertovec, "Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism."

[2] Söderström et al., *Critical Mobilities*.

[3] Faist, "Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture"; Collyer, "Transnational Political Participation of Algerians in France. Extra-Territorial Civil Society versus Transnational Governmentality."

[4] Vertovec, "Cheap Calls: The Social Glue of Migrant Transnationalism."

[5] Umpierrez de Reguero, Yener-Roderburg, and Cartagena, "Political Regimes and External Voting Rights: A Cross-National Comparison"; van Haute and Kernalegenn, "Political Parties Abroad as Actors of Transnational Politics"; Turcu and Urbatsch, "Diffusion of Diaspora Enfranchisement Norms: A Multinational Study."

[6] Lafleur, "Why Do States Enfranchise Citizens Abroad? Comparative Insights from Mexico, Italy and Belgium"; Bauböck, "Stakeholder Citizenship and Transnational Political Participation: A Normative Evaluation of External Voting"; Brand, "Arab Uprisings and the Changing Frontiers of Transnational Citizenship: Voting from Abroad in Political Transitions"; Umpierrez de Reguero and Dandoy, "Should We Go Abroad? The Strategic Entry of Ecuadorian Political Parties in Overseas Electoral Districts."

[7] Ciornei and Østergaard-Nielsen, "Transnational Turnout. Determinants of Emigrant Voting in Home Country Elections"; Lafleur, *Transnational Politics and the State: The External Voting Rights of Diasporas*; Burgess, *Courting Migrants: How States Make Diasporas and Diasporas Make States*.

[8] Burgess, "States or Parties? Emigrant Outreach and Transnational Engagement"; Ciornei and Østergaard-Nielsen, "Transnational Turnout. Determinants of Emigrant Voting in Home Country Elections."

[9] Chaudhary, "Voting Here and There: Political Integration and Transnational Political Engagement among Immigrants in Europe"; Morales and Morariu, "Is 'Home' a Distraction? The Role of Migrants' Transnational Practices in Their Political Integration into Receiving-Country Politics"; Guarnizo, Chaudhary, and Sørensen, "Migrants' Transnational Political Engagement in Spain and Italy."

political parties in the country of origin are actively pursuing voters abroad, with varying effects. We build on this observation to explore whether activities that begin in the country of origin have spill-over effects on the propensity to vote in the local elections of the country of residence, considering the gradual expansion of local voting rights for foreign nationals that took place over the last three decades[10].

We use individual-level data from the 2015 municipal elections in Geneva, where foreign nationals can vote if they have resided in Switzerland for eight years and have legal residence in the canton[11]. We proceed in two steps: First, we analyse national-to-local electoral connections by examining the association between (*a*) having retained the right to vote in the national elections of the country of origin, and (*b*) the propensity to vote in the local elections of the country of residence. Specifically, we test whether those who retain voting rights in the national elections of the country of origin (e.g., Colombians, Finnish) have a higher likelihood to vote in local elections in Geneva than those who do not retain such rights (e.g., Danish, Nicaraguans). Second, we examine local-to-local electoral connections, or the link between (*a*) having retained the right to vote in the local elections of the country of origin, and (*b*) the propensity to vote in the local elections of the country of residence. For instance, we test whether those who retain local voting rights in the country of origin (e.g., French, Italians) are more likely to vote in the local election in Geneva than those who do not retain such rights (e.g., Germans). We find statistical effects of national-to-local connections only in models with no additional control variables, while the statistical effects of local-to-local connections are strong and robust. This points to an association between retaining voting rights in the municipality of origin and the propensity to vote in the local elections in the country of residence.

Our analysis is exploratory, but it expands the existing literature in two ways. First, complementing recent research on transnationalism, we suggest that there may be a two-pronged

[10] Finn, "Migrant Voting: Here, There, in Both Countries, or Nowhere"; Bauböck, "Stakeholder Citizenship and Transnational Political Participation: A Normative Evaluation of External Voting"; Earnest, "The Enfranchisement of Resident Aliens: Variations and Explanations"; Arrighi and Bauböck, "A Multilevel Puzzle: Migrants' Voting Rights in National and Local Elections."

[11] Arrighi and Piccoli, *SWISSCIT: Index on Citizenship Law in Swiss Cantons*.

effect of transnational electoral connections, whereby rights retained in the municipality of origin increase the propensity to vote in the municipality of residence. These connections may be of relevance for scholars who use transnationalism as a predictor variable to explain integration in the country of residence[12]. Second, we systematically distinguish between national and local elections and provide original evidence to better understand the consequences of expanding electoral rights at various levels of government[13]. Studying the effects of local-to-local connections, we move beyond the narrow focus on national forms of political engagement.

2. Transnational Voting: The Missing Links

The cross-border activities of migrants affect both their country of origin and their country of residence. When it comes to voting, for example, transnational connections can shape the outcomes of political events like elections and referendums in both countries. The attention for transnational voting represents a relatively new avenue of research: During most of the twentieth century it was common to restrict voting rights to nationals residing in the country, but today virtually all countries in the Americas, Europe, and Oceania grant some electoral rights to foreign nationals[14], to their own nationals residing abroad[15], or to both[16]. Transnational political activities are thus of interest to all political communities exposed to migration.

[12] Chaudhary, 2018; Morales & Morariu, 2011)

[13] Arrighi and Lafleur, "Where and Why Can Expatriates Vote in Regional Elections? A Comparative Analysis of Regional Electoral Practices in Europe and North America"; Arrighi and Bauböck, "A Multilevel Puzzle: Migrants' Voting Rights in National and Local Elections"; Blatter, Michel, and Schmid, "Enfranchisement Regimes beyond De-Territorialization and Post-Nationalism: Definitions, Implications, and Public Support for Different Electorates."

[14] Earnest, "The Enfranchisement of Resident Aliens: Variations and Explanations"; Wass et al., "Engaging Immigrants? Examining the Correlates of Electoral Participation among Voters with Migration Backgrounds"; Ruedin, "Participation in Local Elections: 'Why Don't Immigrants Vote More?'"; Bevelander and Pendakur, "Social Capital and Voting Participation of Immigrants and Minorities in Canada."

[15] Arrighi and Bauböck, "A Multilevel Puzzle: Migrants' Voting Rights in National and Local Elections"; Lafleur, "Why Do States Enfranchise Citizens Abroad? Comparative Insights from Mexico, Italy and Belgium"; Umpierrez de Reguero, Yener-Roderburg, and Cartagena, "Political Regimes and External Voting Rights: A Cross-National Comparison"; van Haute and Kernalegenn, "Political Parties Abroad as Actors of Transnational Politics."

[16] Bauböck, "Stakeholder Citizenship and Transnational Political Participation: A Normative Evaluation of External Voting"; Arrighi and Bauböck, "A Multilevel Puzzle: Migrants' Voting Rights in National and Local Elections."

Existing studies have explored how this expansion of voting rights for specific groups of migrants triggered various transnational political activities: membership in parties and associations[17], participation in social movements[18], monetary contributions to political causes[19], political participation[20], and partisan support[21]. These studies focus on the transnational connections that begin in the country of residence and span to the country of origin. Vice versa, recent and quickly growing research highlights how transnational connections that start in the country of origin span to the country of residence. Using the case of Norway, Ferwenda et al.[22] find an association between transnational voting rights in the country of origin and political mobilisation in the country of residence. Analysing voting patterns of Ecuadorians, Moroccans and Turks in European cities, Morales and Morariu[23] show that migrants' political participation in the country of origin increases the odds of voting in the country of residence. To better understand transnational political connections, Chaudhary[24] uses a dataset on the voting propensity of 12 different immigrant groups in seven European cities and finds that migrants who are educated, older, employed, and who come from countries with active diaspora engagement policies are more likely to participate in transnational politics, both in their country of origin and country of residence. Finn[25] draws on the case of Chile to combine these two perspectives through a typology of voting across countries:

[17] Ahmadov and Sasse, "A Voice Despite Exit"; van Bochove, "Truly Transnational: The Political Practices of Middle-Class Migrants."

[18] Dumont, "Representing Voiceless Migrants: Moroccan Political Transnationalism and Moroccan Migrants' Organizations in France."

[19] Boccagni, Lafleur, and Levitt, "Transnational Politics as Cultural Circulation: Toward a Conceptual Understanding of Migrant Political Participation on the Move."

[20] Burgess, *Courting Migrants: How States Make Diasporas and Diasporas Make States*; Østergaard-Nielsen and Ciornei, "Political Parties and the Transnational Mobilisation of the Emigrant Vote"; Ciornei and Østergaard-Nielsen, "Transnational Turnout. Determinants of Emigrant Voting in Home Country Elections"; Szulecki et al., "To Vote or Not to Vote? Migrant Electoral (Dis)Engagement in an Enlarged Europe"; Escobar, Arana, and Mccann, "Expatriate Voting and Migrants ' Place of Residence: Explaining Transnational Participation in Colombian Elections."

[21] Turcu and Urbatsch, "Aversion to Far-Left Parties among Europeans Voting Abroad"; Fliess, "Campaigning Across Continents: How Latin American Parties Link up with Migrant Associations in Spain"; Rashkova, "The Party Abroad: A New Modus Operandi for Political Parties."

[22] Ferwerda, Finseraas, and Bergh, "Voting Rights and Immigrant Incorporation: Evidence from Norway"; Spies, Mayer, and Goerres, "What Are We Missing? Explaining Immigrant-Origin Voter Turnout with Standard and Immigrant-Specific Theories."

[23] "Is 'Home' a Distraction? The Role of Migrants' Transnational Practices in Their Political Integration into Receiving-Country Politics."

[24] "Voting Here and There: Political Integration and Transnational Political Engagement among Immigrants in Europe."

[25] Finn, "Migrant Voting: Here, There, in Both Countries, or Nowhere."

immigrant (only in the destination country), emigrant (only in the origin country), dual transnational (in both), and abstention (in neither).

We use these studies as a baseline for our analysis. We examine one specific type of political connection: electoral ties, or the link between retaining voting rights in the country of origin and voting propensity in the country of residence. Our contribution is exploratory. We ask: Do international migrants who retain voting rights in the country of origin have a greater propensity to vote in the local elections of the country of residence than those who do not retain such rights? Our answer to this question applies to all cases where individuals have transnational voting rights, including both democratic and non-democratic communities. We further qualify the scope of our contribution in the conclusion.

While most existing studies focus on national-to-local dynamics, we also analyse local-to-local connections, emphasising the importance of both national and local electoral rights in the country of origin. We follow the idea that being a member of a local polity is different from being a member of a nation-state[26]. Indeed, responses to migration consist of bestowing (or not) voting rights to migrants at various levels of government: local, regional, national, and supranational[27]. We expand the literature on transnational voting examining both national-to-local and local-to-local electoral connections.

3. Explaining Electoral Connections: National-to-national and Local-to-local Hypotheses

We depart with the common finding that voting is due to habit formation: individuals who have been socialised into the practice of voting at an early age are likely to continue voting as they grow older, and as they move from one place to another [28]. Applied to our case, we explore whether retaining the right to vote in national elections in the country of origin correlates with participation

[26] Maas, *Multilevel Citizenship*; Bauböck, "Morphing the Demos into the Right Shape. Normative Principles for Enfranchising Resident Aliens and Expatriate Citizens."

[27] Arrighi and Bauböck, "A Multilevel Puzzle: Migrants' Voting Rights in National and Local Elections."

[28] Franklin, *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945. Cambridge*; Plutzer, "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood"; Street, "The Political Effects of Immigrant Naturalization."

in local elections in the country of residence, controlling for a series of factors – average turnout in the country of origin, age, education, gender, length of residence.

We hypothesise that retaining voting rights in the country of origin might prompt migrants to vote not only in the country where they hold nationality, but also in the country where they reside. Indeed, Chaudhary[29] shows that migrants who seek to participate in electoral politics do so if they are eligible to vote, regardless of whether the elections take place in the country of origin or the country of residence. As the number of countries permitting their nationals abroad to vote in homeland elections is growing quickly, so too does the mobilisation of parties and authorities in the country of origin to mobilise voters abroad. Recent research highlights that in many countries where nationals abroad retain the right to vote, both parties and public institutions have invested considerable resources to engage with the diaspora[30]. Examples of transnational electoral communications are long-distance electoral campaigns by political parties[31] and awareness-raising initiatives by public institutions[32] as well as civil society organisations such as, for example, the Italian *Casa del Popolo* and the Christian Associations of Italian Workers. These transnational electoral communications remind migrants that they have voting rights and may prompt them to use such rights not only in the country of origin but also in their country of residence.

We therefore expect that migrants who retain the right to vote in the *national* elections of the country of origin are more likely to vote in *local* elections in the country of residence than those who do not retain the right to vote in their country of origin. We call this the *national-to-local electoral connection hypothesis*.

[29] "Voting Here and There: Political Integration and Transnational Political Engagement among Immigrants in Europe."

[30] Burgess, *Courting Migrants: How States Make Diasporas and Diasporas Make States*; Turcu and Urbatsch, "Diffusion of Diaspora Enfranchisement Norms: A Multinational Study"; van Haute and Kernalegenn, "Political Parties Abroad as Actors of Transnational Politics."

[31] Østergaard-Nielsen and Ciornei, "Political Parties and the Transnational Mobilisation of the Emigrant Vote"; Abramson, "Making a Homeland, Constructing a Diaspora: The Case of Taglit-Birthright Israel"; Pedroza and Palop-García, "Diaspora Policies in Comparison: An Application of the Emigrant Policies Index (EMIX) for the Latin American and Caribbean Region."

[32] Burgess, "States or Parties? Emigrant Outreach and Transnational Engagement."

National-to-local electoral connection hypothesis: People from a country where they retain the right to vote in national elections have a higher propensity to vote in local elections in the country of residence than people who do not retain this right.

Second, we nuance the analysis of transnational voting by considering different levels of election: national and local[33]. Here, we want to understand whether transnational voting reflects the existence of rights at distinct levels of government. We expect that the possibility of retaining the vote in *local* elections in the country of origin correlates with a greater propensity to vote in local elections in the country of residence. For example, Italian nationals who move abroad are periodically reminded of the local elections by a letter they receive at their address. In France, the practice of communicating very closely with nationals who have moved out of a municipality has historical roots[34]. In Mexico, local hometown associations act as vehicles for Mexican electoral campaigns abroad[35]. In these cases, local-to-local connections may prompt simultaneous participation in the municipality of origin and in the municipality of residence[36]. Bauböck[37] provides an example of how this mechanism works in practice: "Where immigrants from a certain local origin concentrate in sufficient numbers, they could […] not only set up their own hometown associations in cooperation with local governments back home, but they might also lobby their municipality of residence to invest in development projects there." We hypothesise that there may be a dual-

[33] Bauböck, "Morphing the Demos into the Right Shape. Normative Principles for Enfranchising Resident Aliens and Expatriate Citizens"; Arrighi and Bauböck, "A Multilevel Puzzle: Migrants' Voting Rights in National and Local Elections"; Arrighi and Lafleur, "Where and Why Can Expatriates Vote in Regional Elections? A Comparative Analysis of Regional Electoral Practices in Europe and North America."

[34] Already after the legislative elections of 1881, the republican mayor of Bastia, Auguste Stretti, sent an enraged report to the Chamber of Deputies detailing the practices of the navigation company Valéry, which had offered free transport to 185 "sailors who live in Marseille" so they could deliver their votes to the Bonapartist party in the municipal elections in Corsica Briquet, "Le Vote Au Village Des Corses de l'extérieur. Dispositifs de Contrôle et Expressions Des Sentiments (19e-20e Siècles)," 753.. Sixty years later, in 1941, the prefect of Corsica proclaimed his regret that, in a *département* with 300,000 inhabitants and more than 500,000 registered voters, candidates spend "considerable sums" on travel for supporters.

[35] Paarlberg, "Hometown Associations and Parties as Vehicles for Mexican Electoral Campaigns in the US."

[36] Bargel, "Les « Originaires » En Politique."

[37] "Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism," 708.

pronged effect of this connection, which has origins and effects in the local sphere of politics. We call this the *local-to-local electoral connection hypothesis.*

> *Local-to-local electoral connection hypothesis*: People who come from a country where they retain the right to vote in local elections have a higher propensity to vote in local elections in the country of residence than people who do not retain this right.

The proliferation of voting rights for nationals residing abroad has mostly affected national elections, leaving relatively few cases to analyse this second hypothesis. In 2015, in several European countries – including Bulgaria, France, Italy, and Malta – nationals living abroad did not have remote voting rights in local elections but were given the possibility to return to the country and cast a vote in person. In Australia, Austria, Cyprus, Estonia, France, Latvia, and New Zealand, nationals living abroad could vote in the local elections without having to return to the municipality (details in Appendix A1). Because of the limited number of cases, we consider our contribution only a first step towards a better understanding of electoral connections: we discuss the limitations of our study after having presented the findings.

4. Data and Measures

We use individual-level data from a single local election: the 2015 municipal elections in the canton of Geneva, Switzerland. Since 2005, foreign nationals residing in this canton have been entitled to vote at the local level provided they have been resident in Switzerland for eight years (84,000 foreign citizens among 313,000 eligible voters[38]). The municipalities in the canton of Geneva are among the few cities in the world where foreign nationals can vote regardless of their nationality[39]. Around 40% of the resident population in the canton does not hold Swiss nationality, with Italians,

[38] Ruedin 2018

[39] Arrighi and Piccoli, *SWISSCIT: Index on Citizenship Law in Swiss Cantons*.

French, and Portuguese being the largest groups of foreign nationals[40]. These conditions make the local elections in the small Swiss canton of Geneva an excellent case to study transnational connections.

The focus on a single election allows us to hold constant many institutional and political variables that may influence electoral participation (see Ruedin[41] for a review of such factors). The survey refers to the first round of the municipal elections taking place on 19 April 2015, and voter registration is automatic. To encourage foreign nationals to participate, campaign materials were made available in seven languages, and the chancellor of the municipality sent a personalised letter to every foreign national entitled to vote, inviting them to cast their ballot. The turnout in the elections was 42% for Swiss voters, and 28% for foreign voters: these figures do not change substantially when compared with previous elections. A representative sample of eligible voters was built through the electoral register, and 832 interviews were completed using computer-aided telephone interviews (CATI) in October 2015 (response rate = 22.2%). We use all 495 foreign nationals in this sample as the theoretically relevant population. 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'*). This wording is designed to reduce over-reporting of electoral participation[42], and corresponds to the question used in national election survey; as in most such surveys, stated turnout is about twice the actual turnout, and we refrain from interpreting turnout in absolute terms. We combined the different response categories into a binary variable, coded 1 if the respondent states to have voted and 0 if the respondent states not to have voted.

[40] Federal Statistical Office of Switzerland, *Statistical Data on Switzerland 2017*.

[41] Cancela and Geys 2016

[42] Morin-Chassé et al., "How to Survey About Electoral Turnout? The Efficacy of the Face-Saving Response Items in 19 Different Contexts."

For the predictor variable, we draw on the ELECLAW indicators[43]. This database, which covers a total of 51 countries in the Americas, Europe, and Oceania, allows us to measure the degree of electoral inclusiveness (e.g., voting rights) for nationals residing abroad granted by countries of origin of the respondents of our sample. Scores range from 0 (no voting rights) to 1 (voting rights without conditions). Intermediate scores capture the existence of voting rights with conditions such as, for example, the duty to return to the country to cast the ballot. A detailed description of voting rights for nationals residing abroad is included in Appendix A1. In this article, we match the right to vote for foreign nationals in the local legislative election of the canton of Geneva with the right to vote in the national and local legislative elections in their country of origin in the year 2015. In forty-four out of fifty-one countries in our sample nationals living abroad retain their right to vote in national legislative elections in the country of origin[44]. They do so either through specified polling stations abroad, by post, by proxy, or allowing nationals to return to the country to vote.

Given the focus of the article, we excluded Swiss voters, but we match all foreign nationals, yielding 495 observations.[45] Because we did not want missing values to reduce the sample further, we use multiple imputations with predictive mean matching to retain the full sample across models[46]. Our sample includes 25 nationalities, with people from Italy (N=121), France (N=99), Portugal (N=93), Spain (N=79), and Germany (N=22) constituting the largest groups. In Italy and France, nationals living abroad retain voting rights both in national and local elections; in Portugal and Spain they retain voting rights in national elections only; in Germany they only retain limited

[43] Schmid, Piccoli, and Arrighi, "Non-Universal Suffrage: Measuring Electoral Inclusion in Contemporary Democracies."

[44] In 2015, nationals abroad could vote in the elections in Chile, Cyprus, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Nicaragua, Suriname, and Uruguay. We note that in a few countries in our sample, nationals abroad could vote if they meet certain conditions: for example, German nationals abroad could vote in national legislative elections if they had lived in Germany for at least three months within the previous 25 years, counting only the years after their 14th birthday; Danish nationals could vote in national legislative elections if they intended to return to Denmark within two years; UK nationals could vote in national legislative elections if they had been registered, or resident in the case of minors, in a home constituency within the previous 15 years.

[45] Including dual nationals would be substantively interesting, but we are greatly limited by the small number of observations. According to the information we have, only 12 respondents in the sample have declared dual nationality. We decided to exclude dual nationals from this study assuming that some of them may have never lived outside of Switzerland, impacting the strength and effects of transnational electoral connections.

[46] van Buuren and Groothuis-Oudshoorn, "Mice: Multivariate Imputation by Chained Equations in R."

voting rights, both in national and in local elections. Short-distance migrants who can easily travel back to their country of origin and cast their vote in person dominate the data at our disposal: Only 21 of the individuals in the sample (4.2%) have non-EU nationality.

We use regression analysis, with the outcome variable measuring whether the respondent states having voted, and the predictor variable capturing the right to vote in the country of origin in national and in local elections.[47] We include several control variables, drawing on previous analyses showing that educated, older, currently employed individuals are generally more likely to vote[48]. Accordingly, we include age (in years), the level of education (in years), gender (binary), residence in the canton of Geneva (in years), and whether the respondent's father voted when the respondent was 14 years old (binary). We also use genetic distance between countries on the linguistic tree to infer cultural distance as an additional control for country-of-origin factors.[49]

In addition, we consistently include the average national turnout in the country of origin in the models using the Voter Turnout Database[50] as reference. Regrettably, we could not find reliable data on participation in local elections. Furthermore, it is not possible to identify the region of origin of migrants. We therefore decided not to include considerations of local turnout. For the Bayesian regression models, we use broad uninformative priors (student_t(3, 0, 2.5)) and the R package brms[51] as frontend to Stan, and an inverse link function drawing on the Bernoulli distribution, given

[47] We preregistered the analysis on Open Science Framework (OSF), where we also planned to control for income alongside education. It turned out that the correlation between these two variables in combination with missing observations and the number of observations at hand leads to poor convergence. We did not have a good basis for using a stronger prior on these variables and have opted for dropping the income variable. In addition, we decided to systematically control for turnout in the country of origin in the spirit of the pre-registered control variables– the substantive results remain unchanged in either case. We will make available full replication material on OSF upon publication.

[48] Chaudhary, "Voting Here and There: Political Integration and Transnational Political Engagement among Immigrants in Europe"; Ruedin, "Participation in Local Elections: 'Why Don't Immigrants Vote More?'"; Smets and van Ham, "The Embarrassment of Riches? A Meta-Analysis of Individual-Level Research on Voter Turnout"; Leal, Lee, and McCann, "Transnational Absentee Voting in the 2006 Mexican Presidential Election: The Roots of Participation."

[49] We retrieved the data from http://www.elinguistics.net/Compare_Languages.aspx. Distances are to French (with higher numbers leading to greater distance), since Geneva is in the French speaking area. For most countries, we use the predominant language. For Belgium, we weigh according to the population size and consider French (no distance), Dutch, and German. For Canada, we consider French and English, again weighted according to population size – this time we only have estimates available. This part of the analysis was not pre-registered and was added as an exploration.

[50] IDEA, *Voter Turnout Database*.

[51] Bürkner, "Brms : An R Package for Bayesian Multilevel Models Using Stan."

the binary outcome variable. We do not consider the theory strong enough to introduce information via the priors: The results we present are not influenced by the priors other than they guard against unlikely coefficients, an important aspect for the small sample at hand.

5. Findings: National-to-Local and Local-to-Local Connections

First, we find that foreign nationalities express a different propensity to vote in local elections in Geneva. In Table 1, we present the actual and reported turnout of the largest immigrant groups. The table shows that the percentage of people who say they voted always exceeds the actual turnout, regardless of nationality. This over-reporting is typical for surveys of electoral participation[52] and reflects two factors: voters are more likely to participate in surveys than non-voters, and some people say that they voted when they did not. Importantly for our study, the share of over-reporting is similar across nationalities. The propensity to vote, however, varies substantially: higher for French and Italian nationals, lower for Portuguese and Spanish nationals.

Table 1. Actual and reported turnout by selected nationalities

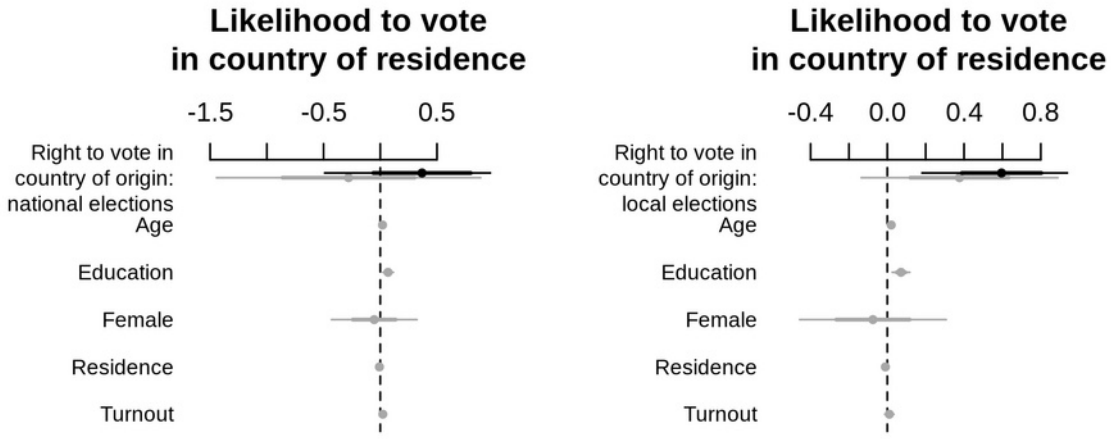
Nationality	**Measured Turnout**	**Self-reported Turnout in Survey**	**Age (years, mean)**	**Education (years, mean)**	**Female (%)**	**Residence (years, mean)**
France (N=99)	38%	61%	62	14	59	36
Italy (N=121)	34%	60%	62	11	60	42
Portugal (N=93)	17%	36%	44	10	42	25
Spain (N=79)	22%	44%	56	10	53	28

Notes: Municipal elections in the canton of Geneva 2015, measured turnout from official statistics (OCSTAT).

[52] Sciarini and Goldberg, "Turnout Bias in Postelection Surveys: Political Involvement, Survey Participation, and Vote Overreporting."

We then examine whether retaining voting rights in the country of origin is associated with a higher propensity to vote in local elections in Geneva (*National-to-local electoral connection hypothesis*). Figure 1 provides a graphical illustration of the estimates of four regression models. The dots are the mean of the posterior distribution, and the lines indicate the 95% credibility interval. The two models shown in the left panel consider the effects of retaining the right to vote in national elections in the country of origin. The first model considers only whether a respondent comes from a country where he or she retains the right to vote in national elections. The estimated impact on voting is indicated by the black dot in the left panel in Figure 1. The dot is on the right of the dashed zero-line that indicates no difference – which is to say, people who have the right to vote in national elections in the country of origin are more likely to vote in local elections in Geneva. The predicted probability of voting – not directly visible in the graphic – is 56% compared to 47% to vote when there is no right to vote in the country of origin. The second statistical model adds control variables for individual resources and the length of residence in Geneva (grey dot in the left panel of Figure 1, with a predicted probability to vote of 54% when there is the right to vote, and the other variables are set to the mean). While the individual-level control variables make no substantive difference, considering differences in average turnout in the country of origin changes the prediction: The dot of the estimation is now on the left of the dashed zero line, but a substantial part overlaps with it. We do not interpret this as a substantial statistical effect.

Figure 1. Likelihood to vote in the local elections in the country of residence: national-to-local and local-to-local effects



Notes: Outcome variable: voted in municipal election in the country of residence (Canton of Geneva); the point estimates are given as dots with 95% credibility intervals as lines. Refer to Appendix A2 for tabular representation, N=495 in all models

Next, we look at the effects of retaining the right to vote in local elections in the country of origin (*Local-to-local electoral connection hypothesis*). We examine whether this right is associated with a higher propensity to vote in the local elections in Geneva. We use two statistical models shown in the right panel of Figure 1. One model considers only voting rights in the country of origin, indicated by the black dot. We find that the predicted probability of voting is 63% compared to 49% when there is no right to vote in the local elections in the country of origin. In the second model we statistically control for individual resources, average turnout in the country of origin, and the length of residence in the canton (grey dot), and the difference in predicted probabilities is 9 percentage points (61% versus 52%).

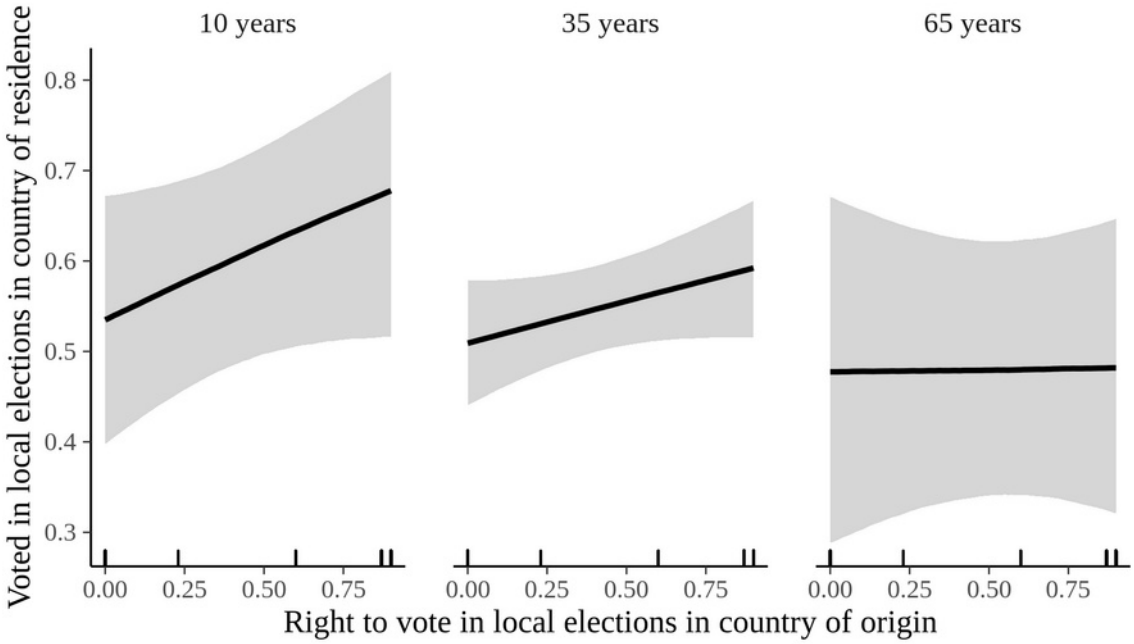
Taken together, while turnout in the country of origin is a consistent positive correlate for the likelihood to vote in the local elections of the country of residence, only the right to vote in local

elections in the country of origin is systematically associated with electoral participation in the local elections in Geneva once we control for individual resources, length of residence, and average turnout in the country of origin. When individuals retain the right to vote in local elections in the country of origin, they are more likely to use that right in local elections in their country of residence.

Finally, we complement the basic models with additional exploration. To corroborate our findings, we follow previous studies[53] and we examine whether there is a complementary effect of re-socialisation in the country of residence. Levels of participation can be expected to be initially higher for individuals who retain the right to vote in the country of origin, but then decrease with longer residence in the canton. Figure 2 presents the interaction between retaining the right to vote in local elections in the country of origin and time of residence in the canton. We can see that the marginal effects of retaining the right to vote in the country of origin are clearly positive for individuals who have lived in the canton of Geneva for 10 years (left-most panel) but flatten thereafter (centre panel set to median residence of 35 years, and right panel set to 65 years of residence). The results are in line with re-socialisation: the effects of local-to-local connections become negligible on the long term.

[53] Chaudhary, "Voting Here and There: Political Integration and Transnational Political Engagement among Immigrants in Europe."

Figure 2. Marginal effect of local-to-local connections at different residence times



Notes: Outcome variable: voted in municipal election (country of residence); given are the marginal effects of local voting rights at residence time of 10, 35 (median), and 65 years; the shaded areas give 95% credibility intervals; the rug plots at the bottom of the panels indicate that there are observations of local voting rights across the range, N=495

Further explorations in the Appendix suggest that the association between the predictor variable and the probability to vote in local elections in the country of residence is similar for individuals at distinct levels of education. We also tested models with additional control variables (Appendix A3 and A5) – namely whether the father voted when the respondent was 14 years old and plans to return to the country of origin. Controlling for parental vote, the statistical effect of local-to-local connections is slightly reduced but remains substantively important (median of posterior at 0.26), while parental vote is associated with a higher probability to vote. Additionally controlling for plans to return to the country of origin has no substantive effect on the coefficient of voting propensity. In two final models, we considered whether respondents came from a neighbouring country, and we compared two otherwise equivalent people, one from a country with low cultural distance (30, a

mix between Italy and Spain), and one from a country with high cultural distance (60, roughly Croatia). Coming from a neighbouring country is associated with a higher probability to vote and could complement our explanation on voting rights. However, the neighbouring countries vary little in their provisions of voting rights for nationals living abroad; and when we control for cultural distance, we see that larger cultural distance is associated with a higher likelihood of voting. While we have low confidence in this, due to the small number of observations, it is clearly not the case that cultural distance is driving the results of neighbouring countries. We leave this for future research.

6. Study limitations and discussion

We acknowledge three important limitations to our exploratory study. First, our sample includes 495 respondents, predominantly from EU countries (95.8% of the sample) and draws on survey data where participation is over-reported (but probably not biased). Our main finding therefore concerns a small group of individuals, predominately Europeans, who have retained voting rights in their country of origin. We attempted to account for this in the analysis by using robust regression models.

Second, our sample is conditioned by the strong presence of short-distance migrants, or mobile EU nationals. Italian and French nationals abroad, for example, can vote in the local elections in the country of origin travelling back and casting their ballot in person. We note that in these two countries in particular, individual attachment to the municipality of origin is stronger than elsewhere[54], therefore, explaining why people tend to vote more than elsewhere (see Table 1). Future analyses should use larger samples that include additional nationalities who can vote remotely in both national and local elections using the same voting method (e.g., postal voting), such as Australians, Mexicans, New Zealanders, and those coming from the Austrian provinces of

[54] Briquet, "Le Vote Au Village Des Corses de l'extérieur. Dispositifs de Contrôle et Expressions Des Sentiments (19e-20e Siècles)"; Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*.

Burgenland and Lower Austria. Unfortunately, the share of foreign nationals from these countries in our sample was negligible.

Third, we are limited by the focus on one single election. As we have already mentioned, our effects are largely driven by two groups of nationals who can vote from abroad in both local and national elections: French and Italians. The French municipal elections were hold in 2014, one year earlier than the local elections in Geneva; by contrast, the French national elections took place in 2012 and the Italian national elections took place in 2013.[55] Our analysis suggests that the engagement of French political parties, trade unions, and local electoral commissions with their nationals living in Geneva may have prompted those nationals to vote in the local elections in Geneva that were held the following year. This may contribute to explaining why, in this specific instance, local-to-local electoral connections are both strong and robust, while transnational national-to-local electoral connections are found only in models with no additional control variables. Future studies should draw on more than one election to account for these temporal effects.

7. Conclusion

We have shown that there is an association between the rights that migrants retain in the local elections in their country of origin and their propensity to vote in the local elections in the country of residence. We qualify this association as the result of local-to-local electoral connections: This finding suggests that electoral processes in separate places can have mutually enforcing effects.

Although this finding warrants further research, we suggest that it may be explained as a spill-over effect of enduring linkages with political parties, unions, and local electoral commissions in the country of origin. Specifically, the electoral communication of national and local authorities in the country of origin may prompt migrants to vote in the local elections in their country of

[55] The timing of local elections in Italy changes across municipalities.

residence. By actively pursuing nationals abroad, these institutions promote greater electoral participation also in the municipality where nationals reside.

We encourage other scholars to pursue this line of research using more refined information. Additional analyses could both deepen and expand our findings. For example, the regression analyses that we include in our appendix suggest that migrants who plan to return to their country of origin participate more in local elections in the country of residence, a point worth investigating more in depth given the large levels of uncertainty around this coefficient. Other individual factors, such as age at the time of migration and linguistic distance, also deserve greater scrutiny. There are several ways to expand the preliminary findings of this study, for example exploiting register data with a greater number of respondents from other countries where migrants retain voting rights in the local elections of the country of origin. Additional analysis could deepen the study of national-to-national connections, for example comparing specific groups of migrants in Commonwealth countries where national and local voting rights are generally available for foreign residents and nationals abroad. Comparing transnational effects in democratic and non-democratic countries represents another avenue for comparative analysis. Further research could investigate voting propensity in the country of origin, as opposed to voting rights—although obtaining such data in a systematic manner may be challenging. Related to voting propensity, researchers could investigate whether the reason to migrate affects the relationship between voting rights in the country of origin and political participation. Finally, studies on national-to-national and local-to-local electoral connections could explore whether more time spent in the municipality of residence reduces the propensity to vote in the municipality of origin. This is the inverse perspective of the one in this article and will allow further refinement of the picture of transnational connections.

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Local-to-local electoral connections for migrants: The association between voting rights in the place of origin and the propensity to vote in the place of residence

Supplementary Material

A1. Voting rights of citizens residing abroad in the country of origin in 2015

Country of origin	Right to vote in national elections	Inclusiveness score: national legislative elections	Right to vote in local elections	Inclusiveness score: local legislative elections
Argentina	Available in presidential and legislative elections: personal voting at embassy or specified polling station abroad	0.62	Not available	0
Australia	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Australia) if the person or immediate family has previously resided in Australia; the right remains in place for six years but may be extended annually if intending to return to Australia in the future. In-country voting; in-person voting at diplomatic missions; postal voting; electronic voting for individuals who are visually impaired	0.40	Only available if the person or immediate family has previously resided in Australia; the right remains in place for six years but may be extended annually if intending to return to Australia in the future. In-country voting; personal voting at diplomatic missions; postal voting; electronic voting for individuals who are visually impaired	0.40
Austria	Available in presidential and legislative elections: in-country voting and postal voting	0.93	Only available for citizens outside the country with a secondary domicile (*Zweitwohnsitz*) in the provinces of Burgenland or Lower Austria. These citizens can use in-country voting and postal voting	0
Belgium	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Belgium) with in-country voting, personal voting at diplomatic missions, postal and proxy voting	0.95	Not available	0
Bolivia	Only available in presidential elections: personal voting at specified polling stations in countries with larger numbers of non-resident citizens	0.31	Not available	0
Brazil	Only available in presidential elections: personal voting at embassy or specified polling stations abroad	0.62	Not available	0
Bulgaria	Available in presidential and	0.88	Not available	0

Country of origin	Right to vote in national elections	Inclusiveness score: national legislative elections	Right to vote in local elections	Inclusiveness score: local legislative elections
	legislative elections: in-country voting and personal voting at diplomatic missions			
Canada	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Canada) to some specific categories of Canadians abroad: 1) public servants and their dependents 2) Canadian Forces electors; and 3) voters who have spent a maximum of five years abroad and intend to return to Canada	0.15	Varies depending upon the provincial legislation	Special case: not coded
Chile	Not available	0	Not available	0
Colombia	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Personal voting at embassy or specified polling station abroad. Electronic voting exists by law although in practice only pilot programs have been carried out until now	0.94	Not available	0
Costa Rica	Available only in presidential elections. In-country voting or personal voting at polling stations at embassies and consulates or any other special polling stations located in the foreign country, state or province where the person is registered as a voter	0.29	Not available	0
Croatia	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Personal voting at diplomatic missions	0.88	Not available	0
Cyprus	Available in presidential and legislative elections only to civil servants on state service, their spouses, and temporary absentees (by discretion). In-country voting and personal voting at diplomatic missions is possible in countries with larger numbers of non-resident citizens	0.18	Only available for civil servants on state service and spouses. In-country voting; personal voting at diplomatic missions is possible in countries with larger numbers of citizens residing abroad	0.18
Czech Republic	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Personal voting and in-country voting at diplomatic missions for the Chamber of Deputies. For Senate elections, in-country voting only	0.53	Not available	0
Denmark	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in	0.19	Only available to selected categories, including civil servants and posted workers,	0.23

Country of origin	Right to vote in national elections	Inclusiveness score: national legislative elections	Right to vote in local elections	Inclusiveness score: local legislative elections
	Denmark) to selected categories, including civil servants and posted workers, persons who intend to return within two years, students and similar, as well as their partners. In-country voting, in-person voting at diplomatic missions and postal voting (only through specified polling stations abroad).		persons who intend to return within two years, students and similar, as well as their partners. In-country voting, in-person voting at diplomatic missions and postal voting (only through specified polling stations abroad).	
Ecuador	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Personal vote at the polling station in the constituency where the voter is registered	0.88	Not available	0
El Salvador	Only available in presidential elections. Mail-in ballot.	0.32	No local election	N/A
Estonia	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Estonia). In-country voting. Personal voting at diplomatic missions. Postal voting and electronic voting	1	Voting is de facto possible for first-generation citizens residing abroad as the registration does not expire. In-country voting and electronic voting	0
Finland	Available in presidential and legislative elections. In-country voting and personal voting at diplomatic missions	0.95	Not available	0
France	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Personal voting at diplomatic missions. Postal voting and proxy voting (the appointed proxy must be registered in the same consular constituency)	0.98	In-country voting and proxy voting: the appointed proxy must be registered in the same municipal constituency	0.90
Germany	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Germany) to citizens who have had at least 3 months' past residence in Germany within last 25 years (since 14th birthday). If not fulfilling this criterion, discretionary exceptions are possible where a genuine link to public life can be documented. In-country voting and postal voting	0.40	Not available	0
Greece	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Greece), but never implemented. Since residence has no meaning in Greek	0.08	Not available	0

Country of origin	Right to vote in national elections	Inclusiveness score: national legislative elections	Right to vote in local elections	Inclusiveness score: local legislative elections
	electoral law, de facto in-country voting is thus possible at the polling station of the municipality where one is registered. In-country voting only			
Guatemala	Not available	0.24	Not available	0
Honduras	Only available in presidential elections. Personal voting at specified polling stations in countries with larger numbers of non-resident citizens.		No local election	N/A
Hungary	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Hungary). Postal voting or postal voting via diplomatic mission abroad	0.45	Not available	0
Ireland	Available in presidential and legislative elections, only for diplomats and their spouses. Temporary absentees who intend to return within 18 months can continue to vote, but only in-country. In the Senate elections another: eligible university graduates may vote for 6 of the 60 Senators, regardless of their residence. Postal voting only	0.15	Only available for diplomats and their spouses. Postal voting only	0.15
Italy	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Italy). In-country voting and postal voting	0.94	In-country voting only	0.87
Latvia	Available in presidential and legislative elections. In-country voting. Personal voting at diplomatic missions and postal voting	0.98	Only available to citizens who own immovable property in the territory of the local government. In-country voting only	0
Lithuania	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Personal voting at diplomatic missions and postal voting	0.98	Only available for civil servants at diplomatic missions and their families, as well as at EU and international institutions and the military personnel, who are considered to be temporarily abroad and qualify as in-country residents. In-country voting only	0.23
Luxembourg	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Luxembourg). Postal voting		Not available	

Country of origin	Right to vote in national elections	Inclusiveness score: national legislative elections	Right to vote in local elections	Inclusiveness score: local legislative elections
	only			
Malta	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Malta). Only for those who have spent less more than 6 out of the last 18 months in the country. Public servants and members of 'disciplined forces' posted abroad are counted as resident and retain voting rights. In-country voting with subsidised flights to return	0.18	Only available to those who have spent less more than 6 out of the last 18 months in the country. Public servants and members of 'disciplined forces' posted abroad are counted as resident and retain voting rights. In-country voting only	0.56
Mexico	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Mail-in ballot and electronic voting	0.93	Varies depending upon the provincial legislation: the province of Zacatecas has enfranchised citizens residing abroad under the condition of binational residence	Special case: not coded
Netherlands	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in the Netherlands) to all except Dutch citizens on Aruba. In-country voting, personal voting at diplomatic missions, proxy and postal voting	0.90	Not available	0
New Zealand	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in New Zealand) to those who return to New Zealand at least once between elections. Exemptions from this requirement may be applied to members of the New Zealand Defence Force, New Zealand diplomats and foreign trade representatives and their families. Postal voting and electronic voting	0.23	Only available to those who return to New Zealand at least once between elections. Exemptions from this requirement may be applied to members of the New Zealand Defence Force, New Zealand diplomats and foreign trade representatives and their families. Postal voting and electronic voting	0.23
Nicaragua	Not available		Not available	0
Panama	Only available in presidential elections. Postal voting. Electronic voting and personal voting at specified polling stations on election day in Panama	0.40	Not available	0
Paraguay	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Personal voting at specified polling stations in countries with larger numbers of citizens residing abroad	0.29	Not available	0
Peru	Available in presidential and	0.95	Not available	0

Country of origin	Right to vote in national elections	Inclusiveness score: national legislative elections	Right to vote in local elections	Inclusiveness score: local legislative elections
	legislative elections. Personal vote at the polling station in the circumscription where the voter is registered and mail-in ballot to be returned to the consulate			
Poland	Available in presidential and legislative elections. In-country voting. Personal and postal voting. Proxy voting available in-country for disabled and over 75	0.90	Not available	0
Portugal	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Personal voting prior to elections at diplomatic missions and designated institutions	0.63	Not available	0
Romania	Available in presidential and legislative elections. In-country voting and personal voting at diplomatic missions	0.95	Not available	0
Slovakia	Only available in legislative elections. In-country voting and postal voting	0.30	Not available	0
Slovenia	Available in presidential and legislative elections. In-country voting. Personal voting at diplomatic missions and postal voting	0.98	Not available	0
Spain	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Spain). Personal voting at diplomatic missions and postal voting	0.90	Not available	0
Suriname	Not available	0	Not available	0
Sweden	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in Sweden) only to those who have resided in Sweden within their lifetime. Renewal is required every 10 years. In-country voting, personal voting at diplomatic missions and postal voting	0.68	Not available	0
United Kingdom	Available in legislative elections (there are no direct presidential elections in the United Kingdom) only to those who have been registered (or resident if they were minors) in a home constituency within last 15 years. In-country voting, proxy and postal voting	0.40	Not available	0
United States	Available in presidential and	0.90	Varies depending upon State	0.60

Country of origin	Right to vote in national elections	Inclusiveness score: national legislative elections	Right to vote in local elections	Inclusiveness score: local legislative elections
of America	legislative elections. Postal voting		legislation. Mail-in ballot	
Uruguay	Available in presidential and legislative elections. Voters registered in the National Civic Registry may return to the country and cast a ballot there. Personal voting in the constituency of registration	0.32	Voters registered in the National Civic Registry may return to the country and cast a ballot there. Personal voting in the constituency of registration	0
Venezuela	Only available in presidential elections. There are no general regulations for electoral events abroad. Ad hoc norms are stipulated for each election	0.34	Not available	0

Sources:

Arrighi, J-T., Bauböck R., Hutcheson, D., Ostling, A., Piccoli, L. (2019), Conditions for Electoral Rights 2019, San Domenico di Fiesole: European University Institute.

GLOBALCIT (2019). ELECLAW Indicators. Version 5.1, San Domenico di Fiesole: European University Institute.

Note: *Since this table is about the voting rights of migrants living in the canton of Geneva, it does not cover the right of EU citizens to vote in local elections in other EU countries. The table covers information as of 1 January 2015.*

A2. Four Regression Models of Participation in Local Elections

	National Voting Rights		Local Voting Rights	
	M1	M2	M3	M4
(Intercept)	-0.14 [-0.85, 0.57]	-2.89 [-4.38, -1.46]	-0.08 [-0.31, 0.16]	-2.38 [-3.98, -0.81]
National Voting Rights	0.37 [-0.47, 1.21]	-0.28 [-1.44, 0.85]		
Local Voting Rights			0.60 [0.19, 1.01]	0.38 [-0.12, 0.89]
Age		0.02 [0.00, 0.04]		0.02 [0.00, 0.04]
Education		0.07 [0.02, 0.12]		0.07 [0.03, 0.12]
Female		-0.05 [-0.43, 0.32]		-0.08 [-0.45, 0.30]
Residence		-0.01 [-0.03, 0.01]		-0.01 [-0.01, 0.03]
Turnout		0.02 [-0.00, 0.05]		0.01 [-0.01, 0.03]

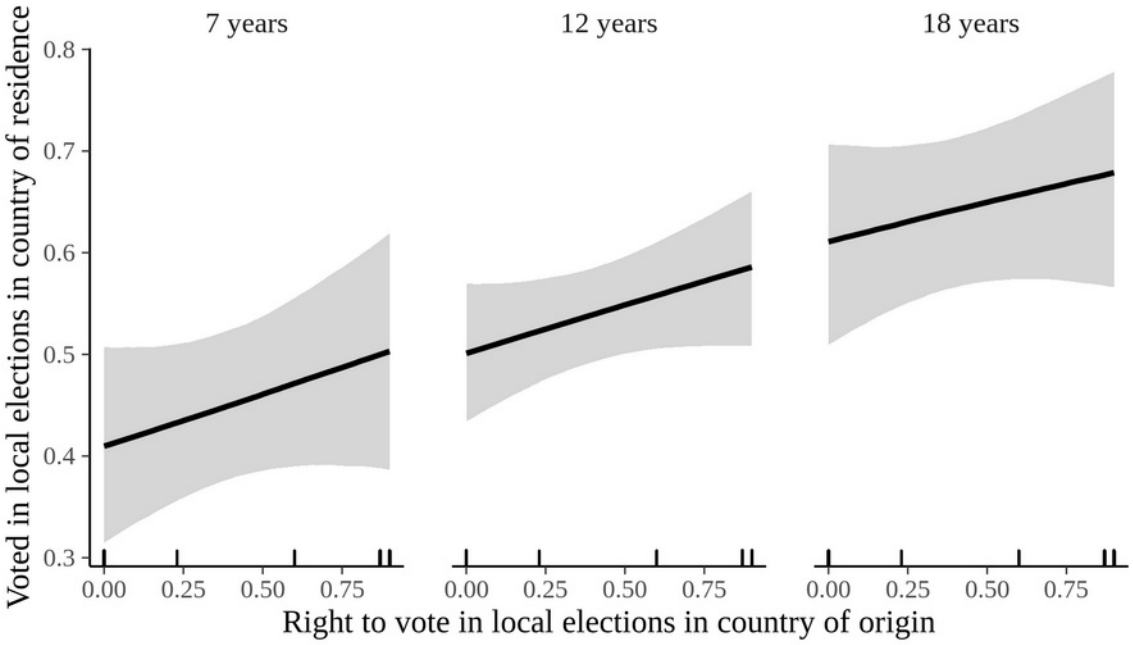
Notes: The estimates (median of posterior) are given along with the 95% credibility interval in square parentheses, N=495 in all models

A3. Additional Regression Models of Participation in Local Elections

	Interaction terms		Local voting rights, additional controls				
	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10	M11
(Intercept)	-2.46 [-4.09, -0.86]	-2.41 [-4.05, -0.83]	-2.91 [-4.56, -1.30]	-3.27 [-5.02, -1.57]	-2.17 [-3.82, -0.57]	-2.53 [-4.20, -0.92]	-2.88 [-4.63, -1.15]
Local voting rights	0.79 [-0.34, 1.94]	0.48 [-0.78, 1.75]	0.26 [-0.25, 0.77]	0.43 [-0.07, 0.94]	-0.16 [-1.11, 0.74]	0.36 [-0.16, 0.86]	0.78 [0.04, 1.52]
Age	0.02 [0.00, 0.04]	0.02 [0.00, 0.04]	0.02 [0.00, 0.03]	0.02 [0.00, 0.04]	0.02 [0.00, 0.04]	0.02 [0.01, 0.04]	0.02 [0.00, 0.04]
Education	0.07 [0.03, 0.12]	0.07 [0.02, 0.13]	0.08 [0.03, 0.12]	0.08 [0.04, 0.13]	0.07 [0.02, 0.11]	0.07 [0.03, 0.12]	0.07 [0.02, 0.11]
Female	-0.08 [-0.45, 0.29]	-0.08 [-0.44, 0.29]	-0.04 [-0.42, 0.34]	-0.06 [-0.43, 0.32]	-0.10 [-0.47, 0.27]	-0.09 [-0.46, 0.28]	-0.11 [-0.48, 0.26]
Residence	-0.00 [-0.03, 0.02]	-0.01 [-0.03, 0.01]	-0.00 [-0.02, 0.02]	-0.00 [-0.02, 0.01]	-0.01 [-0.03, 0.01]	-0.01 [-0.03, 0.01]	-0.01 -0.03, 0.01]
Turnout	0.01 [-0.04, 0.02]	0.01 [-0.01, 0.03]	0.01 [-0.01, 0.03]	0.01 [-0.01, 0.04]	0.01 [-0.02, 0.03]	0.01 [-0.01, 0.04]	0.01 [-0.01, 0.03]
Residence * local voting rights	-0.01 [-0.04, 0.02]						
Education * local franchise		-0.01 [-0.10, 0.08]					
Father voted when respondent was 14 years old			0.72 [0.62, 0.82]				
Return perspective				0.29 [0.09, 0.51]			
Neighbouring country					0.58 [-0.23, 1.42]		
Cultural distance							0.01 [-0.00, 0.03]

Notes: The estimates (median of posterior) are given along with the 95% credibility interval in square parentheses, N=495 in all models

A4. Interaction effects between education and local voting rights



A5. Interaction effects between cultural distance and local voting rights