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Immigrants' Participation in Voting: Exposure, Resilience, and Transferability

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Resilience, exposure and transferability are the most common explanations of immigrant political mobilisation in the context of the host society. They are based on assumptions about socialisation and institutionalisation, which are common to native-born groups as well. They lead to hypotheses about the impact of 'cultures of voting turnout.' This paper tests these hypotheses through cross-classified multilevel logistic regression analysis of immigrants' voting intentions. The method is new to the analysis of voting behaviour, and allows the comparison of immigrants of multiple origin groups in multiple host countries. This paper provides support for exposure effects: living in a society where most people cast ballots in national elections increases the odds that immigrants are willing to vote. Transferability is not evident, as coming from a culture of high turnout actually lowers the probability of voting. Such impact is not mediated by the length of stay or by the political opportunity structure specific to immigrants, but is stronger in systems of compulsory voting.

Keywords: Voting Turnout; International Migrants; Exposure; Resilience; Transferability

Discussing the political integration of immigrants, Martiniello (2006) identifies four dimensions. They include acquiring rights, subjective identification with the host society, adopting democratic values and, finally, political participation. This paper addresses the last aspect, being more specifically interested in the voting behaviour, particularly in the act of voting and its dependency on cultural values and behaviours inherited by immigrants from their societies of origin. Nevertheless, we refer only to those immigrants that have the legal right to vote.

Voting is a social behaviour, shaped by the conduct of the people in their immediate environment, including here both the personal networks and society as a

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whole (Rolfe 2012). Therefore, in order to vote or to intend to vote, immigrants are likely to depend on what they know about other people's intentions to vote. Our first hypothesis argues that past voter turnout (VT) in the host society determines the voting behaviours of those immigrants who have the right to vote. Higher VT increases the likelihood that immigrants would vote.

Voting can also be conceived as a manifestation of a (latent) value orientation to participate, or, broader, as a cultural trait. Since values are supposed to be relatively stable (Jagodzinski 2004), the likelihood of voting should depend on political socialisation. Immigrants reside in the country of origin during at least part of their formative years, when most political values form (Eckstein 1988). Thus, we expect them to be influenced by their respective countries; as our second hypothesis states, the higher the VT in the country of origin, the higher the likelihood of voting as an immigrant.

The two hypotheses describe voting as a subject of dual contextuality, which is the main argument of this paper. The VT in the country of origin (hereinafter referred to as 'origin') and in the country of current residence (hereinafter referred to as 'host') should determine voting behaviours after controlling for the usual determinants. Three blocks of additional hypotheses shape these contextual effects. They consider interactions with the political opportunity structure, with the length of stay in the host society and with the institutional arrangements of voting in the host society.

For empirical testing, we used cross-classified models from the 2008 European Values Study data. The data-set allows for an analysis of voting intentions, but not voting behaviours. However, it has the advantage of including natives and immigrants from a large variety of origins and from 47 host societies.

This paper contributes to the literature on the mechanisms that explain differences in voting, and considers the contextual determinants of both the origin and the host. It extends the empirical testing of the argument on the importance of formative years to a larger number of origin-host combinations; it analyses multiple origin groups in multiple host societies simultaneously. This is new to the existing literature, which is limited in scope to only one host country, a few origins or both (Black, Niemi, and Bingham 1987; Bueker 2005; Wals 2011; White et al. 2008). Our paper includes VT as a direct measure of the origin's culture of voting. Previous contextual indicators of the origin's influence were limited to the level of development, the distance from the host and indicators of civil freedom. We also consider political socialisation during adulthood as a complementary factor, and test for the impact of living in the host's voting culture.

We begin by explaining the hypotheses rooted in the existing literature provided by immigration studies, political science and sociology of values. We then discuss solutions to the methodological challenges. We present the findings, focusing on the impact of the voting culture in host and origin societies to immigrant voting intentions. In the final section, we discuss the implications for the literature, for those who aim to increase immigrants' political mobilisation, and for further research directions.

Literature Review and Hypotheses

For international migrants, political integration is anything but a priority. They are likely to experience economic disruptions, difficulties in rebuilding relations in transnational families and the melting, moulding and restructuring of social networks; political mobilisation is unlikely to be at the top of their personal agenda (Chui, Curtis, and Lambert 1991). The length of stay in the host country has been proven to increase this type of integration, at least for migrants of particular origins (Chui, Curtis, and Lambert 1991; Ginieniewicz 2007; Togeby 1999; van Londen, Phalet, and Hagendoorn 2007; White et al. 2008). However, various studies have reported differences between ethnic groups in terms of participation in either local or national elections, regardless of their length of stay (Fraga et al. 2012; Portes, Escobar, and Arana 2009; Togeby 1999), and after controlling for the usual determinants of voting (Bevelander and Pendakur 2011; Bueker 2005). Therefore, one must consider factors related to the origin to better explain the turnout. The host characteristics should also be considered, because there are important variations in immigrants' political mobilisation, which have been reported in European nations and US states (Portes and Rumbaut 2006; van Londen, Phalet, and Hagendoorn 2007).

The existing studies on immigrants' political mobilisation also lead towards the need to control for the dual-contextuality of immigrants' turnout. Such literature focuses on the opportunities to participate, the critical mass that would foster group consciousness and group mobilisation and the climate provided by natives' attitudes towards migrants (Baubock et al. 2006; Koopmans 2004; Morales and Giugni 2011; Togeby 1999). The political participation of immigrants is often seen as mediated mainly through the presence and the institutional complexity of the immigrant community (Martiniello 2006). It refers to topics of direct interest for the individuals as immigrants, not as mere citizens (Koopmans 2004; Ginieniewicz 2007). However, political integration, broadly speaking, is not about being active within the immigrant group, but within the society as a whole. Intentions to vote, particularly in national elections, depend less on a particular configuration of the immediate community and are more likely to reflect the situation of the individual within the larger framework provided by the state. This is also true for the mobilisation of international migrants; studies show that cross-country heterogeneity is larger in magnitude compared to local differences within each nation-state (Koopmans 2004).

Contextual factors are therefore likely to explain variations in immigrant behaviours. One such factor is the political opportunity structure, a broad framework where latent orientation towards political participation may manifest (Koopmans 2004). People are more likely to vote in an environment that fosters turnout. Their behaviour may also be triggered by what the others do because of compliance with the social norms (Newson and Richerson 2009, 118). One may consider the host's voter turnout (hVT) as part of the institutions that provide models for the values internalised by individuals (Gundelach 1996). Therefore, the immigrants' participation in voting would follow the pattern of hVT. This would help explain

cross-country differences in immigrant voting turnout, but not the differences among immigrants of different origins.

The values internalised during early socialisation may be seen as 'subjective context.' Values are stable, latent orientations that trigger behaviours and attitudes, which are formed through socialisation (Jagodzinski 2004). Since people of the same origin and cohort are socialised in roughly the same political environment, when controlling for age, the origin's voter turnout (oVT) becomes a contextual indicator of the initial political values that could affect the propensity to vote.

Scholars of political attitudes and behaviours have proposed three different theories to explain the patterns followed by immigrants and how the origin's political culture translates to the host's environment. Theories of political socialisation claim that political attitudes and behaviours are acquired mainly during early socialisation and act as internalised values that manifest throughout adulthood (Sears and Valentino 1997; Ester, Mohler, and Vinken 2006). Therefore, immigrants are unlikely to change in their new context, and they would be *resilient* in perpetuating the VT manifested in the country of origin. On the contrary, *exposure theory* suggests that immigrants change at contact with host institutions (White et al. 2008). This is consistent with the dual contextual causality in the sociology of values (Arts 2011), which claims that values form during early socialisation but adapt to the context, and that institutions may serve as models to be internalised even during adulthood as latent predispositions. Similarly, exposure to the political institutions and behaviours in the host society would trigger a learning process, leading immigrants to display attitudes and behaviours like the widespread ones in the native population. Finally, the *transferability* hypothesis states that migrants adapt their values and behaviours acquired at the origin and use them in the host environment (Black 1987; Bueker 2005; Wals 2011). Transferability is a middle ground between resilience and exposure. It is consistent with Eckstein's (1988) view of incremental change of the political culture, which implies a certain coherence of later learning and initial socialisation.

Exposure theory is consistent with the discussion on how the existing models in the host society shape immigrants' voting behaviours. It provides the basis for our first hypothesis, which states that (H1) *the higher the hVT, the higher the propensity of immigrants to vote in national elections*. In other words, when the turnout is high, the immigrants are likely to follow the model provided by the existing social norm and to express their choices through voting.

Resilience theory stresses the importance of primary socialisation. A high turnout during national elections in the country of origin is an indication of a culture of voting, which should manifest during elections in the host country as well. This is our second hypothesis (H2): *oVT is positively related to the individual VT*. However, oVT, at any specific time, may be subject to circumstantial determinants. Therefore, to test the expected effect properly, an oVT indicator that considers the turnout in several national elections should be created.

The two hypotheses combined express the transferability theory. This was partially tested in previous studies that considered the differences between immigrants of

different origins to the same destination (Bevelander and Pendakur 2011; Bueker 2005; van Londen, Phalet, and Hagendoorn 2007). Compared to previous work, we extend the analysis beyond the unspecific proxy provided by the country of origin and consider the oVT. We also include more origins and test the theory in many hosts. The first hypothesis explicitly adds the effect of the host participatory culture, which was merely assumed in previous analyses (Togeby 1999; van Londen, Phalet, and Hagendoorn 2007). Considering H1 and H2, similar steps were taken for the case of participation in civic associations (Voicu and Rusu 2012; Voicu 2013). Bilodeau (2008) considered the effects of early socialisation in the country of origin on the participation in protest actions of immigrants to Canada and Australia. Portes, Escobar, and Arana (2009) showed that, when considering political participation in home communities, different groups of Latino immigrants to US rank similar with respect to transnational political orientation and with respect to involvement in and interest towards host's politics. We help provide a more detailed picture by offering empirical proof for the contextual effects of both the host and the origin. We argue that structural and individual constraints shape the influence of both the host and the origin.

Voting is a low-cost conventional act of political participation (de Rooij 2012). Compared to other types of political participation, it does not need recruitment as a prerequisite and depends less on integration in social networks in the host society. Other obstacles or opportunities may hinder or foster the eligible immigrants' propensity to vote. A consistent political opportunity structure implies an institutional and a discursive side (Koopmans 2004). In the case of immigrants, the institutional side consists of the set of policies granting equal civic and cultural rights. The discursive side may consist of public opinions towards migrants, reflected in the attitudes of the population and in the manifestos of the political parties. A person prone to vote should find incentives to do so in an immigrant-friendly society with regard to both policies and public attitudes. They create an environment in which the familiar habit of expressing choices during elections is encouraged. If the required rights were already granted, then voting would become a natural way to be consistent with the norms of society of origin. Consequently, we expect immigrant-friendly social contexts to boost adaptation of the origin's culture of voting to the host society. To sum up, (H3) *the more open the host society is towards immigrants, the higher the transferability of voting culture from the origin*. Conversely, for one who is less used to voting, a hostile environment would further lower the likelihood of casting a ballot. For immigrants for whom political participation is an unfamiliar behaviour, facing negative gazes on the way to or in the polling station is a stronger incentive not to vote. H3 also reflects this situation.

The longer one stays in a society, the higher the likelihood of exposure to the host's norms and institutions. Nevertheless, exposure is limited when one lives in compact immigrant communities, consumes mainly satellite TV and has little, if any, interaction with native-born individuals and the host's institutions. However, even in such extreme cases, some interaction with the local culture should occur.

Therefore, we expect that (H4) *the longer an immigrant stays in the host society, the stronger the impact of the host's norms to vote in national elections on the immigrant's likelihood of voting*. Simultaneously, exposure to the origin's culture decreases. This means that (H5) *more recent immigrants are more likely to be influenced by the origin's culture of voting*.

Voting is not an easy task. One needs to understand how votes are cast, what the potential outcome is and how much freedom of choice one has. Freedom may also mean freedom to vote, which may be a contradiction when voting is compulsory. Immigrants from countries with higher VT may have trouble understanding a system of compulsory voting. Therefore, (H6) *one will find it more difficult to transfer the culture of voting learned in the origin to host societies where voting is mandatory*.

Controls

Why some people participate in politics while others do not is one of the most important questions in the field of politics. According to Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995), the answer is 'because they can't, because they don't want to, or because nobody asked.' 'Because they can't' denotes lack of resources; 'because they don't want to' refers to the interest in politics, political efficacy and political knowledge; and 'because nobody asked' indicates isolation from the networks of recruitment through which people are mobilised to participate in politics. Seminal studies support such findings (Rosenstone and Hansen 2003; Clarke et al. 2004; Wattenberg 2002) and indicate that control variables should be considered at both individual and contextual levels.

Regardless of whether the whole population (Aarts and Wessels 2005; Blais 2000; Grönlund and Setälä 2007; Verba and Nie 1972) or only migrants (González-Ferrer 2011, 65; Ramakrishnan 2005, 40) are examined, age has a non-linear impact on voting, with a lower turnout among the youngest and the elderly. Health is also important, since in most cases casting a ballot requires electors to go to the voting booth (Reitan 2003). The explanatory models of turnout (Blais 2000; Rosenstone and Hansen 2003; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Teixeira 1992) have shown that education is one of the best predictors, although the effect might not be a direct one, being mediated by engagement reflected by political interest, political efficacy and party identification (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995, 48; Aarts and Wessels 2005). Happier citizens are more likely to vote (Flavin and Keane 2012), while having children deters the resources of time that one may use when voting and informing prior to vote (Wolfinger and Wolfinger 2008). Being employed, being married or attending religious services regularly are positively related to voting (Blais 2000; González-Ferrer 2011, 65; Rosenstone and Hansen 2003; van Londen, Phalet, and Hagendoorn 2007). People with these characteristics tend to be more integrated into society and more embedded in social networks (Blais 2000; González-Ferrer 2011, 65). Consequently, for them, the group exerts a larger pressure to follow the social norms. In addition, the act of voting expresses a higher sense of belonging to a larger

community, and the cost of obtaining political information is lower. The probability of turnout is likely to be positively associated with political interest, political efficacy, political trust and party identification, although mixed results have been reported (Aarts and Wessels 2005; Grönlund and Setälä 2007).

At the contextual level, the turnout is positively associated with compulsory voting and convenience voting (voting early, voting by mail, absentee voting, electronic voting, proxy voting) and negatively associated with personal registration (Fornos, Power, and Garand 2004; Franklin 1999; Siaroff and Merer 2002; Söderlund, Wass, and Blais 2011; Gronke et al. 2008; Ansolabehere and Konisky 2006). When measured as voting intentions, turnout is positively correlated with the closeness of elections (Abramson, Diskin, and Felsenthal 2007; Fauvelle-Aymar and François 2006).

Data and Methods

Although panel data would have been more useful to test our hypothesis, we are not aware of any large-scale survey that allows for the comparison of immigrants' behaviours before leaving their origin and at different moments after arriving in the host society. Therefore, we employed cross-sectional data comparing immigrants of various origins and living in various host societies. Our main data source is the 2008 wave of the European Values Study (EVS), a large-scale survey described in detail at www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu. The survey covered representative samples from 47 host societies, all European states except for Vatican, San Marino, Andorra, Lichtenstein and Monaco. Northern Ireland and Northern Cyprus were added as separate samples.

The questionnaire recorded the country of birth. Our sample consists of 3748 foreign-born respondents who have the right to vote in the host society. It covers 141 origins and 46 hosts (the Romanian sample had no immigrants with voting rights). After a list-wise deletion of cases with missing information, 3170 cases were left, representing 135 origins and 85% of the initial sample. The respondents are naturally nested in both hosts and origins, which creates a non-hierarchical multilevel design. Therefore, we employed cross-classified models to predict voting behaviours based on the characteristics of both host and origin countries, while controlling for individual determinants. Table 1 depicts the variables considered in the analysis.

The dependent variable is the expected electoral participation. The respondents were asked to indicate which party they would vote for if elections were scheduled next Sunday. Answers were recoded into a dummy variable, with 'I will go to vote' coded as 1. This is not an actual behaviour, but intentionality; however, it captures the individual desire to participate in the most iconic event of democratic political life.

For the main independent variables, we used turnout indicators in the host and origin countries, computed as the average number of votes compared to the voting-age population in the most recent three elections in the last 20 years. We did not

Table 1. Descriptive statistics.

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Individual				
Voting intention	0	1	0.79	0.41
Age (years)	18	103	50.10	16.67
Educational level: ISCED code one digit	0	6	3.34	1.32
Female	0	1	0.57	0.50
Married	0	1	0.57	0.50
Separated	0	1	0.25	0.43
Employed	0	1	0.49	0.50
Retired	0	1	0.29	0.46
Student	0	1	0.04	0.20
Subjective health	1	5	2.41	0.96
Number of children	0	8	0.77	1.07
Life satisfaction	1	10	6.78	2.32
Number of types of voluntary association in which one is member (except political ones)	0	14	0.64	1.20
Religious practice (how often attends religious services)	1	7	2.94	1.93
Confidence in parliament	1	4	2.23	0.84
Belong to political parties/groups	0	1	0.04	0.19
Time spent at destination	1	93	38.83	18.54
Host				
hVT	33	92	65.99	12.38
Compulsory voting	0	1	0.10	0.30
GDP/cap 2008 (thou PPP)	2.014	72.175	25.85	12.87
hFHrate: Host's average Freedom House rate (1972–2008) (1 = not free, 7 = free)	2.11	7.00	5.40	1.70
MIPEX2007: political participation	0	100	22.71	32.49
PolMan: Manifestos score	0	4.64	0.91	1.09
ATI: attitudes towards immigrants	−4.85	5.84	0.29	2.00
Origin				
oVT	0	100	62.70	13.17
oFHrate: origin's average FHrate (1972–2008) (1 = not free, 7 = free)	1.23	7.00	3.94	1.42

consider the turnout of the total registered voters, because we are interested in cultures of voting, which refers to the entire voting-age population. The main data source for the indicators was the idea.int database, supplemented when necessary with data from Psephos (Adam Carr's Election Archive, http://psephos.adam-carr.net/), the PARLINE database of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/parlinesearch.asp) and websites of national electoral offices. These sources were checked against each other before they were used to complete the information provided by idea.int. Some of the countries only had data for one or two elections, but the rest had data for at least three elections. A factor analysis, as well as bivariate correlations, shows that the turnout in several consecutive elections can be explained by a common latent variable (data not shown). We assumed that the latent orientation to vote is an expression of a culture of voting. The average VT in the last three elections for each country was computed to indicate the culture of voting of

the host and the origin (hVT and oVT, respectively). For origins where no free elections were organised, oVT becomes 0, indicating the absence of a culture of voting. As a robustness check, we reran all the models excluding the respondents born in such societies, but we noticed no substantial change in our findings.

One may suspect our oVT measure to lack relevance for those who migrated many years ago. The models try to reduce this risk in five ways. First, controls for age and time spent in the host society minimise the imprecision of the measurement. However, for those who left non-democratic countries of origin years ago, the measure of inherited orientation towards participating in elections might be too weak. Therefore, as a second precaution, we included interactions of the oVT with the time spent at the destination. Third, the average turnout in the last three elections covers at least eight years. Typically, this period extends to 10 to 12 years, providing information for quite a long interval. As a robustness check, we repeated all the analyses for a subsample of recent immigrants, including only those for whom we are sure that oVT reflects the conditions during early socialisation, at least when migrating. However, this involves the risk of reducing the sample to as small as 93 if we consider those who migrated in the past 10 years, or 657 if the limit is 15 years. Fourth, in all the models, we added controls for the average quality of democracy in the country of origin, computed as the mean of Freedom House's yearly index for 1972–2008. This corrects the biases introduced into oVT by high turnouts in partially democratic societies of origin. The fifth check involves running the models for a subsample of respondents who were born in the 47 societies in which EVS 2008 was conducted. This means that we compared immigrants with the native-born respondents in both origin and host countries. Including age, gender and education as predictors gives us more precise control over the early socialisation effects. For those who did not migrate, oVT and hVT have the same values. No substantial change in the influence of oVT is noted in the last set of models (data not shown).

We used three indicators to test the impact of the political opportunity structure. The first captures the legislative framework of immigrant political participation as described by the MIPEX political participation measure (Niessen et al. 2007). The indicator was computed for the year 2007 in the 27 EU countries, and included information about electoral rights, political liberties, consultative policy elaboration and immigrants' involvement in policy implementation. The second indicator is derived from the Manifesto Data Set (Volkens et al. 2012), which describes the manifestos of political parties and covers 45 of the host societies in the sample. In this data-set, each party receives a score for every election denoting 'favourable references to underprivileged minorities who are defined neither in economic nor in demographic terms, e.g. the handicapped, homosexuals, immigrants, etc.'. We computed the weighted average of the scores for the most recent election prior to 2008, where the weights are determined by the share of votes received by the party. This score is a rough indicator of attitudes towards immigrants, but includes more hosts than the MIPEX 2007 and has a correlation of 0.63 with the latter. The third

indicator is derived from five questions in EVS 2008 that tap attitudes towards immigrants. The answers reflect a latent orientation towards immigrants, and we used MPlus7 to prove the partial scalar invariance of the indicator (data not shown). We then computed the country means as an indicator of the general atmosphere that immigrants encounter in the host society. All these procedures provide indicators of the institutional framework, possible policy resulting from the parties' claims, and the attitudes of the population. As required by H4 and H5, we specified interaction effects with oVT and hVT.

The EVS questionnaire included questions about the respondent's place of birth and year of migration to the current host. We used them to test H4 and H5, again through cross-level interactions. Finally, to test H6, we included an interaction effect of oVT with compulsory voting.

Findings

Across Europe, from the late 1990s to the 2000s, voting turnout as the share of the voting-age population varied from less than 40% in Lithuania, Hungary, Switzerland and Azerbaijan to as high as 90% in Malta, Northern Ireland and Belgium. For the sample of countries in the present study, the bivariate Pearson correlation coefficient between hVT and the natives' intentions to vote is 0.526, indicating that the expected electoral participation and the registered turnout are moderately positively related. At the country level, immigrants' turnout intentions are positively correlated ($r = 0.556$) with those of native-born respondents. This indicates that the two groups might share a common culture of participating in elections, as stated by the first hypothesis. However, one should carefully control for individual characteristics.

The first cross-classified model does not include predictors. It shows that the variance between hosts (0.173) is twice the size of between-origins variation (0.080). Consequently, the contextual predictors of the host society are expected to produce stronger effects on the individual intentions to vote than the contextual predictors of the origin. This already indicates that exposure effects might be more important than transferability.

Table 2 presents part of the subsequent models that we designed. Due to space constraints, a few others are not shown. The first displayed model adds predictors for individual characteristics and contextual effects at the host and origin level. The inclusion of control variables results in several significant effects. Adults, the more educated, the more satisfied, members of associations (particularly political groups) and those with higher political trust are more likely to declare their intention to vote.

All models in Table 2 also provide information regarding hypotheses H1 and H2. The voting culture of the host society positively affects voting intentions. The higher the hVT, the higher the odds of declaring participation in the next elections is. Ten point increase of the hVT (that is 10 additional percentage points in voting turnout) produces an average marginal effect of 2.7% percentage points increase of the probability that a foreign-born respondent would declare he/she would vote if

Table 2. Cross-classified multilevel logistic regression analysis of immigrants' voting intentions.

	M1	M2a	M2b	M2c	M3a	M3b	M4
Individual variables							
(Intercept)	−1.86	3.51	−1.81	−1.41	−1.45	−1.80	−2.26†
Age	0.05**	0.02	0.05*	0.05*	0.05*	0.05**	0.05**
Age-squared/100	−0.04*	−0.01	−0.04*	−0.03†	−0.04*	−0.04*	−0.04*
Education	0.12**	0.18**	0.13**	0.09*	0.11**	0.12**	0.10**
Female	0.07	−0.02	0.09	0.03	0.08	0.07	0.08
Married	−0.02	−0.25	−0.01	−0.12	−0.03	−0.02	−0.03
Separated	−0.20	−0.43†	−0.19	−0.29	−0.20	−0.20	−0.21
Employed	0.20	0.38*	0.20	0.37**	0.20	0.20	0.20
Retired	0.29	0.49†	0.29	0.36†	0.30	0.30	0.30
Student	0.01	−0.14	−0.01	0.12	0.01	0.01	0.01
Subjective health	0.05	−0.02	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.05	0.05
Children	−0.01	0.09	−0.02	0.02	−0.01	−0.01	−0.01
Life satisfaction	0.12***	0.10**	0.12***	0.08***	0.12***	0.12***	0.12***
Mb. associations	0.10†	0.12†	0.11†	0.10†	0.10†	0.10†	0.10†
Religious Practice	0.05	0.05	0.05†	0.07*	0.05†	0.05†	0.05*
Confidence in parliament	0.31***	0.33***	0.30***	0.33***	0.31***	0.31***	0.31***
Mb. political groups	1.41***	0.96†	1.64***	1.12**	1.42***	1.41***	1.44***
Time@Host	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	−0.01	0.00	0.00
Host effects							
HVT	0.01*	0.01†	0.01*	0.01*	0.01	0.01*	0.01*
Compulsory voting	0.21	0.36	0.20	0.34	0.23	0.21	2.56*
Ln(GDP/c)	−0.12	−0.65*	−0.11	−0.15	−0.11	−0.12	−0.10
hFHrate	0.10	0.24*	0.11†	0.08	0.10	0.09	0.09
MIPEX		0.00					
ATI			−0.15				
PolMan				0.04			
Origin effects							
oVT	−0.01*	−0.01	−0.01*	−0.01	−0.01*	−0.01	−0.01
oFHrate	−0.02	−0.01	−0.03	−0.03	−0.02	−0.02	−0.03

Table 2 (*Continued*)

	M1	M2a	M2b	M2c	M3a	M3b	M4
Cross-level interactions							
oVT*mpxPP07		0.01					
oVT*ATI			0.24				
oVT*PolMan				0.07			
hVT*TimeH/100					0.02		
oVT*TimeH/100						0.00	
oVT*Compulse							−0.03*
Deviance							
fitted model	2814	1517	2772	2520	2813	2814	2807
null model	(2984)	(1624)	(2984)	(2666)	(2984)	(2984)	(2984)

*$p \leq 0.05$; **$p \leq 0.01$; ***$p \leq 0.001$; †$p \leq 0.10$.

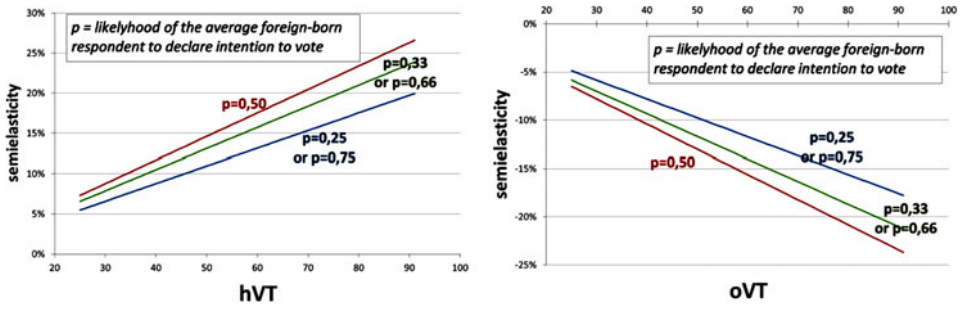

Figure 1. Semi-elasticity of hVT and oVT effects for different probabilities to declare intentions to vote.

elections were held next week. In other words, if living in a country with higher turnout, such as the Nordic ones, foreign-born have higher probability to follow the local social norm of going to vote. In Eastern European countries, most having lower turnout, the social norm is also respected by immigrants, and casting the ballot by foreign-born is less frequent than in countries of high turnout.

Semi-elasticity, depicted in Figure 1, is useful to provide examples. Let us consider a host society A, with a typical turnout around 50% of voting-age population, and the average immigrant having around 80% probability to declare intentions to vote. In Europe, the UK is close to this description. An increase of 1.01 times of the hVT (this is 1% of the current value, or 5% additional turnout to the initial 50%) triggers a growth of 9.36% of the probability that immigrants will declare to go to vote, which is an increase of 1.12 times. While following the societal trend, immigrants would therefore boost their presence to voting booths even higher than the society to which they belong. The impact is more powerful when hVT is higher, as Figure 1 shows.

The impact of the host's culture of voting seems pervasive and remains unchanged in all the models. Exposure theory is therefore fully confirmed, in the sense that embeddedness in the host's culture of voting triggers voting intentions similar to those of the native-born population, as reflected by the officially recorded turnout. Living in a society where everybody votes also increases the odds that immigrants of various origins intend to vote. The more the native-born electors vote, the higher the likelihood that their foreign-born counterparts will do the same.

The second hypothesis considered the transferability hypothesis. We employed oVT as an indicator of early socialisation and expected a positive impact on voting intentions. However, in all models, the effect is negative, although it becomes insignificant when including interactions. The negative effect remains regardless of age and time spent at the destination, when the models include only recent immigrants or when European-born migrants are compared with non-immigrant respondents (results not shown). This means that the result is robust. The negative effect implies that immigrants born in a culture where most people vote have lower odds of declaring their intention to vote if elections were held next week. For instance, this implies that immigrants born in Denmark, Peru or Guinea-Bissau, all

having turnouts over 80%, have lower odds to participate in voting in their host country, even when they are entitled to.

The impact of oVT is comparable in size with that of hVT; for every percentage point increase in oVT, the odds of voting decrease by 0.01. This translates to an average marginal effect of 0.024 percentage points in the probability of declaring participation to vote, or 2.4% for each 10% increase in the oVT. This rejects the transferability hypothesis and may provide support for resilience instead. Voting turnout in the society of origin is rooted in the culture of that society. It does not refer to abstract entities such as political parties, parliament or democratic setup, but on the origin's politics and actors. A strong culture of voting implies loyalties to the political life and the structures found at the origin. If these continue to manifest post-migration, they may lower interest in participating in the host's political events. Our findings show that this holds true for recent immigrants and for those who have spent more than 20 years in the host society. This supports the early socialisation hypothesis and shows that it produces a pervasive influence. However, constraint by the data we use, we cannot test for the assumed loyalties.

The point estimates for the effects of the two main predictors, hVT and oVT, are similar in size. The standard errors are almost identical as well. This means that if one migrates from an identical culture of voting, the two effects will compensate each other. Compared to other foreign-born respondents, immigrants from societies of origin with a lower turnout might have higher odds of voting. Table 3 shows that, for several theoretical cases, the only combinations that lead to decreasing participation are those with low hVT and high oVT. This is the example not only of Nordic people migrating to Eastern European societies, but also of immigrants from Ghana, Guinea-Bissau or Australia living in France or Switzerland. Even for these combinations, the confidence interval shows that the two effects compensate each other.

The second block of models in Table 2 considers the impact of the political opportunity structure. In the case of immigrants, this is measured by the presence of inclusive institutions (MIPEX), the attitudes towards foreign-born residents and the parties' manifestos. However, none of these have significant effects by themselves, or as stated by H3, on the impact of oVT. The indicators related to institutions and how they might change according to political programmes are available for a smaller

Table 3. Point estimates of the combined effect of hVT and oVT for various values of the two indicators.

	oVT: turnout in the country of origin					
hVT: turnout in the host society (%)	20%	33%	50%	66%	75%	90%
50	0.38	0.24	0.06	−0.10	−0.20	−0.35
66	0.56	0.43	0.25	0.08	−0.01	−0.17
75	0.67	0.53	0.36	0.19	0.10	−0.06
90	0.84	0.71	0.53	0.37	0.27	0.12

number of host societies. Their interaction with oVT is positive, as expected based on H3, but insignificant. It might be possible that a significant relationship could have emerged if more hosts were considered. However, this is not true for attitudes towards immigrants, for which full information is available. We conclude that the political opportunity structure, as measured in this study, is not a statistically significant mediator of the influence of oVT.

Data also reject the hypotheses regarding the length of exposure. The length of exposure to the host's influence does not affect the impact of the culture of voting in the host society or the society of origin. In addition to considering time as a continuous variable (Table 2), we also ran models with time as a categorical variable, to better capture the impact of being a recent immigrant. However, this did not influence the results. Exposure remained significant, as did the effect of hVT, but the interaction of hVT with the time spent in the host country was not significant. The same pattern was found in the case of oVT.

The only significant cross-level interaction is the one between oVT and the institutional arrangements of voting. The final model shows that the negative effect of the origin's culture of voting occurs mainly in the countries where voting is compulsory. When one controls for the cross-level interaction, the direct influence of the origin's culture of voting remains negative but insignificant. The interaction confirms hypothesis H6. It shows that in the host countries with compulsory voting, each unit increase in the origin's turnout reduces by 0.03, the odds that the immigrant will declare that he/she intends to vote. In other words, the immigrants who are used to vote according to the wide-spread behaviours in their country of origin, when confronted to mandatory voting systems, tend to decrease their likelihood to cast ballots. It might be the case of not understanding how someone should be forced to vote, when this is the natural fact to do. A rejection reaction is triggered, determining the lower probability to vote. The impact is however weak compared to that of compulsory voting. The point estimate for the total effect of compulsory voting drops below 0 only when the indicator of the origin's turnout is larger than 77%. The 95% confidence interval includes 0 regardless of the size of oVT, but at $p = 0.10$, compulsory voting stops significantly raising the odds of declaring one's intention to vote, only if oVT is 78% or larger.

Discussion and Implications

This paper discussed how resilience, exposure and transferability shape immigrants' willingness to participate in voting. We argued that early socialisation in the country of origin and exposure to institutional and cultural influences in the host society determine the voter turnout. The findings strongly support the exposure hypothesis. However, the evidence only shows that the culture of voting in the host society makes immigrants behave as the native-born electors do; it does not show that a longer stay in the host society boosts assimilation. On the other hand, contrary to expectations,

transferability is not supported by our data; instead, resilience might be a more effective explanation of immigrants' willingness to vote.

To better specify the impact of the origin's culture, we considered its interaction effects with three blocks of shaping conditions: the political opportunity structure, the length of time spent in the host society and the institutional characteristics of the voting systems. The only one with a significant impact was the last block, particularly compulsory voting, which is harmful to transferability. A political and social setup favourable to immigrants does not seem to affect the impact of the origin's culture, and neither does the length of exposure. In fact, we have no indication of the quality of exposure. Length of time spent in a certain social environment presumably gives information on probable exposure, but nowadays' satellite TV, fast communication over the Internet, teleworking and working in expat communities may lead to exposure to completely different influences from the hosts' initial social values, including latent orientation towards political participation. This is a research direction that can be pursued to understand how the frequency of interaction with the native-born population and consumption of media produced in the host society influence immigrants.

The unexpected negative effect of oVT is consistent with the results of Black (1987) regarding recent immigrants to Canada. Black (1987) discussed the impact of self-reported political behaviour in the country of origin on various forms of political behaviour in the host society. Voting was not included, but the closest to voting was 'contacting politicians/officials.'[1] For this behaviour, the transferability hypothesis, particularly with respect to political interests manifested in the country of origin, does not hold true; some of the effects are even negative. Wals (2011) reported opposite findings, showing that interest in Mexican politics positively affects the voting intentions of Mexican migrants to the USA. However, Black's results address more than one particular migration flow. Although Black's study did not use exactly the same types of variables that we employed, the findings had a similar direction. A strong culture of political participation in the country of origin may imprint migrants with interest in the origin's politics and voting. If resilient, such orientation may actually deter participation in the host's more abstract political processes such as voting in national elections, but not in more concrete political actions including voting in local elections and involvement in civic associations and social movements.

One of the direct implications of our findings is on the debate over the continuity of political culture, 'one of the recurring questions in immigrant political socialisation literature' (Jones-Correa 1998, 326). We found that early socialisation contributes to how individuals act in the new environment of the host society. We also showed that this is not concurrent, but complementary to the influence of institutionalisation; consequently, socialisation occurs gradually, even at adult ages. Rejecting transferability and supporting the resilience assumption deserves further investigation. The data we used did not include measures of current or previous interest and involvement in the origin's politics, but only average participation in the country of origin. Testing for the alternate explanation is a task for future research.

Those intending to boost the participation of immigrants from societies of origin with a higher turnout could consider campaigns explaining how the host's political setup is similar to the reliable elements from the origin's setup. This may increase familiarity with the system, capture the attention of foreign-born voters and transform resilience into transferability. One should also note that the most important catalyst of participation is a pre-existing culture of participation. Immigrants living in countries with a higher turnout have higher odds of declaring the intention to vote. Thus, the cultural trend of decreasing turnout (Blais, Gidengil, and Nevitte 2004) remains a cultural one, and is unlikely to be influenced by incoming migration.

Future research should control for three additional factors: language proficiency, geographical distance between host and origin and regional discrepancies within the host society. Understanding the native language and the electoral system are crucial skills for voting (Leighley and Vedlitz 1999; Morales 2011; de Rooij 2012, 458; Ramakrishnan 2005, 75). The capacity to communicate in the host's context should make it easier to transfer voting habits from the origin. However, linguistic proximity depends on both the origin and the host (Van Tubergen and Kalmijn 2005), which is difficult to address when dealing with such a large number of countries of birth. One solution might be to distinguish 2.0 and 1.5 generations. The reversibility of migration can deter immigrants' turnout (Bueker 2005), which makes geographical proximity another variable to consider for further refinements.

This paper contributed to a better understanding of the contextual determinants of immigrant political participation. It showed that the national political culture shapes foreign-born residents' intentions to vote. The future research agenda should extend these findings and look closer at the sub-cultures of the communities in both the origin and the host society. This would imply considering local elections as well. The nation-state represents a relevant framework of reference for immigrants' mobilisation, which produces a stronger impact than the local determinants (Koopmans 2004). However, local elections produce results that are closer, in terms of immediate impact and particularly in smaller communities, to the life of the voter. At the local level, the density of the co-ethnic migrant group should also be considered as a factor of political mobilisation (Togeby 1999).

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Note

[1] Using cluster analysis, de Rooij (2012) showed that in the case of Western immigrants to Europe, contacting politicians is the most similar political behaviour to voting when compared to involvement in three types of protest acts or to volunteering in civic or in

political associations. In the case of non-Western migrants, voting forms its own cluster, being the least similar to the other variables.

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