



The Determinants of Migrant Receiving and Origin Country Electoral Politics

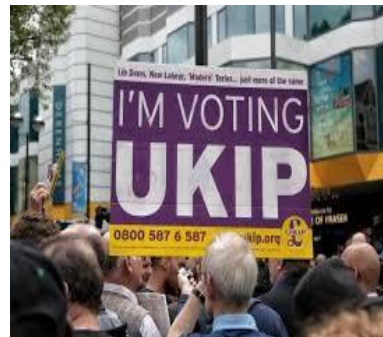
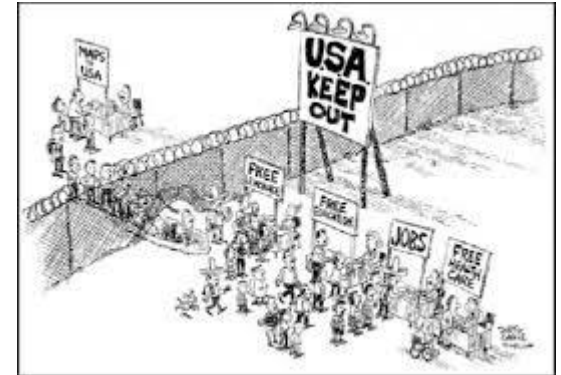
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Politics of Immigration/Immigrant Politics



Transnational and Diaspora Politics



Existing Research on (Im)migration and Politics

- Epistemic Bi-Furcation
 - Receiving and Origin-Country Perspectives
 - Need for more conceptual cross-fertilization

Receiving Country Perspective

- Immigrant Incorporation and Political Participation
 - Socioeconomic Status is positively correlated with electoral participation among immigrants and ethnic minorities
(Verba et al. 1995)
 - Variation in political participation across groups within a single polity
(Heath et al. 2013; Maxwell 2012; Ramakrishnan 2005;)
 - Variation in political participation across multiple destination countries
(Brubaker 1989; Morales and Giugni 2011; Schain 2008)
 - Grass-Roots Civic Engagement and Migrant Organizations
(Bloemraad 2006, 2005; Koopmans et al. 2005; Portes & Fernandez-Kelly 2015; Schrover and Vermeulen 2005)

Origin Country Perspective

- **Diasporas, Conflict and Homeland Politics**

(Cohen 2008; Gamlen 2008; Lyons and Mandaville 2012; Pedraza 2007; Wiberg 2007; Van Hear 2006)

- **Extraterritorial Citizenship & External Voting Policies**

(Baubock 2003, 1994; Collyer 2103; Lafleur 2013)

- **Political and (Financial) Remittances**

(Ahmed 2014; Amadov & Sasse 2014 Dionne et al. 2014; O' Mahoney 2013)

- **Political Transnational Engagement**

(Guarnizo & Chaudhary 2014; Guarnizo et al. 2003; Levitt 2001; Ostergaard-Nilesen 2003; Portes and Fernandez-Kelly 2015; Waldinger 2015, 2008; Vertovec 2004)

Political Transnational Engagement

Two Competing Interpretations

A) Incorporation into receiving societies decreases transnational political engagement with origin countries

(Waldinger 2015, 2008; Sohel and Waldinger 2013)

B) Incorporation and transnational political engagement are complimentary processes

(Fernandez-Kelly 2015; Guarnizo et al. 2003)

Limitations in Past Research

- Analyses of immigrant incorporation focus on socio-economic integration rather than political participation in receiving countries
- Much of the literature focuses on Latin American and Caribbean migrant flows to the United States
- Lack of comparative quantitative analysis of multiple migrant groups and multiple destinations
- Insufficient focus on origin country contexts

Research Questions

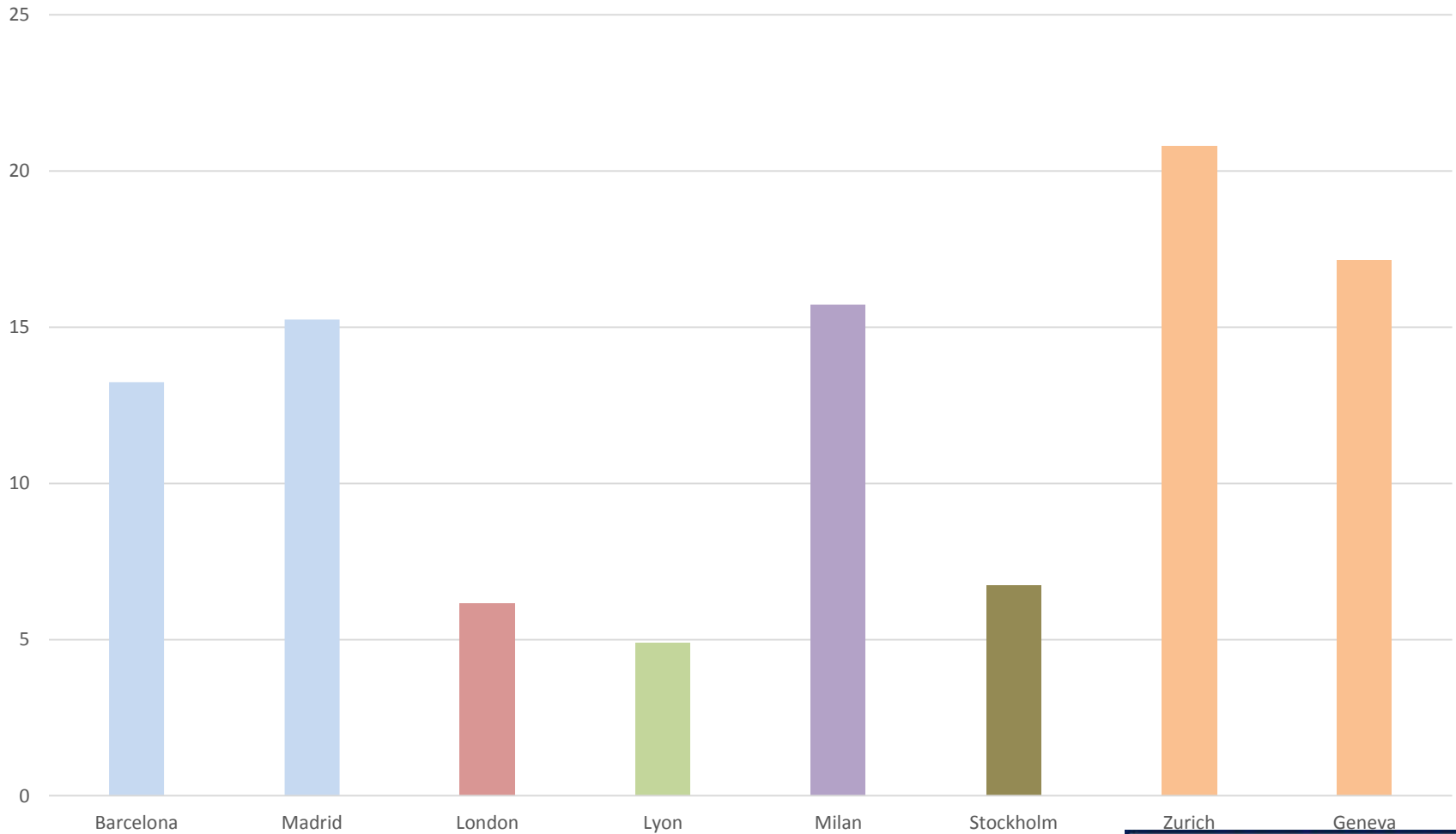
- To what extent are immigrant political participation and transnational political engagement different processes?
- What is the relationship between receiving and origin country-oriented political engagement?

- Morales et al. (2004-2008)
 - LOCALMULTIDEM: Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe: Participation, Organizational Networks and Public Practices at the Local Level (Individual-Level Survey)
 - Total Sample (N=3476)
 - 14 Migrant Groups
 - 8 Destination Cities Across 6 Receiving Countries

Receiving Cities/Countries (8 Cities/6 Countries)

- Barcelona & Madrid (Spain)
- London (UK)
- Lyon (France)
- Stockholm (Sweden)
- Zurich & Geneva (Switzerland)

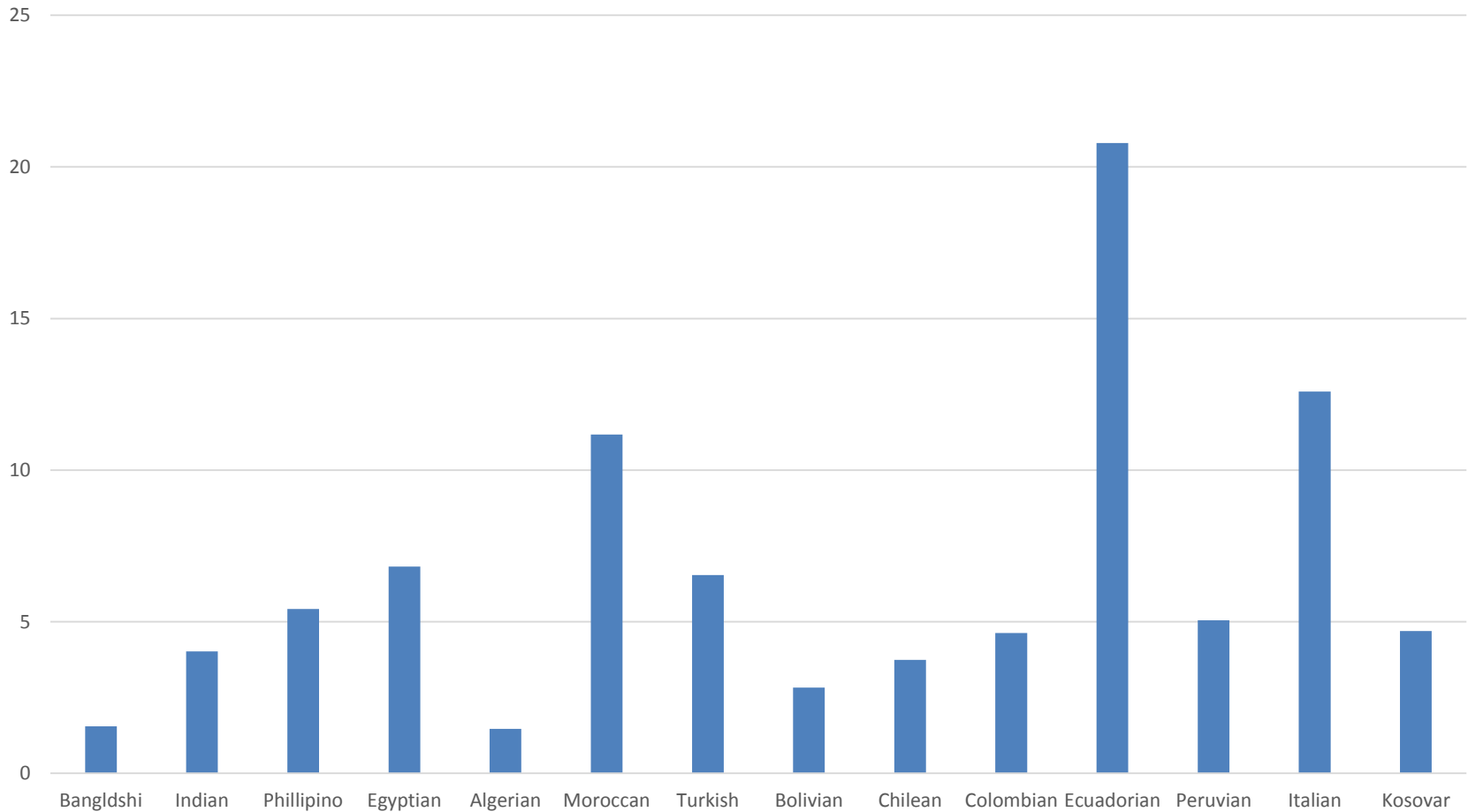
Sample Distribution by Receiving City



Migrant Groups/Origin Countries

- Bangladesh, India, Philippines
- Egypt, Algeria, Morocco
- Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru
- Italy, Turkey, Kosovo

Sample Distribution by Origin Countries



Categorical Dependent Variables

Multinomial Logistic Regression

DV1 - Voted in Last Receiving Country National Election?

- Not Eligible
- Eligible, But Did Not Vote
- Eligible, Voted

DV2 – Voted in Last Homeland Election?

- Not Eligible
- Eligible, But Did Not Vote
- Eligible, Voted



Independent Variables

- Standard Individual-Level Socio-Economic and Demographic Variables
- Country-Level Controls for Receiving Cities/Countries
- Country-Level Controls for Origin Countries

Political Opportunity Structures-Receiving Cities/Countries

Data – 2014 LOCALMULTIDEM IDE POS Indicators

Relative Openness or Access to Individual and Group Rights

-1 = Most Restrictive, 0=Neutral, +1= Most Inclusive

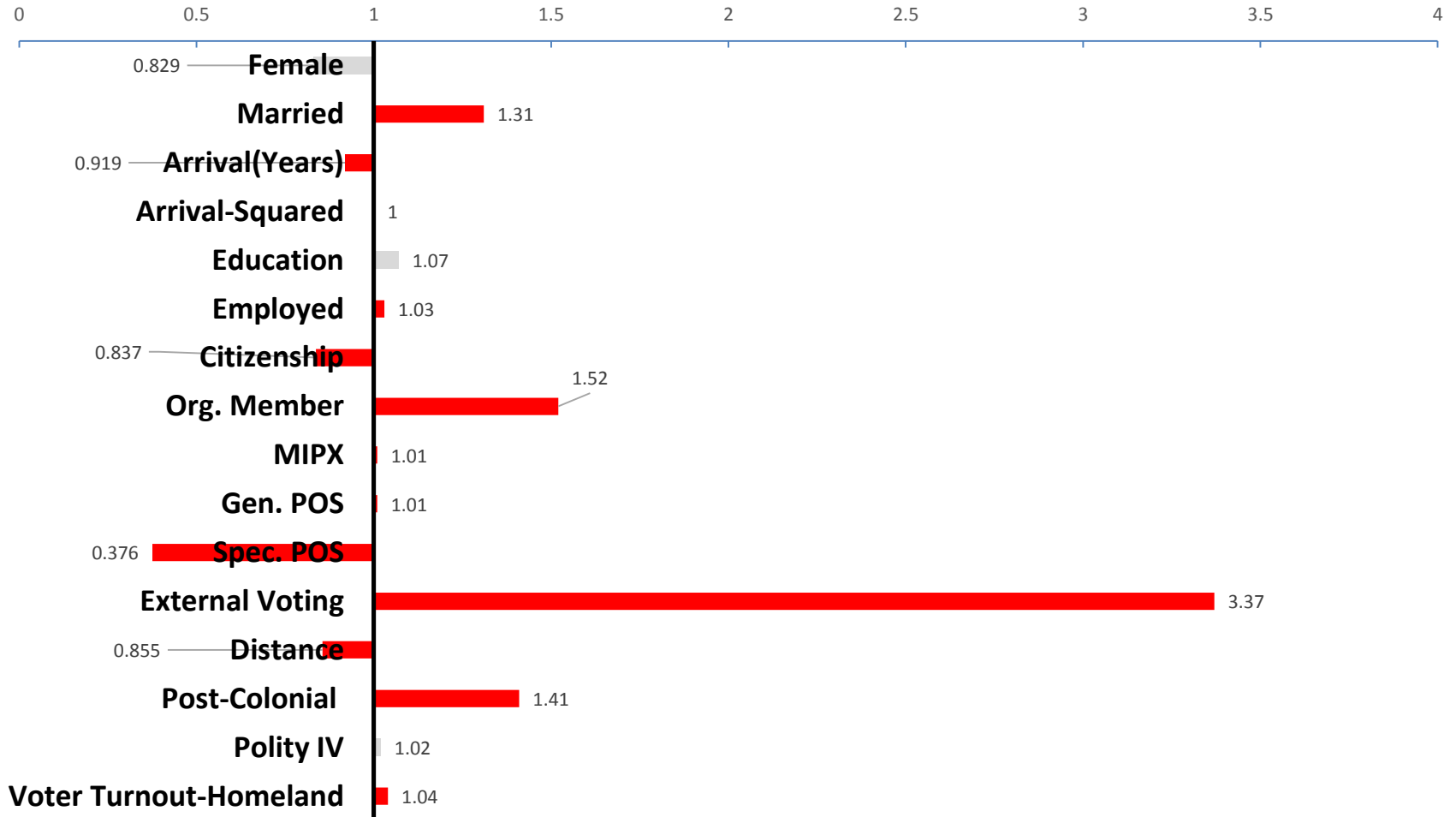
- General POS (Openness of Political System-City Level)
- Specific POS (Policies targeting immigrants-City Level)
- 2008 MIPX – National-Level Policies

Origin Country Contexts

- External Voting Allowed (Dummy)
- Post-Colonial Migration (Dummy)
- Polity IV Score
- Voter Turnout in Last Election
- Distance Between Origin Capital and Destination City

Model 1

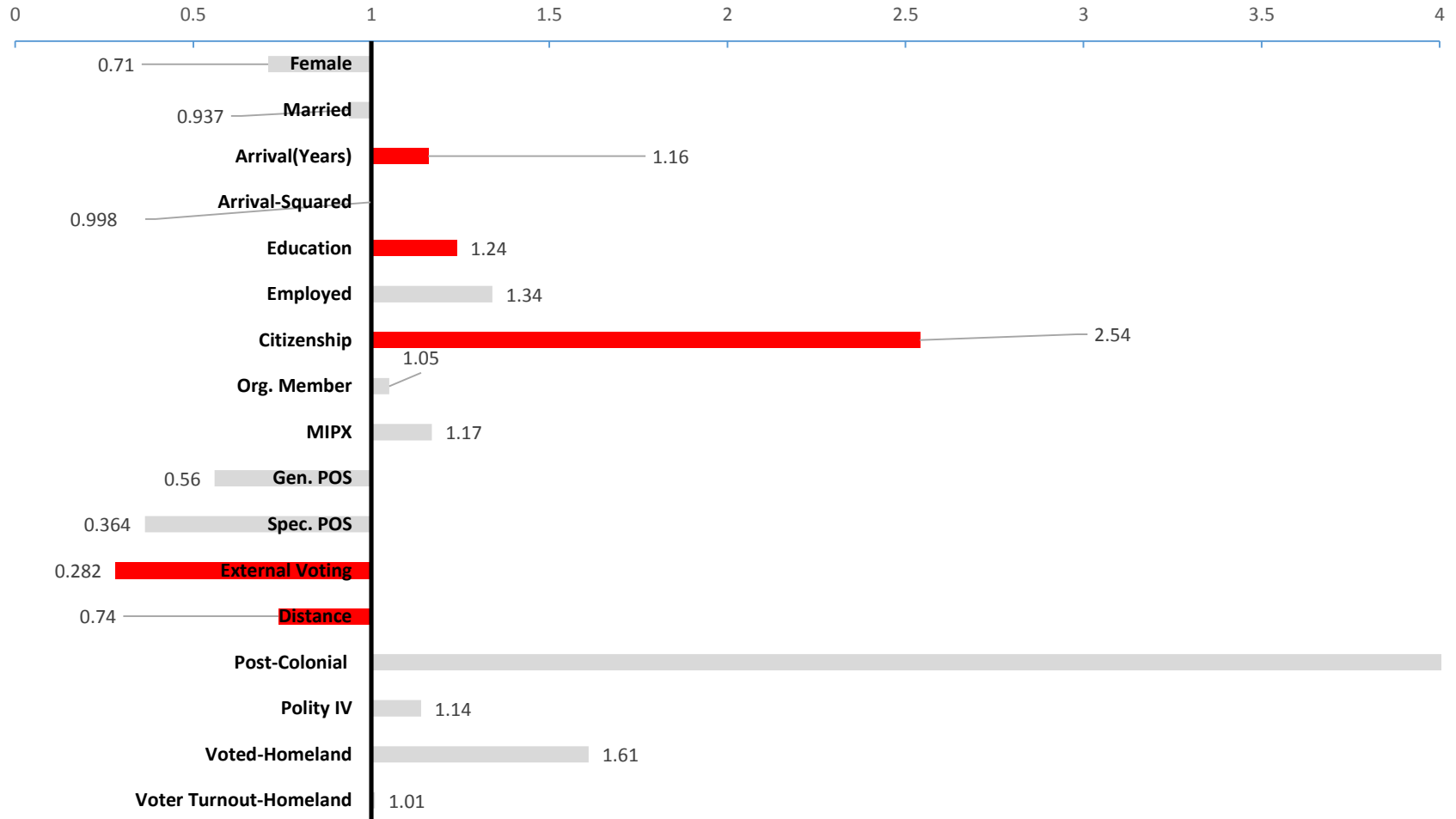
The Odds of Voting in Last Homeland Election (Reference: Eligible, Did Not Vote)



Multinomial Logistic Regression (Odds Ratios)
 Red Signifies Significance at .01 and .001
 Robust Std. Errors Clustered by Receiving City

Model 2

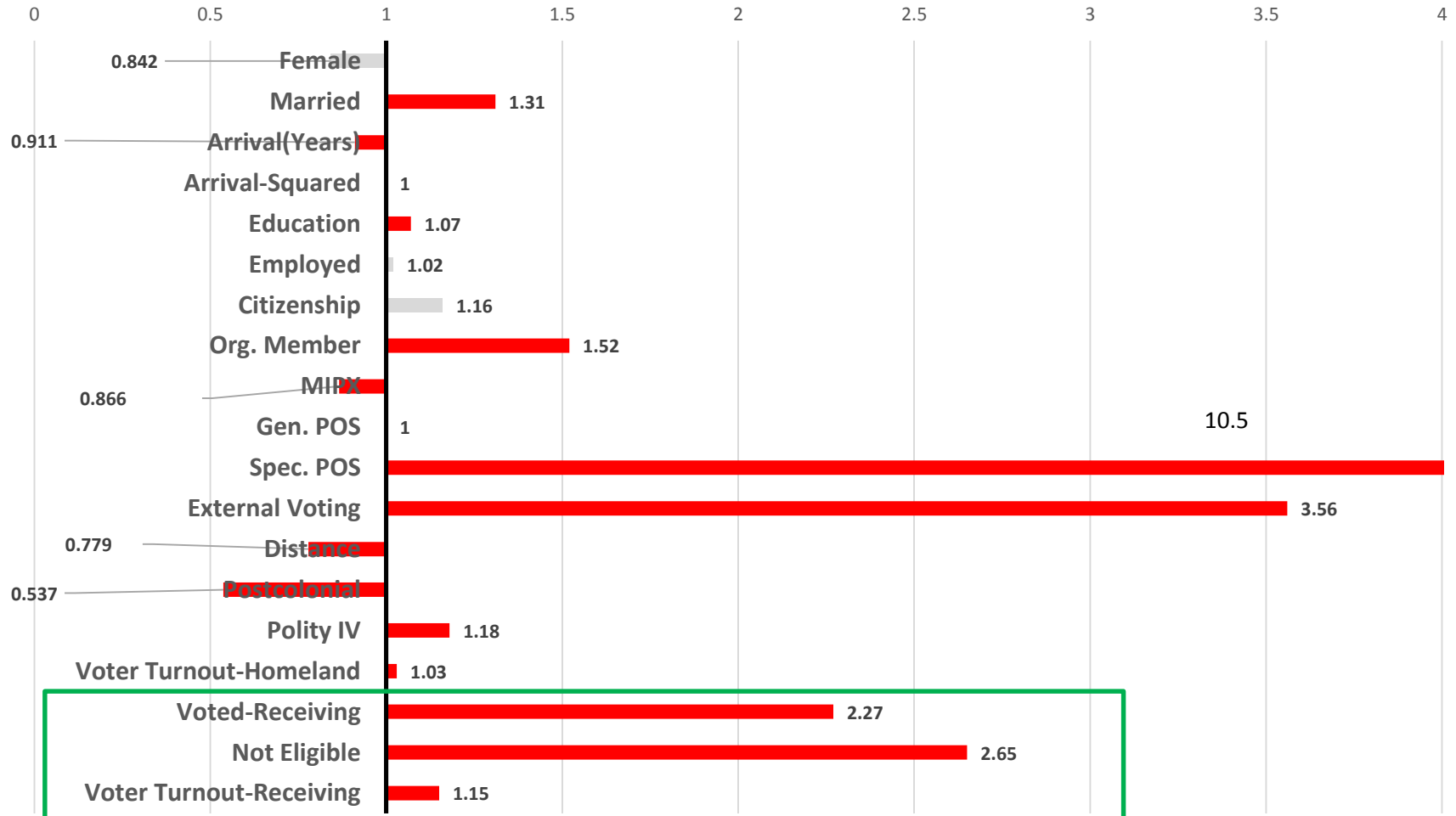
The Odds of Voting in Last Receiving Country Election (Reference: Eligible, Did Not Vote)



Multinomial Logistic Regression (Odds Ratios)
 Red Signifies Significance at .01 and .001
 Robust Std. Errors Clustered by Receiving City

Model 3

Receiving Country Voting on Odds of Voting in Homeland (Reference: Eligible, Did Not Vote)



Multinomial Logistic Regression (Odds Ratios)
 Red Signifies Significance at .01 and .001
 Robust Std. Errors Clustered by Receiving City

Key Findings

Receiving and Origin-Country Political Engagement are different process with different determinants

Receiving Country Political Engagement (Voting) Increases the Odds of Voting in Origin Country Elections

Conclusions

- **Divided Loyalties vs. Complementarity?**
 - Evidence supports both interpretations.
 - Length of residency and naturalization decrease transnational political engagement.
 - However, politically active migrants who vote in receiving country are also likely to vote in homeland elections.

Simultaneity in Political Agency

- Migrants intent on activating their political agency will do so if they are granted access to institutional electoral politics.
- The strong connection between receiving and origin country voting requires more theoretical synthesis between research on immigrant political integration and transnational politics.

Questions, Comments, Criticisms?

Thank You

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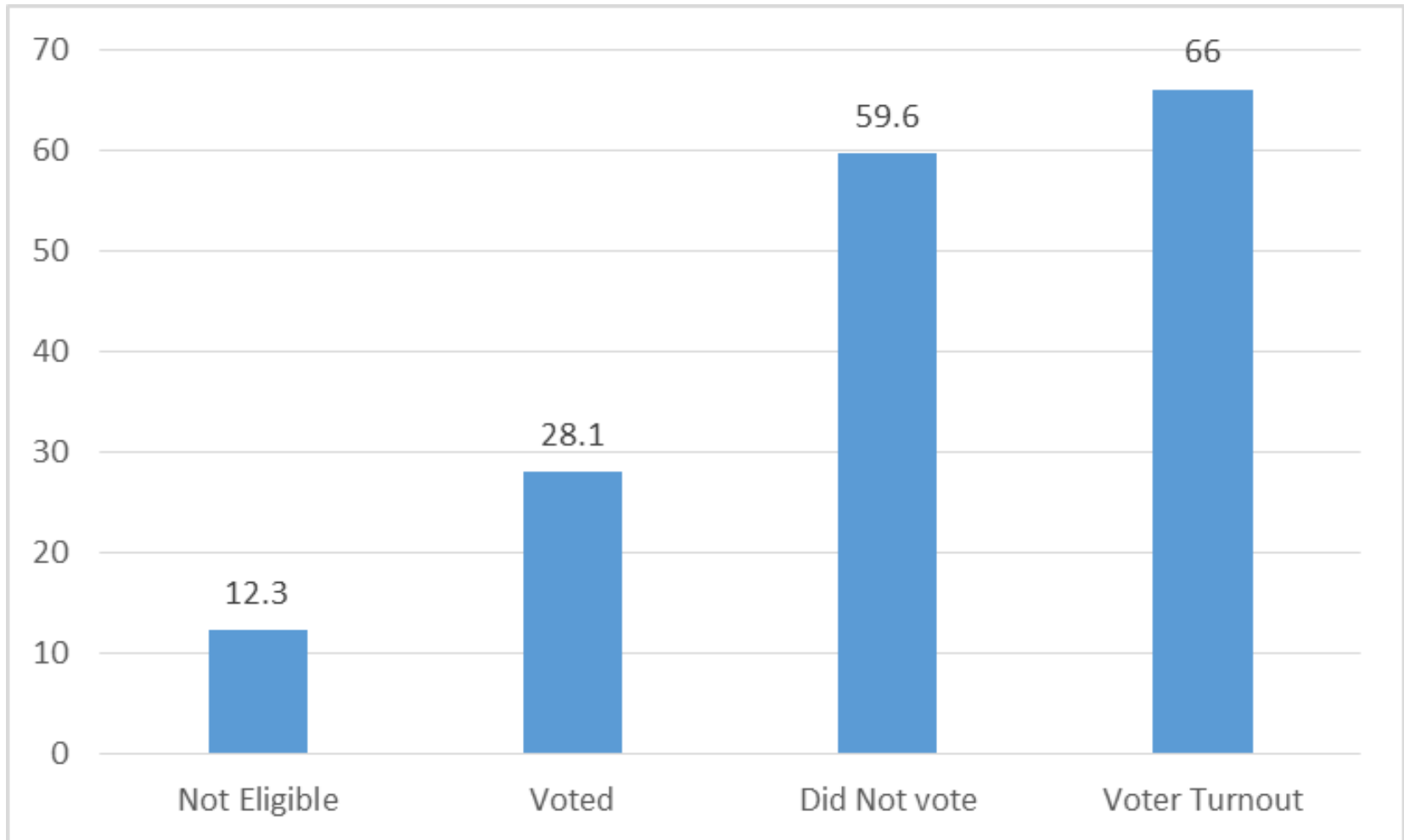
Toward a Theory of Transnational Political Action

- Under which conditions do migrant communities engage in transnational political action.
 - Bringing the Origin State Back In
 - Typology of Origin States
 - Geopolitical Contexts
(between origin and receiving state)
 - Typology of Transnational Political Action

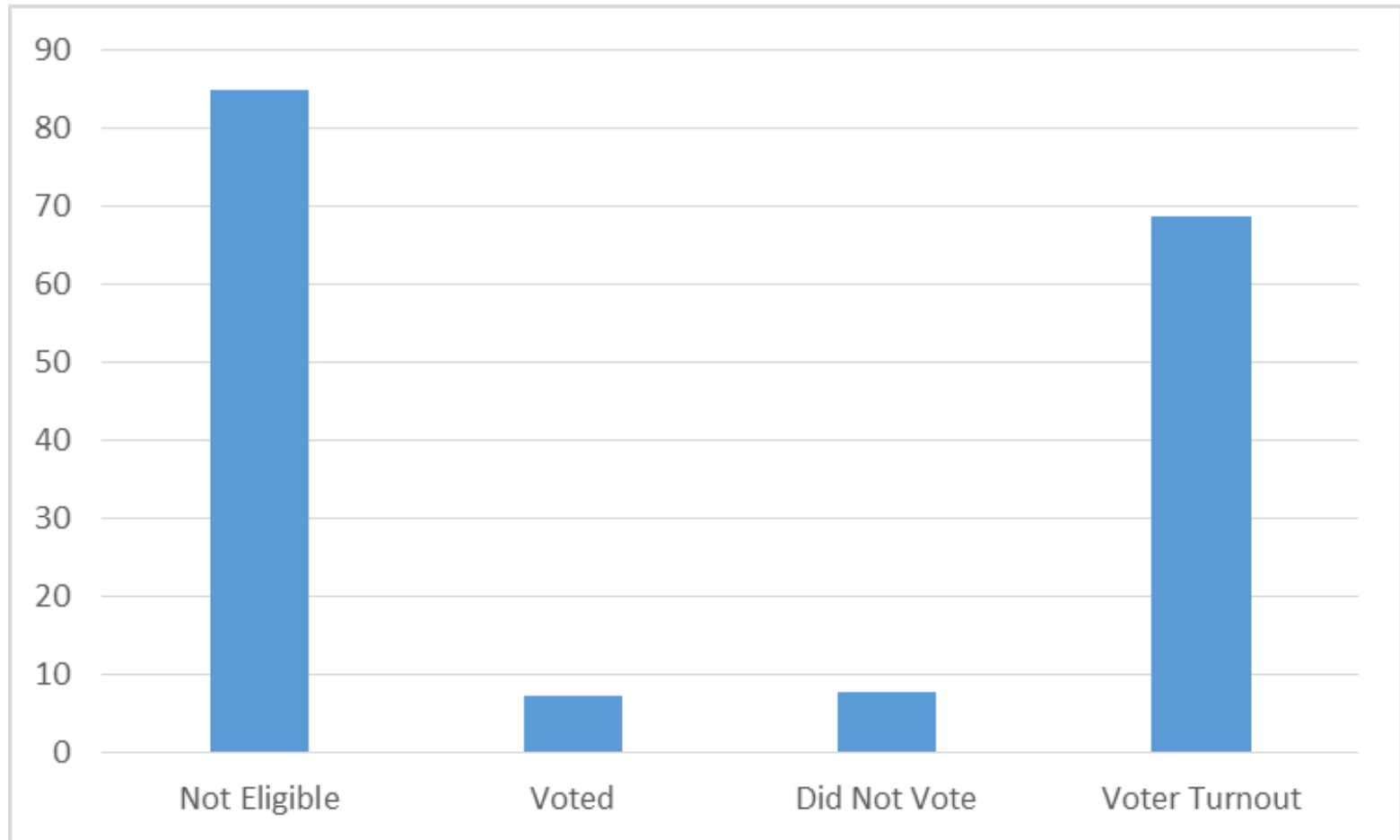
Multinomial Logistic Regression Models (Odds Ratios)

	Model 1: Voting in Homeland Elections	Model 2: Voting in Receiving Country Elections	Model 3: Receiving Country Voting on Homeland Elections
Socio-demographics			
Sex (1=female, 0=male)	.829(.073)	.710(.151)	.842(.075)
Married (1=yes, 0=no)	1.31(.147)*	.937(.249)	1.31(.147)*
Years Since Arrival (Cont.)	.919(.014)***	1.16(.045)***	.911(.015)***
Years Since Arrival Squared	1.00(.000)***	.998(.000)***	1.00(.000)***
Educational Attainment (Ordinal)	1.07(.034)	1.24(.087)**	1.07(.034)*
Employed (1=yes, 0=no)	1.03(.111)	1.34(.328)	1.02(.112)
Host Country Citizenship (1=Yes)	.837(.137)	2.54(.875)**	1.16(.217)
Organizational Membership (1=Yes)	1.52(.141)***	1.05(.242)	1.52(.142)***
Host Country Contexts			
MIPX (Ordinal)	1.01(.008)	1.17(.121)	.866(.021)***
General P.O.S. (Ordinal)	1.01(.213)	.560(.282)	1.00(.210)
Immigrant P.O.S. (Ordinal)	.376(.086)***	.364(.664)	10.5(5.54)***
Origin Country Contexts*			
External Voting Allowed? (1=Yes)	3.37(.539)***	.282(.149)*	3.56(.624)***
Distance Between Capitals (Cont.)	.855(.021)***	.740(.072)**	.779(.027)***
Post-Colonial Migration (1=Yes)	1.41(.201)*	7.99(9.57)	.537(.104)**
Polity IV Score	1.02(.026)	1.14(.096)	1.18 (.039)***
Voted in Last Homeland Election	---	1.61(.533)	---
Voter Turnout Homeland Elections	104(.005)***	1.01(.009)	1.03(.004)***
Domestic Political Behavior (Ref: Eligible, But Did Not Vote)			
Voted in Last Domestic Election	---	---	2.27(.656)**
Not Eligible	---	---	2.65(.614)***
Voter Turnout in Last Host Election	---	---	1.15 (.05)***

Overall Voting in Last Homeland Election



Overall Voting in Last Receiving Country Election



Determinants of Voting in Receiving Country Elections

- Years Since Arrival +
- Educational Attainment +
- Host Country Citizenship +
- External Voting Allowed -
 - Distance -

Determinants of Voting in Origin Country Elections

- Married +
- Org/Association Membership +
 - External Voting Allowed +
 - Postcolonial Migration +
- Voter Turnout in Origin Elections

- Years since arrival –
- Immigrant POS –
 - Distance –

Effects of Receiving Country Voting on Transnational Political Engagement

- Voting in Receiving Country Elections +
- Not Eligible to Vote in Receiving Country Elections +
 - Voter turnout in Receiving Country +
 - Voter turnout in Origin Country +