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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

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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.

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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 article 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

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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 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 expands the existing literature in two ways. First, complementing recent research on transnationalism, we suggest that there may be a two-pronged 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 some 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.

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: 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. 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-local 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 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.

> 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 di□erent 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 su□cient 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-pronged e□ect of this connection, which has origins and e□ects 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 a□ected 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, 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 di□erent 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.

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 44 out of 51 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 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 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 coe□cients, 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.

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.

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

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).

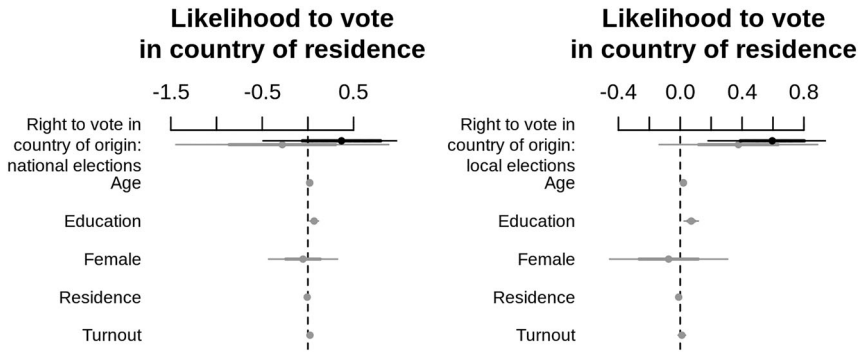


Figure 1. Likelihood to vote in the local elections in the country of residence: national-to-local and local-to-local effects. Notes: Outcome variable: voted in municipal election in the country of residence (Canton of Geneva); the point estimates are given as dots with 95% credibility intervals as lines. Refer to Appendix A2 for tabular representation, N = 495 in all models

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.

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

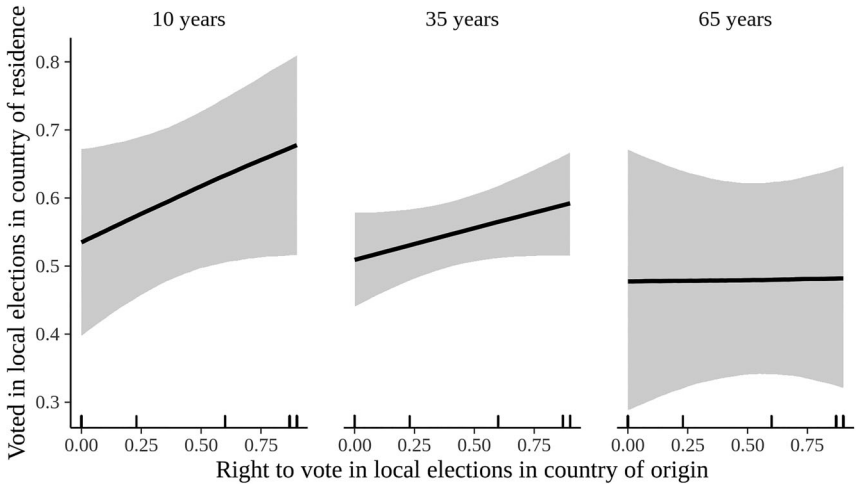


Figure 2. Marginal effect of local-to-local connections at different residence times. Notes: Outcome variable: voted in municipal election (country of residence); given are the marginal effects of local voting rights at residence time of 10, 35 (median), and 65 years; the shaded areas give 95% credibility intervals; the rug plots at the bottom of the panels indicate that there are observations of local voting rights across the range, N = 495

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

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 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.

Notes

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"; Wellman et al. "Replication Data for 'The Extraterritorial Voting Rights and Restrictions Dataset (1950 - 2020)'".
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.
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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 o□ered 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."
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37. "Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism," 708.
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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 e□ects of transnational electoral connections.
46. van Buuren and Groothuis-Oudshoorn, "Mice: Multivariate Imputation by Chained Equations in R."
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."
52. Sciarini and Goldberg, "Turnout Bias in Postelection Surveys: Political Involvement, Survey Participation, and Vote Overreporting."
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55. The timing of local elections in Italy changes across municipalities.

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