

Handbook of Norwegian Politics (2025)

Chapter 11: Political Participation and Voter Turnout Inequalities in Norway¹

Dag Arne Christensen
Research Professor
NORCE Society (Bergen)
dach@norceresearch.no

Kristin Strømsnes
Professor
Department of Comparative Politics (University of Bergen)
kristin.stromsnes@uib.no

Abstract

Political participation in Norway is relatively high compared to most countries. Still, research finds substantial inequality along several socio-economic dimensions. This chapter gives, first, a review of research on various forms of political and civic engagement in Norway. Second, to supplement existing studies, we take a closer look at the immigrant population, a group of citizens that lags behind when it comes to political participation and that is hard to reach through ordinary surveys. Using government turnout records for all eligible voters in the 2021 parliamentary elections, we examine how individual-level characteristics affect the likelihood of participating in the elections across Norwegian-born and refugee and family-reunion immigrants. We relate immigrant voter turnout not only to individual-level resources but also to home-country characteristics, and especially to the democratic experience from the immigrant's home country.

Keywords: Participation, turnout, protest activity, social inequality, immigration

¹ Cite as: Christensen DA & K Strømsnes (2025) Political Participation and Voter Turnout Inequalities in Norway. In: Kolltveit, K; Haugsgjerd Allen, H; Braut-Hegghammer, M & BE Rasch (Eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Norwegian Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 195-216.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198888581.013.0011>

This research was supported by the Nordforsk project 196398 Political Inclusion in an Era of Radicalization (POLINERA)

Introduction

Compared with most countries, Norway has been characterized by a high level of political participation. As is the trend in several Western democracies, however, the level and form of political participation are also changing in Norway. While the conventional participation forms are becoming less popular, more citizens take part in unconventional forms of political participation. There are also increasing inequalities between groups of citizens when it comes to who participates or not. In addition, the Norwegian population itself has changed, and two changes are especially worth mentioning. First, the level of education is much higher now than it used to be. While only around 2 per cent of the population had higher education in the early 1970s, this is the case for more than 40 per cent today (Fimreite and Ivarsflaten 2020). Education is among the strongest predictors of political participation, and a rising education level should therefore correlate with increased participation, but this is not the case. Several of the conventional forms of participation are decreasing in the same period. Thus, the causal effect of education on participation is contested in the literature (Aars and Christensen 2020). A second substantial change is the strong increase in the immigrant population since the 1970s. While only 1,5 per cent of the population in 1970 was foreign-born, this has increased to 16 per cent in 2023 (Statistics Norway, 2023). We do have some knowledge about the level of integration and participation among this group of citizens, but far from enough. This is why we, in this chapter, in addition to presenting and reviewing existing studies of political participation in Norway, provide an original analysis of variation between different citizen groups regarding a specific form of participation, namely the turnout gap between native Norwegians and immigrants.

The chapter proceeds as follows. First, we summarize and review research on different forms of political participation in Norway, especially voter turnout, membership and participation in political parties and civil society organizations and protest activity. Second, we take a closer look at the level of turnout in the immigrant population. Specifically, we analyze the variation

in turnout between the immigrant population and the native population, and within the immigrant population. In this part, we first discuss previous research on immigrant turnout and the possible link between the home country's democratic culture and host-country turnout. We proceed to account for the data, methodological issues, and country-level measures. Then we present the results and conclusions. The analysis indicates that turnout among immigrants is higher for those arriving from democratic than non-democratic countries, controlled for socioeconomic status.

Political participation in Norway

One way to evaluate the quality of democracy in a country is to look at the level of political participation and how equal or unequal it is distributed between groups in the population. In the 1970s and 1980s, these issues created huge debates within the Norwegian research community (Strømsnes 1993; Fimreite and Ivarsflaten 2020). Martinussen (1977) concluded that Norway was a ‘distant democracy’ where the level of participation was low and severely unequally distributed, while Lafferty (1981) described the country as a well-functioning democracy, where the level of participation was high and most citizens took part in politics in one way or another. Since then, the citizens’ participation repertoire and the composition of the population have changed substantially. Earlier it was common to look at political participation as something associated with elections and parties, now citizens have a far more well-stocked toolbox when they want to influence politics (Theocharis and van Deth 2019).

Research on political participation in Norway has been dominated by survey-based studies of voter turnout, with systematic collection of data on voting behavior and attitudes covering every election since 1957 (Aardal 2017; Bergh et al. 2020). There is also a substantial amount of research on membership in political parties (Heidar and Jupskås 2023) and on participation in various kinds of organizations and associations within civil society (Enjolras and Strømsnes 2018). When it comes to more unconventional forms of political participation, the collection of

data has been less systematic, but several of the regular population surveys sporadically include questions about alternative forms of participation and protest activities. In addition, international comparative studies such as the World Values Survey and the European Social Survey regularly include questions about political participation, allowing for comparison of the level of participation between Norway and other countries.

An overall review of political participation in Norway reveals a picture where participation is quite high. While the conventional forms of participation as turnout and membership in political parties (what Norris 2009 calls citizen-oriented actions), are decreasing, participation in more unconventional participation forms (or cause-oriented actions) is increasing (Strømsnes 2003; Fimreite and Ivarsflaten 2020). In general, political participation tends to be more direct and individually enacted now than it used to be (Aars and Strømsnes 2007). People are also more volatile in their voting behavior and relationship to political parties (see Chapter 14 and Chapter 12 in this volume), and more loosely connected to the associations they are members of. This is all part of more general trends. When it comes to the social composition of those who participate in politics and those who don't, the picture also matches what is found in other countries, i.e., that participation varies according to individual socio-economic factors like education, gender, age, and income. In addition, as we will discuss further in the last part of the chapter, the immigrant population stands out as a group with a low participation rate compared to the native population. This was also one of the clearest expressed challenges identified in the recent national evaluation of Norwegian democracy (Knutsen et al. 2023).

Below, we look, first, at studies of the most common forms of political participation – turnout, party membership, participation in civil society organizations, and protest activity – with a special focus on the level of involvement, how the participation trend has been over time and the degree to which the level of participation is equally distributed between groups.

Voter turnout

Turnout in Norwegian parliamentary elections are high, compared to most democracies, and it has been stable since the early 1990s (see Figure 1). Still, turnout is lower compared to neighbouring Sweden and Denmark. In the last parliamentary elections in Norway in 2021, the turnout was 77.2 per cent. In Sweden and Denmark, the turnout in the parliamentary elections in 2022 was 84.2 per cent in both countries (Statistics Sweden, 2024; Statistics Denmark, 2024). The top level of turnout in Norway was in the mid-1960s, with 85.4 per cent taking part in the election. Although we have seen a decline, the change has been moderate since the 1990s. The average turnout rate in parliamentary elections since 1945 is 79.7 per cent. Furthermore, turnout is substantially higher (around 15 percentage points) in national elections than in local elections, and turnout in municipal and county elections has also decreased over time. In the September 2023 local and regional elections, turnout was 62.2 per cent in the municipal elections and 57,5 per cent in the county elections.

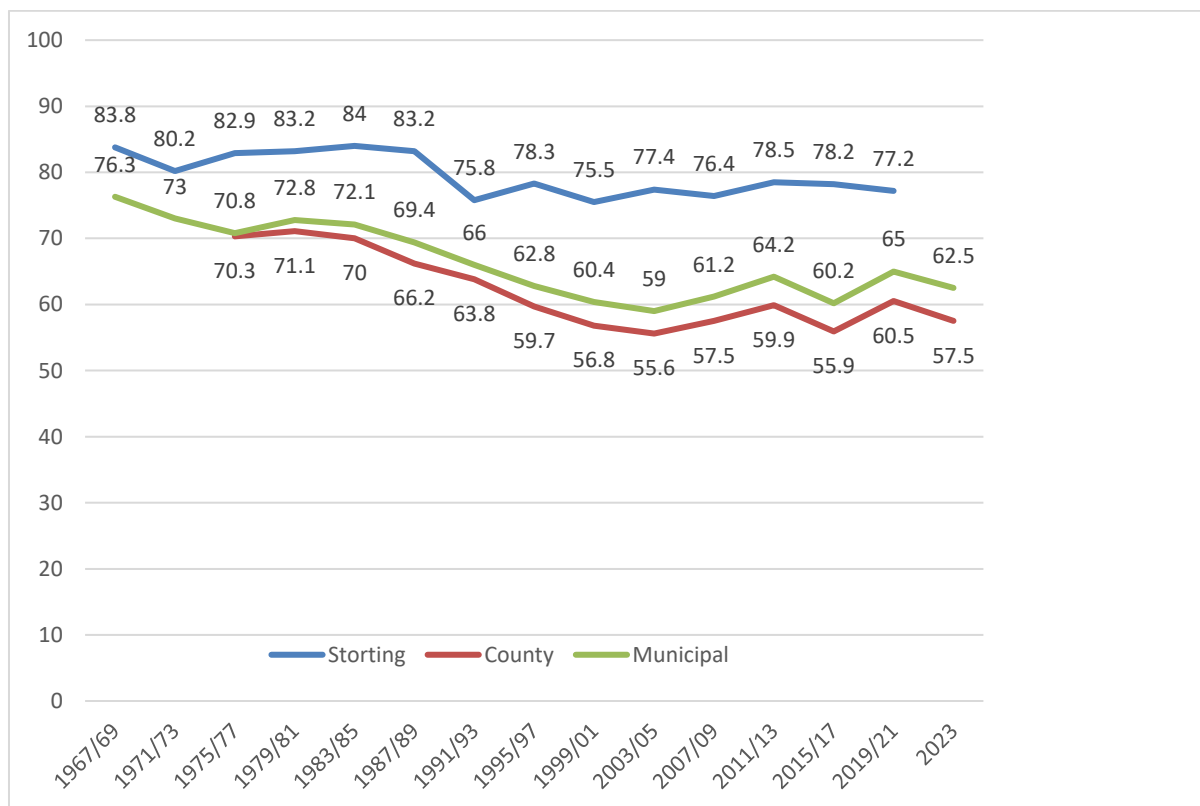


Figure 11.1: Turnout in parliamentary (Storting), regional (county), and municipal elections (1967-2023) Source: Statistics Norway 2024a

Previous Norwegian research finds substantial gaps in turnout by social background (Bratsberg et al. 2019; Finseraas and Hesstvedt 2020; Bergh et al. 2023). A study of the 2015 municipal elections found turnout inequalities ‘similar to that observed in the US’ (Bratsberg et al. 2019: 1). Bergh and colleagues (2019, 2021) followed a panel of 10,000 voters over five successive elections from 2011 to 2019 (three local and two parliamentary elections) and sorted them into three groups: (1) those who always vote (46 per cent), (2) those who vote occasionally (44 per cent), and (3) those who never vote (10 per cent). Even if nearly 90 per cent of those entitled to vote participate in elections at least occasionally, there is a substantial group that never participates in elections. Low-educated, young men and voters with an immigrant background are overrepresented among the permanent abstainers. Research also reveals that voting is a social activity, people who live together also go to the polling station together (Bergh et al. 2023), and this so-called companion effect is more common among immigrants and low-educated voters. This may indicate that for these voters, voting depends more on their family network and less on individual resources (Ibid.).

While foreign nationals over the age of 18 receive voting rights in local elections after a certain period of residence,² only naturalised Norwegian citizens can vote in parliamentary elections. A foreign national can apply for Norwegian citizenship after seven years of legal residence. Applicants between the ages of 18 and 67 must pass a citizenship test to have their application granted. Most applicants are successful (95 % in 2021), and all eligible voters are automatically registered to vote (Bergh et al. 2019). In Norway, the immigrant population consists of about 877,000 people (2023), or 16 per cent of the total population. The immigrants are heterogeneous in terms of political culture, economic motivation, educational skills, and

² Voting rights in local elections are granted to foreign nationals with at least three years of continuous legal residence in Norway. Nordic citizens receive voting rights almost immediately, provided they are registered as residing in the country on June 30 of a local election year.

familiarity with the Norwegian language. Their socioeconomic status is also markedly below that of the native citizens, which may explain part of the turnout gap.

It is also worth noting that Norway has implemented several convenience voting methods intended to increase turnout and lead to a more representative electorate (Bergh et al. 2023). Norway allows in-person early voting from thirty to two days preceding Election Day, which is a very long early voting period compared to other countries. In the 2021 election, 159 municipalities (45 per cent) allowed the voters to vote also on the Sunday before the official Election Day, which is on the second Monday in September. There has been a formidable increase in the use of early voting since it was introduced in 1993. Around 10 per cent voted early in 1993, and 58 per cent did the same in 2021 (Ibid.). In this period voter turnout is relatively stable (Figure 1), and there seems to be no effect of early voting on overall turnout. Further research is, however, needed to study if early voting has affected the participation of subgroups of voters (Finseraas and Vernby 2014). Still, voter mobilization experiments in Norway show that it is possible to mobilise some of these low-propensity occasional voters. Receiving a letter or a text message (SMS) from official electoral authorities has proven to be effective among immigrants (letters and SMS) and young native Norwegian voters (SMS). Letters to immigrants are effective in both municipal- and parliamentary elections, while text messaging only increases turnout in municipal elections (Bergh et al. 2019, 2020; Bergh and Christensen 2022).

Party membership and activity

Another crucial form of citizen participation within the representative political system is party membership. As in most Western European democracies, the number of party members in Norway has decreased over time (Van Biezen et al. 2012). Based on the parties' archives, 15 per cent of the voters were members of a political party in 1985, while this was the case for only 5 per cent of the voters in 2009 (Allern et al. 2016). The steepest decrease in party

membership was in the 1980s and 1990s (Saglie et al., 2022). From the beginning of the 1990s until 2012, party membership as a percentage of the national electorate (the M/E ratio, see Table 11.1) decreased by 3 percentage points. After that, it seems to have stabilized. This decline in membership has been stronger in Norway than in most other countries, but since the decrease started at a higher level in Norway, party membership is still, comparatively speaking, at a relatively high level (Webb and Keith 2017; Saglie et al. 2022).

Table 11.1: *Party membership as a percentage of the electorate*

Year	Electorate (E) '000	Party members (M) '000	M/E ratio
1991/3 a)	3.260	240	7.4
2000/1 a)	3.360	181	5.4
2005 b)	3.422	172	5.0
2009 a)	3.500	162	4.6
2012 b)	3.642	162	4.4
2017 a)	3.760	165	4.4

Source: a) Heidar & Jupskås, 2023; b) Webb & Keith, 2017.

The steep decline in membership numbers implies that the parties' role as membership associations is weaker than it used to be, and this development occurs in tandem with an increased professionalization in the political parties. In addition, the bonds between the voters and the parties have become less tight when it comes to party identification and voter volatility (Nordø and Ivarsflaten, 2020; Allern et al. 2016). However, when looking at the activity level among the party members, Allern, Heidar and Karlsen find that the members are still engaged in several activities, and are generally more active today than 20-30 years ago (Allern et al. 2016: 67). This conclusion also aligns with Heidar and Jupskås (2022), who find that the

members are more active now than earlier and that the deliberative capacity of the parties is stronger (see also Chapter 12 in this volume).

When looking at the social composition of the party members, they are found to be less representative of the voters over time in terms of age, and to some extent education. The average party member is older than the average voter, the middle-aged dominate and people with higher education are overrepresented. When it comes to gender, men still dominate as party members, but around 40 per cent of the members are women (Allern et al. 2016). Membership in political parties is also lower among immigrants from outside Western Europe than among native Norwegians (Kleven 2019: 49).

Participation in civil society organizations

It is not only the political parties that are experiencing membership decline; this is also experienced by trade unions and other civil society organizations. In the 1980s and -90s, about 56-57 per cent of those who were employed were members of a trade union. Now, approximately 50 per cent of those who are employed are members, and this percentage has been relatively stable the last twenty years (Nergaard 2020). Despite Norway in general being characterized by a high level of organization membership and participation (Enjolras and Strømsnes 2018; Henriksen et al. 2019), the level of union organization is lower in Norway than in the other Nordic countries, where between 60 and 92 per cent of those who are employed are trade union members. The main reason for this difference is that unemployment funding in Norway is regulated by the state and not linked to membership in trade unions, in contrast to the situation in Denmark, Sweden and Finland (Ibid.).

Regarding civil society organizations in general, 78 per cent of the Norwegian population was a member of at least one voluntary association in 2020, and 48 per cent was a member of at least two (Statistics Norway 2024b). The long-term trend, however, shows a decline in the total number of organizational memberships in Norway (Arnesen and Sivesind 2020). Most of

the memberships are also within the leisure field (sport and culture), while only 18 per cent of the memberships are in society-oriented organizations (including political parties) (*Ibid.*).

The activity level within the voluntary sector is, however, high in Norway, and has increased slightly over time (Quist et al. 2019: 77). In 2014, 61 per cent of the population reported that they had participated as volunteers the previous year, compared to 51 per cent in 1998. The share of the volunteers that are members of the organizations for which they volunteer is, however, decreasing.

Participation in civil society organizations varies between social groups. Researchers find higher participation levels among those with higher compared to lower levels of education. Generally, it is higher among men than among women and among the middle-aged and older population than among the younger (Quist et al. 2019). Especially young men are lagging behind (Fladmoe et al. 2024). Furthermore, immigrants with a background from outside Europe, North America or Oceania are characterized by a systematically lower level of civil society participation, as summarized by the government appointed Inclusion Commission (NOU 2011:14, p. 269, see also Kleven 2019).

Protest activities

As research on political participation has shown, the repertoire of political participation has grown. More people take part in unconventional forms of participation like demonstrations, protest activities and petitions organized either offline or online, they express their opinions in the newspapers or through the internet or social media, or they participate in political consumerism through boycotts and buycotts (Theocharis and van Deth 2019). We have less systematic data on these kinds of direct political activities. Comparing Norway with other European countries based on data from the European Social Survey, however, reveals a relatively high level of participation in Norway. From 2002 to 2016, between 7 and 11 per cent of the Norwegian respondents answered that they had participated in legal demonstrations in

the past twelve months, which is slightly higher than the European average (Strømsnes and Gjerde 2018).

According to the Survey of Living Conditions from 2022 (Statistics Norway 2022), 20 per cent of those above 16 years had signed a petition or public appeal in the last 12 months and 5 per cent had participated in demonstrations. Furthermore, 14 per cent of the respondents answered that they had discussed an issue with a politician or public authority in the last year, 15 per cent had written a post online about societal issues, and 4 per cent had written an article in a newspaper or magazine. A total of 10 per cent answered that they had participated actively in an organization, political party, or action group in the past 12 months. Data from the Norwegian election surveys from 1985 to 2021, also show a slight increase in unconventional modes of political participation, like signing petitions and taking part in demonstrations (own analyses). It is, however, no indication that this, more direct, channel of political participation functions as an alternative channel for those who don't get heard through the conventional channel. Also here, participation varies with socio-economic background. The youngest and those with higher education take part more frequently in demonstrations than the older and less educated (Statistics Norway 2020). When it comes to immigration, however, Kleven (2019: 53) finds that immigrants are more inclined to take part in various forms of protest activities. While 33 per cent of the immigrants from outside Europe, North America, and Oceania answer that they have participated in a protest action, a protest meeting or a demonstration to advance a particular case in the last four years, the equivalent among Norwegians without an immigrant background is 24 per cent.

Summary and further analyses

All in all, the level of political participation is comparatively relatively high in Norway. While participation within conventional forms of political participation (voting, membership in parties and unions) has declined somewhat over time, there has been an increase in unconventional

participation forms (political protest, demonstrations etc.). Researchers also point at inequalities in political participation along several socio-economic dimensions. In the remaining part of this chapter, we look more closely at inequality in participation in terms of variation in turnout among one low-turnout group: naturalized refugee and family reunion immigrants eligible to vote in parliamentary elections. In the 2021 parliamentary election, participation among this group of immigrants was around 49 per cent, while the native Norwegian population voted at a rate of 80 per cent (see Table 3); a 30-percentage points turnout gap.

Integration of immigrants into the political system has become a major political concern both in Norway and elsewhere. Many immigrant communities in Europe remain marginalized concerning economic and political participation, and social and political integration (Spierings 2016: 13). Electoral turnout is consistently lower among immigrants than among the native population all over the board (Spies et al. 2020). Voting is a crucial component of political incorporation. It is the embodiment of citizenship and represents the most fundamental act of citizens in a democracy. Turnout is not only related to the legitimacy of public policies but participation is also claimed to be important for individuals' development as citizens (De Rooij 2012) and may be important to improve their inclusion in society as such. Understanding the drivers of immigrant turnout is therefore crucial.

Data from Norwegian public registers can answer these questions more thoroughly and comprehensively than previous studies. First, in contrast to most studies which rely on self-reported measurements (two exceptions being Cassel 2002 and Goldsmith et al. 2015), we use actual and validated turnout data. Reported- and actual voter participation tends to deviate quite substantially, and the bias appears to be even stronger among immigrants than among the native population (Cassel 2002: 393). Data from government records eliminates this source of error. Second, whereas most studies (including studies based on voter records) rely on small data sets, we have a large data set consisting of all naturalized refugee/family reunion immigrants eligible

to vote in the 2021 parliamentary elections (N=157 155 immigrants). Third, because of the large number of observations, our data encompasses not only many immigrants but also 169³ different countries' backgrounds. In contrast to most previous studies, therefore, we are not confined to a limited number of immigrant populations (cf. White et al. 2008: 270).

Immigrant turnout: what factors explain variation?

Context, theory and expectations

The list of possible approaches to why many don't vote is extensive. The literature distinguishes between individual and contextual explanations (Geys 2006; Smets and Van Ham 2013; Stockemer 2017). Individual explanations highlight cost-benefit assessments, social resources, and attitudes, while contextual explanations focus on the impact of local networks (Bratsberg et al. 2021) or features of the election itself, such as party systems, competition, and various arrangements to make voting easy and convenient (Christensen and Arnesen 2013). Participation among immigrants may depend on variables such as a) immigrant-level characteristics (such as social resources and individual motivation), b) home-country characteristics (such as democratic traditions and living conditions), and c) the host country's local community in which immigrants arrive (such as local networks and local integration) (White et al. 2008; Bueker 2005; Bratsberg et al. 2021).

Previous research suggests several individual-level influences on immigrant turnout. For example, immigrants who have lived long in Norway participate more compared to newly arrived immigrants in local elections (Bergh et al. 2019). However, for immigrants arriving from poor countries, there seems to be no association between years since entry and turnout in municipal elections (Bratsberg et al. 2019: 27). Thus, turnout among immigrants may assimilate to turnout among natives over time, but it may also depend on home country characteristics.

³ This is also the reason why we focus on refugees with Norwegian citizenship. A significantly larger proportion of immigrants have the right to vote in local elections, but a large proportion of labour immigrants leave Norway after a few years (Bratsberg et al. 2005).

Immigrants arrive from extremely different backgrounds, and few studies explore how different home country characteristics such as regime type (democratic or not) relate to individual host country participation in Norwegian parliamentary elections (but see Finseraas et al. 2020 for an analysis of the 2015 local elections). Ferwerda et al. (2020) show, based on registry data and a regression discontinuity design, that early access to voting rights in Norwegian local elections increases turnout in subsequent elections and the effect is stronger among immigrants arriving from weak democracies.

We depart from two perspectives in the Norwegian and international literature. The first considers the *standard approach* in turnout research (Spies et al. 2020). According to this perspective, the turnout gap between immigrants and the native population is unsurprising. It has been known for a long time that turnout is positively related to socioeconomic status and that participation is lower among newly enfranchised groups (Tuckel and Maisel 1994: 407). Immigrants score low on both accounts. Thus, immigrants' attitudes and behaviours will be associated with the same basic demographic indicators as natives (White et al. 2008: 269). Much of the lower turnout levels among immigrants can thus be explained by compositional effects; immigrants are younger, poorer, less educated, less connected to the labour market and more predominantly male compared to the native electorate.

But lack of resources is only one part of the story. If turnout only hinges on the current context, then the country of origin should not affect the propensity to vote controlling for characteristics of the individual immigrants and the country of residence (Luttmer and Singhal 2011: 157). The second approach considers *immigrant-specific* economic, cultural, and political factors (such as economic development, language, democracy etc.) in their countries of origin. Participation is something that must be learned, and immigrants can acquire this lesson both in their country of origin and in the host country (Fuchs-Schüdeln and Schüdeln 2015; White et al. 2008). The theory of *exposure* and the theory of *transferability* is quite optimistic when it

comes to immigrant adaption. Immigrants, as well as natives, learn participation incrementally, and political interest increases throughout the life course. For instance, exposure theory emphasises immigrant exposure primarily to the host country's political system. The longer they have stayed in their new home country the more immigrants will adapt. *Resistance theory*, however, is more pessimistic about the incorporation of immigrants. The basic idea is that political predispositions are acquired early in life, become stable, and eventually resistant to change. Applied to immigrants, the hypothesis is that their attitudes and behaviours will be harder to change the longer they have lived in their home country.

To sum up, our basic assumption is that an immigrant's propensity to vote is affected not only by individual-level resources (see below) but also by the extent to which they have democratic experience from their country of origin or not. The argument is that arriving from a country with an open and competitive democratic system provides both relevant experience for immigrants and motivation and incentive to participate. On the other hand, immigrants arriving from non-democratic countries can be even more eager to use their newly won democratic rights and participate in the election. More precisely, we explore if arriving from a democratic political system increased or decreased the propensity to vote in the 2021 national election.

Study population, data, and variables

The EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007 led to a massive inflow of labour immigrants primarily from Eastern Europe to Norway. The 2015 Syrian refugee crisis and the war in Ukraine increased the number of asylum seekers and refugees. In addition, family reunification has contributed to a remarkable increase in ethnic diversity in the Norwegian electorate. Most refugees and family migrants do settle permanently in Norway and constitute our study population. We employ data that register the reason for immigration to Norway, allowing us to study turnout among 157 155 naturalized citizens who have fled to Norway to receive protection (refugees) or reunite with their families.

Table 11.2 provides an overview of the country background for the ten largest immigrant groups included in our study population. These ten largest groups of voters make up 60.6 per cent of our sample. The three largest groups are from Iraq, Afghanistan, and Eritrea. In addition, Somalia constitutes a large immigrant group (around 18,000), but since we lack data for this group at the country level, these voters are not included in the final analysis. The turnout rate among Somalis was 50 per cent.

Table 11.2: *Country of origin for the 10 largest immigrant groups in the sample.*

Country	Observations
Iraq	17,447
Afghanistan	10,429
Eritrea	9,336
Bosnia/Herzegovina	9,298
Iran	8,891
Russia	7,552
Pakistan	6,982
Philippines	6,321
Vietnam	5,734
Turkey	4,487

Our data cover all voters eligible to participate in the 2021 parliamentary elections and combine information from a range of administrative registers held by Statistics Norway. This enables us to examine turnout among both Norwegian-born voters and refugees/family reunion immigrants. To study the impact of home country characteristics on turnout in the latter group, we merged the individual-level data from the electoral role to country-level data from the *Quality of Government Basic Dataset* (QOG) using country identifiers (Teorell et al. 2023).

Statistics Norway also provided us with records of whether those in the electoral roll voted or not.

The analysis includes a range of social background and socioeconomic status variables. Starting with *social background*, we include gender (male), age (in years), age squared, and indicators for having children and for not being married. We measure *socioeconomic status* (SES) by including education (medium and high education with low education as reference category), income (in NOK divided by 100 000), and indicators for being employed and for receiving a welfare benefit (social assistance and disability benefits). When it comes to *immigrant-specific* variables, we include the length of stay (years from being settled in a municipality), whether the immigrant is a newly naturalised citizen eligible to vote in a parliamentary election for the first time in 2021 and if the immigrant has a native Norwegian (spouse or child) in the family. As documented by several studies (Wass et al. 2015; White et al. 2008; Bhatti and Hansen 2016), we expect the *length of stay* in Norway to be positively associated with turnout (but see Bratsberg et al. 2019). Evidence from Hainmueller et al. (2015, 2017) suggests that *naturalisation* leads to better integration into society. Thus, those who have recently decided to apply for Norwegian citizenship may be more receptive to their newly gained voting rights, and therefore more likely to participate. Note that naturalization is not randomly assigned, immigrants selectively apply for citizenship, and there is an element of screening in the decision-making process (Bergh et al. 2019). Finally, having a native citizen in the family may lower barriers such as language and access to political information (Wass et al. 2015), and we expect this to increase the likelihood of voting among immigrants.

To measure *qualities of the country of origin*, we include two country level variables: democracy and living conditions. To measure democracy, we use a simple indicator separating between ‘Free’, ‘Partly Free’ and ‘Not Free’ countries. Free countries are used as the base category in the empirical analysis. The categorization is based on the Freedom House measures

of two democratic characteristics – political rights and civil liberties (scaled from 1-7). Countries averaging between 1.0 and 2.5 on the original scale are coded as ‘Free’; between 3.0 and 5.5 ‘Partly Free’, and between 5.5 and 7.0 ‘Not Free’ (Dahlberg et al. 2015: 56). Also, poverty and living conditions, in general, have been associated with low participation (Bratsberg et al. 2019). We use the Human Development Index (HDI) which measures the average achievements in a country on three dimensions: life expectancy, schooling, and poverty.

Table 11.3 shows descriptive statistics for all variables across the two groups. The average turnout rate in the immigrant sample is 49 per cent compared to 80 per cent among native Norwegians. The immigrant sample is distinguished from native Norwegians in that they are younger, have low education and income, and are more likely to receive welfare benefits. 27.5 per cent of the immigrants have a native Norwegian in their household, 20 per cent were eligible to vote in their first parliamentary election in 2021, and the average length of stay in Norway is 18 years. Unsurprisingly the majority (62 per cent) arrived in Norway from “Not Free” countries, around 29 per cent from ‘Partly Free’ countries and 9 per cent were born in a country categorised as ‘Free’. The mean score on the HDI index is 0.68 (the standard deviation is 0.13).

Table 11.3: *Descriptive statistics (standard deviation in parenthesis)*

	Norwegian born	Refugees/family reunion
Voted (0/1)	79.9	48.7
Demographics		
Male	49.8	42.9
Age	50.1(19.4)	42.2 (13.4)
Children (0/1)	22.8	27.4
Not married (0/1)	34.2	36.6
Socioeconomic status (SES)		
Low education (baseline)	20.7	38.9
Medium education	43.1	30.2
High education	36.2	30.9
Under education (0/1)	11.2	14.3
Income/100000	5.3 (7.3)	3.79 (4.9)
Employed (0/1)	69.8	73.1
Disability benefit (0/1)	9.0	10.1
Social assistance (0/1)	1.8	9.6
Immigrant Specific		
Norwegian born in family (0/1)		27.5
New citizen (0/1)		20.3
Length of stay		17.9 (6.9)
Country Background		
Free (0/1)		9.3
Party free (0/1)		28.8
Not free (0/1)		61.9
HDI (0/1)		0.69 (0.13)
Individuals	3 467 174	157 155

Results

The empirical analysis consists of two parts. First, we run separate linear regressions for Norwegian-born and refugee and family reunion immigrants to examine the importance of different individual resources. Second, we explore whether immigrants are more/less likely to vote if they arrived in Norway from a democratic political system. Many immigrants in our sample are born in the same country, and in this second step in our analysis, we use multilevel modelling techniques to deal with the clustering in the data (Steenbergen and Jones 2002).

We begin with separate regressions for the two groups in which the dependent variable is whether the individual voted (1) or not (0). Table 11.4 presents the results with Norwegian born in the first column and refugee/family reunion immigrants in the second column.

Starting with demographics, it is striking that the immigrants' turnout is associated with the same basic indicators as for natives. Male immigrants are less likely to vote than female immigrants (1.9 percentage points). The gender gap is larger for native Norwegians (2.7 percentage points). Turnout increases by age for both groups and decreases as they get older. Having children is associated with lower turnout for both groups. Not being married has a larger negative impact on natives compared to the immigrant sample. Turning to the SES measures education has a much larger impact on native Norwegians compared to the immigrants. Still, being under education has an identical impact on both groups (+ 11.5 percentage points compared to not attending education). Being employed increases the probability of participating by nearly 11 percentage points compared to those unemployed (for natives + 5.6 percentage points). Receiving disability benefits has a small positive impact on turnout among immigrants while receiving social assistance decreases turnout. Both welfare benefit indicators are associated with lower turnout among natives (- 16.9 percentage points for individuals on social assistance).

Regarding the immigrant-specific measures, we see that there is a small positive impact of being eligible to vote for the first time in 2021 (1.1 percentage points), while the effect of length

of stay is small and negative. The negative effect seems surprising but is probably due to controlling for both new citizens, age and age squared. It is also in line with previous research on turnout in the Norwegian 2015 municipal elections (Bratsberg et al.,2019: 27). Finally, we see that having a native Norwegian in the household enhances turnout. The turnout gap between immigrants with and without a native born in the family is 10.5 percentage points. Summing up, most coefficients point in the same direction for the two groups, but with some exceptions (especially employment status) the size of the coefficients is smaller among immigrants.

Table 11.4: *Turnout in the 2021 election among Norwegian-born and immigrants.*

	Norwegian born	Refugees/Family reunion
Demographics		
Male	-0.027 *** (0.000)	-0.019 *** (0.005)
Age	0.013 *** (0.000)	0.015 *** (0.002)
Age squared	-0.000 *** (0.000)	-0.000 *** (0.000)
Children	-0.004 *** (0.001)	-0.027 *** (0.004)
Not married	-0.095 *** (0.000)	-0.052 *** (0.003)
Socioeconomic status		
SES		
Medium education	0.116 *** (0.001)	0.032 *** (0.004)
High education	0.211 *** (0.001)	0.121 *** (0.007)
Under education	0.115 *** (0.001)	0.116 *** (0.007)

Employed	0.056 ***	0.109 ***
	(0.001)	(0.016)
Income/100000	0.001 ***	0.002 *
	(0.000)	(0.007)
Social assistance	-0.166 ***	-0.016 **
	(0.002)	(0.005)
Disability benefit	-0.054 ***	0.013 **
	(0.001)	(0.005)
Immigrant Specific		
Norwegian born in family		0.105 ***
		(0.003)
New citizen		0.011 **
		(0.004)
Length of stay		-0.003 ***
		(0.001)
Intercept	0.284 ***	-0.025
	(0.002)	(0.034)
Number of observations	3467174	157155
Adjusted R-squared	0.11	0.06

Note: Significance levels (Two-tailed): *** 1%-level ** 5%-level, *10%-level. Standard errors in parenthesis.

Finally, we examine whether turnout is related to the democratic political system in the country immigrants arrived from. To test if there is significant variation in turnout at the country level we have estimated (not shown) a so-called empty (without explanatory variables) multilevel binary model. The test shows that the proportion of the variance in turnout located at the country level is 4.2 per cent. Thus, turnout among immigrants can first and foremost be associated with individual immigrant characteristics (around 96 per cent), indicating the importance of the standard approach in electoral research. Table A.11.1 in the appendix shows the full regression

results and indicates that better living conditions in the home country (measured by the HDI) decrease turnout among immigrants (significant at the 10 % level).

Turning to the impact of democratic experience, the coefficient for immigrants born in a country classified as ‘Not Free’ is negative and distinguishable from zero at the 1% significance level. Compared to immigrants born in a ‘Free’ country, immigrants born in a ‘Not Free’ country are 7 percentage points less likely to vote. Figure 2 plots the predicted probabilities for all three values of our indicator of democracy. The likelihood to vote is just over 55 per cent for immigrants born in a Free country, 51 per cent in a Partly Free country and 48 per cent for immigrants born in a country that is Not Free. It should be noted that immigrants arriving from non-democracies may have other things in common, not controlled for in our analysis. Further research on this topic is certainly encouraged.

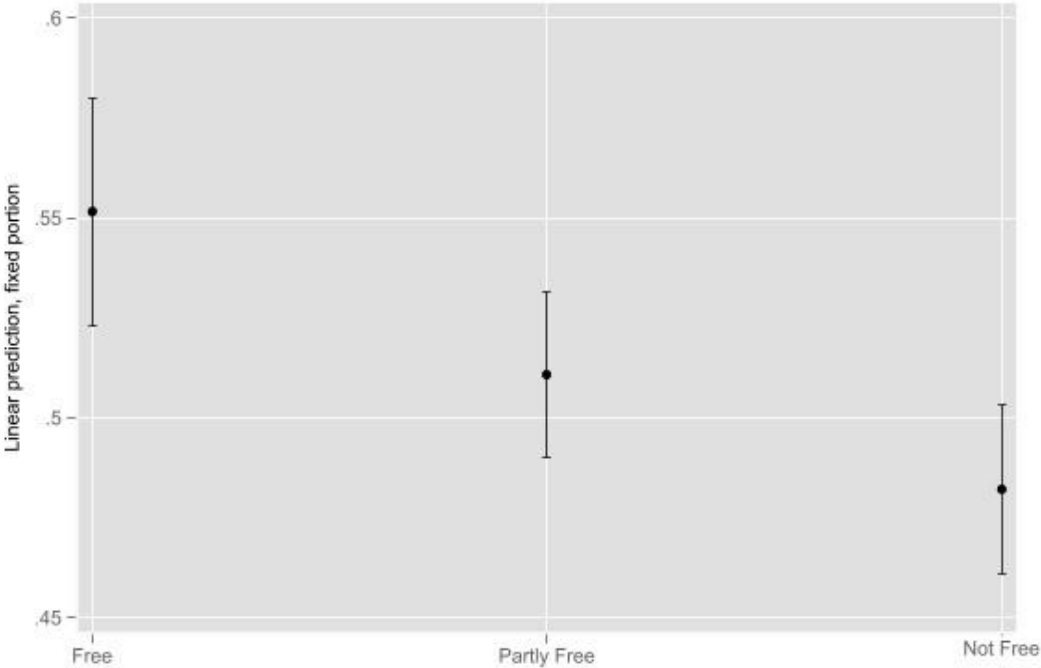


Figure 2: Turnout by democracy status in home-country: predicted probabilities with 95% confidence intervals (N see table 4).

Conclusion

This chapter has studied political participation in Norway with a special focus on voter turnout among refugee and family reunification immigrants. Political participation is relatively high in Norway, with a slight decrease over time in conventional participation and an increase in more individualized and unconventional forms of participation. There still exist differences between social groups, where participation correlates with resource variables like education, income, age and gender. These inequalities in political participation have not become smaller since the end of the 1970s and beginning of 1980 when these issues created huge debates within the Norwegian research community. Paradoxically, this was also the period when several of the participation forms were at their highest.

One social group that systematically lag behind when studying political participation in general and turnout specifically, is the immigrant population. This group has also increased substantially over time. In the 2021 parliamentary election, there was a turnout gap of 30 percentage points between refugee/family naturalized immigrants and Norwegian-born voters. This chapter has compared turnout among natives and immigrants on a range of social background variables. Turnout for this group of immigrants mainly follows the same pattern as for native Norwegians when we look at standard individual resource factors such as gender, age, and various measures of socio-economic status. Most individual-level factors point in the same direction for both groups, but the connections are generally smaller for immigrants. In addition, the turnout rate also varies somewhat depending on the country the immigrants come from. Those who arrive from non-democratic countries ('Not Free' according to the Freedom House index) are 7 percentage points less likely to participate in the election compared to those coming from democratic (or 'Free') countries. This implies that the democratic traditions immigrants bring with them from their home country influence the likelihood of taking part in democratic practices in the host country. Furthermore, it seems like integration into the host country also plays a major role, as indicated by the strong impact of having a Norwegian born

in the family (spouse or children). This is something that might make the integration process easier, for example when it comes to learning the language and the traditions and values of the new country.

Research on inequalities in political participation has been restricted by data limitations. Using surveys to map participation is not well suited to study inequalities in hard-to-reach groups (survey dropouts) such as immigrants, those with low education and young adults. When it comes to turnout in elections, the data situation has changed with the digitalization of the electoral census. Since the 2017 election, Norway has population-wide administrative data on turnout at the individual level, making it possible to study turnout in small groups and changes in turnout inequalities over time. The inflow of immigrants to Norway has changed the composition of the electorate and the turnout gap between immigrants and native Norwegians makes this a particularly interesting group to follow. The low turnout among immigrants shows that the political parties have not been able to mobilize immigrants to vote, and how parties deal with this challenge is surely an area where more research is justified. Existing policy and policy debates about immigration are conflicting and it is plausible that the way immigrants and immigration are debated affects those targeted. Whether the success of anti-immigrant parties affects immigrant turnout is certainly something for future research to look more into. Previous research shows, however, that it is possible to mobilize low-propensity voters, and research should continue to experimentally test mobilisation drives among low-educated voters, young people, and immigrants.

References

- Aardal, Bernt 2017. "60 år med valgforskning– hva har vi lært?" *Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift* 33, no. 3-4: 292-311.
- Aars, Jacob, and Dag Arne Christensen 2020. "Education and political participation: the impact of educational environments." *Acta Politica* 55: 86-102.
- Aars, Jacob, and Kristin Strømsnes 2007. "Contacting as a channel of political involvement: Collectively motivated, individually enacted." *West European Politics* 30, no. 1: 93-120.
- Allern, Elin Haugsgjerd, Knut Heidar, and Rune Karlsen 2015. *After the Mass Party: Continuity and Change in Political Parties and Representation in Norway*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Arnesen, Daniel, and Karl Henrik Sivesind 2020. *Organisasjonslandskap i endring 2009-2019. Frå ideologisk samfunnsendring til individuell utfoldelse?* Bergen / Oslo: Centre for Research on Civil Society and Voluntary Sector, report 2020:5.
- Bergh, Johannes, and Dag Arne Christensen 2019. "Sporadiske velgere eller permanente hjemmesittere? Om sosiale forskjeller i valgdeltakelse og velgermobilisering." In *Velgere og valgkamp. En studie av stortingsvalget 2017*, edited by Johannes Bergh and Bernt Aardal, pp. 223-236. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Bergh, Johannes, Dag Arne Christensen, and Richard E. Matland 2020. "Inviting immigrants in: Field experiments in voter mobilization among immigrants in Norway." *Electoral Studies* 66: 102160.
- Bergh, Johannes, Dag Arne Christensen, and Richard E. Matland 2021. "When is a reminder enough? Text message voter mobilization in a European context." *Political Behavior* 43: 1091-1111.
- Bergh, Johannes, Dag Arne Christensen, and Tor Helge Holmås 2021. "Mobiliseringsvalget 2019: Hadde kommunereformen noen betydning?" In *Lokalvalget 2019: Nye kommuner*

- nye valg?, edited by Jo Saglie, Signe Borch Seggaard and Dag Arne Christensen, pp. 87–115). Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Bergh, Johannes, Dag Arne Christensen, and Tor Helge Holmås 2023. "Valgdeltakelse, forhåndsstemmegivning og familiens betydning for politisk deltakelse." In *Politikk i urolige tider. En studie av stortingsvalget 2021*, edited by Johannes Bergh and Atle H. Haugsgjerd, pp. 229-246. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Bergh, Johannes, and Dag Arne Christensen 2024. "Getting out the vote in different electoral contexts: the effect of impersonal voter mobilization techniques in middle and high salience Norwegian elections." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 34, no. 1: 79-95.
- Bergh, Johannes, Atle H. Haugsgjerd, and Rune Karlsen 2020. *Valg og politikk siden 1945. velgere, institusjoner og kritiske hendelser i norsk politisk historie*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.
- Bhatti, Yosef, and Kasper M. Hansen 2016. "The effect of residential concentration on voter turnout among ethnic minorities." *International Migration Review* 50, no. 4: 977-1004.
- Bratsberg, Bernt, Hege Marie Edvardsen, Oddbjørn Raaum, and Kjetil Sørli 2005. "Utflytting blant innvandrere i Norge." *Søkelys på arbeidsmarkedet* 22:181-192.
- Bratsberg, Bernt, Jeremy Ferwerda, Henning Finseraas, and Andreas Kotsadam 2021. "How settlement locations and local networks influence immigrant political integration." *American Journal of Political Science*, 65, no. 3: 551-565.
- Bratsberg, Bernt, Andreas Kotsadam, Jo Thori Lind, Halvor Mehlum, and Oddbjørn Raaum 2019. *"Election turnout inequality-insights from administrative registers."* CESifo Working Papers NO. 7465.

- Bueker, Catherine Simpson 2005. "Political incorporation among immigrants from ten areas of origin: The persistence of source country effects." *International Migration Review* 39, no. 1: 103-140.
- Cassel, Carol A. 2002. "Hispanic turnout: Estimates from validated voting data." *Political Research Quarterly* 55, no. 2:391-408.
- Christensen, Dag Arne, and Sveinung Arnesen 2013. "Deltakelsen ved kommunestyrevalget 2011." In *Et robust lokaldemokrati – lokalvalget i skyggen av 22. juli 2011*, edited by Johannes Bergh and Dag Arne Christensen, pp. 47-72. Oslo: Abstrakt Forlag.
- Corrigan, Owen 2015. "Conditionality of legal status and immigrant occupational attainment in Western Europe." *Policy & Politics* 43, no. 2: 181-202.
- Dahlberg, Stefan, Søren Holmberg, Bo Rothstein, Fredrick Hartmann, and Richard Svensson 2015. "The Quality of Government Standard Dataset, version Jan15." *University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute*.
- De Rooij, Eline A. 2012. "Patterns of immigrant political participation: Explaining differences in types of political participation between immigrants and the majority population in Western Europe." *European sociological review* 28, no. 4: 455-481.
- Enjolras, Bernard, and Kristin Strømsnes 2018. *Scandinavian Civil Society and Social Transformations: The Case of Norway*. Cham: Springer.
- Ferwerda, Jeremy, Henning Finseraas, and Johannes Bergh 2020. "Voting rights and immigrant incorporation: Evidence from Norway." *British Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 2: 713-730.
- Finseraas, Henning, and Stine Hesstvedt 2020. "Sosial ulikhet i valgdeltakelse før og nå." In *Valg og politikk siden 1945. Velgere, institusjoner og kritiske hendelser i norsk politisk historie*, edited by Johannes Bergh, Atle H. Haugsgjerd and Rune Karlsen, pp. 110-123. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

- Finseraas, Henning, and Kåre Vernby 2014. "A mixed blessing for the left? Early voting, turnout and election outcomes in Norway." *Electoral Studies* 33: 278-291.
- Finseraas, Henning, Andreas Kotsadam, and Javier Polavieja 2022. "Ancestry culture, assimilation, and voter turnout in two generations." *Political Behavior* 44, no. 1: 201-226.
- Fladmoe, Audun, Ivar Eimhjellen, and Karl Henrik Sivesind 2024. *Tilbake til normalen? Frivillig engasjement i Norge, 1998-2023. Report 2024:6. Bergen / Oslo: Centre for Research on Civil Society and Voluntary Sector.*
- Fuchs-Schündeln, Nicola, and Matthias Schündeln 2015. "On the endogeneity of political preferences: Evidence from individual experience with democracy." *Science* 347.6226: 1145-1148.
- Givens, Terri E 2007. "Immigrant integration in Europe: Empirical research." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 10: 67-83.
- Geys, Benny 2006. "'Rational' theories of voter turnout: a review." *Political Studies Review* 4, no. 1: 16-35.
- Goldsmith, Melissa M., and Claudio A. Holzner 2015. "Foreign-born voting behavior in local elections: Evidence from new immigrant destinations." *American Politics Research* 43, no. 1: 27-58.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Dominik Hangartner, and Giuseppe Pietrantuono 2015. "Naturalization fosters the long-term political integration of immigrants." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 112, no. 41: 12651-12656.
- Hainmueller, Jens, Dominik Hangartner, and Giuseppe Pietrantuono 2017. "Catalyst or crown: Does naturalization promote the long-term social integration of immigrants?" *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 2: 256-276.

- Heidar, Knut, and Anders R. Jupskås 2023. "Deliberative democracy in contemporary political parties: Longitudinal evidence from Norway." *Party Politics* 29, no. 4: 685-698.
- Henriksen, Lars Skov; Kristin Strømsnes, and Lars Svedberg 2019. *Civic Engagement in Scandinavia. Volunteering, Informal Help and Giving in Denmark, Norway and Sweden*. Cham: Springer.
- Kleven, Øyvinn 2019. *Innvandrere og stortingsvalget 2017. Valgferd blant innandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre sammenliknet med øvrig befolkning*. Report no. 17. Oslo: Statistics Norway.
- Knutsen, Carl H., Sirianne Dahlum, Elin Haugsgjerd Allern, Sara Bjønness Hagfors, Jan Erling Klausen, Martin Søyland, and Tore Wig 2023. *Tilstandsanalyse av det norske demokratiet*. University of Oslo.
- Lafferty, William 1981. *Participation and Democracy in Norway. The 'Distant Democracy' Revisited*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Luttmer, Erzo F. P., and Monica Singhal 2011. "Culture, context, and the taste for redistribution." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 3, no. 1: 157-179.
- Martinussen, Willy 1977. *The Distant Democracy. Social Inequality, Political Resources and Political Influence in Norway*. London: John Wiley & Sons.
- Nergaard, Kristine 2020. Antall fagorganiserte og organisasjonsgrad i Norge. <https://www.arbeidslivet.no/lonn/organisering/antall-fagorganiserte-og-organisasjonsgrad-i-norge>
- Nordø, Åsta Dynes and Elisabeth Ivarsflaten 2020. "Velgernes tilknytning til partiene i et 60-årsperspektiv". In *Valg og politikk siden 1945. Velgere, institusjoner og kritiske hendelser i norsk politisk historie*, edited by Johannes Bergh, Atle Haugsgjerd and Rune Karlsen, pp. 95-109. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

- Norris, Pippa 2009. "Political activism: New challenges, new opportunities." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, edited by Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, pp. 628-650. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- NOU (2011:14) *Bedre integrering. Mål, strategier, tiltak*
- Qvist, Hans-Peter, Bjarte Folkestad, Torben Fridberg, and Susanne W. Lundåsen 2019. "Trends in volunteering in Scandinavia." In *Civic Engagement in Scandinavia. Volunteering, Informal Help and Giving in Denmark, Norway and Sweden*, edited by Lars-Skov Henriksen, Kristin Strømsnes and Lars Svedberg, pp. 67-94. Cham: Springer.
- Saglie, Jo, Vibekke Wøien Hansen, Hilmar Mjelde, and Signe Boch Seggaard 2022. *Lokale partilag og lister. Organisasjon, aktiviteter og økonomi*. Report 2022:8. Oslo: Institute for Social Research.
- Smets, Kaat, and Carolien Van Ham 2013. "The embarrassment of riches? A meta-analysis of individual-level research on voter turnout." *Electoral Studies* 32, no. 2: 344-359.
- Spierings, Niels 2016. "Electoral participation and intergenerational transmission among Turkish migrants in Western Europe." *Acta Politica* 51: 13-35.
- Spies, Dennis C., Sabrina J. Mayer, and Achim Goerres 2020. "What are we missing? Explaining immigrant-origin voter turnout with standard and immigrant-specific theories." *Electoral Studies* 65: 102103.
- Statistics Norway 2017. Få aktive medlemmer i politiske partier. <https://www.ssb.no/kultur-og-fritid/artikler-og-publikasjoner/fa-aktive-medlemmer-i-politiske-partier>
- Statistics Norway 2020. Folk deltar mer politisk. <https://www.ssb.no/kultur-og-fritid/artikler-og-publikasjoner/folk-deltar-mer-politisk>
- Statistics Norway 2022. Volunteering, political participation and trust, survey on living conditions. <https://www.ssb.no/en/kultur-og-fritid/organisasjoner-og->

medlemskap/statistikk/organisasjonsaktivitet-politisk-deltakelse-og-sosialt-nettverk-
levekårsundersøkelsen

Statistics Norway 2023. Innvandrerne og deres barn – en mangfoldig gruppe.

<https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/innvandrere/artikler/innvandrerne-og-deres-barn--en-mangfoldig-gruppe#:~:text=B%C3%A5de%20antall%20innvandrere%20og%20andelen,til%2016%20prosent%20i%202023.>

Statistics Norway 2024a. Electoral turnout.

<https://www.ssb.no/en/valg/stortingsvalg/statistikk/valgdeltakelse>

Statistics Norway 2024b. Frivillighet, politisk deltakelse og tillit, levekårsundersøkelsen.

[https://www.ssb.no/statbank/table/09143.](https://www.ssb.no/statbank/table/09143)

Statistics Sweden 2024. Voting rates in elections to the Riksdag, County Councils and Municipal Councils by region. Year of election 1973–2022.

[https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__ME__ME0104__ME0104D/ME0104T4/.](https://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/pxweb/en/ssd/START__ME__ME0104__ME0104D/ME0104T4/)

Statistics Denmark 2024. Elections to the Danish Parliament.

[https://www.dst.dk/en/Statistik/emner/borgere/demokrati/folketingsvalg.](https://www.dst.dk/en/Statistik/emner/borgere/demokrati/folketingsvalg)

Steenbergen, Marco R., and Bradford S. Jones 2002. "Modelling multilevel data structures." *American Journal of Political Science* 2002: 218-237.

Stockemer, Daniel 2017. "What affects voter turnout? A review article/meta-analysis of aggregate research." *Government and Opposition* 52, no. 4: 698-722.

Strømsnes, Kristin 1993. *Politisk deltakelse i Norge – Variasjoner over et tema*. Report no. 7. Bergen: LOS Center.

Strømsnes, Kristin 2003. *Folkets makt. Medborgerskap, demokrati, deltakelse*. Oslo: Gyldendahl Akademisk.

- Teorell, Jan, Aksel Sundström, Sören Holmberg, Bo Rothstein, Natalia Alvarado Pachon, Cem Mert Dalli, and Yente Meijers 2023. "*The Quality of Government Standard Dataset, version Jan23*." University of Gothenburg: The Quality of Government Institute.
- Theocharis, Yannis, and Jan W. Van Deth 2017. *Political participation in a changing world: Conceptual and empirical challenges in the study of citizen engagement*. London: Routledge.
- Tuckel, Peter, and Richard Maisel 1994. "Voter turnout among European immigrants to the United States." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24, no. 3: 407-430.
- Van Biezen, Ingrid, Peter Mair, and Thomas Poguntke 2012. "Going, going,... gone? The decline of party membership in contemporary Europe." *European Journal of Political Research* 51, no. 1: 24-56.
- Vernby, Kåre, and Henning Finseraas 2010. "Xenophobia and left voting." *Politics & Society* 38, no. 4: 490-516.
- Wass, Hanna, André Blais, Alexandre Morin-Chassè, and Marjukka Weide 2015. "Engaging immigrants? Examining the correlates of electoral participation among voters with migration backgrounds." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 25, no. 4:407-424.
- Webb, Paul D., and Dan Keith 2017. "Assessing the Strength of Party Organizational Resources: A Survey of the Evidence from the Political Party Database." In *Organizing Political Parties: Representation, Participation, and Power*, edited by Susan E. Scarrow, Paul D. Webb and Thomas Poguntke, pp. 31-61. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- White, Steph, Neil Nevitte, André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, and Patrick Fournier 2008. "The political resocialization of immigrants: Resistance or lifelong learning?" *Political Research Quarterly* 61, no. 2: 268-281.

Appendix

Table A.11.1 The probability of voting: Multilevel model

	Voted
Demographics	
Male	-0.016*** (0.002)
Age	0.016***(0.000)
Age * Age	-0.000*** (0.00)
Children (0/1)	-0.028***(0.003)
Not married (0/1)	-0.057***(0.003)
SES	
Medium education	0.035*** (0.003)
High education	0.129***(0.003)
Under education	0.115***(0.004)
Employed (0/1)	0.099***(0.003)
Income/100000	0.002*** (0.000)
Social assistance (0/1)	-0.013** (0.004)
Disability benefit (0/1)	0.017*** (0.004)
Immigrant Specific	
Norwegian born in family	0.095***(0.003)
New Citizen (0/1)	0.015***(0.003)
Length of stay	-0.000**(0.000)
Country characteristic	
Partly free (reference free)	-0.041** (0.02)
Not free (reference free)	-0.071*** (0.01)
HDI	-0.97*(0.053)
Variance individual-level	0.231
Variance country-level	0.004
Observations	157 155 individuals, 169 countries

Note: Standard errors in parenthesis (Two-tailed tests). *10%-level **5%-level, ***1%-level.