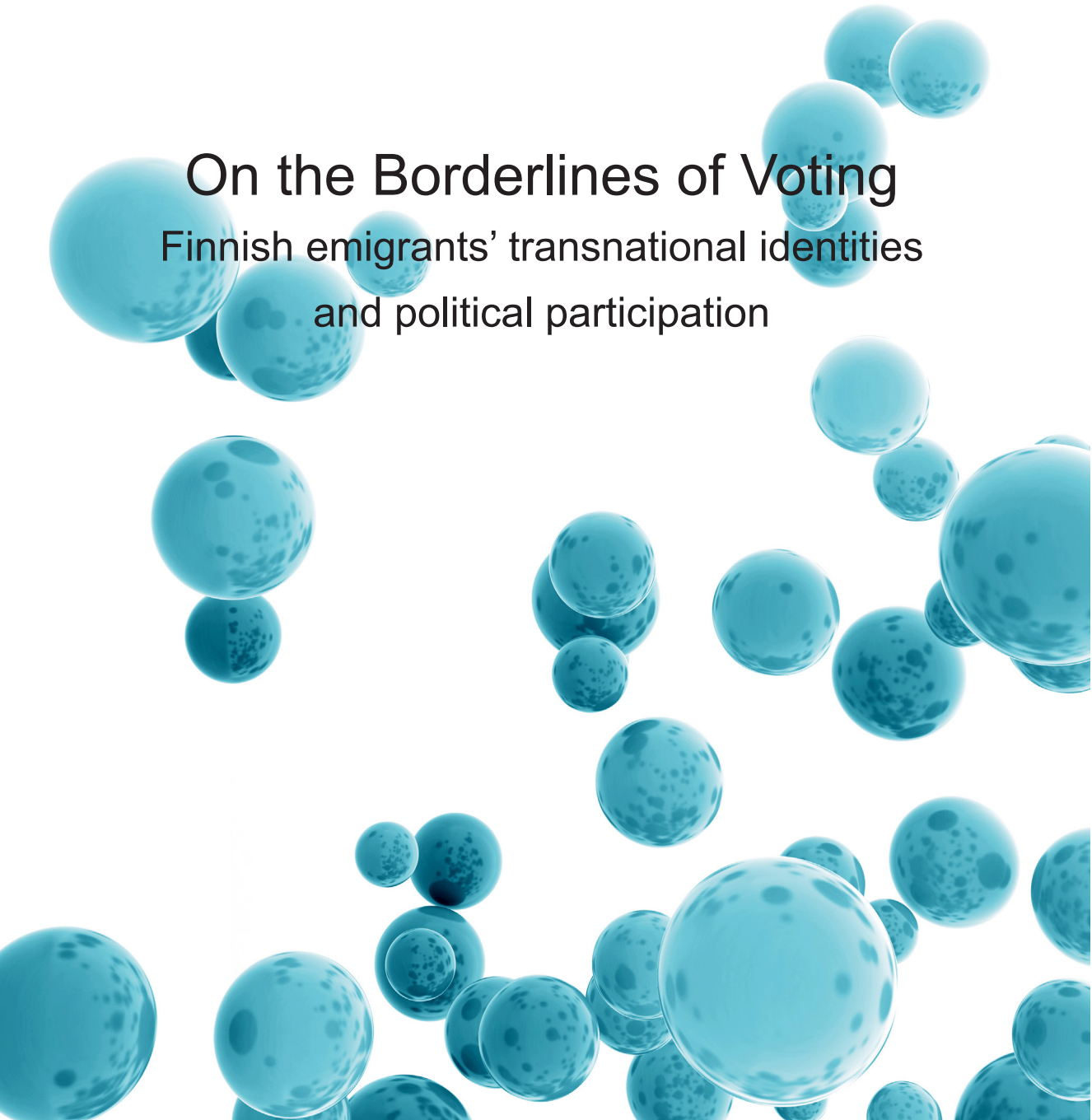
Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 2403

JOHANNA PELTONIEMI

On the Borderlines of Voting

Finnish emigrants' transnational identities and political participation



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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
To be presented, with the permission of
the Faculty Council of the Faculty of Management
of the University of Tampere,
for public discussion in the Väinö Linna auditorium K 104,
Kalevantie 5, Tampere,
on 7 September 2018, at 12 o'clock.

UNIVERSITY OF TAMPERE

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Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 2403
Tampere University Press
Tampere 2018

UNIVERSITY
OF TAMPERE

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION
University of Tampere
Faculty of Management
Finland

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin OriginalityCheck service in accordance with the quality management system of the University of Tampere.

Cover design by
Mikko Reinikka

Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 2403
ISBN 978-952-03-0809-4 (print)
ISSN-L 1455-1616
ISSN 1455-1616

Acta Electronica Universitatis Tamperensis 1913
ISBN 978-952-03-0810-0 (pdf)
ISSN 1456-954X
http://tampub.uta.fi

Suomen Yliopistopaino Oy – Juvenes Print
Tampere 2018

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank everyone of those 1,067 Finns residing abroad who took time in their lives to answer a long questionnaire sent from their native country and for so many of them contacting me with supplementary materials, books and stories. I was truly touched by the enthusiasm and interest I was met with. Thank you for showing me the true significance of this topic!

Professor Ilkka Ruostetsaari has supervised my bachelor's thesis, master's thesis and now this dissertation. It is clear that Ilkka has thought me pretty much everything I know about how to conduct research. I owe my deepest gratitude for the constant support and cheering.

Professor Tapio Raunio has always taken care for the best possible working conditions and been the boss one can truly count on. I am grateful for Tapio for guiding me in the first steps of my academic career.

I want to thank adjunct professor Ismo Söderling and doctor Peter Miller for being my pre-examiners and Peter for agreeing to be my opponent in the defence. It is an honour to have my study examined and discussed by such experienced professionals.

The department of politics within the Faculty of Management has been a warm and stimulating working environment, thanks to my colleagues. I want to express my gratitude especially to Tarja Seppä, whose spirited guidance and never-fading motivation for improving teaching are truly an inspiration, and Sirke Mäkinen, my academic big sister. Thank you both for sharing your wisdom on a daily basis!

Professor David Arter has read and commented nearly all of my papers related to this study, and his comments have shaped this study significantly. David has helped me to remember that behind every statistic, behind each number there is a person, and the story of this person deserves to be told.

I want to thank Professor Elina Kestilä-Kekkonen, who has offered her help countless times throughout this study, and professor Kaisa Herne for all the support and guidance.

Adjunct professor Hanna Wass – thank you for your grand support! I am privileged to be working with such a strong and respected role model.

I would like to thank adjunct professor Sami Borg for his much appreciated help and insightful comments during the data collection.

A very special thanks goes to my colleagues and friends all around Finland – without you this project would have been so much more boring: Maria Bäck, Michael Herman, Tapio Juntunen, Marko Juutinen, Anna Kronlund, Aki Luoto, Linda Mellner, Anne Nykänen, Pallavi Pal, Mikko Poutanen, Jenni Rinne, Hyeon Su Seo, Josefina Sipinen, Aino Tiihonen, Cai Weaver and Jussi Westinen. Thank you all for the camaraderie!

I have been in the fortunate position of being employed by the Faculty of Management throughout my doctoral studies. Thank you Sari Saastamoinen and Antti Lönnqvist for keeping this research (and researcher) going! Furthermore, Finland's Ministry of Justice Unit for Democracy, Language Affairs and Fundamental Rights; Kansan Sivistysrahasto; Migration Institute of Finland; and, Tampereen Suomalainen Klubi funded the data collection – thank you! If it was not this support, this study would not have been possible.

I want to express my gratitude to Paula Selenius and Tina Nordqvist as well as all the staff from Finland Society who opened my eyes to the grave lack of research on Finnish emigrants' political participation. A special thank you goes to Sini Castrén for her collegiality – like we have many a time agreed, it is very much empowering to have someone "on the other side".

As previous research has shown, parents play a big role in political socialisation. Thus, being raised in a family living and breathing society and politics, it shouldn't be surprising for me to have chosen this career! A heartfelt thanks to my parents Kristiina and Pentti – for everything.

My final thank you is to Lucio, who is not only my spouse and my best friend, but also the best academic commentator a girl could wish for!

Lastly, this dissertation is dedicated to my son Leo, who everyday shows me that there is so much more in life than research.

Tampere, June 14th, 2018

Johanna Peltoniemi

ABSTRACT

Globalisation and European integration have led to increased personal mobility, and a growing number of countries have enfranchised their emigrant citizens. Consequently, the electorate has become increasingly dispersed geographically. People's increased mobility across national borders has highlighted questions about national belonging. The traditional assumption that domestic politics is to be exclusively decided within the borders of the nation state is challenged by the notion that the political communities have extended beyond state territories. Accordingly, globalisation has led political representation to a need to confront new demands, and the re-evaluation of the means of emigrant political representation is necessary. With ever more citizens living and working outside of their home country for several years of their lives, the topic of transnational political participation and voting from abroad is highly relevant, yet at the same time it is often omitted from electoral analyses. The general aim of this study is to explore the transnational identities as well as political and electoral participation of Finnish emigrants. The statistical analyses are based on data collected from Finnish emigrants residing in Sweden, Germany, the United Kingdom, Spain, Canada and the United States (n=1,067).

The findings of this study show that the political participation does not considerably differ between Finnish emigrants and those who have remained in Finland. While Finnish emigrants' identities and political participation are transnational, their electoral participation is not high in either the country of origin or the country of residence. The low level of voter turnout among emigrants in Finnish elections can largely be explained by the costs of voting, especially the long distance to the polling stations. Adopting convenience voting methods, such as postal voting, could increase turnout among emigrants, as they previously have done in other countries (such as in Sweden and Italy). This study demonstrates that emigrants' electoral participation decreases in homeland elections over time, while it simultaneously increases in the elections in the country of residence. Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that the party identification of emigrants resembles rather the current political climate of the country of residence than party support in Finland.

The contribution of this study lies in adding to the few existing analyses of electorates abroad. Thus, this study contributes to the existing literature on both political and migration studies by exploring new perspectives on the previously scarcely addressed field of emigrant voting. While it is relatively well known how different socio-economic factors influence voter turnout in general, the low level of turnout abroad has hitherto been a largely unknown area in political science. The findings of this study provide a more comprehensive understanding of voter behaviour in the globalised world, and the findings can be used to develop targeted interventions aimed at ameliorating transnational political participation and advancing emigrant representation within the Finnish electoral system.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Globalisaatio ja Euroopan yhdentyminen ovat lisänneet liikkuvuutta, ja yhä useammat maat sallivat ulkokansalaisilleen äänioikeuden. Tästä on seurannut äänestäjäkunnan enenevä maantieteellinen hajonta. Kansalliset rajat ylittävä muuttoliike on korostanut kansalliseen identiteettiin liittyviä kysymyksiä. Poliittiset yhteisöt ovat laajentuneet valtioiden maa-alueiden ulkopuolelle, mikä on haastanut perinteisen olettaman siitä, että kotimaan politiikkaa koskeva päätöksenteko tapahtuu yksinomaan kansallisvaltion rajojen sisäpuolella. Globalisaation myötä poliittisen edustuksen on vastattava uusiin vaatimuksiin ja ulkokansalaisten poliittisen edustuksen uudelleentarkastelu on välttämätöntä, kun yhä useammat kansalaiset elävät ja työskentelevät kotimaansa ulkopuolella vuosien ajan. Monikansallinen poliittinen osallistuminen ja mahdollisuus äänestää ulkomailta on erittäin tärkeä aihe, mutta samanaikaisesti usein ohitettu vaalitutkimuksessa. Tämän tutkimuksen päätavoitteena on tutkia ulkosuomalaisten monikansallisia identiteettejä, poliittista osallistumista sekä vaaliosallistumista. Tilastolliset analyysit perustuvat aineistoon, joka on kerätty Ruotsissa, Saksassa, Isossa-Britanniassa, Espanjassa, Kanadassa ja Yhdysvalloissa (n = 1 067) asuvilta suomalaisilta.

Tutkimustulokset osoittavat, että poliittinen osallistuminen ei merkittävästi eroa ulkosuomalaisten ja Suomessa asuvien suomalaisten välillä. Huolimatta siitä, että ulkosuomalaisten identiteetti ja poliittinen osallistuminen ovat valtioiden rajat ylittäviä, ulkosuomalaisten äänestysaktiivisuus on alhainen sekä lähtömaassa että asuinvaltiossa. Ulkosuomalaisten matala äänestysaktiivisuus Suomen vaaleissa selittyy suurelta osin äänestämisestä aiheutuvista kustannuksista, erityisesti pitkistä etäisyyksistä äänestyspaikalle. Joustavien äänestysmenetelmien, kuten kirjeäänestämisen, käyttöönotto voisi lisätä ulkosuomalaisten äänestysaktiivisuutta. Muissa maissa (esimerkiksi Ruotsissa ja Italiassa) näin on tapahtunut. Tutkimustulokset osoittavat, että ulkosuomalaisten äänestysaktiivisuus vähenee Suomessa ajan myötä, mutta samanaikaisesti se lisääntyy asuinmaan vaaleissa. Lisäksi tutkimuksen tulokset viittaavat siihen, että maahanmuuttajien puolueidentifikaatio muistuttaa ennemmin asuinmaan poliittista ilmapiiriä kuin puoluekannatusta Suomessa.

Tutkimuksen keskeinen kontribuutio on ottaa osaa aiempaan tutkimuskirjallisuuteen sekä politiikan että siirtolaisuuden tutkimuksen alalla. Tutkimus esittää uusia näkökulmia aiemmin vain vähän tutkitulla ulkokansalaisiin keskittyvällä vaalitutkimuksella. Vaikka suhteellisen hyvin tiedetään, miten erilaiset sosioekonomiset tekijät vaikuttavat äänestysaktiivisuuteen, ulkokansalaisten matala äänestysaktiivisuus on toistaiseksi ollut laajalti tuntematon alue politiikan tutkimuksessa. Tämän tutkimuksen tulokset antavat kokonaisvaltaisemman käsityksen äänestäjien käyttäytymisestä globalisoituneessa maailmassa, ja tuloksia voidaan käyttää kehittämään kohdennettuja toimia, joilla pyritään parantamaan valtioiden rajat ylittävää poliittista osallistumista ja edistämään ulkosuomalaisten poliittista edustuksellisuutta.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Globalisation and the free movement of persons in the Schengen area have caused significant changes to emigration in Europe since the Second World War. An increase in migration has made life more mobile. Consequently, the electorate has become increasingly dispersed geographically and the political terrain is now less restricted to state territoriality. The traditional assumption of domestic politics to be exclusively decided within the borders of the nation state is challenged by the notion that political communities have extended beyond state boundaries, and people's increased mobility across national borders has highlighted questions about national belonging. Accordingly, globalisation has led political representation to confront new demands. Emigrant representation has become increasingly important and a visible, albeit difficult, topic. The topic of transnational, cross-border political participation is highly relevant, as all countries face the question of emigration (see e.g. Bauböck 2003, 702; Bauböck 2005; Collyer 2014).

Approximately 215 million people, 3 percent of the world's population, live in a different country from that of their birth, and population flow takes place notably from the developing South to the developed North (Meseguer & Burgess 2014, 1). Previous research (see e.g. Burgess 2012; Careja & Emmenegger 2012; Itzigsohn 2000; Leal, Lee & McCann 2012; Meseguer & Burgess 2014; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003; Portes 2001; Rubio-Marín 2006) has largely focused on migration from countries that are perhaps less developed, less democratic, and have lower living standards to countries that are more developed, more democratic, and have higher living standards. So far, emigrant-homeland relations have been studied largely from the perspective of migrants sending remittances back home.

In addition, the scope of transnational studies has had a strong emphasis on the idea of country of origin being weak from the economic, democratic, or human rights perspective, whereas the country of residence has often been considered superior in these standings. This, however, is not enough to explain migration, and it is a rather simplistic assumption. As the idea of migration itself has changed during the past decades, and for instance, the integration process in Europe has shaped cross-border migration, it would be naïve to belittle the socio-economic status of the country of origin. Thus, there is a significant gap in the literature of migration from

welfare countries, such as Nordic countries, perhaps especially so, as the reasons for migration are arguably different for emigrants from welfare countries than for emigrants from other countries (see e.g. Ciornei and Østergaard-Nielsen 2015; Solevid 2016a; 2016b).

This study aims to start filling this gap by presenting Finland and Finnish emigrants as a case study. During the last century, approximately one million Finns migrated, first to North America, and later in the 1960s and 1970s to Sweden. Since the 1980s, emigration from Finland has been more Europe-centred. Nowadays there are around 1.6 million people outside Finland with Finnish roots, and circa 600,000 first generation Finns. To understand how and why citizens living abroad are interested in Finnish politics and voting in Finnish elections, it is necessary to consider the transnational context in which political activities take place. However, previous studies examining voter turnout and hindrances to electoral participation have tended to neglect this aspect. The literature on voter turnout has hitherto only scarcely addressed the role of external voters (voters abroad). Consequently, the existing body of knowledge on Finnish emigrants' political and electoral participation is fragmentary at best. This study aims to fill this lacuna.

With more citizens living and working outside of their home country for several years of their lives, and new technologies making it ever easier for emigrants to participate in homeland politics, the topic of emigrant voting is highly relevant and yet often omitted from electoral analyses (Gamlen 2015). The scarce attention paid to emigrant voting in electoral geography and the absence of explanations was previously ascribed to a lack of suitable data (Collyer 2013). This study is one of the first ones able to present sufficient survey data and therefore, to grasp the topic with a quantitative approach.

The data used in this study was collected in the autumn of 2014 by the author. A sample of 3,600 Finnish citizens currently living in Sweden, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Canada, and the United States was drawn from the Population Register Center of Finland, and the data was collected with an online survey questionnaire. Out of the sample of 3,600 emigrants, 1,067 persons answered the questionnaire, and thus, the response rate was 29.6 percent. The data from this study is the first survey-data collected from Finnish emigrant voters. Simultaneously, data similar to this was collected from the Swedish emigrant voters in University of Gothenburg (SOM-institute). These two surveys are the first larger data set collected from Nordic emigrant voters.

Existing studies on voting focus almost entirely on domestic dynamics and assume that voter turnout is primarily influenced by individual experiences in one's

native context. However, increased cross-border mobility and supranational political engagement have added a new layer of complexity to individual experiences (Apaydin 2016). This study concentrates on transnational identities as well as political and electoral participation of Finnish emigrants. To be more explicit, the primary focus is on emigrant turnout, hindrances to voting, and the possibilities that convenient voting methods (any mode of balloting other than precinct-place voting, see e.g. Gronke et al. 2008) could offer to emigrants in Finnish elections.

During the last two decades, Finnish governments have been increasingly inspired to find solutions to include the ever-increasing electorate abroad. The Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP) was created in 1997 to act as a link between emigrants and Finnish society. In 2003, dual citizenship was introduced. Finnish governments have adopted a Policy Programme for Expatriate Finns since 2006, and postal voting for electorate abroad is likely to be adopted in time for parliamentary elections in 2019. In the light of the above, exploring Finnish emigrants' political participation is important not only for the theoretical and empirical discussion, but also topical from the perspective of practical decision-making.

Previous research (see e.g. Bauböck 2003; Collyer 2013; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992a; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992b; Staeheli et al. 2002) has suggested that migrants tend to maintain their ties to home even when their countries of origin are geographically distant. As nation states and nationalism seem to persist despite the internationalisation of capital and transnationalism of populations, the question of nationalism and cross-border political participation as well as the status of emigrants in terms of citizenship and civil rights (such as political eligibility in both sending and receiving countries) has become gradually challenging.

The contribution of this study lies in adding to the few existing analyses on electorates abroad. This study provides a new understanding of voter behaviour in a globalised world, and its findings can be used to develop targeted interventions aimed at ameliorating transnational political participation. Furthermore, this study explicates that how the method of external voting is organised effects voter turnout. While it is relatively well-known how different socio-economic factors (such as age, education, health, and socio-economic class) influence voter turnout in general, the low level of turnout abroad has hitherto been a largely unknown area in political science. Therefore, this study aims to contribute in three different aspects: to enlighten the understanding of the Finnish electorate residing abroad; to partake the scientific discussions on the relatively new field of overseas electoral studies by presenting a unique data set of Finnish emigrant voters; and lastly, to serve the practical level of decision-making by offering findings of a rather timely topic.

As previously suggested (see e.g. Klandermans 2014; Wiley, Figueroa & Lauricella 2014), the basic assumption of identity and political participation is rather straightforward: high levels of identification go together with high levels of political participation. The more someone identifies with a group, the higher the chances are that the person takes part in collective action on behalf of the group. Thus, identification and participation mutually reinforce one another. Migration has previously been researched very thoroughly, very much like political participation. Migration studies are often implemented within the field of sociology, whereas political scientists most commonly tackle the issues of political participation and voter turnout. Thus, emigrants' political participation and voting from abroad as topics call for an interdisciplinary approach. This perception highlights the necessity of not only the understanding of one theoretical approach, be it political (electoral) science or more purely social science (such as sociology), but an understanding of a wider field. As emigrants' political participation has not been studied very widely thus far, this study both struggles with the lack of previous research paving the way, but also benefits from the freedom the novelty offers. This study looks towards transnationalism and transnational identities as theoretical tools, but turns to the methods most common in electoral studies in analysis. As we believe, this interdisciplinarity offers the best approach for this study.

This study is a monograph, but the empirical chapters are largely based on previously published articles. This study is organised into eight chapters. After the introduction, the second chapter introduces the theoretical premises. Transnationalism, globalisation and identity, dual citizenship, cross-border representation and emigrant voting are observed from the perspective of what transnationalism has to offer this study. In chapter 3, the research design and objectives are discussed and the data presented.

The empirical analysis takes place in chapters 4-7. Chapter 4 is devoted to transnational identity and dual citizenship. The sub-chapter 4.5. is based on a book chapter "From mother to emigrant? Perspectives to dual citizenship", currently in press (Peltoniemi 2018a). Chapter 5 ponders the relation between identity and voting. This chapter is based on the article "Transnational political engagement and emigrant voting," currently in the review process (Peltoniemi 2018b). Chapter 6 focuses on voting decision: political participation of Finnish emigrants, voting decision and costs of voting, and convenience voting methods. The sixth chapter is largely based on two articles: "Äänen pitkä matka. Ulkosuomalaisten matala äänestysaktiivisuus ja joustavien äänestysmenetelmien merkitsevyys [It's a long way to voting booth: emigrant voters and the significance of convenient voting

methods]" (Peltoniemi 2015), and "Distance as a cost of cross-border voting" (Peltoniemi 2016a). Chapter 7 deals with political representation and party identification of Finnish emigrants. Sub-chapter 7.2. is largely based on the article "Party identification abroad: Do EP elections tell us more than national elections when it comes to emigrant electorate?", currently in the review process (Peltoniemi 2018c). Sub-chapter 7.3. is largely based on two articles: "Parlamentissa vai ulkona? Ulkosuomalaisten poliittinen representaatio [Parliamentary or extra-parliamentary representation? Finnish emigrants' political representation]" (Peltoniemi 2016b), and "Overseas voters and representational deficit: Regional representation challenged by emigration" (Peltoniemi 2016c). In the final chapter 8, the major findings are summed up and the implications as well as the contribution of the study are discussed.

2 THEORETICAL PREMISES

2.1 Conceptualising transnationalism

Migration studies have developed several concepts over the years in order to explain different phenomena within migration and globalisation, such as assimilation, ethnicity and symbolic ethnicity. The concept of transnationalism entered the field in the 1990s and was expected to describe migrant's experiences with dislocation and/or relocation. Vertovec (1999, 447) has described transnationalism as a "condition in which, despite great distances and notwithstanding the presence of international borders […] certain kinds of relationships have been globally intensified and now take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common – however virtual arena of activity." The concept of transnationalism provided a new perspective on contemporary migratory movements, and generated original and innovative hypotheses about the patterns of settlement and adaption that diverged from established models (Leal 2014, 214; Portes 2001, 182).

First, the term transnationalism was more often used in economics, in order to describe corporations that have cross-border financial operations and organisational presence in several countries simultaneously. Transnationalism as a social scientific concept has traditionally been traced back to Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992a; 1992b), who in the early 1990s argued that a new conceptualisation was needed in order to come to terms with the experience and consciousness of the new migrant population. Transnationalism was then defined as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992b, 1-2). However, transnationalism is not just about the number of cross-border linkages, but it also involves distinct ways of thinking and acting. In addition, the transnational field comprise not only individuals, but also economic, political and social initiatives, such as informal import-export businesses, binational professionals and campaigns of home country politicians among their emigrants (Jakobson 2014, 20; Burgess 2014, 18; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999, 217-218).

As Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (1992b, 19) have pointed out, to conceptualise transnationalism, a global perspective must be brought to the study of migration. From the perspective of transnationalism, the world must be considered as a single social and economic system in order to comprehend the implications of similar descriptions of the patterns of migrant experiences. Thus, a focus on transnationalism allows us to operate within and between nation-states. Therefore, as the development of the transnational migrant experience is inextricably linked to the changing conditions of globalism, transnationalism should be analysed within that world context.

Migrants tend to maintain their ties to home even when their countries of origin are geographically distant. Transnationalism refers to a growing number of persons who live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders. In this regard, migrants live their lives "across the borders." Thus, migrants both draw upon and create multiple identities, grounded in their society of origin as well as in their host society. As transnationalism is grounded in the daily lives, activities, and social relationships of migrants, it is evident that transnational migrants are forced to confront and rework different national, ethnic, and racial identity constructs as well as a number of hegemonic contexts, both global and national. Thus, transnationalism involves individuals as well as their networks of social relations, communities, and broader institutionalised structures, such as local and national governments. Transnationalism as a concept emphasises the emergence of a social process in which migrants establish social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999, 217-220; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992a, ix; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992b, 5-11).

Contemporary migrants often develop and maintain multiple familial, economic, social, organisational, religious and political relations that span borders. These so-called transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and develop identities within a field of social relations that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously, both their country of origin and their country of residence. Thus, both the home and host societies are central elements of transnationalism. Transmigrants arrive in their new country of residence with certain practises and concepts constructed at home. As a result, when they engage in complex activities across national borders, their identities are potentially shaped and transformed. Migrants who expect to go home do not necessarily consider their country of residence as home, at least not at the beginning of their stay, and therefore they often lack the desire to assimilate or integrate, which differentiates them from antecedent migrants (O'Reilly 2002, 181-

182; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992a, ix; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992b, 1-4).

Political institutions and practices that transcend the borders of independent states are transnational, if they involve simultaneous overlapping affiliations of persons to geographically separate polities. Simultaneity is an important part of transnationalism and is distinguished from long-distance nationalism. It is the scale of intensity and simultaneity of long-distance, cross-border activities, which provides the distinctive social structures. Transborder social fields are embedded in two societies, and they enable migrants to affect and influence both countries, sending and receiving simultaneously. As transnational migrant practices influence both the sending and receiving country simultaneously, it has been argued that simultaneity is, in fact, what transnationalism is all about (Bauböck 2003, 705; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999; Tsuda 2012, 631-632; Vertovec 1999, 448).

Transnational migration differs significantly from earlier migration experiences and the manner in which transmigrants conceptualise their collective identities, is very much shaped by both the political and economic context of the country of origin as well as the country of residence. Therefore, it is possible to understand the similarities and differences between past and present migration only by developing a global perspective on the transnational life experience of migrants. The invention and development of rapid transportation and communication systems are often presented as the primary reason that modern-day migrants are more likely to maintain ongoing ties to their societies of origin compared to their predecessors. Current transnationalism has been argued to mark a new type of migrant existence as new and different phenomena. Since not all migrants move permanently, modern migration has caused a void in the categorisation of different types of migrants. Previous research has presented four main groups of migrants. Full residents have moved to the area permanently, usually for work or for retirement, while returning residents live in the new country of residence, yet return to the sending country on a regular basis (for example, each summer). Seasonal visitors live in the sending country but visit the new country every winter, and peripatetic visitors move between their two countries throughout the year (O'Reilly 2002, 181; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992a, x; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992b, 9).

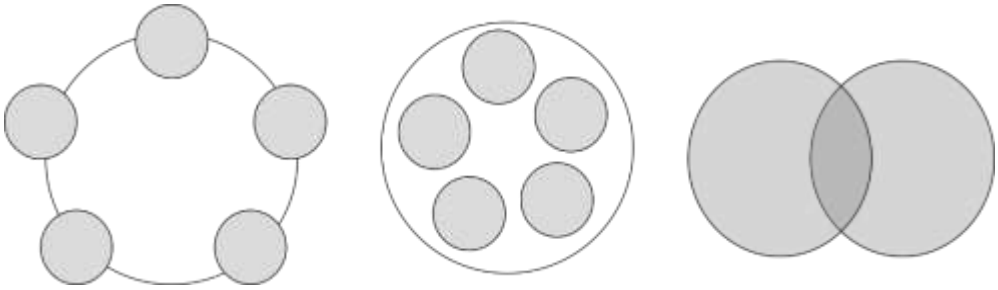
As Østergaard-Nielsen (2001, 262) has suggested, migrants' social, economic, and political activities and networks transcend the boundaries of nation states. Therefore, they are better analysed within a transnational de-territorialised framework. In the contemporary era of globalisation, transnational individuals develop flexible notions of citizenship and sovereignty as strategies to accumulate

capital and power (Conway, Potter & St Bernard 2008, 391; Ong 1999; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999).

Grass-roots transnational activities were commonly developed in reaction to governmental policies, and state-sponsored transnationalism emerged only later when governments realised the importance of their emigrant communities. Consequently, transnationalism generates negotiations between transnational actors (such as extra-territorial citizens) and states. Transnational organisations create space for political participation beyond national territories, and transnational action becomes a political tool leading transnational actors to act from outside. In contrast, for states, transnationalism is a way to integrate identity issues developed in a minority situation into their political strategy. As the loyalty of transnational actors and nationalist expression is maintained beyond the political border, it becomes a way for states to integrate into the process of globalisation. From this perspective, territory becomes a broader and unbounded space, where nation states and supranational institutions interact, and transnational networks build bridges between national societies (Kastoryano 2005, 695; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999, 220).

The problem of conceptualising terms used in migration studies is that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive concepts, but complementary analytical tools for rendering the predicaments of migrant identities. In order to define the sphere of transnationalism, it is important to distinguish the terms international, supranational, and multinational from transnationalism. As shown in Figure 2.1., internationalism refers to external relations between independent states, such as international law and international organisations. Embassies and diplomatic missions abroad, sent by national governments as well as other programmes and activities conducted by states and other nationally based institutions in other countries, can be considered international. The distinct character of these activities is that they are carried out across borders in pursuit of the goals of organisations that possess a clear national affiliation. As migration involves a movement of persons between the territorial jurisdictions of independent states, it is basically an international phenomena. However, it becomes transnational when it creates overlapping memberships, rights, and practices that reflect a simultaneous belonging of migrants to two different political communities (Bauböck 2003, 705-706; Leal 2014, 214; Portes 2001, 186-187).

Figure 2.1 Political cross-border phenomena and relations between nation states



International Multinational/supranational Transnational

The word "multinational" should be understood as actions conducted by institutions whose purposes and interests transcend the borders of a single nation state. While these institutions may be headquartered in a specific national or urban space, the very character of their goals renders them simultaneously committed and active in a number of countries. For example, the United Nations is a multinational actor, as it is charged with monitoring and improving specialised areas of global life. While in the Figure 2.1. "multinational" and "supranational" are presented in one image, it would be erroneous to assume that they are synonyms. In fact, "supranational" refers to several independent states within a larger polity, such as the European Union, whereas multinational activities often take place within one nation. In other words, both denote similar phenomena, but within different spaces. Thus, both multinational and supranational polities can be understood to be nested communities with two levels of self-government (Bauböck 2003, 706; Portes 2001, 186-187).

"Transnational relations" refer to overlapping polities between independent states. External and dual citizenship are often offered to improve the link between sending communities and emigrants. As transnational activities are initiated and sustained by non-institutional actors, such as organised groups or networks of individuals across national borders, the key aspect of transnational activities is that they represent goal-oriented initiatives that require coordination across national borders by members of civil society. Thus, these activities, whether or not they are supervised by state agencies, are undertaken on their own behalf, rather than on behalf of the state or other corporate bodies (Bauböck 2003, 705; Portes 2001, 186-187).

Transnationalism is not a new concept nor does it refer to a new phenomenon. Back-and-forth migration has always existed. Nonetheless, until the past decades, transnationalism has not acquired the critical mass and complexity necessary to be defined as an emergent social field. This is due to the fact that contemporary transnationalism involves more rapid and dense linkages between migrants and sending countries than before, and this is made possible by the rise of new communication and transportation technologies. Furthermore, the rise of a particular set of transnational institutions links migrants in their sending and receiving countries, which accents the importance of describing and analysing the institutional patterns of political transnationalism. However, it is still unclear what "transnationalism" refers to, after all. Transnationalism can be understood to stand for the ideology of transmigrants who engage in local resistances of the informal economy and grass roots activism, as well as the conscious-tainting efforts of rulers who try to hold on to emigrants, or the worldview of researchers who investigate the associated phenomena, or perhaps all three (Faist 2000, 190; Itzigsohn 2000, 1130; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999, 217-218).

2.2 Transnationalism as a political theory

Migrant transnationalism has been a focus of the research on international migration across the social sciences for several decades. Migrants engage in a wide range of political practises transnationally; they engage in the politics of their countries of origin even as they simultaneously participate in the politics of their countries of destination. National political parties and political movements in sending countries have established offices in cities of migrant concentration and for sending country governments, and emigrants have become increasingly important. Emigrants are no longer considered as merely sources of remittances, investments, or political contributions, but are now considered potential "ambassadors" and lobbyists of national interests abroad. Thus, migrant political transnationalism raises important questions about the boundaries of polities and the nature of political subjectivities under contemporary conditions of globalisation (Portes 2001, 187-190; Rodriguez 2013, 740-741).

In order to use transnationalism as a concept in political studies, it is vital to distinguish the concept of transnationalism from the economic initiatives of entrepreneurs mobilising their contacts across borders, or community leaders whose main goals are the achievement of political power and influence in sending or

receiving countries. In comparing migration and international economic systems, the key change has been the rise of technology and innovations made in the field of technology. Transnational enterprises did not proliferate among earlier immigrants because the technological conditions of the time did not make communication across national borders rapid or easy. This kind of development took place only later, once it was easier and faster to both travel and communicate internationally. Thus, technological innovations represent a necessary condition for the rise of grass-root transnationalism. As access to space- and time-compressing technology grew among migrants, the frequency and scope of this kind of activity also increased (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999, 221-224).

Transnational studies have entered the realm of political science along two routes: via international relations and migration studies. In this sense, political transnationalism or transnationalism as a political theory is a latecomer to the field of migrant transnationalism. Political transnationalism covers a wide range of phenomena, can be studied using a variety of approaches, and is more than political activity across territorial boundaries because it encompasses the changing and increasingly overlapping boundaries of membership in political communities. From the globalist and transnationalist perspective, globalisation undermines the salience of national sovereignty and citizenship, but simultaneously creates deterritorialised and post-national communities as an alternative to territorially bounded national policies. Thus, if transnationalism is theorised as a challenge to the nation state system, its scope and real significance are likely misunderstood. External citizenship (having a citizenship even if living abroad) does not challenge the traditional idea of citizenship only from the territorial nation state viewpoint, but it also contests traditional citizenship. Migrant transnationalism creates overlapping memberships between territorially separated and independent polities, and thus, political transnationalism affects collective identities and conceptions of citizenship among the native populations in both sending and receiving societies. The definition of transnationalism refers to states as bounded political entities whose borders are crossed by people, money, or information and are spanned by social networks, organisations, and fields. Thus, transnational political practises include various forms of direct cross-border participation in the politics of the country of origin as well as the country of residence (Bauböck 2003, 703; Jakobson 2014, 20).

In previous research, three forms of transnational political practises and transnational citizenship have been presented: parallel, simultaneous, and integrated. Parallel signifies a situation where individuals are active in more than one political community, but those communities do not themselves come together. Simultaneous

refers to collective actions that in themselves cross-borders. Integrated involves multiple levels and arenas, which can be parallel and/or simultaneous, or both horizontal and vertical, because activity crosses levels as well as borders. The political realm is most commonly characterised by simultaneity. Migrants' transnational political practises include a variety of activities and the field of migrants' transnational practises encompasses a wide range of phenomena. Transnational practises include not only cross-border voting, but also political parties or campaigns in two different countries, transnational election campaigns, membership in political associations, engagement in hometown associations' projects in the region of origin, and nation building itself. However, where nation building is always an inter-generational project, transnationalism generally is not. Thus, it makes sense for second and third generations born abroad to still regard themselves as participating in a national-building project of their parents' and grandparents' homeland only in diasporic groups engaged in an ongoing struggle for national self-determination. Nevertheless, migrants may mobilise around many issues: immigrant policies, homeland politics, emigrant politics, diaspora politics, and translocal politics (Bauböck 2003, 718; Fox 2005; Levitt & Jaworsky 2007, 129-156; Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 761-762).

Traditionally migration was understood as "'emigrants' vanishing from the imagined community at the moment of embarkation, reappearing as 'immigrants' in a new, more uplifting narrative." In fact, the process by which migrants were understood to forfeit membership in the nation served to delineate the cultural and biological bases of belonging for those left behind. Previous research on migration was often theorised from the viewpoint of diaspora or from the framework of assimilation theory. Transnationalism and diaspora used to signify very different understandings of cross-border relations. Diaspora was used to denote religious or national groups living outside an (imagined) homeland, while, transnationalism referred to the importance of global interactions and impacts on interstate politics. The concepts of diaspora and transnationalism drew closer to one another as the concept of diaspora was broadened to include newer waves of migration, and transnationalism was expanded to beyond cosmopolitanism (Aksel 2014, 196-198; Anderson 2006; Kingsberg 2014, 67-68).

Assimilation theory suggests that migrants adjust by melting into the core culture, and the aim is a dominant and unitary national political culture with one national citizenship. Assimilation theory is rather similar to the idea of exclusive citizenship in a single nation state. Assimilation theory encourages immigrants to discard their cultural baggage and sees a gradual socio-economic, cultural, and behavioural

adaptation of migrants. The process of assimilation starts with acculturation and is followed by structural assimilation. The last phase of assimilation is identificational assimilation and cultural adaptation; the final result is cultural submergence (Dahlin & Hironaka 2008, 54-55; Faist 2000, 201-214; Gustafson 2005, 5-19).

Diasporas have been previously defined as "sites where multiple senses of attachment and identity related to the home country and to the context of settlement are at play." Precisely used, diaspora denotes a particular kind of transnational community that originates in massive emigration and dispersal of a group from a homeland to two or more other countries. Diasporas tend to be characterised by a strong orientation towards the homeland, and are often coupled with a longing to return once independence of the homeland has been restored or its present regime has been overthrown. However, the revived concept of diaspora is often used more loosely, as any community that has emigrated and whose numbers make it visible in the host community. The concept of diaspora as an analytical category has been criticised to be too limiting to explicate the contemporary contours of membership and belonging. Diaspora has traditionally been linked with groups that have been forced into exile. However, if understood in its loosest sense, diaspora refers merely to a segment of people that lives outside of the homeland. Therefore, diaspora can also be used in a more flexible interpretation, which implies an ongoing relationship between migrants and their homelands (Koopmans & Statham 2001, 68-69; Leal 2014, 201; O'Reilly 2002, 183).

Assimilation theory has painted perhaps too strong a picture in that immigrants are expected to get rid of their cultural baggage. Therefore, it is unlikely that immigrant culture would be identical to either the culture of the country of origin or the culture of the receiving country. Thus, assimilation theory assumes migrants will discard their old country's cultural baggage or dissolve it into the mainstream. This idea is far from the transnational approach. Immigrants typically want to retain their citizenship of origin even if they hope to gain political rights in their country of residence. This has led to wide recognition of dual citizenship. Therefore, it is evident that cross-national flows of people and the increasing fluidity of national boundaries challenge the traditional geopolitical boundaries of the state, regarding not only political rights, but also state membership and national identity (Dahlin & Hironaka 2008, 54-55; Faist 2000, 201-214; Gustafson 2005, 5).

Engaging members of diasporas or transnational communities with the politics of the country of origin is not, however, a new innovation. On the contrary, as the world has never been a tidy order of closeted societies, the broader phenomenon known as political transnationalism has its share of antecedents. The relations

between migrants, home-country politics, and politicians with regard to the Irish, Italians, Poles, and Jews in the 20th century United States have always been dynamic (Vertovec 1999, 455). Nonetheless, political parties have only recently started to seek support among emigrants, establish offices abroad in order to canvass migrants, and migrants are more apt to organise to lobby their "home government." Political parties of several European countries also have an incentive to seek support and funding among emigrants, yet they do not necessarily want to open their political systems to emigrants. The cross-border initiatives of governments and corporations can be referred as "transnationalism from above," whereas those of immigrants and grassroots entrepreneurs, as "transnationalism from below" (Portes 2001, 185). Contexts that are less receptive to immigrants tend to encourage a stronger identification with the homeland; consequently, the more inclusive a political system is, the more political participation there is. Migrants are often operating outside the system in countries whose political systems are very exclusive, whereas in more inclusive contexts, migrants work within the system instead. Migrants are not passive actors, and this has resulted in the increased rights of emigrants regarding dual citizenship, voting rights, overseas constituencies, health and welfare benefits, as well as property rights. Therefore, as the concept of diaspora has broadened to include newer waves of migration, and transnationalism was expanded to beyond cosmopolitanism, diaspora politics can no longer be seen as the only important organisational and identity project, as migrant politics are emerging and becoming more relevant. Thus, political transnationalism should not only refer to politics across borders, but also ought to consider how migration changes the institutions of the polity and its conception of membership. Overall, emigrant politics have gradually become more relevant (Aksel 2014, 196-198; Bauböck 2003, 701; Bolzman 2011, 153; Fox 2005, 190; Itzigsohn 2000, 1145; Østergaard-Nielsen 2001, 263-264; Rubio-Marín 2006, 120-121).

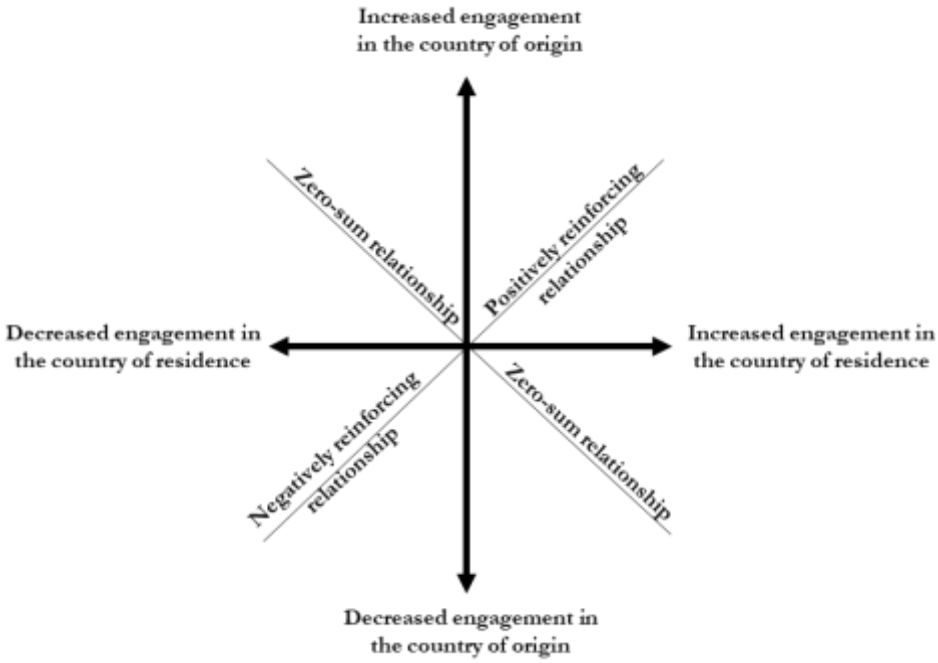
Homeland politics are relevant to migrants even after migration, but of increasing importance are political activities aimed at improving the status of emigrants seeking to further their rights in the country of origin (emigrant politics) as well as immigrant politics in the country of residence. One of the main issues in the dialogue between migrants and their countries of origin is about their legal, economic, and political status in the homeland. Migrants tend to work towards the institutionalisation of their transnational status as "residents abroad who are economically, socially, and politically engaged to their country of origin" (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 762). Socio-economic issues specifically, such as taxes, social security matters, political influence, absentee voting rights (e.g. postal voting) and right to stand for elections, are often

in the core of discussion. Previous research has suggested that there are three instrumental reasons or motivations for sending country governments and political elites to regard the citizens abroad as a population that they need to control and stay connected with. Firstly, human capital upgrades are a development strategy of sending countries, which aims at return migration that imports useful skills and accumulated savings. This could be understood as an expectation to regain the brain drain. Secondly, sending countries have an interest in remittances sent to family members back home. Remittances will be maximised if emigrants move back and forth or even if they stay more permanently, but retain a strong myth of return. Finally, emigrants can be considered to be a domestic political force within the country of residence that can advance the economic and foreign policy interests of the country of origin (Bauböck 2003, 709; Bolzman 2011, 161).

Transborder political participation in the country of origin does not prevent political engagement and inclusion in the country of residence. Sending states have increasingly started to reach out to their emigrant communities in order to maintain their loyalty, as well as to benefit from their transborder activities by promoting their political participation in the country of origin through dual nationality laws, extraterritorial voting rights and political representation, and political campaigning in immigrant communities abroad. Simultaneously, receiving states have realised the political importance of immigrants as voters and constituents, and have increasingly attempted to incorporate growing immigrant communities into the political process. Migrants are, at the same time, encouraged to get involved in the politics of both countries and thus, transborder participation in politics of the country of origin can simultaneously co-exist with participation in the country of residence, enabling political involvement for migrants in both countries (Tsuda 2012, 638).

Dual citizenship toleration increases the likelihood that diasporas are involved in homeland politics, and transnational political engagement does not always mean that migrants must split their socio-political resources between two countries (Mirilovic 2015; Tsuda 2012). As shown in Figure 2.2., the dynamic relationship between home- and host-country engagements can be conceived in four ways, according to Tsuda (2012, 634-635).

Figure 2.2 Transnational political engagement according to Tsuda



Source: Peltoniemi (2018b).

A great deal of transnational migrant politics seems to be asymmetrically skewed toward the home country in a zero-sum relationship. As migrants are often marginalised in the host society and continue to feel greater belonging to their societies of origin, they seem to be almost exclusively involved in transborder homeland politics and not very concerned about political issues in their country of residence. Exclusive political systems, such as Germany's traditional jus sanguinis[1] (especially prior to the 1990s), can strengthen transnational orientation among migrants. Therefore, the particular system of migrant incorporation, in particular the notion of political opportunity structures, may influence the scope and agency of transnational political practises (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 768; Tsuda 2012, 638).

Political activities across national borders may include voting, running for office and supporting political candidates in their country of origin. However, participation in homeland (country of origin) politics often faces a higher threshold compared

[1] "Blood relationship", principle of nationality law by which citizenship is determined by having one or both parents who are citizens of the state, thus contrasting with *jus soli*, the birth right citizenship (Scott 1930).

with participation at home, as an individual has to be more proactive to overcome distances and potential bureaucratic hindrances for both electoral and non-electoral engagement. Thus, the more time, effort, and resources migrants dedicate to politics in their country of origin, the less able they are to get involved in politics in their country of residence. This, however, would contradict the Matthew effect. Furthermore, political engagement in one country can also positively reinforce political engagement in the other one. Migrants who are long-time settlers, in more socio-economically secure positions, and hence more likely to be politically engaged in their country of residence, are especially likely to get involved in transborder homeland politics. Thus, the acquisition of citizenship does not weaken transborder political engagement in the country of origin, but may, in fact, increase it. Likewise, engagement in politics of the country of origin may increase general political awareness and organisational engagement, which also promotes participation and involvement in politics of the country of residence (Ahmadov & Sasse 2016; Meseguer & Burgess 2014, 2-3; Tsuda 2012, 638-639).

Home and host society participation can counteract each other in a zero-sum relationship when migrants' transborder ties delay their assimilation into their country of residence, or when assimilation processes discourage transborder attachments to the country of origin. Transborder attachments and host-society assimilation can also simply co-exist, or they can positively reinforce each other. In a limited number of cases, they reinforce each other negatively and cause a mutual decline in transnational simultaneity. Negative reinforcement in migrant transnational political activity is rather unusual; however, there are certain immigrant groups that have developed deep mistrust of their sending government due to political insecurity, corruption, or violence. As a result, these groups do not engage in transborder political activity with their country of origin, are often suspicious and indifferent toward politics in general, and discouraged from participating in politics in their country of residence (Tsuda 2012, 639-646).

Geographical proximity and access to transnational organisations can be a resource in bringing transnational pressure to bear for political change in homelands. For instance, assimilation, emigrant networks, and destination characteristics are relatively strong predictors of transnational political engagement among emigrants who show some concern for homeland politics. In addition, the length of residence in a host society influences transnational political participation: the longer migrants stay in their host country, the stronger the trend towards assimilation will be, even if integration into the host country and transnational politics are not mutually exclusive. Even if involvement in homeland politics is quite rare among migrants,

this does not mean that transnational political involvement is altogether exceptional. In fact, activities that transcend borders of sending and receiving countries (and are hence truly transnational) are very common (Ahmadov & Sasse 2016; Bolzman 2011, 148; Van Bochove 2012, 1551-1552).

Transnational political practices are mostly a concern of the first generation, as younger generations are usually less interested in homeland politics than their parents and grandparents. Transnational citizenship and political rights are, however, much more broad, and they may persist among the second and even third generations, as is the case in Finland. Nevertheless, even citizenship and political rights will eventually fade away through subsequent generations of immigration. The political allegiances of the first generation may thus be qualitatively different from those of second and third generations, who have developed a homeland political standpoint from afar. However, even if transnationalism does remain a transient phenomenon for each migration cohort, the emergence of new legal and political conceptions of citizenship signifies an important structural change for the polities involved (Bauböck 2003, 706; Bauböck 2005, 683; Østergaard-Nielsen 2001, 266).

External citizenship is not a matter of people leaving a national community in order to join a different one. Instead, it is about people who, in spite of having left a nation state as a territorial space of coexistence, aim to continue enjoying and exercising their political rights from within the territory of another national community. In a transnational context, denying citizenship and political rights to emigrants in their country of origin diminishes their liberties and opportunities in their current social arenas. Thus, transnational migrants should be regarded and treated as citizens abroad (Bauböck 2003, 719; Rubio-Marín 2006, 119-120).

2.3 Globalisation and identity

In tandem with increasing global integration, the implications for state boundaries and citizens' identities also grow more significant. Increasing human mobility across national borders gives rise to questions about migration and national belonging. In order to examine emigrant political participation and voting together with national and transnational identities, it is necessary to conceptualise the terms of national and transnational identity. Here, the idea of national identity is understood to mean the existence of communities with bonds of belonging arising from a "shared homeland" (Norris 2011). National identification becomes apparent in feeling similarity with fellow nationals: knowing about historical memories, cultural myths

and symbols, economic resources, language, and culture. In this sense, national identity rests in both doing and participating, as well as accepting and negotiating legal-political rights and duties, societal values, norms, and social order. Furthermore, identities may be more or less salient at any moment: identity is never complete, but always changing (and thus, never stable). This creates the main challenge for analysing national identities, as that analysis must aim at a moving target, so identity must be examined and analysed at certain phase of development (Brady & Kaplan 2000, 59-60; Dahlin & Hironaka 2008, 54-73; Gustafson 2005, 5-19; Hall 2002; Holesch 2013, 67; Schlesinger 1992; Ronkainen 2011, 249).

Collective identity is characteristic of a group and concerns cognitions shared by members of a single group about the group of which they are a member. It has been argued that when people become involved in political protests on behalf of a group, the collective identity of the group in question politicises. While identity strengthens during an identity crisis, collective identity politicises when it becomes the focus of a struggle for power: collective identity becomes politically relevant when people who share specific identity take part in political action on behalf of that collective. Groups differ in terms of their collective identity; that difference can be both qualitative (e.g. ethnicity, gender) and quantitative (the strength of collective identity). When individuals perceive themselves as belonging to a particular group, which is defined in a certain way, a social identity arises. Social identity is the part of a person's self-image that is derived from the groups the person belongs to. Individuals differ in terms of social identity, but the term "collective identity" refers to an identity shared by members of a group or category (such as "students" or "Finns"). Traditionally, social identity has been understood to include three factors: an individual's identification with certain other individuals, conceptions of the history and future of one's group, and the strategies adopted to maintain, preserve, and emphasise the group's distinctive characteristics. These distinctive characters may be based, for instance, on language, geographical region or social class (Klandermans 2014, 2-4; Ollila 1998).

The constant change in salience of identities also has implications for the impact of ethnic identity on attitudes. Ethnicity is constructed from a wide variety of factors and traits, such as collective ancestry, shared historical memories, common culture, homeland, language, religion, and race. Ethnic identities are constructed and reconstructed as social opportunities. Therefore, ethnic identity is constructed as a social identity that arises through group formation, individual identification with a group, and interaction between different ethnic groups. The salience of social categories such as ethnic identity depends upon their relative accessibility (identity's

emotional significance for the individual and its centrality for the person's self-definition), and the fit (how well the ethnic identity captures important aspects of reality) (Brady & Kaplan 2000, 56-60).

In some cases, national identities emerge from transnational migration. The idea of being Italian was partly created in the diaspora, and Polish peasants became Polish in the diaspora as well. In addition, Chileans living abroad are often referred as the "fourteenth region of Chile" (Bolzman 2011, 161-162; Fox 2005, 190). This is a way of incorporating emigrant Chileans symbolically into the national community by strengthening their identity. Similarly, the concept of identity began to arouse general interest in Finland in the 1960s, which was the decade that marked the beginning of intensive urbanisation and emigration to Sweden (Ollila 1998). This indicates that as people leave their home regions, they often become aware of their identity, questioning who they are and where they belong. Their national identity is often strong, ideological and collective at the time of migration, and nurturing of this identity while adapting to new situations often facilitates the migration process. Therefore, transnationalism reinforces national identity abroad through collective enjoyment of different cultural events and goods organised for emigrant audiences, such as travels of musical folk groups, or games organised in the national sport (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999, 221).

Multiple and dual identities refer to simultaneous identities. These identities may refer to different collective identities, whether in a subgroup or a national. For instance, dual identities can be defined as migrants' identification with both their ethnic group and with their national community in their country of residence. For migrant offspring, identity formation is a resource moulded in accordance with what is needed to better the individual's inclusion. Individuals often acquire elements of their two cultures in creating a dual identity in order to satisfy necessities and objectives. The result is the construction of hyphenated identities, such as Sweden Finns (ruotsinsuomalaiset, sverigefinnar) and Finnish-American (amerikansuomalaiset). Hyphenated identity, a dual identity, leads to identities that take from the best of both worlds. As identities are constantly defined, redefined, and merged with ethnic and national identities, the utilisation of hyphens is therefore not only used to amalgamate the double identity but also to position oneself in the two worlds and hence, truly define oneself (Sardinha 2011, 375-386; Wiley, Figueroa & Lauricella 2014, 209).

Dual identities can be important for emigrants and minorities. In order to secure inclusion in a nation, minorities may seek to construct a positive-sum relationship between their minority identity and their national identity. As national identities are

often defined through reference to a dominant majority group, minorities may need to be active in order to redefine the national identity. In fact, migration often sets a space for search of cross-sectional identifications and transcending identity boundaries. In particular, for migrant descendants, such constructions often become a "cultural war" (Sardinha 2011). The second generation of an emigrant population is often defined by bicultural and pluralistic life patterns, which result from a bi-socialisation process. Therefore, for the migrant descendent, an intercultural coexistence becomes evident and predominated by the socio-cultural relationship between two cultural spheres. Migrant identities are complex and often incorporate components from both the ethnic and national environments. Therefore, identities are essentially linked to politics of location, with identification shifting in different contexts (Hopkins 2011, 253; Sardinha 2011, 374-378).

Transnational identity is based on a simultaneous affiliation and sense of belonging to two or more nation states. Transnational identities transcend national borders and are multiple, flexible, decentred, non-essentialist, and not based on a singular territorial nation state. This often refers to a dual identification with both the country of origin (sending country) and the country of residence (receiving country) of migrants. Transnational identity can therefore be explained as simultaneous engagement in both countries. Migrants' affiliations to the country of origin are considered to be transborder (nationalist) identities, as they involve identification with only one nation state, rather than transnational, unless they simultaneously identify with the country of residence. As migrants are associated with cross-border nationalist identifications with their country of origin, a simultaneous transnational affiliation is not necessarily produced. Thus, it is problematic to assume that migrants' transborder social practises and organisations are solely based on transnational identities, as in fact, nationalist identities are more frequent than transnational identities among migrants. Moreover, transnational simultaneity is not a stable, constant process but a contingent one where migrants' engagement can pivot between two countries. Migrants are more involved in one country than the other at different times in their lives (Tsuda 2012, 642-644).

Multiple identities are formed when individuals occupy many different places in society. Identities are shared with other people so that each identity at the same time is also a collective identity. Some identities are associated with organisational and institutional identities, such as labour unions and political organisations. Some of these identities are more important for an individual than others, but they can be equally important. It has been claimed that migrants are unlikely to develop a dual identity that is based on a very strong identification with both nations, as consistency

concerns and the anticipation of loyalty conflicts could in fact undermine the development of such a maximal constellation right from the start. However, dual identity development is still possible, although on the basis of a less extreme and less symmetrical constellation. In addition, while the recognition of different identities cannot be compartmentalised, it is the recognition of a duality that is valued, and the prominence of one identity over another can violate an individual's self-definition (Hopkins 2011, 259; Klandermans 2014, 11; Simon & Ruhs 2008, 1355).

Sardinha (2011, 385-386) has noted that the majority of Portuguese-Canadian descendants in Canada lie in an "identity inbetweenness." Although the majority may feel that they are very much a part of their dominant culture, it does not reduce their Portuguese identity. Thus, it is through the double sense of belonging that individuals emphasise the salience of their own experiences growing up in Canada, and challenge both the social construction of ethnicity and the social construction of Canadian citizenship by proposing a connection between their dual status and their sense of nationalism. Respectively, O'Reilly (2002) has studied British emigrants in Spain, and suggested that the British who have migrated to Spain in the last few decades are especially interesting when it comes to identity and identification processes. She has suggested that while their compatriots back in Britain denigrate their behaviour and impute them a longing for home (which they do not have), the emigrants themselves fail to integrate into Spanish society, and yet talk of Spain as their home, and construct new identities based on Spanish symbols. For instance, Britons living in Fuengirola cannot be considered integrated within wider Spanish society, either in terms of ethnic identity or in actions that are more concrete. This seems to be an outstanding example of the core of the challenge to identity, which the new type of migration has presented during the past decades.

It has been suggested that nationalism resulted from the replacement of existing absolute monarchies in Europe by nation states. It can be argued that a major achievement of nationalism was that it gave heterogeneous groups a sense of a shared common interest and carried a vision of a nation state as a "people," each making up a separate, equal, and natural unit. Even if the unifying content of nationalism varied between countries, it was based on an ideology of the commonness of origins, purposes, and goals that allowed those in power to legitimate rule over populations (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992b, 14-15).

Nationalism can take both civic forms (ties of soil based on citizenship within a shared territory and boundaries delineated by the nation state) and ethnic forms (drawing on more diffuse ties based on religious, linguistic, or ethnic communities). National identity, however, refers more commonly to the traditional model of

citizenship, which is often distinguished by singular membership in an ethno-cultural political community. Citizenship can be disaggregated into four dimensions: legal status, rights, political and other forms of participation in society, and a sense of belonging. In the most traditional sense, membership in a nation is based upon ethnic or cultural similarities, independent of formal legal membership. Belonging has exclusionary tendencies: in order for "we" to exist, some must fall outside the community, and thus, citizenship is closely linked to identity. Collective identity is often best conceptualised as a group of people who recognises fundamental sameness that causes them to feel solidarity amongst themselves. This feeling is socially reconstructed including the construction of an "other," which reflects their being different. Citizenship is often defined as a form of membership in a political and geographic community, and identification with the political community is the most fundamental of political identities. In this sense, the historical concept of nation and therefore also national identity does not permit memberships in multiple other nations. As individuals identify themselves through national identity, it often predates more specific political identities, such as party or ideological ties (Bloemraad, Korteweg & Yurdakul 2008, 154-156; Dahlin & Hironaka 2008, 57; Dalton 2004; Holesch 2013, 67; Norris 2011).

Previous studies (Klandermans 2014, 5-9; Simon & Grabow 2010, 718) have demonstrated that national identity and subgroup identity are not mutually exclusive. Politicised identity is a form of dual identity (identification with a subgroup such as ethnicity, class, gender, or religion combined with national identification). The basic assumption of identity and political participation is straightforward: high levels of identification go together with high levels of political participation, and the more someone identifies with a group, the more likely the person is to take part in collective action on behalf of that group. Identification significantly influences processes of consensus mobilisation, and subsequently, mobilisation identification and participation mutually reinforce one another (Klandermans 2014, 5-9; Wiley, Figueroa & Lauricella 2014, 209).

Migrants tend to identify with two nation states for different and often unrelated reasons. Migrants do not always need to have active transborder social ties to maintain a sense of belonging with their country of origin. While some migrants identify more with one society than the other, the majority maintain several identities that link them simultaneously to more than one nation. Identification with the country of origin may well be a product of positive and nostalgic memories and imaginings. Therefore, even if connections to their country of origin decrease as migrants become increasingly incorporated into their country of residence, this does

not necessarily mean that simultaneous affiliation with the country of origin will weaken. Transnational affiliations and therefore identities are largely limited to more highly-skilled and professional migrants who experience greater social acceptance and less discrimination in their host societies because of their higher socio-economic status. Furthermore, contexts that are less receptive to immigrants tend to encourage a stronger identification with the country of origin. Consequently, the more inclusive a political system is, the more political participation there is. Migrants often operate outside the political system in countries where the system is very exclusive, whereas in a more inclusive context, migrants work within the system (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001, 263-264; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992b, 11-12; Tsuda 2012, 643).

2.4 Transnational (dual) citizenship

As Ronkainen (2011, 249) has suggested, in order to study identification to citizenship, one has to clarify the varying, inconsistent, and partly overlapping use and understanding of citizenship and nationality. Nationality refers to national identity and membership in a nation. Therefore, nationality is often understood through nation state ideology and national citizenship. There are two different types of citizenship laws, which intertwine with two different national identities. Assimilative laws confer citizenship automatically at birth in the political territory regardless of the citizenship of the parents (jus soli). Assimilative laws are thought to reflect more fluid ideological and political identities and a greater readiness to integrate with the international community. For example, France and the United States are assimilationist in this sense. Differentialist laws are based on familial ties, or blood relationships instead. Differentialist laws draw ideological boundaries between citizens and foreigners by maintaining tight control of political and cultural boundaries. Germany is an example of a differentialist country, as until the 1990s, obtaining German citizenship was only possible through "blood ties," i.e. by having German roots (jus sanguinis). Interestingly, differentialist laws may in fact also indicate a stronger sense of national identity (Dahlin & Hironaka 2008, 57).

While more importance is commonly placed on heritage and origins than on the complex identity pathways chosen by the individual, citizenship is a testimony to being part of a nation with subjective implications to national identifications. In fact, participation in civil society exemplifies one form of national identification. Political identification is not, however, necessarily a function of migrants' length of stay. Younger generations are usually less interested in homeland politics than their

parents and grandparents. The political allegiances of the first generation may be qualitatively different from those of second and third generation, who have developed a homeland political standpoint from afar (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001, 266; Ronkainen 2011, 249; Sardinha 2011, 386).

National citizenship implies a set of exclusive rights and responsibilities that apply to members of a country's political community, which is often defined by territorial borders. Citizenship is traditionally closely linked to the evolution of nation states: modern states are based on a territory, defined by borders, recognised by neighbouring states, and exercises sovereignty. Thus, citizenship can be understood as an institutionalised form of solidarity. Citizenship is the status that makes members of a community equal regardless of their income, education, or descent. Citizenship grants people equal rights to decide over the affairs of the general community and provides equal minimal social standing. Having dual citizenship allows an individual to possess political and economic rights in multiple countries. Dual citizenship does not fit well with the traditional conception of the nation state: dual state membership as a form of transnational citizenship does not deny the existence or relevance of borders and nation states but simply recognises the possibility of (simultaneous) membership in two states. Therefore, dual citizenship illuminates the inherent dichotomies in conceptualisations of citizenship by increasing the focus on exclusion and inclusion created by the state (Brøndsted Sejersen 2008, 528; Faist 2000, 201-202; Jakobson 2014; Leblang 2015; Mirilovic 2015).

Traditionally the notion of citizenship has embraced the conception of the nation state as a fundamentally territorial one. The world is assumed to be divided into political units that are in potential conflict with each other. These states are understood to exercise territorial jurisdiction and sovereignty, and the people located in the geopolitical space are its nationals. As nationals, they are accorded a set of rights and duties, which entitle the members to collective well-being. Part of this cluster of entitlements reserved for national citizens include the full exercise of political rights: national suffrage, the right to hold public office, and the right to unconditional acceptance as a resident of that state. External citizenship does not fit into this picture neatly, because of its dislocated territorial dimension. States have traditionally been sceptic and even opposing dual nationality. However, a gradual shift towards accepting dual nationality has taken place, and it has been welcomed by growing literature that portrays dual nationality as an opportunity to foster global peace, international trade, and other values. Nonetheless, this does not necessarily mean that there is an equivalent tendency to favour dual political citizenship; in fact,

dual citizenship is not as institutionalised as many other aspects of the modern state. Instead, it seems that dual nationality has taken on a life of its own (Dahlin & Hironaka 2008, 69; Rubio-Marín 2006).

An important long-term change in nation state attitudes towards political transnationalism is the growing tolerance for multiple nationalities. For some time, the dominant view was that dual nationality should be avoided, and that everybody must have one, but only one, nationality. During the 1990s and 2000s, many countries reappraised this view and changed their legislation to be more open to multiple nationalities. In 1960, two thirds of the world's countries deprived their nationals of their original citizenship if they naturalised (became citizens) elsewhere, but by 2013 this share had dropped to one third of countries. Despite a previously hostile stance on dual citizenship, it is clear that there has been a shift in global attitudes toward dual citizenship (Blatter, Erdmann, & Schwanke 2009; Brøndsted Sejersen 2008, 528; Freeman & Ögelman 1998; Mirilovic 2015; Newland 2010; Ronkainen, Pitkänen & Harinen 2007; Vink & de Groot 2010). Rhodes and Harutyunyan (2010, 472) have described the increasing emigrant inclusion as a new international normative standard, the "global-norm hypothesis."

Nonetheless, dual citizenship continues to raise many questions. As dual citizens can potentially participate simultaneously in the politics of two different countries, it can also be argued that dual citizenship does not fit well with the traditional conception of the nation state. It is not surprising that migrants who opt for dual citizenship are heavily influenced by the institutional opportunities provided by both host and sending states. However, dual nationality does not lead to the weakening of state borders, but citizenship remains a tool that both host and sending states use to define their borders (Bauböck 2003, 715; Mirilovic 2015, 510-515; Mügge 2012, 14-15). In this perspective, states continue to play "a critical role as granters of rights" for single or multiple citizenship (Berg & Rodriguez 2013, 651).

A transnational understanding of migration is strongly correlated with a positive attitude towards dual citizenship. Dual citizenship has been described as a "cross-border" institutional and legal right that many cherish, because it facilitates transnational practises and legitimises as well as widens mobility options. Therefore, dual citizenship appears to be an essentially pragmatic strategy, as it facilitates strategic flexibility. Contemporary critics of citizenship often state that citizenship should be derived from its traditional and national contexts (see e.g. Conway, Potter & St Bernard 2008, 373-397; Gustafson 2005, 17; Ong 1999). It has been suggested (Ronkainen, Pitkänen & Harinen 2007, 43) that contemporary citizenship should be based on separating the concepts of "nation" and "state," and that citizenship should

be a political community without claims to a common cultural identity. This way, citizenship could be more flexible and make integration easier for people who move from one country to another.

The concept of transnational citizenship with analytical consistency requires making explicit definitional choices to specify both what kinds of rights and what kinds of membership are involved. Otherwise, the term "transnational citizenship" is difficult to distinguish from other kinds of civic or political relationships and blurs the conceptual edge of citizenship itself. In this study, "transnational" is understood in such common sense terms as "cross-border," and therefore, technically, as "trans-state." Thus, the concept of transnational citizenship refers more narrowly to strictly binational relationships that are limited to specific political communities, whereas the term "cosmopolitan citizenship" is nearly a synonym for multicultural citizenship, which recognises and respects multiple identities. Thus, it can be argued that only dual citizenship qualifies to be categorised as "transnational citizenship" (Berg & Rodriguez 2013, 651; Fox 2005, 172-178).

Dual citizenship originates from political participation, the home country as well as the country of residence. Dual citizenship occurs when individuals are eligible to be citizens of more than one country. Emigrants who have left their country of origin are allowed to retain legal ties to that country and to potentially participate in its politics. Dual engagement in two or more nation states is an essential component of transnationalism and distinguishes it from nationalism. Focusing primarily on how migrants remain engaged with their home country through economic, political, and socio-cultural connections is essentially examining only a nationalist phenomenon, seeing that it involves only one nation state. The difference from traditional nationalism is that the migrants are merely participating from abroad. Thus, to be truly transnational, a simultaneous, bi-directional impact on both sending and receiving nation states is crucial. Therefore, if dual citizenship is the legal expression of overlapping memberships between independent policies, then the possibility that both memberships are simultaneously active should be considered (Bauböck 2003; Brøndsted Sejersen 2008, 528; Kastoryano 2005, 693-694; Mirilovic 2015; Tsuda 2012, 633-634).

Dual citizenship signifies a person who holds passports of two nation states and has full rights and duties in both. For individuals, citizenship can be seen as a principle of equality and a way to struggle against political, social, and cultural exclusion. Dual citizens are not different from any other native citizens in the eyes of domestic jurisdiction, seeing that only citizenship allows full participation in the political community and carries the right to fully participate in the political

community. In receiving nation states, dual nationality is often interpreted as the legal expression of hyphenated identities (e.g. Finnish-Canadian), in which the first part signifies ethnicity and the second part signifies political membership. However, the impacts of duality regarding both instrumental (legal) and political values should not be underestimated, given that dual citizens can be involved in both the country of origin's as well as country of residence's politics at the same time (Bauböck 2003; Faist 2000; Kastoryano 2005, 693-694).

Previous literature (Mirilovic 2015, 515) has suggested that democratic countries with a large population of highly-educated emigrants are especially likely to tolerate dual citizenship. The countries with longer traditions of immigration and citizenship by birth have the most liberal citizenship policies and are the most tolerant of dual citizenship. Nordic and Germanic countries are still generally less liberal and tolerant of dual citizenship, even considering the notable changes during the past decades in Sweden, Finland, and Germany. On the other hand, a large population of highly-educated emigrants increases the likelihood of tolerating dual citizenship in democracies; for example, emigrants from the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador, and Finland have pushed for their countries of origin to allow dual citizenship. From another viewpoint, emigration countries usually allow dual citizenship in order to maintain links with their emigrants. This was also the case in Finland, and dual citizenship was not considered as a question of immigration, legal immigrants, or labour migrants as distinctly as in many other countries. In addition, after the new Nationality Act of Finland (359/2003) came into force in 2003, multiple citizenships were seen more as an issue of Finnish emigrants rather than for the benefit of immigrants. This is also due to the fact that naturalisation politics have traditionally been quite open in comparison to immigration policies in Finland. As a welfare state, most of the rights are connected to the residence and not the status of citizenship, and therefore, for societal membership, a resident permit is more important than citizenship in Finland. However, political membership in Finland is most centrally linked with the rights to vote and to stand for elections, and citizenship is required in order to be able to participate at national-level politics (Howard 2005; Ronkainen, Pitkänen & Harinen 2007, 30-36).

Finnish emigrants were an important group in promoting multiple citizenships. The emigration waves from Finland have produced a diaspora of approximately 1.5 million people with Finnish ancestry living abroad. The civic association Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP) lobbied actively for the acceptance of multiple citizenships. However, the new Nationality Act mainly followed the trends of international development. Due to its geopolitical position as well as its historical

background, Finland has a close co-operation with Nordic countries and Russia. When dual citizenship was under consideration, public opinion and policy were influenced largely by the state affairs of Sweden and Sweden's full legal acceptance of dual citizenship in 2001 (Gustafson 2005, 5). The most important change was that the new legislation allows dual citizenship more widely than the former law did. According to the new law, a Finn who acquires citizenship in a foreign country will not lose their Finnish citizenship, and, respectively, a foreigner who acquires Finnish citizenship is not obliged to renounce their country of origin citizenship. However, both immigrants and emigrants have to show that they possess sufficient connections to Finland (Ronkainen, Pitkänen & Harinen 2007, 32-33).

The practical policy implications of dual citizenship are substantial. Advocates of dual citizenship have argued that recognising dual citizenship increases integration by granting migrants rights in their host country without requiring them to give up rights at home. Critics, on the other hand, have countered that migrants split their loyalties ("serving two masters") and thus are less integrated into their host society. On political integration, some scholars have found that dual citizens are less engaged than their single nationality counterparts, whereas others have found that they are equally or more likely to vote. Notably, the questions of external voting, how states relate to the increasing number of their citizens living abroad and non-citizens residing within their borders, and the exercise of rights and duties by these individuals have become gradually highlighted. Citizenship has regained a central position in political science because of globalisation and the growing number of migrant transnationals. On one hand, migration itself is not a new phenomenon. For instance, Kapur (2014, 498) has described that "the history of humanity, starting from its antecedents in Africa, is a history of migration." However, the likelihood of migrants maintaining ties to various places creates new patterns of belonging. With the increasing commonness of dual citizenship, the concept of citizenship is questioned even further and the normative foreigner-citizen dichotomy becomes questionable (Brøndsted Sejersen 2008; Ronkainen, Pitkänen & Harinen 2007, 36; Whitaker 2011).

States' recognition of dual citizenship is associated with an internationally-oriented state identity. States that are less tied to traditional notions of the nation are more likely to recognise dual citizenship; this implies that dual citizenship represents a new model of global citizenship based on membership in an international community that transcends traditional state boundaries. Strong transnational orientations are responses to exclusionary citizenship regimes in host societies that limit migrants' access to the political community. However, sending states can also

include or exclude their citizens from political participation by the extension or denial of citizenship rights. External citizens often become citizens of the receiving country through naturalisation or through the extension of most rights to permanent residents. This may lead to a messier picture, in which external citizenship often also means dual or multiple citizenships (Dahlin & Hironaka 2008, 68; Mügge 2012, 2; Rubio-Marín 2006, 120).

The decision to opt for dual citizenship is heavily influenced by the institutional opportunities provided by both host and sending states. Avoiding statelessness and the vulnerability that it entails should be considered a priority. Therefore, sending countries should not ask emigrants to give up their nationalities until they acquire one in their country of residence. The more controversial case, however, is that of emigrants who live permanently abroad and are naturalised there. They may want to preserve their nationality for many reasons: the need to travel back and forth to visit family and friends, investment opportunities, the possibility of returning for good, and identity-related reasons. The ultimate reason to grant emigrants the right to retain their nationality of origin is because many people feel significantly attached to their national societies and cultures (Rubio-Marín 2006, 142; Mügge 2012, 14).

2.5 Cross-border representation

The idea of people autonomously defining rules for themselves to follow in order to ensure a peaceful coexistence is at the core of democracy. In a representative democracy, citizens do not participate directly in the decision-making process (with the exception of referendums), but indirectly influence it by selecting their representatives. As defined by Pitkin (2004, 336), representation stands for "somebody or something not literally present…nevertheless present in some non-literal sense." The verb "represent" refers to acting or presenting on behalf of another. Previous literature has suggested that all representational relationships, whether political, symbolic, artistic, or linguistic, include something to be represented and something that represents it. Representation is always in service to some purpose or function. A representative does not merely "stand for" another, but "stands for another in order to perform a specific function" (Rehfeld 2006, 5). Therefore, the representative functions on behalf of the represented, and aims to reach the goals or objectives shared by both the represented and representative. The represented delegate and authorise the representative to promote issues with which

they are entrusted (Bengtsson & Wass 2010a; Castiglione 2015, 9; Pekonen 2015, 190-191; Pitkin 2004, 336).

In previous research, the concept of representation based on the relationship between the represented and the representative is widely accepted, and democratic decision-making is traditionally understood precisely through representativeness. Representation is conceived as a principal agent relationship in which the principals (constituencies formed on a territorial basis) elect agents to stand for and act on their interests and opinions. Elected agents are seen as representing the people inhabiting the same region. Ever since the formation of the modern state, territorial residence has been the fundamental condition for political representation. Historically, residence-based representation was more inclusive than status- or corporate-based representation. As a result, territory has had an important historical relationship to political equality. However, the situation is different from the time when territorial representation sufficiently captured voters' most significant interests, and problems have arisen when the representational system has not changed correspondingly (Mansbridge 2003, 522-523; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 389; Wass & Bengtsson 2009, 187).

The generally accepted criteria for democratic representation first require that representatives are authorised to act; secondly, that representatives act in a way that promotes the interests of the represented; and thirdly, that people have the means to hold their representatives accountable for their actions. All forms of electoral representation share these three formal features, which illustrate the extent to which they have democratic content. Representatives are authorised by their constituency to act in the interests of people living in said territory. Therefore, individuals aspiring to become a representative must be formally qualified and meet the requirements (such as those related to age or residence) established by the community. The representative must be chosen in a way the relevant parties (namely, the represented) recognise as valid. These processes may include voting, appointment, or random selection. Representative democracy aims for political equality and inclusivity through universal suffrage. These principles, however, include normative criteria: institutions that are inadequate or incomplete in one of these dimensions are also less than democratic. In fact, they are deficient from a democratic perspective (Bellamy & Castiglione 2011, 122; Castiglione 2015, 14; Rehfeld 2006, 6-7; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 393-396; Warren 2009).

Decision-making units have traditionally been demarcated geographically, so that the adults living in a certain area form a group of eligible citizens. However, this limitation has become more controversial in recent decades. Previous literature has

suggested that regardless of traditional geographical boundaries, those who are in some way affected by the decision-making should be entitled to participate, or to be represented. Two reasons in particular have led to this shift. First, traditional regional representation (geographically divided constituencies) has several problems regarding territorial representation. Secondly, increased interest in equality has led researchers to become more conscious of problems with the traditional principal-agent relationship, in particular marginalised minorities' exclusion from decision-making (Bengtsson & Wass 2010a, 167; Herne & Setälä 2005, 177; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 388; Zürn 2000, 186).

In political representation, site-specificity is often over-emphasised, as territoriality represents only one set of ways in which individuals are involved in collective structures and decisions. Issues such as migration and global trade are extraterritorial, whereas other issues, in particular those involving identity such as religion, ethnicity, nationalism, and professional identity, are nonterritorial. Nonetheless, political representation is still closely linked to state power. From this perspective, political representation based on place of residence can be regarded as the major challenge that representative democracy faces. However, representative claims based on territorial constituencies appear to be in continual decline. Denationalisation can be viewed as indicative of the weakening link between territorial states, their corresponding national societies and political communities that extend beyond state territories. Globalisation and increased international mobility have also altered the understanding of migration. A large number of transnational, extraterritorial, and nonterritorial actors now exist in the world. They range from relatively formalised institutions comprising territorial units, to a multitude of nongovernmental organisations, transnational movements, associations, and social networks, each making representative claims and serving representative functions (Urbinati & Warren 2008, 389-391; Zürn 2000, 187).

The significance of regionalism in political representation should not be trivialised, however. As Pitkin (2004, 340) has suggested, by participating actively in local political life, people learn the real meaning of citizenship. They discover that some of their personal troubles are in fact widely shared, and that their apparently private concerns are in fact relevant to public policy and public issues.

Political representation is conventionally viewed as an institutional arrangement that is the result of elections. The older corporatist views of parliaments and representation have given way to representation of individuals whose only commonality is residence, and thus, legislatures attend to non-residential constituencies only indirectly. The reasoning behind this is not that citizens have

equal shares of power assigned by territory, but rather that pressure and advocacy groups can organise territory-based votes along non-territorial lines. However, political representation is more productively viewed as a process of claim-making and claim-reception that is relatively unconfined by national borders or electoral structures (Saward 2011, 8; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 390).

Representation must be understood as a relationship, mediated by group identities, histories, and experiences. Therefore, fair representation requires a bond of trust between the representative and the represented, based on shared experiences, perspectives, and interests. Analysis of election laws has historically been dominated by analysis of vote-seat-correspondence. However, in recent decades, other important variables have emerged in comparative research. One is the geographic distribution of votes, which is important for proportionality. The question of "who speaks for whom, and why" is closely linked to political discourse and has become increasingly relevant with the growth of globalisation and transnationalism. The represented must be able to rely on the fact that the representative is the right person to further their values, issues and interests. The critical question is: does the representative sufficiently embody the needs of the represented, that is, does the representativeness materialise in practise? Thus, it is not surprising that the role of political representation has been both emphasised and challenged by globalisation and increased mobility (Pekonen 2015, 190-192; Powell 2004, 276; Saward 2011, 1; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 394).

The principle of political equality requires that every individual be treated equally in the political process. A simplified interpretation of equality would hold that each individual should have equal influence over policy decisions. This is difficult to quantify, however, and unlikely to ever achieved; thus, political equality is better understood as equal opportunities to influence decision-making through representatives. Therefore, if all individuals hold an equal claim to representation, their representatives should have presence in representative institutions in proportion to the number of individuals with interests they wish represented. In this sense, it can be argued that as minorities' claims consistently fail to be present within political institutions, representation based on formal equality fails basic fairness. Historically, however, the strongest argument for fair representation has been based not on group advantage or group disadvantage but proportional representation of individual interests (Herne & Setälä 2005, 177; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 395).

While seeking representation of their positions and preferences, voters contribute to parliament and government's formation. Thus, elections should not be understood only as a race where someone wins at the expense of others, but also as

a way of taking part in the creation of a representative body. From this viewpoint, the opposite of representation is not participation but exclusion. Representation constitutes a specific dimension of justice, that is, its political dimension, alongside the economic dimension of redistribution and the cultural dimension of recognition. Therefore, establishing criteria for political membership reveals who is included and who excluded (Fraser 2007, 313-314; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 398).

2.6 Emigrant voting as a normative question

The globalisation of political, personal, and professional life as well as an increase in migration have contributed to an increasing interest in the voting rights of people who are either temporarily or permanently absent from their home country. However, while migration has changed the traditional understanding of democratic citizenship from a nation-state perspective, there are differing opinions as to whether or not emigrants should exercise political rights, or if participation in the democratic process should be restricted to those who live in a country, and thus subject to the home government's rulings (Braun & Gratschew 2007, 1; Mascitelli & Battiston 2009, 514).

Virtually no country allows non-citizens to vote, and those that do restrict it to very specific, limited categories. Because of that, voting practises may be the last and the best defended citizenship privilege due to their exclusive nature. Transnational voting rights take four principal forms: cross-border voting rights for migrant citizens, migrants' right to vote in polities where they are not citizens, legislative representation of emigrants, and the election of transnational authorities. Emigrants' campaigns aimed to win the right to vote and their subsequent electoral participation illustrate the enduring nature of certain forms of territorial belonging. Thus, migrant suffrage raises a broader question of the relationship between citizenship and voting rights. Nowadays voting rights are seen as inherent in democratic citizenship, even if in historical terms this convergence is relatively recent. For example, in the United States the majority of citizens could not vote before World War I, whereas alien suffrage was widespread for men of European origin. Therefore, the question "does citizenship automatically include suffrage?" could be asked (Collyer & Vathi 2007, 21-22; Fox 2005, 183-185).

Whether extra-territorial citizenship should be considered as an identifiable package of rights, distinct from territorial forms of citizenship, is not an easy question to answer. The extent to which core practises associated with citizenship

(i.e. voting), are practised from outside the territory of the state suggests that citizenship can no longer be conceptualised from a purely territorial point of view. Therefore, state citizenship has actually never been a purely territorialised relationship. The relatively recent introduction of legislation and constitutional amendments allowing emigrants to cast their votes extra-territorially show that this is genuinely a new trend with important practical consequences, for emigrants as well as the states to which they are linked. Nevertheless, voting is not the only element of the package of extra-territorial citizenship, though it is probably the most controversial (Collyer 2013, 18).

The two core elements of external citizenship are the right to return (to the country of origin) and diplomatic protection abroad; everything else can be seen to have been built on top of them. Voting rights have traditionally been regarded as the core of democratic citizenship, and it is rather widely accepted that citizens who are temporarily abroad, such as tourists, students, and transient workers, should retain their right to vote in their home country. In several countries, voting from abroad (external voting) has existed since the early twentieth century as a way of allowing citizens to cast their votes while they are away from their home country. This is an exception to traditional forms of casting votes reserved for citizens who reside in the national territory. At the same time, a growing number of countries have enfranchised their emigrant citizens, and some countries have given special representation in their national parliaments for emigrant citizens. External voting is allowed in 115 countries in the world, but there are often specific restrictions to this entitlement. The conditions for the exercise of rights (who can vote and under which administrative requirements), the degree to which rights are exercised (emigrant voter turnout), and the relative weights of migrants in the national polity (share of electorate as well as presence in the national imagination) vary widely. For instance, voting rights for emigrants can be attached to conditions of their former residence. Other legal, technical, operational and administrative barriers may also be used to restrict the ability to vote from abroad (Bauböck 2003, 712; Braun & Gratschew 2007, 1; Lafleur 2011, 481-501; Mascitelli & Battiston 2009, 514; McIlwaine & Bermudez 2015, 392-394).

The question of emigrants' right to vote arises when discussing emigrants who have lived for a long time in a foreign country with no intention of returning to their country of origin, and those who are descendants of emigrants who have citizenship in the country of their ancestors. There are strong arguments both in favour of and against the vote of transnational citizens. People still living in the country of origin might question whether migrants' interests are the same as the interests of people

who remained. There are both practical and normative limits for providing emigrants the same rights as resident citizens of the country of origin. Political cosmopolitanism argues that rights ought to transcend national boundaries. However, sending countries cannot guarantee freedom of speech and association, access to public education, or social welfare benefits outside of their territory. In addition, the case of cumulative rights and obligations assigned by the sending and receiving nation states, such as taxation and the right to vote, induce normative concerns about unfairness (Bauböck 2003, 712; Bauböck 2005, 683; Bloemraad, Korteweg & Yurdakul 2008, 154-156; Bolzman 2011, 159; Itzigsohn 2000, 1145; López-Guerra 2005, 217).

It is generally accepted that gender, race, ethnicity, wealth, religion, knowledge, national identity, and similar factors are unacceptable bases for denying political rights to those who are subject to the authority of the state, and that all persons living within a state should be included in the citizen body. However, temporary residence status is considered as rightful criteria for exclusion. It has been suggested that emigrants, who are permanently living abroad (long-term emigrants) and are no longer subject to the laws and binding decisions of their country of origin, should not have the right to decide who will govern those who still live in the country. Thus, it is justified to exclude permanent non-residents from the electorate (López-Guerra 2005).

From the perspective of theories of democracy and residential qualification, two objections can be raised against voting rights of emigrants and of external political participation. First, those who take part in collectively binding decisions and in the election of representatives should have some ongoing involvement and future stake in the polity. Second, citizens will only vote responsibly with a view towards the implications of their choices for the common good if they know that they will have to bear the consequences of the outcome. Another objection, from the democracy perspective, is that dual voting violates the principle of one person/one vote, and a democratic country has no power to prevent dual citizens from voting in foreign elections (Bauböck 2003, 712-713).

As states are geographically bounded communities, and their borders express the limits of their jurisdictions, democratic states generally have good reasons to restrict participation in the political process to those who reside within their territorial borders. Thus, this could justify the exclusion of emigrants from the political process. Nonetheless, the major problem emerging is that since the country of residence does not automatically offer voting rights to non-national residents, emigrants may find themselves effectively disenfranchised. While most countries do

not grant voting rights to foreign residents, the first generation of migrants would be deprived of any opportunity for democratic participation unless they can vote in their country of origin. This could be considered as a positive reason to allow emigrant voting rights. Yet, in the contexts where the emigrant vote can be decisive in close contests due to a large concentration of emigrants, somewhat different considerations should be applied. The US presidential election of 2000 can be considered an example, as the votes from American citizens overseas were a crucial factor in the final determination of who won the electoral votes in Florida and thus the presidency itself (Bauböck 2003, 714; Dark III 2003, 241-242; Rubio-Marín 2006, 127).

The argument that informed voting requires residence does not take into account the process of self-selection. When absentee voting is either not allowed, or casting a vote from abroad requires great effort, it is not far-fetched to assume that those who make the effort to participate under such conditions are sufficiently informed to know what they are doing. Existing evidence shows low electoral turnout of absentee voters, and this perhaps lends further support for the self-selection theory (Rubio-Marín 2006, 128).

However, today these objections can largely be overcome by contextual arguments, such as technology and cheap travel that have facilitated the involvement of emigrants in electoral campaigns. For instance, in order to exercise suffrage in a minimally responsible way, voters must be sufficiently informed. It is not completely erroneous to suspect that if living abroad, emigrants may be less informed than if they were residents. However, in the era of telecommunications technology, information knows no geographical boundaries. As a result, access to first-hand information about politics in the country of origin has become less costly and time consuming. Emigrants who vote are likely to have acquired the relevant information and may be as well-informed as average citizens residing in the country of origin (Bauböck 2003, 713-720; Rubio-Marín 2006, 120).

Nevertheless, dual citizenship and dual voting rights are, at least for the time being, a rather marginal problem in international relations between independent states. The more significant issue is that if dual citizens are enfranchised, the possibility that a dual citizen could be elected to public office in two different countries simultaneously is, even though implausible, a possibility which cannot be easily reconciled with the idea of democratic representation and accountability. Thus, a further normative question arises: which of these two countries should bear the primary responsibility for the person's political disenfranchisement? In fact, it is rather interesting that the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA)

has explicit rules for footballers with multiple nationalities and which national teams they are allowed to represent, but such rules are mainly absent from transnational politics and political eligibility (Bauböck 2003, 712; International Federation of Association Football 2012, 64-66).

It is evident that emigrant citizenship challenges some of the traditional elements of the nation-state construct, such as the mutually exclusive and territorially-bounded notion of political belonging, while, on the whole, reasserting the relevance of national membership (Rubio-Marín 2006, 117). Previous research has reached some understanding of emigrants' electoral rights. López-Guerra (2005, 226) has argued "just as nationality and culture are invalid criteria for denying political rights to residents, they are likewise unacceptable for granting them to non-residents." However, as Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul have asked (2008, 164), is social solidarity presumed necessarily to facilitate democratic participation, and can redistributive social policies be fostered outside the nation state given that the emotional aspects of such solidarity are difficult to promote outside affective communities? According to Fox (2005, 183-185), largely due to the extensive gaps in implementation and administrative obstacles, it seems that the political symbolism of migrant voting appears to outweigh its actual electoral significance.

Rubio-Marín (2006) would allow absentee voting for the first generation of emigrants and include them to the political process under certain circumstances. One reason is that it is now easier than ever to remain connected to home state politics from abroad, and thus it is also easier to understand the set of concrete political options that the country may face. Another reason is that many emigrants live between two countries and returning home is a real option, as being abroad no longer requires a definite severing of ties like it did in the past. Bauböck (2003, 715) has suggested that electoral participation from abroad should be seen as permissible, yet these rights should not be granted to emigrants as a basic requirement of democratic inclusion. Thus, according to the normative theory of democracy, the extension of voting rights to emigrants should not be mandatory, whereas diplomatic protection, re-admission from abroad, and the right to retain or renounce one's nationality of origin should be seen as basic elements of external citizenship.

External voting rights should be considered as a legitimate mean for involving migrants who have strong social and political stakes in their political communities of origin. Rubio-Marín has suggested that "emigrants have a right to retain their nationality of origin, and with it, a sense of national identity, their ties with the country of origin, and the option to return, even if they naturalise abroad." However, while the children of emigrants ought to be able to acquire their parent's citizenship

together with that of their country of birth, there is no good reason to grant them voting rights in their parents' country of origin (Bauböck 2003; Rubio-Marín 2006, 117).

Soehl and Waldinger (2012, 807-809) have examined to what extent cross-border ties persist over generations, and they have come to forecast likely shifts as the second generation is eventually replaced by the third. The overall fall-off in second generation cross-border activity means that the third generation will have limited exposure to direct homeland engagements, at least mediated through the parental household. In addition, the third generation is likely to be deprived of one of the most powerful factors affecting homeland engagement, namely, mother tongue use at home. From this viewpoint, Bauböck's suggestion (2003, 714) that extra-territorial voting rights should expire with the first generation, and the transmission of formal membership itself should be stopped with the third generation seem rather sensible.

Thus, it is evident that globalisation and the increased international movement have changed the ideas of emigration and immigration, and this creates bigger questions of political philosophy and human rights. It is not relevant to ponder voting rights further in this study, yet it is important to keep in mind that there are many unanswered questions in this field and the argumentation is justified from both viewpoints.

2.7 Absentee voting and rational choice theory: Distance as a cost of voting

There are diverse methods available for citizens to participate, and elections and voting are perhaps the most fundamental to the democratic society. The decision that voters make between voting and not voting, the calculus of voting, is often presented by rational choice theory:

$$C < pB + D$$

A person will vote if the costs of voting (C) are outweighed by the probability (p) of the collective benefits of voting (such as having a desired candidate win, B) and the positive sense of fulfilled civic duty (D) (Downs 1957; Riker & Ordeshook 1968). Accordingly, rational choice theory suggests political participation to be an act where individuals sacrifice the costs of transportation and time for a public good. Moreover, Fiorina (1976) has suggested that voting decision has both instrumental

and expressive components. Whereas the Downsian formulation is purely instrumental (the citizen's vote has value only insofar as it helps push their preferred candidate over the top), one may also vote to express solidarity with one's class or peer group, to affirm allegiance to a party, or simply to enjoy the satisfaction of having performed one's citizen duty.

Reforms that are made to increase turnout usually aim to reduce costs rather than increase benefits, as it is known that lowering the costs of voting increases voter participation. Therefore, more convenient forms of voting should be associated with higher turnout. Then again, if the probability of collective benefits or collective benefits themselves were considered trivial, a small increase in the costs of voting (such as longer distance to the polls) would significantly reduce turnout. Thus, it is suggested that costs associated with distance do indeed influence a person's likelihood of voting (Bhatti 2012, 141-143; Haspel & Knotts 2005, 560-573; Gimpel & Schuknecht 2003, 471-488; Karp & Banducci 2000, 223-239; see also e.g.: Blais 2000; Gronke et al. 2008).

Distance as a cost of voting has been comprehensively studied. The costs of travelling to reach a traditional polling station are, in fact, associated with non-voting. Distance as a cost strongly affects the choice to vote, and more voters could be mobilised by reducing the travel costs associated with voting. Greater distance from home to a polling station also significantly increases the probability of casting an absentee vote (such as postal vote) (Bhatti 2012, 150; Brady & McNulty 2011, 115-134; Dyck & Gimpel 2005, 535; Gimpel & Schuknecht 2003, 473; Haspel & Knotts 2005, 567-570).

Personal voting requires voters to go to a polling place personally, and this creates the dual constraint of distance and time. Some voters choose the method of voting (for instance, between personal and postal voting) after they first decide to vote, but there are voters who can be mobilised by easy voting (convenience voting). Absentee voting has been argued to increase significantly with distance. As the probability of voting increases when a polling station is located closer, absentee voting increases steadily as the distance to the polling station increases. It is evident that distance has a great impact on the method used to cast a ballot, particularly on postal voting (Dyck & Gimpel 2005, 531-548).

However, Niemi (1976, 115-119) has claimed, to the contrary, that voting is relatively costless in terms of opportunity costs. According to Niemi, many people regard voting as no more costly than many other kinds of intermittent activities they undertake. Correspondingly, Burden et al. (2014, 95-109) have suggested that convenient voting, namely early voting, actually decreases turnout by several

percentage points. While this may be true among domestic electorates, the costs of voting for overseas voters are often exceptionally high, leaving turnout respectively low. Therefore, we may argue, that the skewness in emigrant participation should not be seen commensurate with the skewness of participation among domestic electorate.

Is rational choice theory indeed the best approach for external voting? Perhaps not. However, previous research has been rather unanimous about the fact that distance is a cost of voting, and that distance strongly affects the choice to vote. Greater distance from home to a polling station significantly increases the probability of not voting. Furthermore, we can agree that voters who live further away have higher travel costs, and for them voting is more time-consuming than for voters who live closer. Consequently, distance as a cost of voting likely creates an imbalance between voters living close and voters living further away in regard to the decision to vote. By reducing the costs of voting, for instance implementing convenience voting methods such as postal voting, voter facilitation instruments will likely increase overall participation and increase the socio-demographic representativeness of the electorate, thus reducing bias in turnout. However, as voter facilitation has actually increased the socio-economic bias in turnout, mobilising those groups that were more active to begin with, attempts to make voting more convenient may in fact decrease the socio-economic representativeness of the electorate, contrary to the original aim (Berinsky, Burns & Traugott 2001; Berinsky 2005, 472; Bhatti 2012, 141-143; Brady & McNulty 2011; Karp & Banducci 2000; Tokaji & Colker 2007).

Turnout in country of origin's elections is not a unitary phenomenon, but an embedded political process in host and home countries. The impact of postal voting has been argued to be conditional depending upon an election's importance. When participation levels are low and elections are for one reason or another "low-profile," the information and convenience of postal voting can produce large boosts in turnout. A decrease in the competitiveness of elections is connected with overall turnout: when elections are less exciting, fewer people vote. However, in high-visibility elections these benefits have less value (Kousser and Mullin, 2007; Persson et al., 2013, 254). Similarly, as de Vreese and Tobiasen have suggested (2007), turnout is positively related to engaging in interpersonal discussions about elections, being contacted by political parties, and being exposed to political news.

For emigrant voters and absentee voters, the impacts of these issues are presumably less. Being away from the campaigns and daily discussions means that all elections held in another country seem to be "low-profile," and, thus, postal voting could be expected to increase turnout among overseas electorate (see e.g.

Beyer, Knutsen & Rasch 2014; Ciornei & Østergaard-Nielsen 2015; Pattie, Whitworth & Johnston 2015).

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Political participation and turnout

This chapter outlines the methodological choices made in connection to the study and the implications of these. The aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensible plan for the analysis and to discuss the choices made in the research design. The following sections contain discussions on three central components: key concepts (political participation and turnout), aim of the study and research objectives, and research strategy (data and limitations). First, the key concepts of the study, political participation and turnout will be defined.

Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) define political participation as an action that "affords citizens in a democracy an opportunity to communicate information to government officials about their concerns and preferences and to put pressure on them to respond". Political equality and political participation are basic democratic ideals. While in principle they are compatible, in practice, however, participation is highly unequal. The inequality of representation and influence are not randomly distributed but systematically biased in favour of citizens that are more privileged and against less advantaged citizens. Higher incomes, greater wealth and better education are all predictors for higher political participation (Lijphart 1997, 1).

The systematic socio-economic bias applies to the more intensive and time-consuming forms of participation. The more advantaged citizens are the ones who especially engage to both conventional activities (i.e. work in election campaigns, contact government officials, contribute money to parties or candidates and work informally to community) and unconventional activities (i.e. participate in demonstrations and boycotts). While voting is not necessarily representative for political participation more generally (see e.g. Christensen 2011, 13; Dalton 2006), voting is less unequal than other forms of participation. However, voting is still far from being unbiased. The obvious way to making voting more equal would be maximising voting turnout. Therefore, the democratic goal should be not only universal suffrage but also universal or near-universal turnout (Lijphart 1997, 1-2; see also Verba, Nie, & Kim 1978).

Political participation is understood to be affected by socio-demographic resources, political integration and associational involvement. Socio-demographic resources have frequently been found to affect the inclination to participate. For instance, Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) have presented a Civic Voluntarism Model (CVM) to explain how socio-economic position is linked to political participation. CVM allows to trace political activity from generation to generation, isolating distinct paths, such as direct politicisation and early exposure to political stimuli. Different factors are included to socio-demographic resources, most commonly age, gender, education, marital status, place of living and religiosity (Christensen 2011, 45-49; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady 1995).

Political integration is understood to include factors that assess the extent to which individuals are psychologically involved in political matters. These matters include political interest, civic efficacy, and party identification. Traditionally, low political integration is associated with low political participation. However, the new forms of participation can be linked to a lack of integration within the formal political system. Associational involvement concerns engagement in non-political associations, which has become a contested explanatory factor for political participation. The aspect of associational involvement concerns the mobilising agencies connecting individuals to the surroundings. Associational involvement can be measured either by active involvement or as passive members, as even passive membership may have better access to information and therefore passive membership may help to foster political participation (Christensen 2011, 50-56; Norris 2011, 83-86).

This study focuses on political participation largely from the viewpoint of electoral participation and the act of voting itself. As suggested in the Chapter 6, Finnish emigrants often actively participate in different forms of civic engagement. Therefore, the scope of this study would unnecessarily broaden, if political participation in general terms would be in the focus. Political participation in other forms is studied in Chapter 6, but otherwise the main scope of this study is electoral participation, even if a particular kind of participation, such as voting, is not necessarily representative for political participation more generally (Dalton 2006). However, as Lewis-Beck et al. (2008) have pointed out, for most people voting is the only participation in politics. Emigrants' electoral participation is interesting topic, as it partly faces the same challenges than homeland electoral participation, but in addition to those, several questions specific to overseas voters, such as distance to polling stations, lack of information and all elections being seemingly less salient. The most pressing issue on electoral participation among both emigrants and

non-migrants is however the same: Turnout and the unequal, biased voting as a consequence of low turnout.

The level of turnout is often treated as a test of overall condition of the political system and functioning of the democratic process. High participation rates imply that citizens consider voting as a meaningful and effective channel for expressing and promoting their preferences. Low turnout suggests that people are disenchanted with the democratic process and see no point in participating. Therefore, for a democratic country, low turnout can be seen as a some sort of failure. Furthermore, elected representatives may use high turnout as an indicator of the legitimacy of their representative claims (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008, 82-92; Wass & Blais 2017, 459).

Interestingly, a common feature of turnout and other acts of participation is their habitual nature. The act of voting has previously been presented as a broader psychological involvement in politics. Each individual develops a characteristic pattern of involvement in politics, and this pattern remains quite stable during the years, turning some into habitual voters and others into habitual non-voters. Thus, whether one voted in past elections closely predict whether one will vote in the future elections. Furthermore, the reason why people turn out to vote is less about a decision made anew in each campaign than about a standing decision to borrow (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008, 82-92).

Low voter turnout is a serious democratic problem, as it means unequal turnout that is systematically biased against less well-to-do citizens, and unequal turnout spells unequal influence. In fact, as Wass and Blais (2017, 459) have pointed out, various types of inequalities are directly translated into electoral participation. Turnout in regional, local and supranational elections (such as European Parliament elections) that are less salient, even if not unimportant elections, tends to be especially low. Turnout appears to be declining everywhere, but the problem of inequality can be solved by institutional mechanisms that maximise turnout (Lijphart 1997, 1).

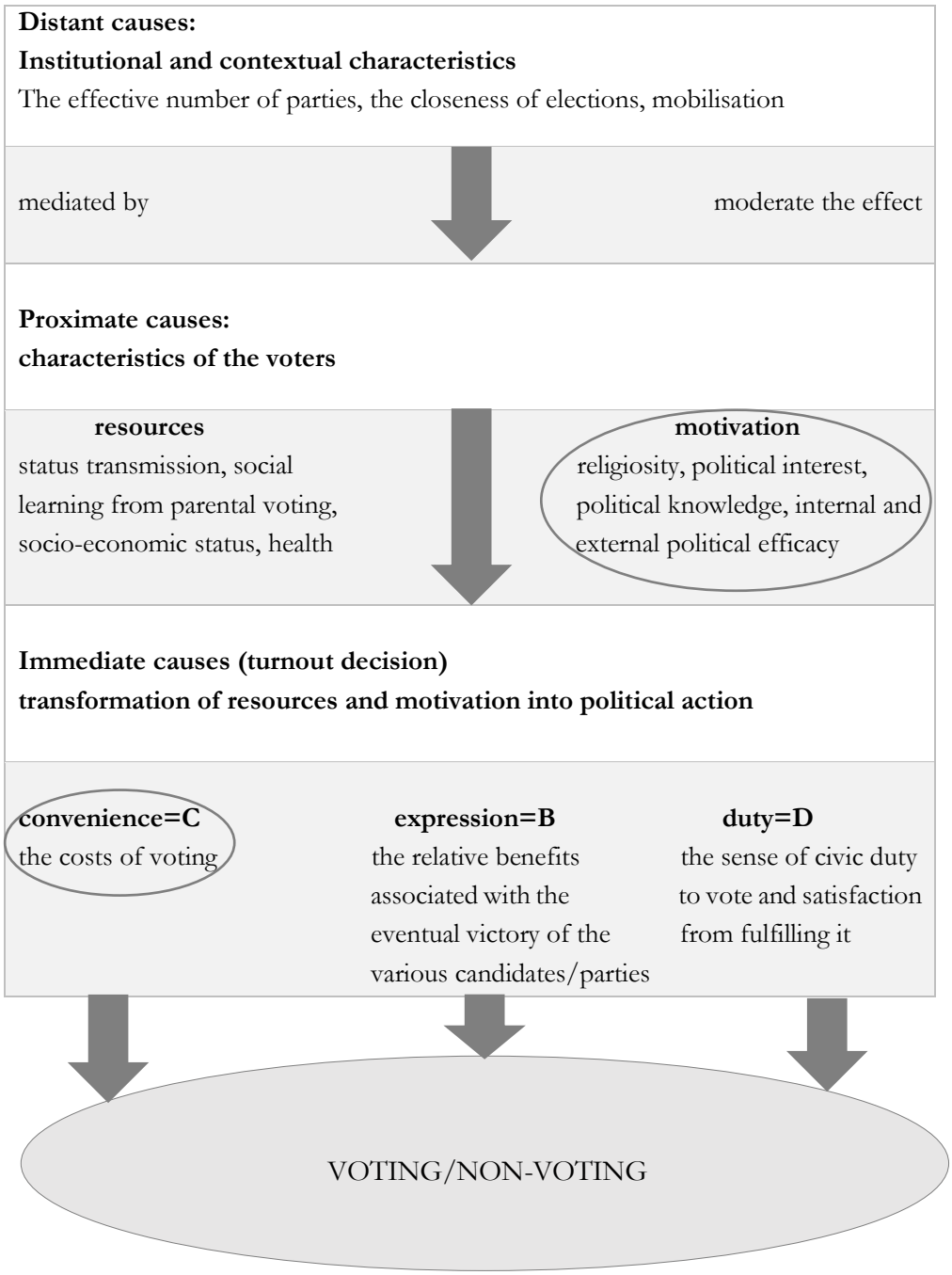
Different means from convenience voting (such as early, absentee, proxy, postal and internet voting) to proportional representation, infrequent elections, weekend elections and holding less salient elections concurrently with the most important national elections, may all boost turnout, but more importantly, diminish the problem of inequality. However, they may not lead to more equal participation. Empirical evidence from the US has suggested that voter facilitation has actually increased the socio-economic bias in turnout mobilising those groups that were more active to begin with. Nonetheless, with regard to those less privileged groups,

such are the emigrant voters for instance, some institutional-level practises and conditions may be highly relevant (Lijphart 1997, 1; Wass & Blais 2017, 460).

Wass and Blais (2017) have presented a funnel model of turnout. Similar approach was presented in the now classical study The American Voter (Campbell et al. 1960), the funnel of causality, for how to understand why citizens vote the way they do. However, the model of Wass and Blais is novel as it applies the funnel model to the study of electoral participation. As shown in Figure 3.1, the model has close connections with two influential approaches, the CVM (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady 1995) and the calculus of voting (Downs 1957). The model includes three basic immediate reasons for an individual's decision to vote; the convenience of voting, the desire to express an opinion and the perception of voting as a civic duty. Such immediate reasons may interact with proximate causes, such as the level of political interest, or more distant and institutional and contextual characteristics, such as the number of parties and the competiveness of elections.

The decision to vote or not to vote in an election is the outcome of three basic proximate considerations. The first is how easy or complicated it is to vote, which corresponds to the cost of voting. The second is how much or little one cares about the outcome of the election, which can be defined as the intensity of preference among the options. The third consideration is how the voter defines the act of voting, which corresponds to sense of duty. While these dimensions are useful in accounting for the turnout decision, it is important to recognise that non-voting is not always purely based on an individuals' own choice. When solely concentrating on individual-level motivational factors and their interaction with contextual factors, it is easy to ignore the fact that many societal inequalities are directly reflected in political participation, such as poor health, disability, low socio-economic position or the lack of possibilities to vote due to the near-impossible distances. These all may not only hamper the functional ability to participate, but also the motivation to do so (Wass & Blais 2017, 467-468).

Figure 3.1 The funnel model of turnout



Source: Wass and Blais (2017, 463).

In the terms of Figure 3.1, the focus in this study is mostly on 1) immediate causes (turnout decision) and the section of convenience =C, the costs of voting, and 2) proximate causes, the characteristics of voters and the aspects of motivation, as these can be assumed to be the most critical causes for emigrant voters. Previous research (see e.g. Bhatti 2012; Brady & McNulty 2011; Dyck & Gimpel 2005; Gimpel & Schuknecht 2003; Haspel & Knotts 2005) has been rather unanimous about the fact that distance is a cost of voting, and that distance as a cost strongly affects the choice to vote. Greater distance from home to the polling station significantly increases the probability of choosing not to vote. Furthermore, voters who live further away have higher travel costs and voting becomes more time consuming, thus increasing the costs of voting. Moreover, as Ahmadov and Sasse (2016) have pointed out, a shorter duration of stay and more diaspora links are associated with significantly higher electoral engagement, whereas assimilation in the host country predicts lower transnational engagement.

In the case where the values and interests of non-voters differ from those of the voters, citizens who cast their vote are substantially better represented. As non-voting causes an unrepresentative political agenda, the underrepresentation of certain groups may lead to a circle in which unrepresented groups continue not voting for exactly the same reason, distance from the political system and the political agenda. Furthermore, the difference in electoral participation between voters with high and low socio-economic status is usually more pronounced when the overall level of turnout is low. This is a worrisome notion for emigrant voters, whose turnout traditionally is on a very low level (Wass 2008, 9; see also Teixeira 1992; Wass & Blais 2017, 468).

3.2 Research objectives

The general aim of this study is to explore the transnational identities as well as political (electoral) participation of Finnish emigrants. As Bengtsson and Wass (2010b) have pointed out, Finland constitutes an interesting case from both the geographical and the institutional perspective. Geographically and culturally, Finland is a Nordic country. However, institutionally, Finland differs from Scandinavian countries with an electoral system that combines the use of a proportional formula as well as multi-member districts with a strong degree of candidate-centeredness.

External voting was first implemented in Finland in 1958 for Finnish citizens residing in Finland, but statistical data of the turnout of emigrants has been collected since the 1970s, when emigrants first got the right to vote in Finnish elections. In the 2015 parliamentary elections of Finland, 5.4 percent of eligible voters (242,096 persons) resided abroad. Swedish speaking Finns were the only other minority with such a large electorate. Finland uses personal voting as a method of voting from abroad. A vote is cast in a designated polling place (e.g. embassy) in advance (early voting). No registration is needed, but the distance to the nearest polling station may be significant. Turnout in Finnish parliamentary elections is traditionally average by European standards, unlike the other Nordic countries, where turnout is relatively high. In the parliamentary elections from 1995 to 2015, the average turnout was 69.2 percent, and among Finnish emigrants 8.4 percent (Peltoniemi 2016; Statistics Finland 2015).

In this study, we will attempt to identify and explain patterns of identification and political participation of Finnish emigrants.

The general research objective is as follows:

How is transnationalism present in Finnish emigrants' identities and political participation?

Although identity and political participation go hand in hand throughout this study, it is necessary to consider these two topics as separate research questions. Only after understanding the evolution of identities among emigrants and the duality of the national identification, it is possible to look into political participation. Thus, the first research question focuses on the socio-psychological aspect of transnational identification, which also builds up towards the second research question.

The specific research questions are derived from the research objective as follows:

1) How do Finnish emigrants identify themselves and their (trans)national identity?

Subquestions:
1a Do Finnish emigrants identify themselves as Finns or as Finnish expatriates?
1b How do Finnish emigrants maintain their connections to Finland after moving abroad?
1c Which factors influence emigrants' likelihood of having dual citizenship?
1d Does identity influence emigrants' decision to vote in their country of origin and in their country of residence's elections?

2) How does the political participation of Finnish emigrants differ from those who reside in Finland?

Subquestions:
2a How do emigrants participate politically and what factors influence their electoral participation?
2b Is emigrants' party identification comparable to those who reside in Finland?
2c Are Finnish emigrants supportive of creation of an overseas constituency or some other formal institution to ensure their views are represented in parliament?
2d Do emigrants consider that convenience voting methods will increase their turnout in homeland elections?

The two research questions of this study are at a general level, and the more exact expectations based on previous literature are discussed in the individual chapters.

3.3 Research strategy

3.3.1 Data

In principle, there are many different ways to study the social world, but in practice, the findings of contemporary social science are based to a remarkable degree on the accounts people give of themselves (Presser & Traugott 1992, 77-78). As Brady (2000, 47-48) has pointed out, accurate portraits of the political world are not easy to come by. In order to comprehend political phenomena, political scientists need observational tools. Scientific surveys are one of these tools, and they have been widely used in the social sciences since the 1940s. Sample surveys can gather information so that a few thousand randomly selected respondents can reliably represent populations with millions of members. In fact, while surveys are not inexpensive, they are extraordinarily cost-effective in producing valuable research data on politics.

The data used in this study was collected 15.9.-15.12.2014 by the author. A sample of 3,600 Finnish emigrants who are entitled to vote was drawn from the Population Register Center of Finland, and it included Finnish citizens currently living in Sweden, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Canada, and the United States. These countries were selected because of their relatively large number of Finnish citizens

as residents. An invitation letter was sent to the selected individuals and data was collected with an online survey questionnaire. The questionnaire was available in three languages: in Finnish, in Swedish and in English. Out of the 3,600 letters sent, 1,067 persons answered the questionnaire, and thus, the response rate was 29.6 percent.

As shown in Table 3.1, young adults (age group 18-35) were slightly underrepresented, as the response rate was 16.3 (in the sample 25.4 %) and the age group of 45-74 was respectively slightly overrepresented (proportion of 58.1 %, in the sample 47.9 %). The proportion of female respondents was 67 %, but this is due to the fact, that women have been more actively emigrating from Finland than men (Söderling 2002, 193-219). For example, in the parliamentary elections of 2011, the total number of eligible emigrant Finns was 227,844, and out of them 60 % were women and 40 % men. Therefore, also in the sample the proportion of women was high at 62 %. The low number of respondents among the Finnish emigrants residing in Sweden was somewhat surprising (response rate 22.2 %). The highest response rate was among those residing in Germany, 39.5 %. In other countries, the response rate was rather identical (Great Britain 30.8 %, United States 30.3 %, Canada 27.7 %, and Spain 26 %).

Table 3.1 The respondents and the sample drawn from the Population Register of Finland

	Respondents (%) (n=1,067)	Sample (%) (n=3,600)
Current country of residence		
Sweden	12.5 %	16.7 %
Germany	22.1 %	16.7 %
Great Britain	17.3 %	16.7 %
Spain	14.6 %	16.7 %
Canada	15.5 %	16.7 %
United States	17.1 %	16.7 %
Other	0.7 %	0 %
Missing	0.2 %	0 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Age group		
18-24	3.8 %	9.2 %
25-34	12.3 %	16.2 %
35-44	20.1 %	19.6 %
45-54	17.6 %	15.1 %
55-64	21.5 %	15.3 %
65-74	19.0 %	17.5 %
75-84	4.0 %	6.3 %
85-94	0.3 %	0.8 %
Missing	1.4 %	0.1 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Gender		
Female	67.0 %	62.0 %
Male	31.5 %	38.0 %
Missing	1.5 %	0 %
Total	100 %	100 %

Whereas the research objectives in this study aim to produce knowledge on political behaviour of Finnish emigrants, this study has also another, rather subtle yet important by-product. The data from this study is the first survey-data collected from Finnish emigrant voters. Simultaneously, data similar to this was collected from

the Swedish emigrant voters in University of Gothenburg (SOM-institute). These two surveys are the first larger data set collected from Nordic emigrant voters, and thus, the by-product of this study, the data set, can be seen even independently as an important contribution to the field as well.

Most of the results contained in this study are presented in regression results. These results are interpreted in terms of odds ratios (ORs), which is a measure of association between an exposure and an outcome. The odds ratio represents the odds that an outcome will occur given a particular exposure, compared to the odds of the outcome occurring in the absence of that exposure (see eg. Szumilas 2010).

For instance, if the odds of voting with mail ballot is $p_1/(1-p_1)$, and the odds of voting without the mail ballot is $p_0/(1-p_0)$, then the ratio of the odds is

$$\text{OR}=\frac{p_1/(1-p_1)}{p_0/(1-p_0)}$$

where $p_i, i=[0,1]$, is the probability of voting in the *i*-th category of an explanatory variable.

The ratio of odds is used in this study instead of standard logit or probit coefficents. The odds ratio is used, because the log of the odds of a particular action being successful is difficult to directly interpret, but odd ratios are easier to contextualise the size of the effect. Furthermore, the 95 % confidence level is often presented to estimate the precision of the odds ratio.

3.3.2 Limitations

There are a number of potential sources of errors when doing a survey research. Therefore, also this data has some limitations. First, although the response rate was decent, and the sample is relatively large, the focus on emigrants in one country limits generalisations to other countries, especially those outside of Scandinavia or other welfare states. Second, it is probable that the respondents are more interested in Finland as well as politics in Finland than emigrants on average are. Nonresponse error (nonresponse bias) occurs, when the net sample does not include all members of the gross sample (Christensen 2011, 32). Thus, like in most survey data, nonresponse bias may occur also in this data.

Registry data could not have offered answers for the research questions presented in this study. Thus, the data needed to be collected from the emigrants themselves. This induced the problem of the self-report in survey research. Responding to survey

questions about behaviour consists of three stages: comprehending the question, recalling the past and reporting an answer. At each stage, an error may occur. Misinterpretation at the comprehension stage is difficult to spot, as it does not leave a mark in the data: it may never be revealed, if respondent has not understood the question as it has been intended. For instance, "Did you vote?" may be interpreted to mean "Are you a good citizen?". Even if the question is understood as expected, memory lapses may affect the recall stage and social desirability pressures may affect the reporting stage (Presser & Stinson 1998, 137-138).

As Brenner and DeLamater (2016a, 338) have suggested, behaviour is encouraged by identity prominence: a person performs identities they value. Thus, respondents with high value for political participation are strongly motivated to perform that identity. This error, often referred as social desirability bias, is understood to be generated by respondents' need to appear prosocial. The social desirability bias is caused by respondents' unwilling to admit not behaving in a socially approved manner like living up to the norms of active citizenship (Christensen 2011, 35).

The behaviour that is valued and widely seen as good by the individual, community or society, is claimed on surveys even when the respondent's behaviour does not support such claims. Survey estimates of normative behaviour such as voting often include substantial measurement error as respondents report higher rates than is warranted. The social desirability bias occurs for instance, when the actual level of participation may be overestimated due to the use of self-reporting. In addition, counternormative behaviour (behaviour widely seen as bad or unwanted) are often underreported. For instance, voting, church attendance and exercise are commonly overreported, whereas drug and alcohol use, arrests and other non-desirable behaviour goes often less reported than what the actual behaviour would suggest. Therefore, conventional direct survey questions can prompt the respondent to reflect on the actual self (the self which is realised in daily interactional situations), but also the ideal self, the person he or she wishes to be. The ideal self reflects the normative identities and the values of society, community and groups of which the individual is a member (Brenner & DeLamater 2016a, 333-336; Brenner & DeLamater 2016b, 349, see also Schuman 1982).

Without the normal situational constraints, it is very easy for the respondents to give an idealised identity picture, which may only seldom be realised in normal interactional situations. Thus, the directive survey question prompts the respondent to reflect their self-concept, particularly on strongly valuated identities, and answer questions accordingly (Brenner & DeLamater 2016b, 351, see also Schuman 1982; Burke 1980, 27).

A number of studies have suggested that retrospective reports of voting contain considerable error, and the voting claims of roughly 15 percent of respondents are usually inaccurate. Virtually all the error is in the socially desirable direction which means that about 30 percent of the non-voters are typically classified as voters. The misreporters tend to resemble actual voters in terms of gender, education, political interest and civic efficacy and the same variables that predict actual turnout also predict misreporting among non-voters. Thus, it may be that they are habitual voters whose behaviour just deviated from their usual behaviour; that because misreporters typically vote, they are likely to either misremember voting or to feel embarrassed at admitting that they did not vote. Therefore, misreporting of voting is in many instances a case of faulty memory, not of false reporting; Respondents may honestly believe they voted when in fact they did not (Presser & Traugott 1992, 78-79; Lewis-Beck et al. 2008, 88). Furthermore, as this error affects most if not all survey data regarding electoral participation, the data and analyses derived from the data presented in this study are comparable to other data/analysis as all the research based on surveys share the same error, and thus, it should not be considered as a grave limitation.

Nonetheless, identity can be implicated as a cause of bias in the measurement of normative identity-related behaviour. Measurement biases, such as social desirability bias, does more than skew our estimates of the behaviour of the population. They can create an illusion, or rather, delusion, of who we are as a society. Without the ability to readily validate these claims, the biased survey estimate becomes a truth that informs and misinforms our understanding of a particular society. However, these types of measurement errors offer us an opportunity to understand culturally situated human behaviour, once we accept these artefacts are real and rooted in social processes (Brenner & DeLamater 2016b, see also Schuman 1982).

Yet another limitation concerns missing values. The fact that respondents do not fill in one or more questions in the survey may be due to various reasons: simple mistakes in either the survey planning or when respondent is filling in the questionnaire. Another possible reason is that the respondent is refusing to answer because the question is considered controversial or sensitive to answer (Christensen 2011, 32-33). Table 3.2 shows the variables to be included in the analysis and the percentages of missing data in the observed data.

Table 3.2 Variables and missing data

Variable	Valid (n)	Missing (n)	% missing
Age	1,052	15	1.4
Gender	1,051	16	1.5
Country of residence	1,065	2	0.2
Education	1,061	6	0.6
Marital status	1,044	23	2.2
Occupation	1,058	9	0.8
Citizenship	1,066	1	0.1
Dual citizenship	1,066	1	0.1
Parents' citizenship	1,063	4	0.4
Occupation	1,058	9	0.9
Length of stay abroad	1,065	2	0.2
Decision to move	1,031	36	3.4
Mother tongue	949	118	11.0
Language used with family	1,059	8	0.7
Connections to Finland	1,061	6	0.6
Visits to Finland	1,038	29	2.7
Regional identity	1,059	8	0.7
Finnishness	1,055	12	1.1
Identification	1,041	26	2.4
Finnish identity	1,057	10	0.9
Racial and ethnic groups	1,051	16	1.5
Expectations from COR	1,041	26	2.4
Usage of Finnishness	1,054	13	1.2
Interest in politics in Finland	1,052	15	1.4
Interest in politics in COR	1,048	19	1.8
Media attendance	1,049	18	1.7
Political and social action	1,057	10	0.9
Citizen initiatives	1,041	26	2.4
Associational activity	1,057	10	0.9
Reasons to low turnout	1,051	16	1.5
Means to improve turnout	1,045	22	2.1
Electoral district	1,048	19	1.8
Changed frequency of voting	1,052	15	1.4
Distance to polling station	1,003	64	6.0

Voting in Finland's elections	1,053	14	1.3
Non-voting reasons in Finland[2]	831	54	5.0
Probability to use convenient voting methods	1,041	26	2.4
Party identification	1,058	9	0.8
Voting in COR elections	1,058	9	0.8
Non-voting reasons in COR[1]	657	410	38.4

As the table 3.2 shows, the shares of the missing data are well below 5 percent for most variables, which indicates that the problem is of limited concern (Christensen 2011, 34). Nevertheless, a few exceptions appear ominous. Most clearly, the variable measuring non-voting reasons in the country of residence seems to have a problem of missing data. However, the data is spread somewhat evenly across countries, thus making it unlikely to bias inferences about the effect across countries. Nonetheless, this variable needs to be treated with certain cautious. In addition, the variable measuring respondents' mother tongue has a high percentage of missing values (11.0 %). This, however, does not necessarily bias the results, as the other variable considering language, language used with family, has a very low level of missing data. Thus, language as a background question can be tackled by using the combination of these two variables.

Even if survey-research falls short in some respects, it is currently the best way to collect quantitative data, when it comes to studying transnational identities and political participation and variables that cannot be drawn from, for example registers. In pursuits related to empowering and reaching out to emigrants it is indeed foreseeable to confront bias. As Østergaard-Nielsen (2003a, 767) has pointed out, official policies that reach out to emigrants may lack credibility because it is not easy to convince an overseas community of the sincerity of official interest after years of neglect. Therefore, while it is sensible to be careful when drawing conclusions and making generalisations when using survey data, the analysis in this study nevertheless adds a unique nuance to our understanding of emigrant political participation and overseas electoral participation, and the data set independently is an important contribution to the field as well.

[2] Those who had voted in all elections were asked to continue to the next question. Thus, the missing value and the percentage missing are calculated from the number of respondents who reported that they had not voted in at least one elections (Finland's elections n=885; COR elections n=1,041).

4 (TRANS)NATIONAL IDENTITY AND (DUAL) CITIZENSHIP

4.1 Introduction to identity and citizenship

Ethnicity is constructed from a wide variety of factors and traits, such as collective ancestry, shared historical memories, common culture, homeland, language, religion, or race. Collective identity refers to an identity shared by members of a group or category (such as "students" or "Finns"). Traditionally, social identity has been understood to include three factors: the individual's identification with certain other individuals; conceptions of the history and future of one's group, and the strategies adopted to maintain, preserve and emphasise the group's distinctive characteristics. The distinctive characters may be based, for instance, on language, geographical region or social class. As previously stated, national identities may emerge from transnational migration. As people leave their home regions, they often become aware of their identity, asking who they are and where they belong. The national identity is often strong, ideological and collective at the time of migration (Bolzman 2011, 161-162; Brady & Kaplan 2000, 56-60; Fox 2005, 190; Klandermans 2014, 2-4; Ollila 1998; Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt 1999, 221).

Multiple and dual identities refer to simultaneous identities. These identities may refer to different collective identities, whether a subgroup and/or a national. For instance, dual identities can be defined as migrants' identification with both their ethnic group and with their national community in the country of residence. For migrant offspring, identity formation is a resource to be moulded in accordance with what is needed to better the individual's inclusion. The individuals often acquire elements of the two cultures in creating dual identity in order to satisfy the necessities and objectives. The result is the construction of hyphenated identities such as Sweden Finns (ruotsinsuomalaiset, sverigefinnar) and Finnish-American (amerikansuomalaiset). Hyphenated identity, a dual identity, leads to identities that take from the best of both worlds (Sardinha 2011, 375-386; Wiley, Figueroa & Lauricella 2014, 209).

Previous research has not been unanimous on how emigration influences national identity. Sardinha (2011, 385-386) has noted that the majority of Portuguese-

Canadian descendants in Canada lie in an "identity inbetweenness". Although the majority may feel that they are very much a part of the dominant culture, it does not reduce their Portuguese identity. Thus, it is through the double sense of belonging that individuals emphasise the salience of their own experiences growing up in Canada and they challenge both the social construction of ethnicity and the social construction of Canadian citizenship by proposing a connection between their own dual status and their own sense of nationalism. Respectively, O'Reilly (2002), who has studied British emigrants in Spain, suggests that while their compatriots back in Britain denigrate their behaviour and impute them a longing for home, which they do not have, the emigrants themselves fail to integrate into Spanish society and yet talk of Spain as their home and construct new identities based on symbols of Spanishness. For instance, Britons living in Fuengirola cannot be considered integrated within wider Spanish society, either in terms of ethnic identity or in actions that are more concrete. However, these different perspectives suggest that the new type of (short-term) migration has presented new challenges on identity during the past decades.

One of the most important long-term changes in nation state attitudes towards political transnationalism is the growing tolerance for multiple nationality. While in 1960 about 66 percent of the world's countries deprived their nationals, who naturalise elsewhere of their original citizenship, by 2013 this number declined to about 31 percent. However, dual citizenship continues to raise many questions. Dual citizens can potentially participate simultaneously in the politics of two different countries, and it can be argued that dual citizenship does not fit well with the traditional conception of the nation state. It is not surprising that the choices of the migrants to opt for dual citizenship are heavily influenced by the institutional opportunities provided by both host and sending states. However, dual nationality does not lead to the weakening of state borders, but citizenship remains a tool with which both host and sending states may define their borders (Bauböck 2003; Mirilovic 2015; Mügge 2012). In this perspective, states continue to play "a critical role as granters of rights" for single or multiple citizenship (Berg & Rodriguez 2013, 651).

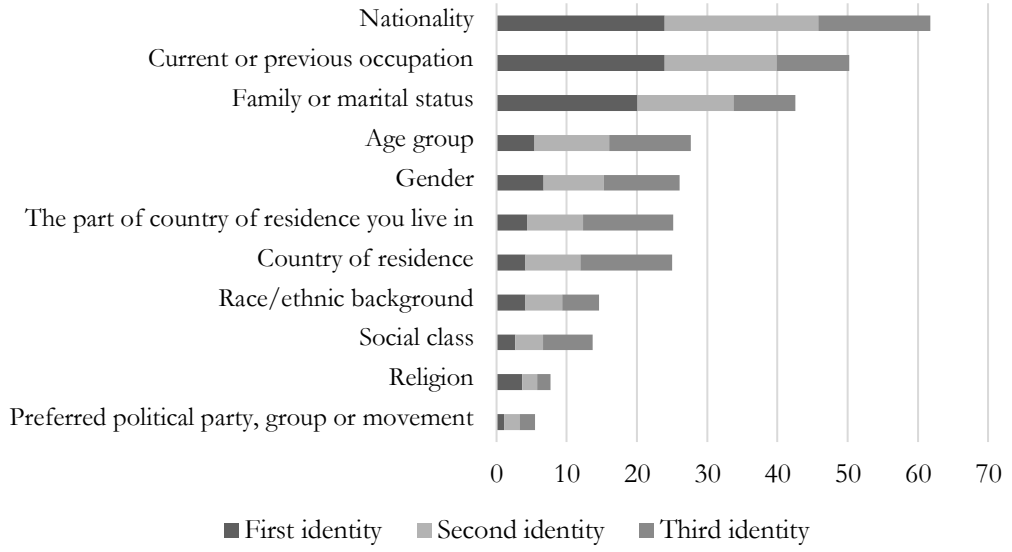
This is the first of four empirical chapters in this study. In this chapter, we aim to shed light on the question of who Finnish emigrants are and to prepare for deeper analysis on emigrants' political behaviour. First, we will explore who are Finnish emigrants, to what do they identify themselves and what kind of national identity do they have. After that, we study the reasons behind the emigration and how have Finnish emigrants integrated to their countries of residence. Subsequently, we will

present how the ideas of Finland, Finnishness and national pride differ among Finns in Finland and Finnish emigrants. Finally, we ponder which factors influence emigrants' likelihood of having dual citizenship.

4.2 Who are Finnish emigrants? Identity and national identity of Finnish emigrants

As shown in Figure 4.1, Finnish emigrants identify themselves most with nationality. 24 percent of the respondents considered nationality and current or previous occupation to be the most important identity for them. When including the second and third most important identities, more than 60 percent of the respondents considered nationality to best describe their identity. Socio-economic identities were the least popular ways to describe emigrants' identity (race or ethnic background, social class, religion and preferred political party, group or movement were the most important identity for 12 % of respondents), whereas family or marital status was the most important identity for 20 percent, gender for 7 percent, and age group for 5 percent of respondents. Previous research on collective identities (Smith 1991) has suggested gender to be the most fundamental identity to individuals, followed by local and regional identity. Social class has been considered to be the third strongest identity, followed by religious and ethnic identities. It seems that Finnish emigrants do not follow this order, as both nationality and current or previous occupation are stronger identities than gender, and social class religion and ethnic identities seem even less significant.

Figure 4.1 The three most important identities for Finnish emigrants



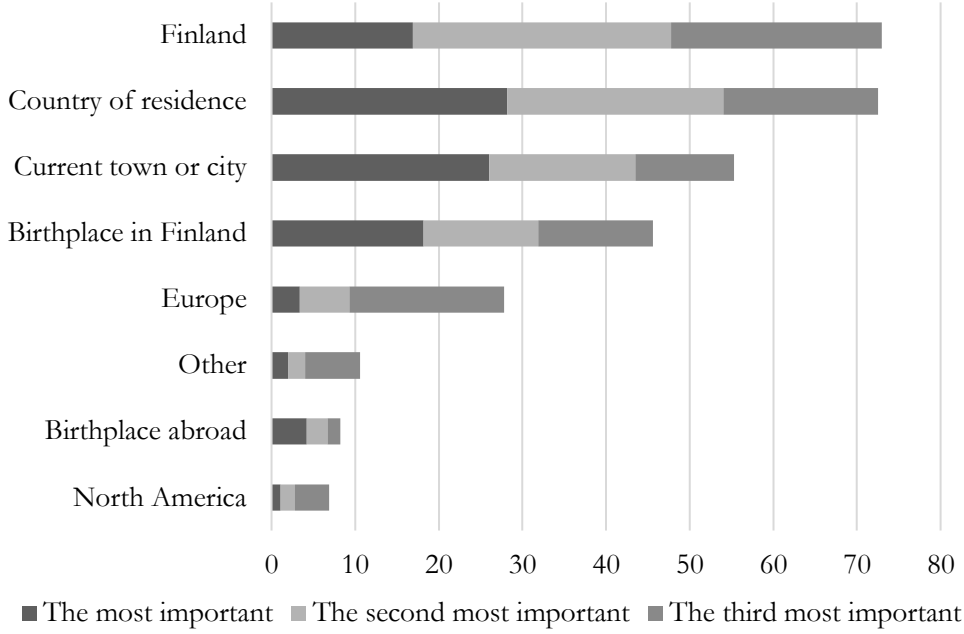
However, as Klandermans (2014, 2-4) has pointed out, identity strengthens during an identity crisis, and assuming that emigration influences rather strongly on national and regional identities, it would explain the overriding standing of national identity among emigrants. Futhermore, as the respondents knew that the topic of the survey was "National identity and political participation", we cannot exclude the possibility that the respondents have been influenced by different expectations prior to answering the questionnaire, nor, obviously, the self-selection bias.

As almost a third of the respondents (32 %) considered either nationality, country of residence or the part of country of residence the respondent lives to describe best the identity of respondents, regional identity seems to be somewhat pronounced among Finnish emigrants, as national or regional identity often is considered to be. Thus, it seems necessary to further look into the regional identity of the emigrants. Next, we will see how the respondents identify themselves regionally.

As shown in Figure 4.2, current country of residence (COR) and the current town or city of residence are the regions the respondents feel closest to. For nearly one third (28.2 %) of the respondents, the current country of residence was the most important place or region, whereas the current town or region was the most important place or region for 26.0 percent of the respondents. Thus, more than half of the respondents considered current city, town or country of residence as the most important place or region for them. For a little over third of the respondents, Finland

(16.9 %) or birthplace in Finland (18.2 %) was the most important place or region. Continents, such as Europe and North America were not as important to the respondents; 1.1 percent of respondents considered North America, and 3.4 percent of respondents Europe as the most important region, whereas one fourth of the respondents considered Europe (27.8 %) and 6.9 percent of respondents considered North America as one of the three most important regions. Respectively, 73.0 percent of the respondents considered Finland, and 72.5 percent current country of residence as one of the most important region or place.

Figure 4.2 Regional identity



This is shown also in the Table 4.1, as when respondents were asked how close they feel to certain places, only approximately one in nine respondents reported that they did not feel very or not at all close to Finland or their country of residence, whereas more than one in four reported not feeling very or not at all close to Europe. Thus, it seems rather evident, that for most of the respondents, the regional identity is largely divided between Finland and their country of residence. This seems to support also the previous theoretical discussion of simultaneous, transnational identities.

Table 4.1 Regional identity (%)

	Current city or town	Country of residence	Finland	Europe
Very close	38.2	38.4	45.7	20.8
Fairly close	43.8	49.1	43.2	51.8
Not very close	15.3	11.1	9.8	21.5
Not at all close	2.6	1.4	1.3	5.8
Total (n)	100 (1,041)	100 (1,048)	100 (1,051)	100 (1,012)

However, regardless of the "bi-regional" identification, it seems that majority of respondents identify themselves as Finnish, as shown in Table 4.2. Nearly 9 out of 10 respondents agreed with the statement "I consider myself Finnish", while 2.7 percent disagreed, and 9.7 percent could not choose.

Table 4.2 Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I consider myself Finnish? (%)

Strongly agree	52.8
Somewhat agree	34.8
Somewhat disagree	2.2
Strongly disagree	0.5
Can't say	9.7
Total (n)	100 (1,049)

Source: Peltoniemi (2018b).

Thus, it seems that only 2.7 percent of the respondents report that they do not identify themselves as Finnish. However, as already pointed out, we cannot exclude the possible effects of the self-reporting and self-selection bias, as the respondents knew that national identity was to be researched. Therefore, in order to explore the national identification, we created a new variable that measures the level of identification by combining the responses from two questions (Q9: the most important region or place for me: Birthplace in Finland; Finland, and Q12 "I would rather be a citizen of Finland than any other country": agree strongly; agree; neither

agree nor disagree; disagree; disagree strongly; can't choose). Respondents who answered "can't choose" were excluded from the analysis.

The new variable measuring (Finnish) national identity was then tested for correlation with length of stay in country of residence (expectation was that the longer emigrant stays in the new country, the less they identify with Finland); language used with family members (expectation was that the more family members respondents use Finnish or Swedish with, the more they identify with Finland); current connections to Finland (expectation was that the more respondents have connections to Finland, the more they identify with Finland); and, finally, frequency of visits to Finland (expectation was that the more frequently respondents visit Finland, the more they identify with Finland). This was done by using linear regression.

"Language" was calculated from the number of family members, with whom the respondents used either Finnish or Swedish (Q5: "Which language do you speak most often with your…": spouse; children; mother; father; maternal grandparents; paternal grandparents). "Contacts to Finland" was calculated from the number of current connections respondents had to Finland (Q6: "What are your current connections to Finland?": I have family or relatives in Finland; I have friends in Finland; I have Finnish friends or friends with Finnish ancestry in my country of residence; I own property in Finland; I visit Finland because of business trips or I have other connections to Finland because of my work).

As shown in Table 4.3, the full model (Model 3) explains 22 percent of the total variance of the outcome variable. The regression coefficients show some significant associations. In the first and second models, language has a significant impact on Finnish identity (β=0.274; β=0.184). However, after introducing the full model, only time spent abroad and contacts to Finland still have a significant impact on the dependent variable (time abroad β=0.144; contacts β=0.248). Interestingly, in Model 2, contacts to Finland provides greater explanatory leverage (β= 0.291) than language (β=0.184), and in the third model, greater explanatory leverage (β=0.248) than time abroad (β=0.144). Thus, the results let us assume that ongoing contacts to the homeland (as well as language) influence emigrants' national identity.

Table 4.3 The effect of language, time abroad, contacts and visits to Finland on Finnish identity among emigrants

	Finnish identity		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	1.120**	0.619	0.492
Language	0.274***	0.184*	0.146
Time abroad	0.137*	0.126	0.144*
Contacts to Finland		0.291**	0.248*
Visits to Finland			0.108
Adjusted R^2	0.166	0.210	0.224

Linear regression analysis, *** p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Thus, as can be seen in Table 4.4, time lived abroad, language spoken with family members, contacts to Finland and visits to Finland do all correlate with Finnish identity. Whereas time abroad has smaller influence than for instance ongoing contacts to Finland, they all correlate positively with the identity. Therefore, our expectations of these factors influencing national identity were all but one correct. Our assumption that time abroad would diminish identification with Finland seems faulty, whereas it seems that language, contacts and visits all consolidate identification with the country of origin.

Table 4.4 Finnish identity and time abroad, language, contacts and visits

Variable (*** p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05)	Constant	β1	R^2	95 % Confidence interval
Time abroad**	2.458	0.089	0.011	0.030-0.148
Language***	1.544	0.263	0.150	0.148-0.377
Contacts***	1.837	0.274	0.061	0.194-0.354
Visits***	1.877	0.224	0.073	0.167-0.281

4.3 Emigration and integration

Although the first four European nationalities to settle permanently in the present United States were the English, the Dutch, the Swedes and the Finns, Finnish immigration to North America did not begin in earnest until 1864. During the last

century, approximately one million Finns migrated. The first wave of emigration took place in the change of century. During 1880-1930, 400,000 Finns emigrated to North America, first mostly to the United States and after 1924 to Canada. The second wave of emigration took place during 1960s and 1970s. During 1969-1970, the net loss of migration from Finland to Sweden was 80,000 persons, and after the Second World War, around 300,000 Finns have permanently emigrated to Sweden. Traditionally, urbanisation as well as the large age cohorts born after war coming of age and entering labour market, have been considered to be the main reasons for the second wave of migration. Since the 1980s, emigration from Finland has been more Europe-centred (Koivukangas 2003; Söderling 2002). In this section, we will consider the reasons behind Finnish emigration, the expectations emigrants had prior to emigration and how the Finnish emigrants reflect they have been integrated to their countries of residence.

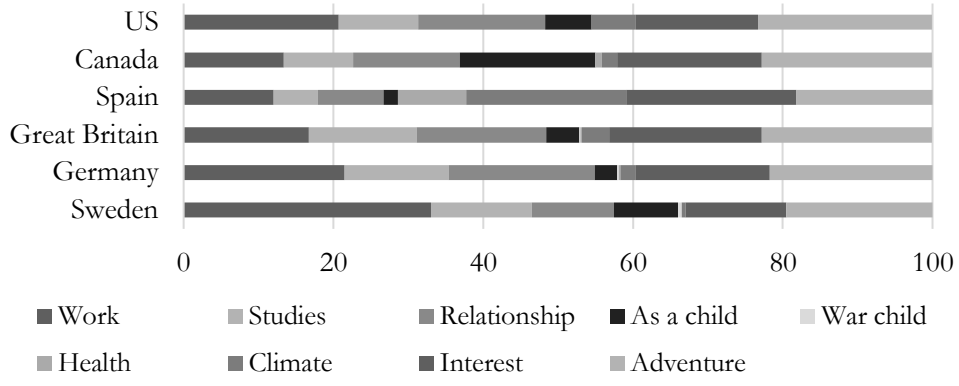
Table 4.5 Factors affecting emigrants' decision to move abroad (%)

	Very much	Fairly much	Relatively little	Didn't affect at all	Can't choose	Total (n)
Work	34.0	13.8	8.2	33.6	10.4	100 (843)
Studies	20.1	10.4	7.2	51.9	10.4	100 (809)
Relationship with a foreigner	33.0	6.1	1.5	48.3	11.1	100 (839)
Migrated as a child with family	15.7	0.8	0.1	71.6	11.8	100 (777)
Migrated as a war child	0.3	0	0	85.8	13.8	100 (730)
Health issues	2.4	2.8	2.5	79.2	13.0	100 (746)
Climate	7.1	11.1	9.6	60.4	11.8	100 (760)
Interest in another country	15.0	35.7	13.4	24.8	11.1	100 (793)
Adventure or desire to experience new things	26.8	29.8	10.7	22.1	10.6	100 (813)

As shown in Table 4.5, the overriding reasons to emigrate seem to be work, interest in other country and adventure or desire to experience new things. However, different factors seem to influence decision to emigrate to different destination countries. As shown in Figure 4.3, in Sweden, one third (33%) of the respondents considered work affecting their decision to emigrate, whereas in Spain only 12 percent of respondents considered work as a decisive factor. In Germany, respondents considered three factors as the overriding reasons to emigrate: adventure or desire to experience new things (21.7 %), work (21.5 %) and relationship with a foreigner (19.5 %). The overriding factors affecting emigrants' decision to move to Great Britain were interest in another country (20.4 %) and adventure or desire to experience new things (22.7 %). Spain enticed emigrants with climate (21.4 %) and interest to another country (22.7 %).

Canada was an exception to the other countries, as 18.1 percent of the respondents reported to have moved to Canada as a child with family, when the average level of other countries was only 4.8 %. Other reasons to move to Canada were adventure or desire to experience new things (22.7 %) and interest to another country (19.3 %). Finally, emigrants in the United States considered work (20.7 %) and adventure or desire to experience new things (23.2 %) to be the overriding factors.

Figure 4.3 Reasons to emigrate by country



Next, we will observe the reasons of emigration with a multinomial regression. Health and being a war child have been excluded from the regression model due to the small number of observations (e.g. only 3 war children in this data). Furthermore, work and studies have been compiled into one variable and climate, interest to another country and adventure or desire to experience new things into one variable.

Table 4.6 Probability of emigrating to Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Canada or the United States over emigrating to Sweden (reference category)

Gender (*ref. male*)	Female	Germany	1.874*
		Great Britain	2.743**
		Spain	0.963
		Canada	1.104
		US	1.276
Marital status (*ref. single*)	Married, registered partnership or living as married	Germany	1.410
		Great Britain	1.042
		Spain	1.552
		Canada	2.026
		US	1.689
	Divorced, separated or widowed	Germany	0.587
		Great Britain	0.455
		Spain	1.851
		Canada	1.726
		US	0.608
Highest level of education (*ref. higher education*)	Basic education	Germany	0.167**
		Great Britain	0.405*
		Spain	0.653
		Canada	0.920
		US	0.304**
	Secondary education	Germany	0.957
		Great Britain	0.582
		Spain	0.999
		Canada	0.849
		US	0.608
Currently place of residence (*ref. country side*)	Urban region, city	Germany	0.768
		Great Britain	0.734

		Spain	1.107
		Canada	1.063
		US	1.215
Reason to emigrate (*ref. emigrated as a child with family*)	Work or studies	Germany	0.656
		Great Britain	0.332*
		Spain	0.654
		Canada	0.018***
		US	0.414*
	Relationship with a foreigner	Germany	3.320*
		Great Britain	1.543
		Spain	1.266
		Canada	0.157**
		US	0.841
	Climate, interest in another country or desire to experience new things	Germany	2.941*
		Great Britain	2.394*
		Spain	6.644***
		Canada	0.532
		US	1.572

Multinomial logistic regression, *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, Nagelkerke R^2=0.239

Perhaps the most interesting finding in this multinomial regression analysis is that it supports the previously expected, yet, due to the lack of empirical data, previously not verified trends of the reasons behind Finnish emigration. As shown in Table 4.6, it is evident that climate, interest in another country or desire to experience new things correlate most strongly with decision to emigrate to Spain, but also with decision to emigrate to Germany and Great Britain in comparison to Sweden (Spain odds ratio, OR=6.64; Germany OR=2.94; Great Britain OR=2.39), reference category being "emigrated as a child with family". In comparison to emigrating as a child with family, relationship with a foreigner influenced emigrants' decision to move to Germany more likely (OR=3.32), but to Canada less likely (OR=0.16) in

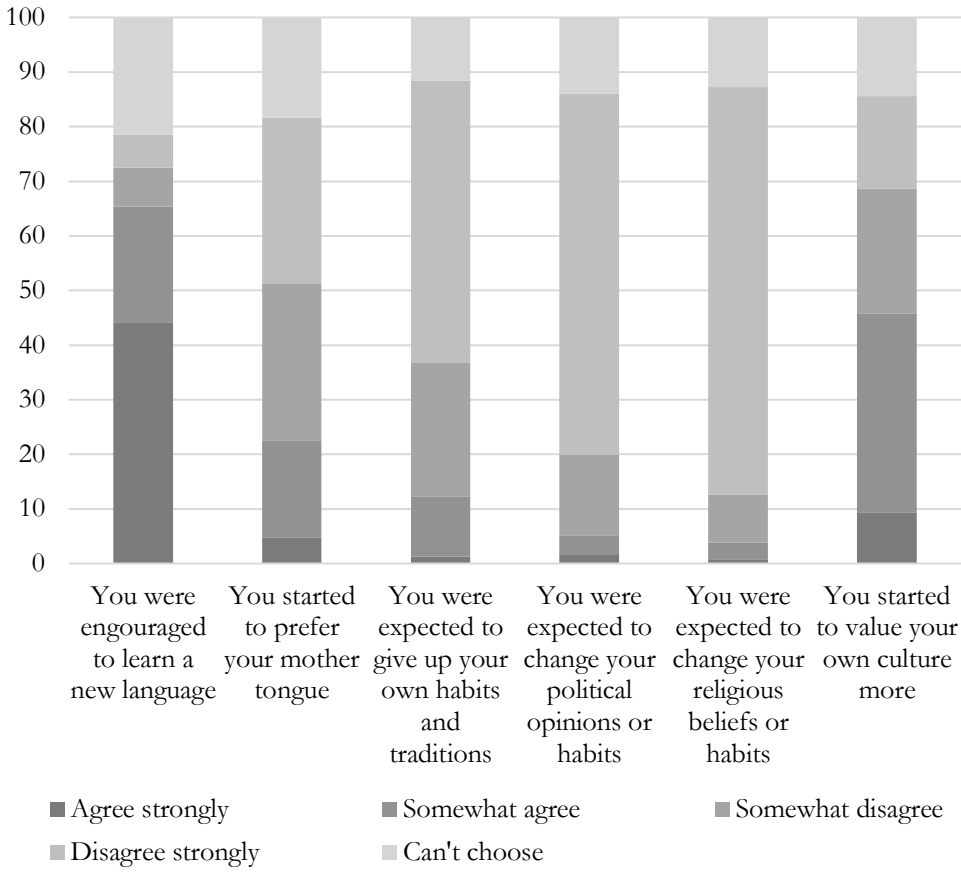
comparison to Sweden. Furthermore, work or studies seems to have been a more prevalent reason for emigration for those emigrated to Sweden than for those emigrated to Great Britain (OR=0.33), Canada (OR=0.02) or to the United States (OR=0.41) in comparison to emigrating as a child with family.

It seems that women are more likely to live in Germany (OR=1.87) or in Great Britain (OR=2.74) than in Sweden. Moreover, Finnish emigrants residing in Germany (OR=0.17), Great Britain (OR=0.41) or in the United States (OR=0.30) seem to have higher educational level than Finnish emigrants residing in Sweden. However, marital status and whether emigrant lives in urban (city) region or in countryside, were not significant statistically. Thus, these results let us assume, that emigration to Canada and the United States has been more common for children emigrating with their families, whereas work or education have drawn emigration to Sweden and relationships with a foreigner to Germany.

These results are consistent with previous research. Solevid (2016b, 20) has suggested that the most common reasons for Swedes to emigrate are work, spouse, family and interest in the country in question. However, for Finns studying abroad seems to be more common reason for emigration than for Swedes. Similar results were found also in the United States, where work, exploring the world, enjoying living abroad and following a spouse or parents were the overriding reasons for emigration (Boller & Halbert 2015, 306).

As previously suggested, migration was traditionally understood as emigrants vanishing from community at the moment of embarkation and later reappearing as immigrants in a new narrative. Previous research on migration was often theorised from the viewpoint of diaspora or from the framework of assimilation theory (Aksel 2014, 196-198; Anderson 2006; Kingsberg 2014, 67-68). Even if the modern understanding of migration is more fluid, and migrants are understood to lead transnational lives "across the borders", it is still interesting to ponder how migrants, after emigrating the homeland and immigrating the new country of residence experience this change.

Figure 4.4 Experienced expectations of integration

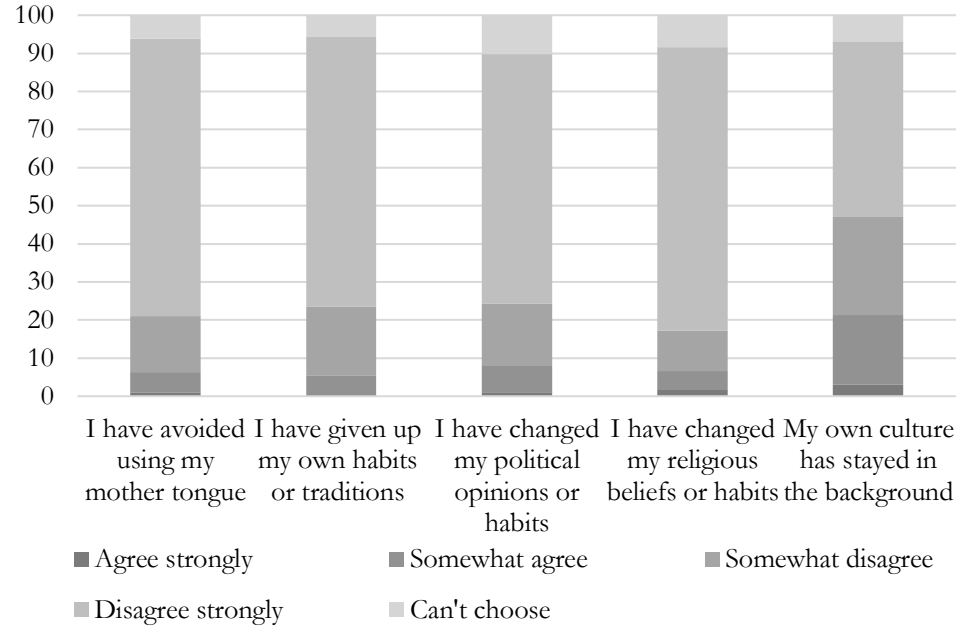


As shown in Figure 4.4, more than four out of five respondents (83.2 %) somewhat or strongly agreed that they were encouraged to learn a new language. Respondents did not however experience that they would have been expected to give up or change their own habits and traditions (86.2 % somewhat or strongly disagreed), their political opinions or habits (93.9 %) or their religious beliefs or habits (95.6 %). Meanwhile, a little over half of the respondents (53.4 %) somewhat or strongly agreed that they had started to value their own culture more.

Maybe somewhat surprisingly, 52 percent of the respondents agreed strongly or somewhat with the statement "I belong to the majority of the population in my current country of residence", whereas 38 percent disagreed, and 10 percent could not choose. This would suggest that Finnish emigrants, while they have maintained relatively strong Finnish identity, are at the same time well integrated to their

countries of residence. Moreover, this would let us assume that Finnish emigrants are transnational.

Figure 4.5 Experienced integration



As shown in Figure 4.5, it seems that emigrants have managed to maintain their own cultural traits, regardless that they have become part of the majority population in their new countries. Only 6.7 percent of the respondents agreed that they have avoided using their mother tongue and even fewer, 5.6 percent agreed that they have given up their own habits or traditions. However, nearly one fourth of the respondents (22.8 %) considered that their own culture has stayed in the background.

When comparing the previous two figures, one interesting difference can be observed. While 6.1 percent of the respondents experienced that they were expected to change their political opinions or habits, 9 percent of the emigrants, however, reported to have changed their political opinions or habits. The same trend was with religion; while 4.3 percent of the respondents experienced that they were expected to change their religious beliefs or habits, in the end, 7.2 percent of the respondents reported that they had changed their religious beliefs or habits. Unfortunately, this data cannot offer answers of how these changes have occurred, but it is a very interesting finding, that apparently, the environment does influence emigrants' political and religious opinions, habits and beliefs. This finding will be further

investigated as a topic itself, and in this study, we will later in Chapter 7 consider emigrants' political identification and see if country of residence plays a role in there.

4.4 Ideas of Finland and Finnishness – comparison between Finns in Finland and abroad

The focus of this study is, as already pointed out, Finnish emigrants and their political behaviour and electoral participation. However, one must wonder if the topic is actually relevant – why should a group of people who have lived abroad for decades, possibly for all their lives, be comparable for those who remained in the country of origin? In fact, do these people have enough in common that the comparison would be interesting in the first place? From the normative perspective, the answer is without a doubt yes – as long as these two groups share the same rights, whether electoral or other, the comparison is relevant. Nonetheless, before we go deeper into the topic of electoral participation, it is important to draw some baseline on how different or similar emigrants' ideas on Finland and Finnishness are in comparison to those of Finns residing in Finland. In this section, we test this question by analysing three separate topics: 1) Being truly Finnish; 2) National pride; and 3) Pride in national achievements. In this section, the ISSP 2004 National Identity data and a research based on that by Oinonen, Blom and Melin (2005) will be used as a comparison to the emigrant data.

It seems that ideas for being "truly Finnish" are rather similar when comparing Finns living in Finland and Finnish emigrants. In fact, the only bigger differences are related to have lived in Finland for most of one's life, to have Finnish ancestry, to be Lutheran, and to respect Finland's political institutions and laws. As shown in Table 4.7, emigrants did not consider living in Finland as important for being truly Finnish in comparison to Finns residing in Finland. While one third (34.3 %) of emigrants considered living in Finland for most of one's life very or fairly important for being truly Finnish, the corresponding share of Finns in Finland was more than four out of five (83 %). On the other hand, nearly three quarters of emigrants (72.4 %) considered having Finnish ancestry very or fairly important for being truly Finnish, whereas just over half of the Finns in Finland considered so (51 %). These differences could be due to the rather obvious fact that emigrants themselves often have Finnish ancestors but do not spend most of their lives living in Finland, and thus, it may well effect on their ideas of being truly Finnish from this perspective.

Otherwise, emigrants seem to be somewhat more tolerant on what counts as being truly Finnish. Among Finns in Finland, to respect Finland's political institutions and laws was more decisive (87 % found very or fairly important) than among emigrants (69.2 %). Similarly, being Lutheran was not considered as important for being truly Finnish among emigrants (14 % of respondents found it very or fairly important), as it was considered among Finns in Finland (23 %).

Table 4.7 How important the following things are for being truly Finnish? (%)

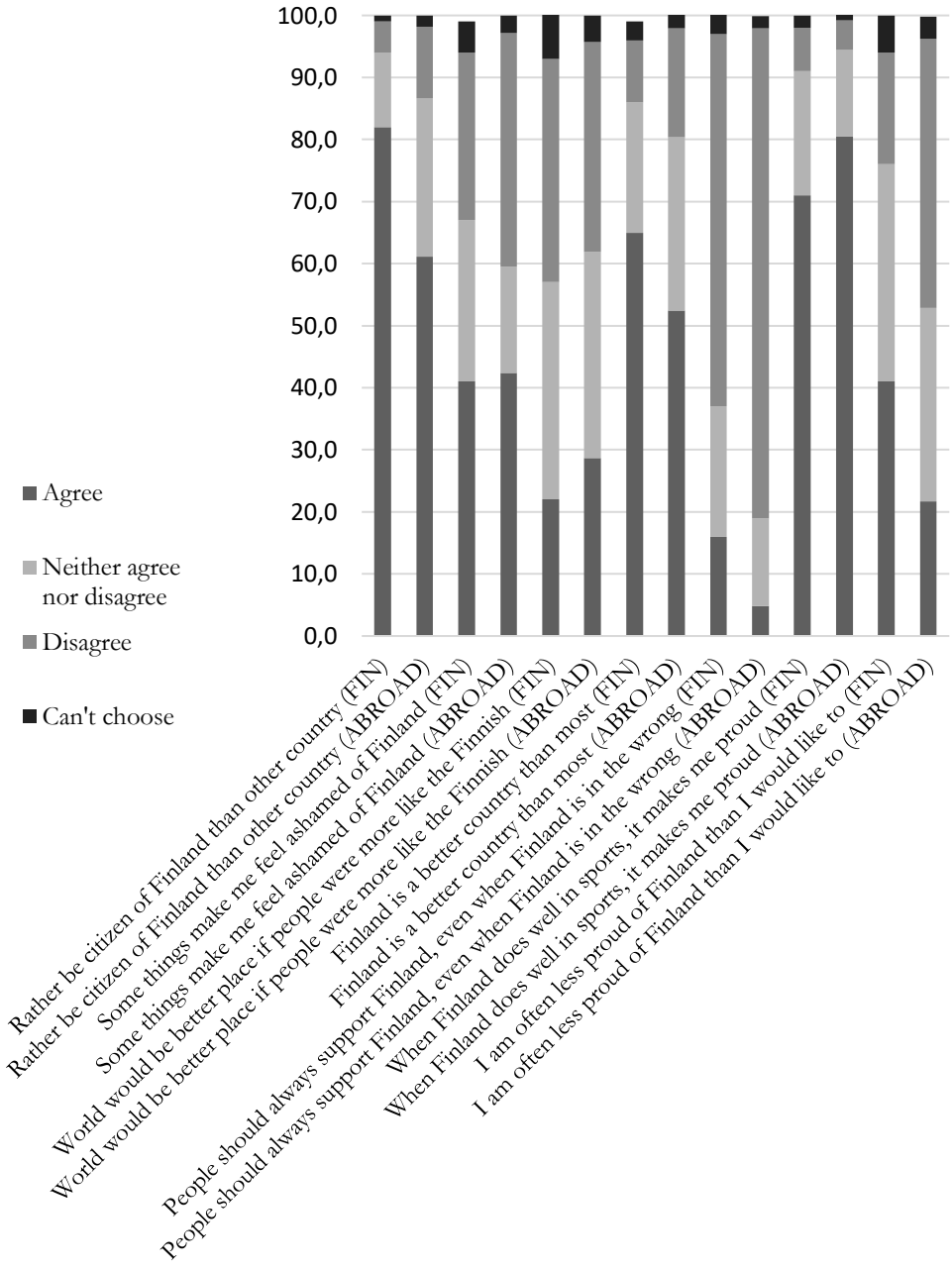
	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important	Can't choose	Total (n)
To have been born in Finland						
Finland[3]	39.0	29.0	22.0	8.0	1.0	100
Abroad	35.4	30.7	24.0	8.5	1.4	100 (1,056)
To have Finnish citizenship						
Finland[3]	49.0	34.0	12.0	3.0	1.0	100
Abroad	40.4	38.3	17.5	3.2	0.6	100 (1,054)
To have lived in Finland for most of one's life						
Finland[3]	26.0	39.0	27.0	7.0	1.0	100
Abroad	9.2	25.1	40.7	19.8	5.1	100 (1,039)
To be able to speak Finnish or Swedish						
Finland[3]	48.0	37.0	10.0	4.0	1.0	100
Abroad	51.2	35.8	10.1	2.4	0.6	100 (1,053)
To be a Lutheran						
Finland[3]	11.0	12.0	24.0	51.0	3.0	100
Abroad	4.7	9.3	17.6	65.7	2.8	100 (1,046)
To respect Finland's political institutions and laws						
Finland[3]	51.0	36.0	9.0	3.0	1.0	100
Abroad	28.4	40.8	18.6	8.6	3.5	100 (1,048)
To feel Finnish						
Finland[3]	54.0	31.0	10.0	3.0	2.0	100
Abroad	64.6	25.8	6.7	2.2	0.7	100 (1,053)
To have Finnish ancestry						
Finland[3]	26.0	25.0	32.0	15.0	2.0	100
Abroad	39.6	32.8	18.6	8.2	0.8	100 (1,055)

[3] The source for the data of Finns in Finland: Oinonen, Blom & Melin (2005).

As shown in Figure 4.6, the national pride seems to be mostly similar both among Finns in Finland and abroad, but there are some exceptions. While 82 percent of Finns in Finland considered that they would rather be a citizen of Finland than any other country, 61 percent of emigrants agreed to that. Similarly, 65 percent of Finns in Finland agreed with the statement "Generally speaking, Finland is a better country than most other countries", meanwhile just over half, 52.4 percent of emigrants agreed with it. Moreover, it seems that Finns in Finland would show more support to their country regardless of the circumstances than emigrants. Although 60 percent of Finns in Finland disagree with the statement "People should always support Finland, even if Finland is in the wrong", the equivalent share among emigrants was much larger, 78.9 percent.

However, only 8.7 percent of emigrants disagree strongly with the statement "The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the Finnish", whereas 27 percent of Finns disagree strongly with it. Emigrants seem to be generally more proud of Finland, for instance, when 41 percent of Finns in Finland agreed with the statement "I am often less proud of Finland than what I would like to be", the corresponding share among emigrants was nearly half of that, 21.7 percent. Thus, it is interesting to see, if the sense of pride extends also to Finnish achievements.

Figure 4.6 National pride among Finns in Finland and abroad



Source for the data of Finns in Finland: Oinonen, Blom & Melin (2005).

Table 4.8 Pride in national achievements among Finns in Finland and abroad (%)

	Proud	Not proud	Can't choose	Total (n)
The way democracy works				
Finland[4]	61.0	32.0	7.0	100
Abroad	83.1	9.5	7.4	100 (1,054)
Political influence in the world				
Finland[4]	40.0	50.0	11.0	100
Abroad	47.5	39.2	13.4	100 (1,055)
Economic achievements				
Finland[4]	65.0	28.0	7.0	100
Abroad	69.3	22.1	8.5	100 (1,058)
Social security system				
Finland[4]	76.0	21.0	2.0	100
Abroad	81.8	11.8	6.3	100 (1,057)
Scientific and technological achievements				
Finland[4]	80.0	12.0	8.0	100
Abroad	87.0	7.6	5.4	100 (1,057)
Achievements in sports				
Finland[4]	54.0	42.0	4.0	100
Abroad	67,5	26.6	5.9	100 (1,056)
Achievements in arts and literature				
Finland[4]	63.0	29.0	9.0	100
Abroad	74.6	16.5	8.1	100 (1,055)
Armed forces				
Finland[4]	61.0	29.0	9.0	100
Abroad	43.5	33.4	23.1	100 (1,054)
History				
Finland[4]	80.0	14.0	7.0	100
Abroad	81.6	12.3	6.1	100 (1,056)
Fair and equal treatment of all groups in society				
Finland[4]	44.0	49.0	7.0	100
Abroad	67.7	22.9	9.5	100 (1,057)

As shown in Table 4.8, emigrants seem to be prouder of most national achievements in comparison to Finns in Finland. In fact, the only national institution

[4] The source for the data of Finns in Finland: Oinonen, Blom & Melin (2005).

or achievement that Finns in Finland were prouder of than emigrants, was the Finnish army. When well over half of Finns (61 %) in Finland are very or somewhat proud of Finnish armed forces, two fifths of emigrants shared the same pride (43.5 %). Finnish emigrants were much more (difference more than 10 percentage points) proud of fair and equal treatment of all groups in society (emigrants very or somewhat proud 67.7 %; Finns in Finland very or somewhat proud 44 %); the way democracy works (83.1 %; 61%); achievements in sports (67.5 %; 54 %); and, achievements in arts and literature (74.6 %; 63 %). However, it may well be that following for instance sports and culture (such as arts and literature) is easier and more convenient abroad than following other parts of society (such as daily politics), and thus, emigrants have somewhat skewed viewpoint on these topics. This, however, is difficult to test, and it is at its best merely an assumption based on no real evidence.

Interestingly, both emigrants and Finns in Finland shared the same achievements of which they were most proud of. Scientific and technological achievements were on the top for both groups (emigrants very or somewhat proud 87 %; Finns in Finland 80 %). Another shared boast for both groups was the history (emigrants 81.6 %; Finns in Finland 80 %). In addition to these, emigrants were especially proud of the way democracy works (83.1 %) and the social security system (81.8 %).

Generally, it seems that Finns in Finland and abroad do share remarkably well the same ideas of Finland and Finnishness and the same values of nationality and national pride. This is in line with previous research. As Weibull and Arkhede (2016) have suggested, Swedish emigrants have similar ideological cleavages related to ideas of Sweden and Swedishness than Swedes living in Sweden. In addition, the time lived abroad did not seem to change the general ideas Swedish emigrants had of Sweden and Swedishness.

4.5 Finnish emigrants and dual citizenship

National citizenship implies a set of exclusive rights and responsibilities that apply to members of a country's political community, which is often defined by territorial borders. Citizenship is traditionally linked closely with the evolution of nation states: modern states are based on a territory, which is defined by borders, recognised by neighbouring states, and they exercise sovereignty. Thus, citizenship can be understood as an institutionalised form of solidarity. Having dual citizenship allows an individual to possess political and economic rights in multiple countries. Dual

citizenship does not fit well with the traditional conception of the nation state: dual state membership as a form of transnational citizenship does not deny the existence or relevance of borders and nation states but simply recognises the possibility of (simultaneous) membership in two states. Therefore, dual citizenship illuminates the inherent dichotomies in conceptualisations of citizenship by increasing the focus on exclusion and inclusion created by the state (Brøndsted Sejersen 2008, 528; Faist 2000, 202; Leblang 2015; Mirilovic 2015, 510).

We examined which factors influence Finnish emigrants' probability of having dual citizenship. Dual citizenship has been possible for Finnish citizens since 2003 when the new Nationality Act of Finland (359/2003) came into force. The dependent variable, the dual citizenship, was measured with the question: "Are you a Finnish citizen? I have dual citizenship". The response options were "yes" and "no". Out of the 1,067 respondents, 422 (39.6 %) had dual citizenship. The analysis was conducted by using binary logistic regression, as the dependent variable (dual citizenship) has only two possible values (0= does not have dual citizenship, 1= has dual citizenship).

Table 4.9 Finnish emigrants' probability of having dual citizenship

	Odds ratio	95 % confidence interval
Gender[a]		
Female	1.047	[0.710-1.544]
Age[b]		
30-39 years	1.083	[0.530-2.211]
40-49 years	0.832	[0.451-1.535]
50-59 years	1.461	[0.812-2.629]
60-69 years	1.401	[0.792-2.479]
More than 70 years	4.266*	[1.276-14.263]
Marital status[c]		
Married, registered partnership, or living as married	1.143	[0.641-2.038]
Divorced, separated, or widowed	0.769	[0.373-1.588]
Highest level of education[d]		
Secondary education	3.489**	[1.680-7.242]
Higher education	2.499**	[1.291-4.839]
Citizenship of parent[e]		
Both were Finnish citizens	0.141*	[0.031-0.647]
Only father was a Finnish citizen	0.884	[0.138-5.662]
Only mother was a Finnish citizen	8.418*	[1.558-45.486]
Current country of residence[f]		
Sweden	11.981***	[5.308-27.044]
Germany	2.682*	[1.200-5.998]
Great Britain	1.272	[0.510-3.173]
Canada	62.985***	[26.880-147.486]
US	22.842***	[10.376-50.288]
Time lived abroad[g]		
6-10 years	1.368	[0.508-3.685]
11-15 years	1.847	[0.730-4.678]
16-20 years	3.340*	[1.276-8.745]
More than 20 years	4.693***	[2.148-10.253]
Never lived in Finland	18.111***	[6.102-53.755]

Dependent variable Has dual citizenship/does not have dual citizenship
[a] Reference category Male; [b] Reference category 18–29 years; [c] Reference category Single; [d] Reference category Basic education; [e] Reference category Neither parent was a Finnish citizen; [f] Reference category Spain; [g] Less than 5 years.
Logistic regression analysis, *** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.602$
Source: Peltoniemi (2018a, 242).

As shown in Table 4.9, several factors were statistically significant for the probability of Finnish emigrants having dual citizenship. Particularly interesting finding was that the citizenship of parents at the time of the birth had a clear significance on the probability of having dual citizenship. For emigrants, whose mother was a Finnish citizen, but whose father was not a Finnish citizen, it is eight times more likely to have dual citizenship than for the emigrants whose parents were not Finnish citizens (OR=8.42). However, there is not an equivalent influence on father's citizenship: Emigrants whose father was a Finnish citizen but whose mother was not, there is no significant influence on the probability of having dual citizenship. If, on the other hand, both of the parents were Finnish citizens, it is less likely for the emigrant to have dual citizenship (OR=0.14). Thus, it seems that mother's influence on child's probability of having dual citizenship is rather strong. Mother's effect on child's dual citizenship is not necessarily surprising though. For instance, political and electoral behaviour have traditionally understood to be rather strongly correlated with parents' political and electoral behaviour, and mother's behaviour is especially often hereditary (see e.g. Gidengil, Wass & Valaste 2016; Gidengil, O'Neill & Young 2010).

As can be expected, the time lived abroad has a notable significance on the probability of having dual citizenship. Emigrants who have lived longer abroad or have never lived in Finland (second- or third-generation migrants) have, quite naturally, more likely dual citizenship than emigrants who have lived abroad for shorter time (reference category was less than five years). Emigrants who have lived abroad for 16-20 years have three times (OR=3.34); emigrants who have lived abroad for more than 20 years nearly five times (OR=4.69); and emigrants who have never lived in Finland have 18 times (OR=18.11) more probably dual citizenship in comparison to those who have lived abroad for less than 5 years. This is rather self-evident, as many countries have certain thresholds for acquiring citizenship, which often includes the length of residence. Furthermore, longer stays may also deepen the integration process, and thus, further the need and will of dual citizenship. Higher age seems to affect positively on emigrants' probability of having dual citizenship (more than 70 years old OR=4.27), as well as higher level of education (secondary education OR=3.49; higher education OR=2.50).

Current country of residence seems to influence the probability of having dual citizenship rather strongly. As could be expected, living in North America, Canada or the United States, the likelihood of having dual citizenship was vastly higher in comparison to those living in Spain. Emigrants who live in Canada are 63 times more

probable to have dual citizenship (OR=62.99), while emigrants in the United States are 23 times more probable to have dual citizenship (OR=22.84) than emigrants residing in Spain. In addition, emigrants living in Sweden and Germany are more likely to have dual citizenship (Sweden OR=11.98; Germany OR=2.68) than emigrants in Spain, whereas Great Britain as a country of residence did not have a statistically significant influence in having dual citizenship.

Considering especially three factors, the relevance of citizenship, the phase of globalisation at the time of emigration, and the reasons for living abroad, these results seem sensible. Citizenship in the Nordic countries as well as in many other European countries does not have the same importance for a resident as it has in North America. Especially in the United States, many rights and the accessibility to social security and benefits deriving from that are often closely linked to citizenship (see e.g. Balta & Altan-Olcay 2016). Quite on the contrary, in Finland as well as in the other Nordic countries, these rights are more often based on residence. This has undoubtedly resulted in the higher probability of emigrants seeking dual naturalisation in North America than in Europe. In addition, the same rights (apart from electoral rights) are usually offered for all citizens of the European Union member states, which makes dual citizenship mainly dispensable within the European Union.

For instance, despite the fact that American emigrants did not have plans of returning, 60 percent had not considered relinquishing their US citizenship. This shows that even if citizenship does not have easily articulated benefits, it is still something emigrants do not necessarily want to give up. According to Boller and Halbert (2015), despite their critiques of the country of origin, emigrants remained tied to the United States and sought to participate in its electoral politics. For many of the emigrants, it was clear that they experienced a level of global mobility allowed by multiple passports, via dual citizenship (Boller & Halbert 2015, 308).

Yet another possible explanation for the influence of country of residence on the probability of having dual citizenship may be the reason for emigration and living abroad. Perhaps the biggest change in terms of emigration has been the change of the idea of emigration itself. When people immigrated to North America at the end of the nineteenth century, it was usual not to intend to return to Finland. However, nowadays studying and working abroad are common phases in life as well as retiring in a sunny place. Therefore, having a citizenship of the country of residence is not a necessity for the short-term migrants of today in the same way it was a necessity for the migrants in the past.

5 IDENTITY AND VOTING

5.1 Introduction to identity and voting

Previous research (Boller & Halbert 2015, 307) has suggested that the relatively high voter turnout among American emigrants shows that "connecting to the state via voting remains an important way of asserting their ongoing status as Americans". This would suggest that grounding citizenship in the nation remains strong for many emigrants.

Furthermore, previous studies (e.g. Klandermans 2014; Simon & Grabow 2010) have demonstrated that national identity and subgroup identity are not mutually exclusive. Migrants tend to identify with two nation states for different and often unrelated reasons. Identification with the country of origin may well be a product of positive and nostalgic memories and imaginings. Therefore, even if the connections to "back home" decrease as migrants become increasingly incorporated into the country of residence, this does not necessarily mean that simultaneous affiliation with the country of origin will considerably weaken. Migrants do not always need to have active cross-border social ties to maintain a sense of belonging with the country of origin. The basic assumption of identity and participation is straightforward: High levels of identification go together with high levels of political participation, and the more someone identifies with a group, the higher the chances are that the person takes part in collective action on behalf of that group. As Klandermans (2014, 5) has pointed out, "identification and participation mutually reinforce one another". Consequently, the more inclusive the political system is, the more political participation there is (Østergaard-Nielsen 2001, 263-264; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992, 11-12; Tsuda 2012, 643; Wiley, Figueroa & Lauricella 2014, 209-215).

In tandem with the increasing global integration, also the idea of state boundaries and citizens' identity get more significant. Increasing human mobility across national borders gives rise to questions about migration and national belonging. Immigrants typically want to retain their citizenship of origin even if they hope to gain political rights in their country of residence. This has led to wide recognition of dual citizenship. Therefore, it is evident that cross-national flows of people and the increasing fluidity of national boundaries challenge the traditional geopolitical

boundaries of the state, regarding not only political rights, but also state membership and national identity. Dual citizenship toleration increases the likelihood that diasporas are involved in the homeland's politics, and transnational political engagement does not always mean that migrants must split their socio-political resources between two countries (Dahlin & Hironaka 2008, 54-73; Gustafson 2005, 5-19; Mirilovic 2015, 510-525; Tsuda 2012, 631-649).

As suggested in Chapter 2, the dynamic relationship between home- and host-country political participation can be conceived in four ways: (1) zero-sum relationship (increased engagement in one country leads to decreased involvement in the other); (2) side-by-side co-existence of sending and receiving country engagement without one directly influencing the other; (3) positively reinforcing relationship (increased engagement in one country leads to increased involvement in the other); and (4) negatively reinforcing relationship (decreased engagement in one country causes disengagement with the other as well). A great deal of transnational migrant politics seem to be asymmetrically skewed toward the home country in a zero-sum relationship. Tsuda has argued (2012, 631-649) that as migrants are often marginalised in the host society and continue to feel greater belonging to their societies of origin, they often seem to be almost exclusively involved in transborder homeland politics and not very concerned about political issues in their country of residence.

The relation between identity and political participation among migrants has been rather widely discussed from theoretical viewpoint (see Chapter 2). However, empirical data has not been presented to the same degree. In this chapter, the relationship between national identification and the electoral participation of Finnish emigrants will be studied. First, we examine how national identification relate with voter turnout in parliamentary elections. Second, we analyse how transnational political engagement of Finnish emigrants could be described.

5.2 Transnational political engagement, national identification and voter turnout of Finnish emigrants

The first part of the analysis is descriptive based cross-tabulations. The purpose of the cross-tabulations is to examine if the level of identification with sending country has an effect on respondent's decision to vote. The second part of the analysis is explanatory. We will investigate the impact of different factors on Finnish emigrants' voting decision. This is done by using multinomial logistic regression.

During the past 10 years, 32.8 percent of respondents had voted in Finland's parliamentary elections from abroad. As 56 respondents (5.4 % of respondents) were not entitled to vote (e.g. they were born after 1993, and thus were not of age and therefore not eligible during the time of parliamentary elections in 2011), more than two thirds of respondents had not voted in Finland's parliamentary elections during the past 10 years. Therefore, it is necessary to ask: Does the Finnish national identity of respondents relate with the choice of vote and hence, turnout in Finnish elections?

As shown in Table 5.1, 36.1 percent of respondents who considered themselves strongly or somewhat Finnish had voted in the parliamentary elections in Finland during the time they have lived abroad during the past 10 years. Out of the respondents who did not consider themselves Finnish 33.3 percent had voted. Consequently, the difference between respondents who identified themselves as Finnish and respondents who did not was rather small, around two percentage points.

Table 5.1 Association between Finnish identity and decision to vote in parliamentary elections (%)

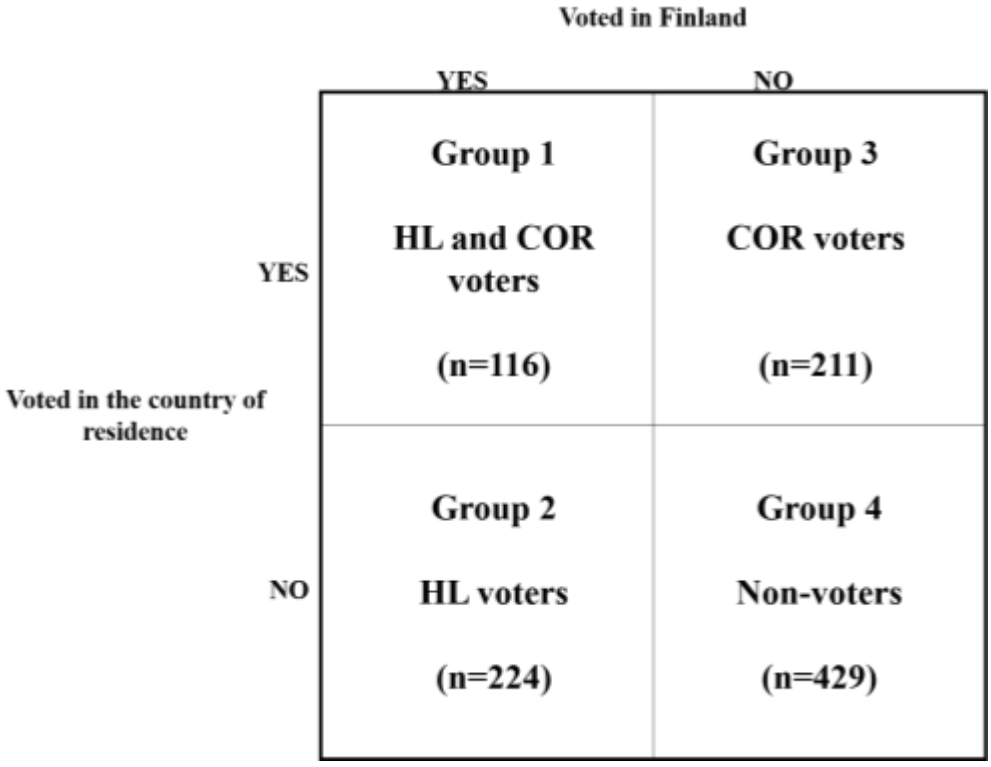
	Parliamentary elections Finland			Parliamentary elections Country of residence		
Finnish identity	Voted	Didn't vote	Total	Voted	Didn't vote	Total
Strongly or somewhat disagree	33.3	66.7	100	54.5	45.5	100
Neither agree nor disagree	24.4	75.6	100	49.4	50.6	100
Strongly or somewhat agree	36.1	63.9	100	35.2	64.8	100
Total	35.0 (338)	65.0 (629)	100 (967)	37.0 (347)	63.0 (591)	100 (938)

Source: Peltoniemi (2018b).

Interestingly, the low identification with homeland Finland seems to relate with the decision to vote in the elections of the residing country. Lack of Finnish identity might boost the motivation to vote in the elections of the residing country. In the parliamentary elections of country of residence, 54.5 percent of the respondents who did not consider themself as Finnish had voted at least once during the past 10 years, while 35.2 percent of the respondents who did consider themself as Finnish had voted. It seems that respondents who did not consider themselves Finnish voted more actively than respondents who identified themselves Finnish.

In this analysis, in order to examine emigrants' voting decision, Finnish emigrant voters have been categorised into four different groups, depending on whether or not they voted in parliamentary elections in Finland and in their current country of residence. As shown in the Figure 5.1, the first group (n=116) are the respondents who voted both in the parliamentary elections in Finland and in their country of residence. The second group (n=224) are the respondents who voted in the parliamentary elections in Finland but who did not vote in the parliamentary elections in their country of residence. The third group (n=211) voted only in the parliamentary elections in their country of residence and did not vote in Finland, and finally, the fourth group (n=429) did not vote neither in the parliamentary elections in Finland nor in the parliamentary elections in their country of residence.

Figure 5.1. Four groups of Finnish emigrant voters



Source: Peltoniemi (2018b).

In order to form a more comprehensive picture on the differences between different groups we will look at the effects of different factors on Finnish emigrants' voting decision next. Two factors in particular seem to have an especially strong

influence on emigrant turnout: time lived abroad and the level of interest in politics (in both homeland and country of residence). In addition, current country of residence, gender and age influence the decision to vote.

Table 5.2 Finnish emigrants' probability of choosing to vote in parliamentary elections in both homeland and country of residence (HL and COR), only in homeland (HL) or only in country of residence (COR) over choosing not to vote in either country (reference category)

Gender (*ref. male*)	Female	HL and COR	0.722
		HL	0.586*
		COR	0.897
Age (*ref. 18-29*)	30-39	HL and COR	3.739*
		HL	2.430
		COR	3.028*
	40-49	HL and COR	1.600
		HL	1.216
		COR	1.736
	50-59	HL and COR	1.717
		HL	0.924
		COR	1.797
	60-69	HL and COR	1.143
		HL	2.063
		COR	1.273
	70-	HL and COR	15.477**
		HL	5.212
		COR	1.631
Interested in politics in Finland (*ref. not interested at all*)	Very interested	HL and COR	4.897*
		HL	17.115***
		COR	0.199**
	Fairly interested	HL and COR	2.647
		HL	9.890***
		COR	0.549
	Not very interested	HL and COR	1.377
		HL	2.982
		COR	0.560
Interested in politics in country of residence (*ref. not interested at all)*	Very interested	HL and COR	1.166
		HL	1.191
		COR	9.391**
	Fairly interested	HL and COR	0.597
		HL	1.325
		COR	3.323

	Not very interested	HL and COR	0.372
		HL	1.088
		COR	1.143
Current country of residence (*ref. Sweden*)	Germany	HL and COR	0.310**
		HL	0.708
		COR	0.487
	Great Britain	HL and COR	0.215**
		HL	0.553
		COR	0.400*
	Spain	HL and COR	0.116**
		HL	0.642
		COR	0.129**
	Canada	HL and COR	1.333
		HL	0.216**
		COR	4.624***
	US	HL and COR	0.364*
		HL	0.221***
		COR	1.049
Time lived abroad (*ref. less than 5 years)*	6-10 years	HL and COR	7.972
		HL	2.898**
		COR	0.935
	11-15 years	HL and COR	6.737
		HL	1.257
		COR	0.387
	16-20 years	HL and COR	8.770
		HL	2.058
		COR	1.413
	More than 20 years	HL and COR	10.908*
		HL	1.083
		COR	3.679*
	Never lived in Finland	HL and COR	45.776***
		HL	0.314
		COR	13.562***

Multinomial logistic regression, *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, Nagelkerke R^2=0.483
Source: Peltoniemi (2018b).

Interest in politics is a rather self-explanatory factor for decision to vote. As shown in Table 5.2, this is evident also in this data, as interest in politics in Finland correlate with decision to vote in homeland elections (very interested OR=17.12; fairly interested OR=9.90), whereas interest in politics in country of residence

correlate with decision to vote in country of residence (very interested OR=9.40) compared to not voting in neither country. Gender does not seem to influence voting decision with the exception of homeland elections where men are more likely to vote than women are (female OR=0.59). As to the age factor, the second lowest age cohort (30-39; OR=3.74) as well as the highest age cohort (70-; OR=15.48) were more inclined to vote in both homeland elections and in the elections of the country of residence. This could, however, be also linked to the time lived abroad.

Time lived abroad seems to be another significant factor in decision to vote. Emigrants who have lived abroad for 6-10 years, in contrast to emigrants who have lived less than five years abroad, vote nearly three times (OR=2.90) more probably in homeland elections compared for choosing not to vote in neither country. Longer stays abroad increase the likelihood of voting in the country of residence as well as in both countries. Emigrants who have lived for more than 20 years abroad vote three times more probably in their country of residence (OR=3.68) and 11 times more probably in both countries (OR=10.91) compared to not voting in neither country. Emigrants who have never lived in Finland (second or third generation emigrants) have 14-fold likelihood (OR=13.60) to vote in country of residence and 46-fold likelihood (OR=45.78) to vote in both countries compared to not voting in neither country.

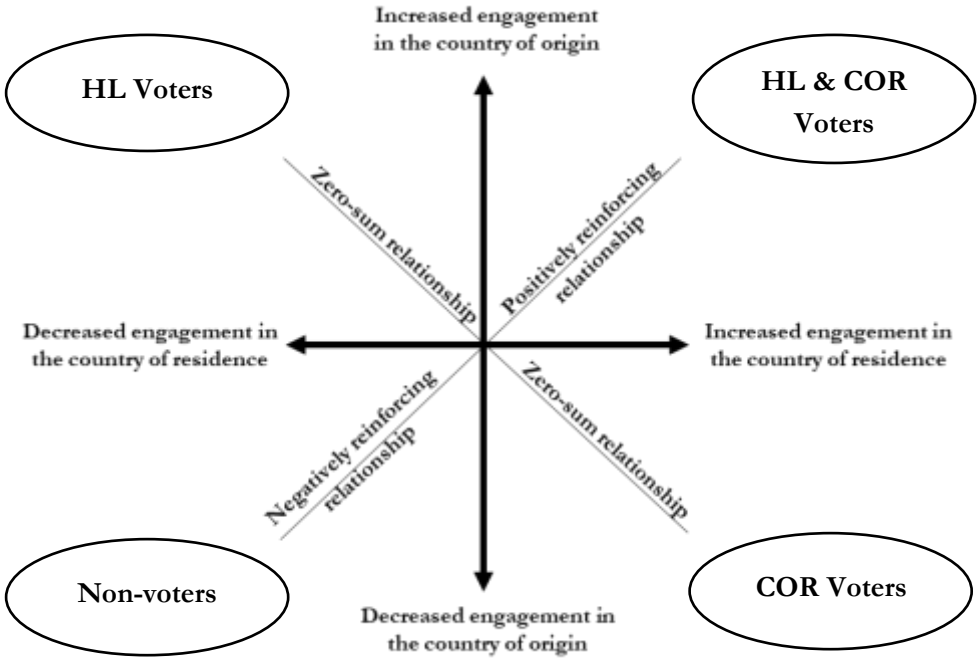
A possible explanation for that might be that the probability to hold dual citizenship and therefore to be eligible also increases with time (many countries demand certain period of residence before citizenship can be acquired). Therefore, the longer time a person lives abroad, the more likely it is for them to vote in the elections of the country of residence, and thus the possibilities to vote in both parliamentary elections increase by time. Previous research (Wass et al. 2015, 415-419) has suggested that age at the time of immigration increases turnout among voters coming from democratic countries, as in order to transfer past behaviour to the new situation, a person needs to learn it before migration, namely, to be old enough to vote. This would explain also the findings of this study.

Current country of residence seems to play a role with voting decision, especially in Canada, where voting in the elections of the country of residence is nearly five times more likely compared to not voting in neither country (OR=4.62), whereas voting in homeland elections is not very likely (OR=0.22). In the US, emigrants are less likely to vote in the homeland elections (OR=0.17) or in both homeland and country of residence's elections (OR=0.36), in contrast to emigrants in Sweden. Instead, emigrants living in Europe are less likely to vote in country of residence's elections or in both homeland and country of residence's elections (Germany HL

and COR OR=0.31; Great Britain HL and COR OR=0.22, COR OR=0.40; Spain HL and COR OR=0.12, COR OR=0.13) compared to Sweden. This is in line with the findings of previous research: Ciornei and Østergaard-Nielsen (2015) have suggested that emigrants who reside in another EU-country are more likely to vote in home country elections than their co-nationals outside the EU are, and, as the case of Finnish emigrants in Sweden and in Europe, the likelihood to vote in homeland elections seems more prevalent than for emigrants in Canada and the US.

According to Tsuda (2012), the dynamic relationship between sending and receiving country involvement can be conceived as zero-sum relationship, side-by-side co-existence, and positively or negatively reinforcing relationship. As it is evident, all four possibilities of dynamic relationship between sending and receiving country engagement can be conceived simultaneously, which can be seen from Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Transnational political engagement of Finnish emigrant voters



Source: Peltoniemi (2018b).

Albeit all four directions do seem to occur, the empirical analysis presented in this chapter suggests that zero-sum relationship describes best the transnational

political engagement among Finnish emigrants. Finnish emigrants tend to vote in Finland's parliamentary elections more probably if they are interested in politics in Finland, they have lived abroad for 6-10 years, and still identify themselves as Finnish. Respectively, when Finnish identity weakens, interest to vote in the parliamentary elections in the country of residence seems to strengthen. Thus, as the engagement in the country of residence strengthens, weakens the engagement in the country of origin.

However, also positively reinforcing relationship exist in the dynamics of Finnish emigrants' relationship between Finland and their country of residence. In fact, the probability to vote in both Finland's parliamentary elections and in the parliamentary elections of their country of residence grows by the time lived abroad. Hence, it is clear, that zero-sum relationship is not the only accurate way to describe the transnational political engagement of Finnish emigrants.

These empirical findings seem to support the previous discussion. Tsuda (2012) has suggested that a great deal of transnational migrant politics is asymmetrically skewed toward the home country in a zero-sum relationship. As migrants are often marginalised in the host society and continue to feel greater belonging to their home societies, they often seem to be almost exclusively involved in cross-border homeland politics and not very interested in political issues in their country of residence. Political activities across the national borders may include voting, running for office and supporting political candidates in their country of origin. Therefore, the more time, effort and resources migrants use in politics of country of origin, the less able they are to get involved in politics in their country of residence.

6 VOTING DECISION

6.1 Introduction to voting decision

As globalisation, European integration and an increase of migration have made life more mobile, a growing number of countries have enfranchised their emigrant citizens. As previous research (Braun & Gratschew 2007) has suggested, while the constitutions of many countries guarantee the right to vote for all citizens, in reality external voters are often disenfranchised because of a lack of procedures enabling them to exercise the right.

As André, Dronkers and Need (2014) have argued, the electoral participation of migrants is an important issue in Europe for two different reasons. Firstly, migrants tend to vote less than natives do in national elections and secondly, migrants are a growing segment of the population in Europe, thus challenging the democratic legitimacy. Furthermore, as Apaydin (2016) has stated, existing studies on voting focus exclusively on domestic dynamics and assume that voter turnout is primarily influenced by individual experiences in one's native context. However, increased cross-border mobility and supranational political engagement have added a new layer of complexity to individual experiences.

With more citizens living and working outside of their home country for several years of their lives and new technologies making it ever easier for emigrants to participate in the homeland politics, the topic of emigrant voting is highly relevant and yet often omitted from electoral analyses (Gamlen 2015). As the topic is understudied in academic literature, there is a need for empirical studies on emigrant turnout. Collyer (2013) has noted that the lack of data has been a reason why electoral geography has paid little attention to emigrant voting. For instance, political participation of Nordic emigrants has often been omitted from both political studies as well as migration research. There have been only a small number of studies that have explored emigrants' political participation (see e.g. Peltoniemi 2015; 2016a; 2016b; 2016c; Solevid 2016b). This chapter addresses the gap in the literature, by shedding light on the question of the transnational political participation of Finnish emigrants.

In this chapter, we will first explore political participation and activity of Finnish emigrants and see how it differs from those residing in Finland. After that, we study how time spent abroad influences likelihood to vote, and furthermore, which other factors influence emigrant voting likelihood. Subsequently, we will present convenience voting methods more generally from the perspective of emigrant voters. Consequently, Italy and Sweden are analysed as case studies on how postal voting has influenced emigrant turnout, and finally, we ponder how adopting convenience voting methods such as postal and internet voting could influence emigrant turnout in Finland.

6.2 Political participation of Finnish emigrants

Finnish emigrants participate rather actively, out of all the respondents only 2 percent reported that they did not belong and actively participate in at least one of the following associations or groups: political party; trade union, business or professional association; church or other religious organisation; sports, leisure or cultural group; Finland Society; another voluntary association. In general, it seems that there are not very significant differences in the terms of societal participation between Finnish emigrants and Finns living in Finland[5]. In fact, as shown in Table 6.1, church or other religious organisation and sports, leisure or cultural group were the most common ways to participate for emigrant Finns, and they are common also among Finns residing in Finland. However, all things considered, it seems that the participation of Finnish emigrants is rather societal type than electoral kind.

[5] In this section, the ISSP 2004 National Identity data and a research based on that by Oinonen, Blom and Melin (2005) has been used as a comparison to the emigrant data.

Table 6.1 Societal participation among Finnish citizens in Finland and abroad[6] (%)

	Belong	Doesn't belong	Can't choose	Total (n)
Political party				
Finland[7]	10.0	89.0	2.0	100
Abroad	9.5	89.1	1.4	100 (1,044)
Trade union, business or professional association				
Finland[7]	55.0	43.0	3.0	100
Abroad	25.7	72.9	1.3	100 (1,040)
Church or other religious organisation				
Finland[7]	66.0	31.0	3.0	100
Abroad	48.4	50.3	1.3	100 (1,046)
Sports, leisure or cultural group				
Finland[7]	39.0	59.0	2.0	100
Abroad	43.3	55.3	1.4	100 (1,047)
Finland Society				
Finland[7]	-	-	-	-
Abroad	20.9	77.6	1.5	100 (1,039)
Another voluntary association				
Finland[7]	30.0	54.0	16.0	100
Abroad	36.2	52.8	11.0	100 (1,027)

The biggest difference seems to be the level of unionisation. Interestingly, and very much opposite to Finns in Finland, only one fourth of emigrants belonged to trade union, business or professional association. In both surveys, the sample included also people outside of the active workforce (such as older age cohorts that

[6] The original question wording in both surveys was that of ISSP 2004 survey "Citizenship". The wording was the following: "People sometimes belong to different kind of groups or associations. For each type of group, please indicate whether you belong and participate or not." The response options were: "Belong, actively participate – Belong, don't participate – Used to belong but not anymore – Never belonged – Can't choose". In this Table 6.1, "Belong" includes options "belong, actively participate" and "belong, don't participate", whereas "Doesn't belong" includes options "used to belong but not anymore" and "never belonged".

[7] The source for the data of Finns in Finland: Oinonen, Blom & Melin (2005).

are already retired), so the difference cannot be explained with that. In addition, it seems that participation in church or other religious organisations is more common in Finland than abroad.

Simultaneously, belonging to a political party was in the exact same level in both groups, i.e. rather rare. Among emigrants, 9.5 percent of the respondents reported to be party members, whereas in Finland the equivalent number was 10 percent. However, this needs a further observation: Due to the transnational life of emigrants, we cannot be sure whether this measures party membership in Finnish parties or in the country of residence or possibly (and probably) in both. Considering that in general, Finnish parties do not have party branches abroad, being a member of a Finnish party would seem rather burdensome and somewhat unbeneficial. Thus, we could assume that this number may mostly describe the participation in the country of residence. This would back up also the notion that the percentage of party members is higher than the usual turnout among emigrants in Finnish elections (Peltoniemi 2016a, 20). It is interesting, however, that the prevalence of party membership is so similar in both groups, and it would be interesting to find out, if this is the case among other countries and their emigrants as well. This information would give an intriguing glimpse of societal and political upbringing in different countries and cultures.

As shown in Table 6.2, societal activity seems to be on a very similar level both in Finland and abroad. Finnish citizens living in Finland were more active to participate in a demonstration and in a political meeting or rally, whereas emigrants participated more in other activities. In general, the level of participation was in all activities very alike in both of the groups with the exception of donating money or raising funds for a social or political activity. However, this could be due to the fact that emigrants reside in different countries of residence also in a political culture sense: Whereas donations and raising money are very common ways of societal activities in many countries, such as in Northern America, are they much less common in Nordic countries (Charities Aid Foundation 2017, 35).

Table 6.2 Societal activity of Finnish citizens in Finland and abroad[8] (%)

	Has done	Hasn't done	Can't choose	Total (n)
Signed a petition				
Finland[9]	46.0	48.0	7.0	100
Abroad	50.5	45.3	4.2	100 (1,055)
Boycotted, or deliberately bought, certain products for political, ethical or enviromental reasons				
Finland[9]	43.0	52.0	6.0	100
Abroad	59.9	38.2	1.9	100 (1.050)
Took part in a demonstration				
Finland[9]	39.0	57.0	4.0	100
Abroad	23.0	73.8	3.2	100 (1,049)
Attended a political meeting or rally				
Finland[9]	30.0	66.0	5.0	100
Abroad	27.9	67.8	4.3	100 (1,046)
Contacted, or attempted to contact, a politician or a civil servant to express your views				
Finland[9]	24.0	73.0	3.0	100
Abroad	28.8	68.5	2.7	100 (1,045)
Donated money or raised funds for a social or political activity				
Finland[9]	20.0	77.0	3.0	100
Abroad	35.8	61.3	2.9	100 (1,051)
Contacted or appeared in the media to express your views				
Finland[9]	13.0	84.0	3.0	100
Abroad	17.8	78.9	3.2	100 (1,051)
Joined an internet political forum or discussion group				
Finland[9]	4.0	91.0	4.0	100
Abroad	12.0	83.8	4.1	100 (1,045)
Organised or supported a citizen's initiative				
Finland[9]	-	-	-	-
Abroad	8.0	74.9	17.1	100 (1,051)

[8] The original question wording in both surveys was that of ISSP 2004 survey "Citizenship". The wording was the following: "Here are some different forms of political and social action that people can take. Please indicate for each one whether or not you have done any of these things or might do in future". The response options were: "I have in the past year – I have in the more distant past – I have not, but might – I have not and would never – Can't choose". In this Table 6.2, "Has done" includes options "I have in the past year" and "I have in the more distant past", whereas "Hasn't done" includes options "I have not, but might" and "I have not and would never".

[9] The source for the data of Finns in Finland: Oinonen, Blom & Melin (2005).

Thus, we can come to the conclusion that political participation and societal activities differ only very little between Finnish citizens living in Finland and abroad. Thus, this cannot explain the great differences in electoral turnout. These findings are in line with the previous research. Solevid (2016a, 242-244) has suggested that Swedish emigrants' political participation is somewhat on the same level with Swedes residing in Sweden, even if emigrants have lower turnout in Swedish elections than Swedes residing in Sweden.

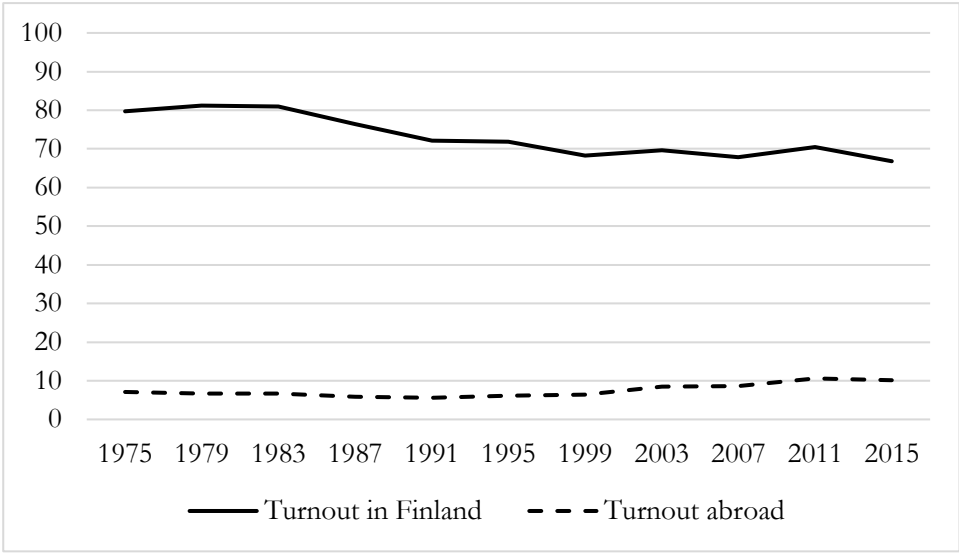
Next, we will have a closer look at the emigrants' electoral participation in Finnish elections. As shown in Table 6.3 and Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3, Finns tend to vote more actively in presidential elections (turnout 1994–2012 in Finland was on the average 76.8 % and among emigrants 12.1 %), but they are less apt to vote in the European parliamentary elections (1996–2014 turnout in Finland was 42.8 % and among emigrants 3.5 %). In the parliamentary elections from 1995 to 2015, the average turnout was 69.2 %, but among Finnish emigrants it was 8.4 %. Since 1995, the turnout has been at its lowest point in the European parliamentary elections of 1999 with just 2.7 % of emigrants voting. Also in Finland, the same election gained little interest among the electorate with a turnout of only 31.4 %. The highest turnout among emigrants was in the presidential elections of 2012, when 13.9 % of emigrant voters voted in the second round of elections (turnout in Finland was 68.9 %) (Peltoniemi 2015, 213).

Table 6.3 Turnout in Finland's elections 2003-2018[10] (%)

Year	Type of Election	Emigrant turnout	Turnout in Finland	Emigrants' proportion of all electorate
2018	Presidential elections I round	13.3	69.9	5.6
2015	Parliamentary elections	10.1	66.8	5.4
2014	European parliament elections	4.8	40.9	5.2
2012	Presidential elections II round	13.9	68.9	5.2
2012	Presidential elections I round	13.8	72.8	5.2
2011	Parliamentary elections	10.6	70.5	5.2
2009	European parliament elections	3.9	40.3	5.0
2007	Parliamentary elections	8.6	67.9	4.9
2006	Presidential elections II round	12.6	77.2	4.9
2006	Presidential elections I round	11.4	73.9	4.9
2004	European parliament elections	3.7	41.1	4.4
2003	Parliamentary elections	8.8	69.7	4.9

Source: Statistics Finland (2015a; 2015b; 2018)

Figure 6.1 Turnout in parliamentary elections 1975-2015



[10] Municipal elections 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2017 are omitted from the Table 6.3, as only residents have voting rights.

Figure 6.2 Turnout in presidential elections 1978-2018[11]

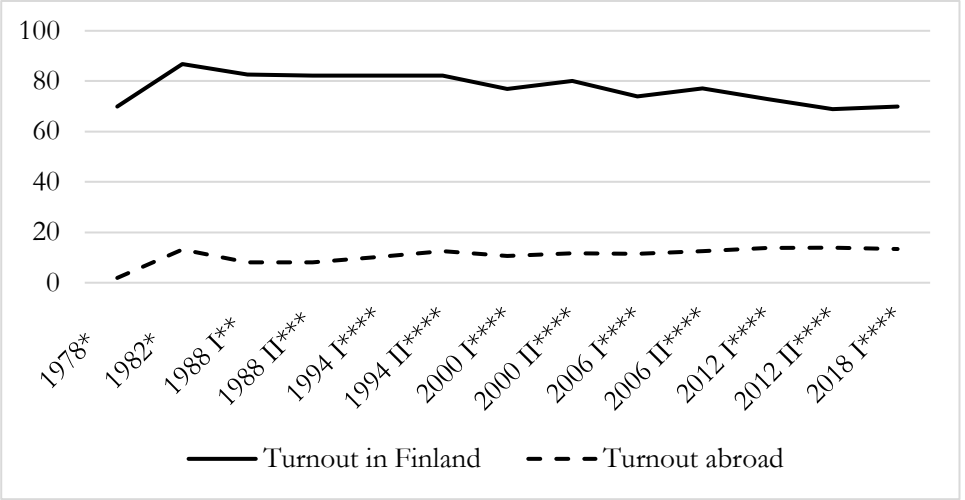
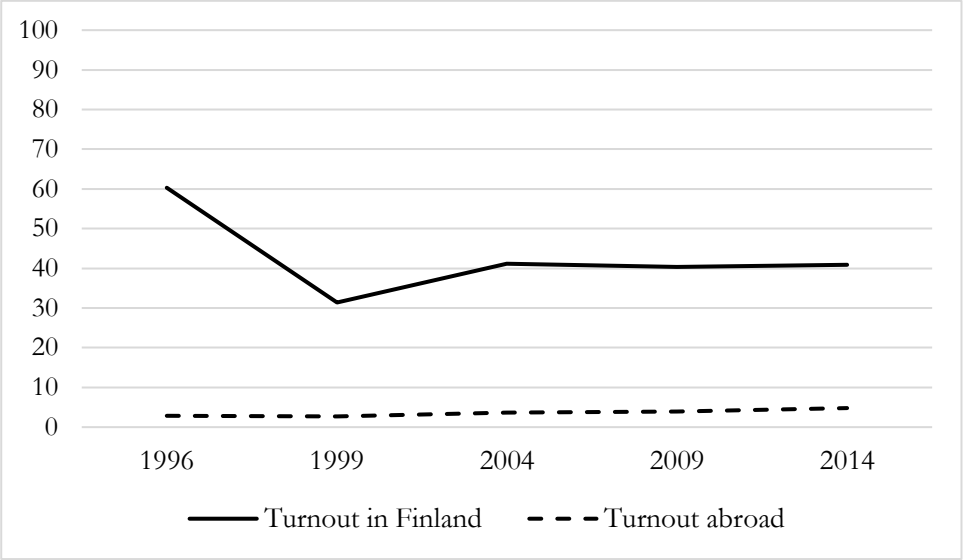


Figure 6.3 Turnout in EP elections 1996-2014



[11] * Presidential elections in 1978 and 1982 were elections to choose electors
** The first round of presidential elections in 1988 was direct election
*** The second round of presidential elections 1988 was election to choose electors **** Presidential elections in 1994 through 2018 were direct elections

Despite a small increase in 2012, it is evident that the low turnout among Finnish emigrants presents a challenge. Low turnout is a potentially serious problem, because when the number of voters is small, the policy outcomes may not be representative and might cause conflicts and raise questions about the legitimacy of the political system (Gimpel & Schuknecht 2003, 472). As shown in Figures 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3, turnout in elections is much lower among Finnish emigrants than among citizens living in Finland. As political participation (with the exception of electoral participation) and societal activities seems to differ only very little between Finnish citizens living in Finland and abroad, and this cannot explain the great differences in electoral turnout, it seems rational to set social-psychological reasons, such as lack of motivation and ignorance aside.

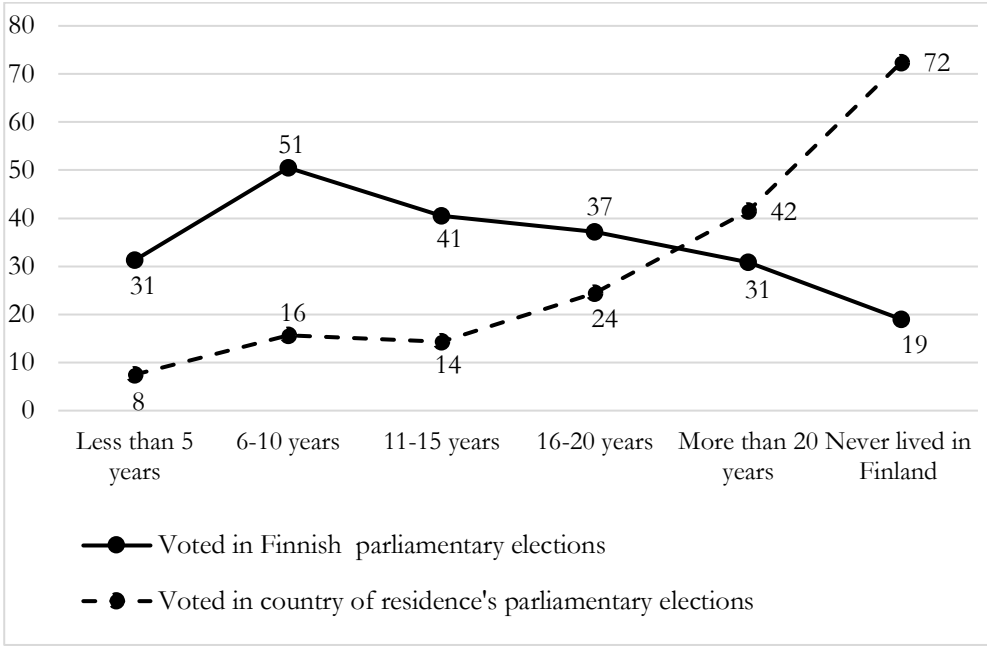
6.3 Time abroad and likelihood to vote

First, we observed emigrants' transnational voting decision, and cross-tabled voting in Finnish parliamentary elections and country of residence's parliamentary elections with the time lived abroad. As shown in Figure 6.4, voting in Finnish elections peaks 6-10 years after moving abroad, when approximately half of emigrants vote, but after 10 years abroad, the interest to vote in Finnish elections starts to decline; as shown in Table 6.3, generally less than 10 percent of emigrants vote. Voting in the parliamentary elections of the country of residence seems to increase gradually as time lived abroad increases. After 20 years abroad, emigrants more probably vote in country of residence's elections rather than in Finnish elections. The curvilinear relationship due to low turnout among those who have lived less than 5 years abroad is rather peculiar. Perhaps emigrants do not consider missing the first few elections that serious, so that it would overcome the costs of voting, and this consideration changes after time. Furthermore, it may be that in the beginning, emigrants concentrate on integrating in the new country of residence. Another possibility could be age: young people are less likely to vote than older people are, and we can assume that emigration is more common among young people than older people. Unfortunately, the data used in this study cannot provide answers for this question, therefore we may only make assumptions until further study is conducted on this issue.

Nonetheless, 20 years appears to be a turning point in transnational electoral participation. This is not a surprising result, but it seems to occur rather early. This somewhat differs from the results presented in previous research. Solevid (2016a,

245) has suggested that Swedish emigrants' probability to vote decreases 2 percentage points each 10 years, which seems to be more gradual than what the findings of this study suggest. However, interestingly, in the United States long-term emigrants (>10 years abroad) were significantly more likely to report that they had voted in the last US presidential elections. In fact, political connection to the homeland, measured in terms of voting behaviour, was stronger for those who had emigrated over a decade prior (Boller & Halbert 2015, 307). Thus, further investigation would be needed. However, in general, it seems to be evident that time lived abroad has a rather clear influence on voting in both country of origin and in country of residence.

Figure 6.4 Voting in Finnish parliamentary elections and country of residence's parliamentary elections cross-tabled with the time lived abroad (%)



Source: Peltoniemi (2016a, 19).

44.6 percent of the respondents are very interested or fairly interested in politics in Finland whereas the majority, 54.6 percent of respondents, are not very interested or not interested at all in politics in Finland. In comparison, 71.3 percent of respondents are very interested or fairly interested in politics in the country of residence, while 28.3 percent of respondents are not very interested or not interested

at all in politics in the country of residence. Finns living in Finland have similar interest in politics in Finland as emigrants have in politics in their country of residence. In the 2011 Finnish National Election Study, 74 percent of respondents were very or fairly interested in politics and 26 percent were only little or not interested at all (Borg 2013, 69). Therefore, it seems that emigrants are more interested in politics in their country of residence than in politics in Finland. This could be due to the fact that the politics and policies in the country of residence are likely to influence more emigrants' daily life than homeland politics and policies. However, as more than 40 percent of emigrants do find politics in Finland interesting, the current level of turnout seems particularly low. Next, we will have a closer look at the voting decision of Finnish emigrants.

6.4 Voting decision and distance as a cost of voting

As already stated in previous chapters, previous research (see e.g. Bhatti 2012; Brady & McNulty 2011; Dyck & Gimpel 2005; Gimpel & Schuknecht 2003; Haspel & Knotts 2005) has been rather unanimous about the fact that distance is a cost of voting, and that distance as a cost strongly affects the voting decision. Greater distance from home to the polling station significantly increases the probability of choosing not to vote. Furthermore, voters who live further away have higher travel costs and voting becomes more time consuming, thus increasing the costs of voting. Moreover, as Ahmadov and Sasse (2016) have pointed out, a shorter duration of stay and more diaspora links are associated with significantly higher electoral engagement, whereas assimilation in the host country predicts lower transnational engagement. Does this apply also to Finnish emigrant voters? Can the idea of distance as a cost of voting be generalised also to emigrant voters who, presumably, live further away from a polling station than homeland voters do?

The countries of residence under examination in this study all have different regulations regarding immigrant voting. EU citizens who live in another EU member state are eligible to vote or stand as a candidate in local and European parliament elections[12]. However, all countries in this study require citizenship for voting in other elections, such as parliamentary elections. For Great Britain, eligibility requires British, Irish or Commonwealth citizenship as well as minimum 18 years of age, residency (or living abroad but having to have registered to vote in UK in the last 15

[12] In addition, Sweden allows Norwegian citizens, as well as citizens of other countries who reside in Sweden for a minimum three years to vote in regional elections.

years), and not being legally excluded from voting. In Germany, Spain and Sweden eligible voters are citizens with minimum age of 18. In the United States Federal elections voter must be at least 18- years-old and a citizen who meets the state's residency requirements and is registered as a voter. In Canada, voting rights are granted for Canadian citizens with minimum age of 18 and registered as voters. Thus, for an emigrant to vote in the parliamentary elections in the country of residence, citizenship is a requirement in each country studied here.

First, we examined which factors influence Finnish emigrants' probability to vote in Finland's elections (homeland elections). The first part of the analysis is descriptive. The purpose of the frequencies is to display which are the main reasons emigrants consider as a hindrance to voting in Finnish elections. The respondents were asked to choose the three most important reasons for non-voting in Finland's elections and to place them in order of importance. The second part of the analysis was completed by using binary logistic regression, as the dependent variable (turnout) can only have two values (1=voted; 0=did not vote). In order to better understand the different factors that influence voting decision in Finnish elections and in elections in the country of residence, we did two separate regressions.

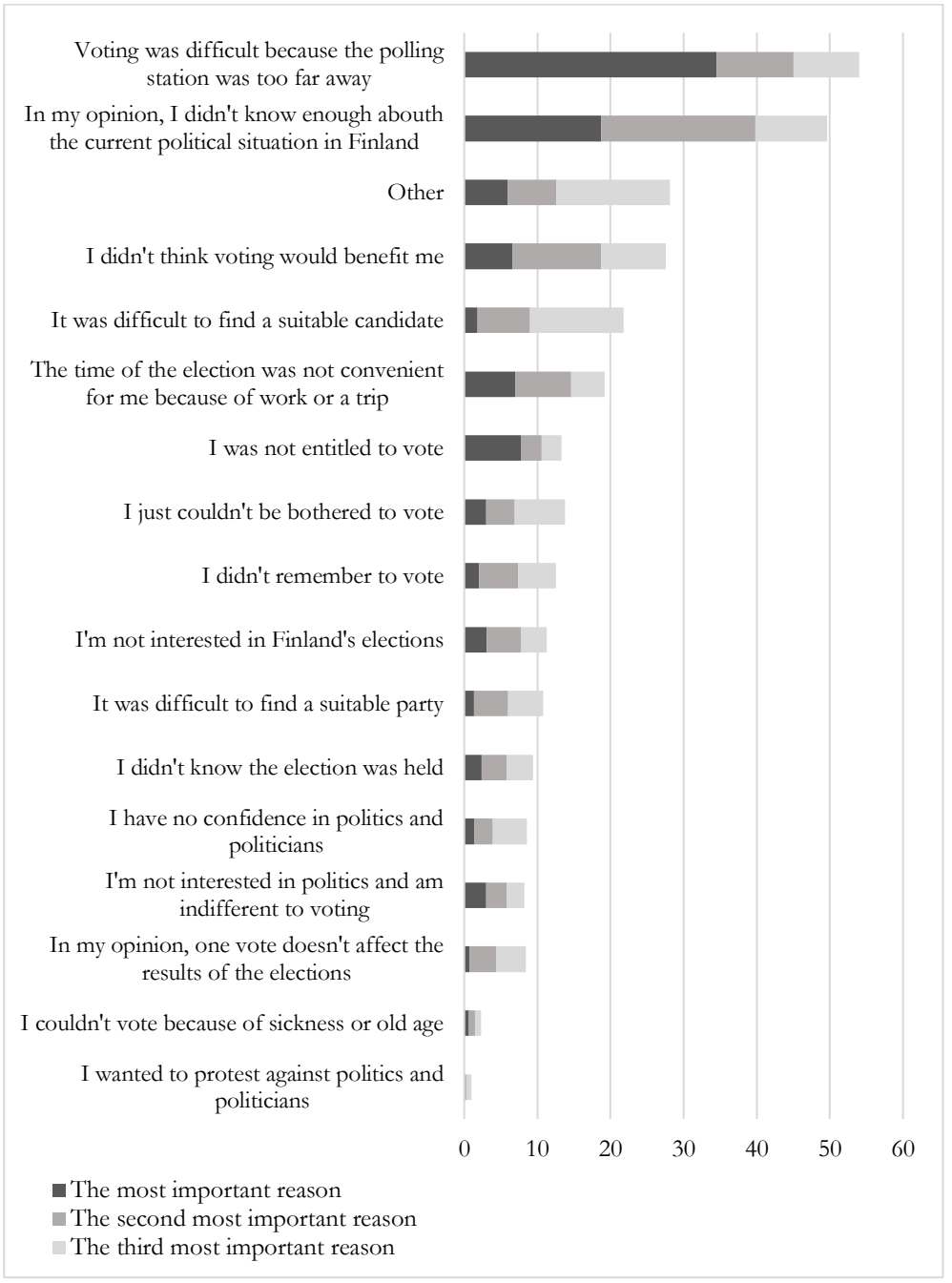
In the first regression (see Table 6.4), the dependent variable, turnout, was measured with the question: "During the time that you have lived abroad, have you voted in Finland's parliamentary elections during the past 10 years?" The response options were: "I voted", "I didn't vote", and "I wasn't entitled to vote". Less than eight percent of the respondents responded that they were not entitled to vote. This group included for instance persons, who had become eligible by coming of age (born between 1993 and 1996), or by having obtained Finnish citizenship between the previous parliamentary elections (2011) and the date of the research (2014). Respondents who were not entitled to vote were excluded from the analysis.

In the second regression (see Table 6.5), the dependent variable, turnout, was measured by the question: "Have you voted in the elections of your current country of residence during the past 10 years?" The response options were: "Yes", "No", and "Elections have not been held in my country of residence during the past 10 years". Only respondents who chose "Yes" or "No" were included in the analysis (n=946). The independent variables used in the regressions (gender; age; marital status; educational level; political knowledge; interest in politics; associational participation) were chosen in accordance to those traditionally considered to influence turnout (see e.g. Martikainen, Martikainen & Wass 2005) with the additional ones that were expected to have influence among emigrants (distance to

the polling station; country of residence; time lived abroad). The other variables used in this analysis are described in detail in the Appendix Table 1.

As shown in Figure 6.5, two reasons were thought to have a particularly strong impact for the non-voting decision in Finland's elections. More than a third of the respondents (34.5 %) considered the physical distance from the polling station to be the most important reason for non-voting. The lack of knowledge about the current political situation was the most important reason for nearly a fifth (18.7 %) of the respondents. Also, a lack of motivation, (such as: "I didn't think voting would benefit me" and "I just couldn't be bothered to vote") was an important reason too but, it seems that lack of possibility was the overriding reason for choosing not to vote.

Figure 6.5 The three most important reasons for non-voting in Finnish elections among emigrants (n=831) (%)



Source: Peltoniemi (2016a, 20).

As shown in the logistic regression model results in Table 6.4, emigrants who are more interested in politics in Finland, were also more likely to vote in Finnish parliamentary elections. The odds to vote increase nearly 12 times for emigrants who are very interested in politics in Finland (OR=11.74), five times for emigrants who are fairly interested (OR=4.90), and twofold for emigrants who are not very interested (OR=2.45), compared to emigrants who are not interested at all. However, it is hardly surprising that the level of political interest correlates with the decision to vote. On the contrary, political interest has been found to be more closely connected to turnout in less salient second-order elections (viewed as less important elections), which homeland elections often are to emigrants (Söderlund, Wass & Blais 2011).

Table 6.4 Finnish emigrants' probability to vote in Finnish elections

	Odds ratio	95 % confidence interval
Gender[a]		
Female	0.893	[0.629-1.267]
Age[b]		
30-39 years	1.145	[0.651-2.014]
40-49 years	0.589	[0.342-1.012]
50-59 years	0.439**	[0.249-0.775]
60-69 years	0.812	[0.487-1.354]
more than 70 years	5.190*	[1.364-19.752]
Marital status[c]		
Married, registered partnership, or living as married	0.992	[0.607-1.621]
Divorced, separated, or widowed	1.050	[0.535-2.063]
Highest level of education[d]		
Secondary education	0.965	[0.458-2.033]
Higher education	1.320	[0.679-2.566]
Level of political knowledge	5.559***	[3.722-8.301]
Interest in politics in Finland[e]		
Very interested	11.744***	[4.956-27.830]
Fairly interested	4.900***	[2.365-10.153]
Not very interested	2.448*	[1.201-4.988]
Active participation in an association or a group	1.031	[0.672-1.580]
Distance to the nearest polling station[f]		
Less than 20 kilometres	7.391***	[4.330-12.615]
21-50 kilometres	3.086***	[1.701-5.598]
51-200 kilometres	2.047*	[1.168-3.587]
Current country of residence[g]		
Germany	1.407	[0.790-2.505]
Great Britain	0.810	[0.438-1.498]
Spain	0.924	[0.497-1.719]
Canada	0.609	[0.321-1.154]
US	0.712	[0.381-1.333]
Time lived abroad[h]		
6-10 years	3.128**	[1.516-6.455]
11-15 years	2.724**	[1.347-5.506]
16-20 years	2.422*	[1.149-5.106]
More than 20 years	2.505**	[1.330-4.717]
Never lived in Finland	2.200	[0.986-4.910]

Dependent variable Voted/didn't vote in Finnish parliamentary elections
[a] Reference category Male, [b] Reference category 18–29 years, [c] Reference category Single, [d] Reference category Basic education, [e] Reference category Not at all interested, [f] Reference category More than 200 kilometres, [g] Reference category Sweden, [h] Reference category Less than 5 years
Logistic regression analysis, *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, Nagelkerke R^2 =0.405

Source: Peltoniemi (2016a, 21).

As can be expected, the distance to the nearest polling station also has a notable significance on the voting decision among Finnish emigrants. Emigrants who live

within a 20 kilometre radius of the polling station are more than seven times more probable to vote (OR=7.39) than emigrants who are more than 200 kilometres away. Emigrants who live within 21-50 kilometres vote still three times more likely (OR=3.09), and emigrants who live within 51-200 kilometres are twice as likely to vote (OR=2.05) in comparison to those who live more than 200 kilometres away from a polling station. The costs of travelling to reach a traditional polling station are in fact associated with non-voting, and costs associated with distance do indeed seem to influence a person's likelihood of voting. Thus, this finding is very much in line with previous research (see e.g. Bhatti 2012; Dyck & Gimpel 2005; Gimpel & Schuknecht 2003; Haspel & Knotts 2005).

Other factors that have a statistically significant impact on turnout among Finnish emigrants are age (50-59 years OR=0.44; 70< years OR=5.19), political knowledge (OR=5.56) and the length of time lived abroad. Interestingly, emigrants who have lived less than five years abroad are least likely to vote in Finnish parliamentary elections: for instance, emigrants who have lived 6-10 years abroad are three times more likely to vote (OR=3.13) than emigrants who have lived less than five years abroad. After that, the probability to vote starts to decline gradually (11-15 years OR=2.72; 16-20 years OR=2.42; 20< years OR=2.51). However, if "time lived abroad 6-10 years" would be the reference category, the only statistically significant category would be "less than five years abroad" (OR=0.33). Thus, it seems that the large difference is between "less than five years" and other categories, while the differences are not statistically significant between the other categories of voters. As suggested in the previous sub-chapter, one explanation could be that perhaps emigrants do not consider missing the first elections serious enough to overcome the costs of voting, and this consideration changes after time. Another possibility could be that longing to homeland and interest to homeland politics does not necessarily begin right after emigration.

Moreover, gender, marital status, education level, active participation in organisational activities, or current country of residence do not have a significant effect on the probability to vote. However, this is not surprising, as Wass et al. (2015) have argued, the impact of age and education are in fact weaker among voters with a migration background.

These results seem to support also the findings of previous research. As Ciornei and Østergaard-Nielsen (2015) have suggested, external voting arrangements and facilitation instruments (such as registration and postal voting) modify the significance of predictors that are considered to have association with turnout of resident national citizens. The level of electoral competition and home country

political party mobilization are important predictors for emigrants' turnout, but the effect is mediated by how easy or complicated the external voting procedures are. Furthermore, Ciornei and Østergaard-Nielsen (2015) have pointed out that both geographical and political distance matter. Thus, the costs of voting seem to explain turnout among emigrants, not only among Finnish emigrants, but more generally.

As previously stated, the likelihood of voting in homeland elections seems to decline with time. This raises the question of what happens to the likelihood of voting in the country of residence, and which factors influence emigrant voting likelihood in the country of residence? As most of the countries do not grant voting rights to foreign residents, the first generation of migrants would be deprived of any opportunity for democratic participation unless they can vote in their country of origin (Bauböck 2003; 2005). This seems to be an issue also for Finnish emigrants, considering that all countries of residence under investigation in this study require citizenship for voting in their parliamentary elections. This also explains the result that voting in the elections of their country of residence seem to become more probable as the time lived abroad increases (20< years abroad OR=3.14; never lived in Finland OR=11.51), as shown in Table 6.5.

The probability to vote in the parliamentary elections in the country of residence is higher among those emigrants, who have higher education (polytechnic school or university OR=2.06), and who are very interested in the politics in the country of residence (OR=3.85). Instead, respondents who were very interested in politics in Finland were less likely to vote in the country of residence (OR=0.380). Furthermore, the current country of residence seems to be a rather significant factor influencing the likelihood of voting in that country. For example, respondents living in Canada are three times more likely to vote in their country of residence than respondents living in Sweden (OR=3.11), whereas respondents living in other European countries were less likely to vote in their residing country compared to respondents living in Sweden (Germany OR=0.35; Great Britain OR=0.31; Spain OR=0.16). This could be due to the fact that these countries have received Finnish emigrants at different times: Finns immigrated first to North America, later in the 1960s and 1970s to Sweden, and since 1980s, emigration from Finland has been more Europe-centred. Thus, it is probable that the respondents have lived for different lengths of time in their country of residence. Furthermore, these countries have received Finnish emigrants during different phases of globalisation and European integration, which could possibly have some influence on the integration processes as well.

Table 6.5 Finnish emigrants' probability to vote in country of residence elections

	Odds ratio	95 % confidence interval
Gender[a]		
Female	1.016	[0.712-1.450]
Age[b]		
30-39	1.573	[0.855-2.897]
40-49	1.383	[0.803-2.382]
50-59	1.238	[0.712-2.152]
60-69	1.053	[0.619-1.791]
70-	2.467	[0.744-8.186]
Marital status[c]		
Married, registered partnership or living as married	1.053	[0.639-1.735]
Divorced, separated or widowed	0.905	[0.464-1.768]
Highest level of education[d]		
Secondary education	1.539	[0.741-3.197]
Higher education	2.064*	[1.069-3.986]
Interested in politics in Finland[e]		
Very interested	0.380*	[0.169-0.857]
Fairly interested	0.643	[0.340-1.217]
Not very interested	0.748	[0.409-1.368]
Interested in politics in country of residence[f]		
Very interested	3.853**	[1.578-9.404]
Fairly interested	1.529	[0.661-3.538]
Not very interested	0.672	[0.279-1.617]
Active participation in an association or a group	1.334	[0.883-2.016]
Distance to the polling station (Finland's election)[g]		
Less than 20 km	1.193	[0.746-1.906]
21-50 km	1.250	[0.738-2.117]
51-200 km	1.002	[0.617-1.628]
Current country of residence[h]		
Germany	0.345***	[0.195-0.611]
Great Britain	0.313***	[0.168-0.581]
Spain	0.155***	[0.071-0.336]
Canada	3.114***	[1.718-5.643]
US	0.899	[0.507-1.597]
Time lived abroad[i]		
6-10 years	0.836	[0.326-2.146]
11-15 years	0.908	[0.363-2.273]
16-20 years	1.558	[0.629-3.861]
More than 20 years	3.136**	[1.464-6.718]
Never lived in Finland	11.513***	[4.859-27.280]

Dependent variable Voted/didn't vote in country of residence's parliamentary elections

[a] Reference category Male; [b] Reference category 18-29; [c] Reference category Single; [d] Reference category Basic education; [e] Reference category Not at all interested; [f] Reference category Not interested at all; [g] Reference category More than 200 km; [h] Reference category Sweden; [i] Reference category Less than 5 years

Logistic regression analysis, *** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$, Nagelkerke $R^2=0.409$

Source: Peltoniemi (2016a, 22).

6.5 Convenience voting methods

There are several options to diminish the costs of voting, especially the costs associated with distance. Convenience voting is understood to mean "any mode of balloting other than precinct-place voting" (Gronke et al. 2008, 438). Convenient voting methods aim to give potential voters and marginally motivated voters easier access to the ballot. These modes include early and absentee balloting, as well as balloting by phone, fax and mail. Recently electronic and internet balloting have been added to the convenient methods of voting. It has been proven that convenience voting has a small but statistically significant impact on turnout, in the range of two to four percent. Voting by mail has a statistically significant positive impact of 4.7 percent on turnout (US turnout data 1980–2004), but other convenience voting reforms have a lesser influence (Gronke et al. 2008, 438-443). However, previous research (Heath et al. 2011; Wass et al. 2015) has doubted whether the existing models of participation apply to minorities. It has been suggested that voters with migration background respond differently to established correlates of turnout. Nonetheless, convenience voting often represents fundamental changes in voting methods and both theoretical and practical questions arise when discussing these options, and these questions need to be addressed also from the transnational perspective.

There are, however, different opinions concerning the actual role of convenience and inconvenience voting. Typically, criticism towards convenience voting focuses on two things: whether or not introducing new method of voting would reduce the overall cost and the concern of potentially increased risks of fraud and coercion. Qvortrup (2005b, 415) has pointed out that "nowhere in the political science literature is there evidence to suggest that inconvenience is the chief course of non-voting". Instead, other factors such as socio-economic status and the closeness of the campaign would be more to the point when discussing turnout.

The rational voting model argues that the choice to vote is a simple cost-benefit calculation for voters. Nonvoting is caused largely by social-psychological factors such as low civic efficacy, lack of motivation and cynicism. Although the social-psychological factors may be the major hindrance, if the polling stations were more accessible, it would motivate some of the voters from marginal interest to vote when realising that there are no nettlesome obstacles in their way. By reducing the cost of voting, such as in distance, the benefits would not need to be increased in order to increase a person's likelihood of voting. Thus, the inconvenience caused by distance sets a significant theoretical challenge for participation and turnout. It is suggested

that even though decreasing the burden of travel costs would not necessarily promote large increases in turnout, this issue is still much easier to be resolved than the problems with motivation and civic efficacy, as institutions are more convenient and easy to change than attitudes (Bhatti 2012, 155; Dyck & Gimpel 2005, 533-534; Gimpel & Schuknecht 2003, 473).

Currently, several procedures exist for voting from abroad in different countries. The most common way is still personal voting, where the voter goes to a specific place (e.g. diplomatic mission) to cast a vote. Another widespread procedure is postal voting, where the voter completes the paper ballot and the vote is transmitted by ordinary post to the home country. Other ways of voting are by proxy (the voter may choose a proxy who casts the vote for the voter at a polling place) and electronic vote (the voter may use the internet, personal digital assistants, telephones or a mobile phone to cast the vote). Also voting by fax is allowed in Australia and New Zealand in certain circumstances for external voters (Braun & Gratschew 2007, 6-7).

Table 6.6 Voting methods used for external voting in EU28-countries

Only personal [a] Homeland [b] Abroad	Bulgaria[ab], Croatia[ab], Cyprus[ab], Czech Republic[ab], Denmark[ab], Finland[ab], Greece[a], Malta[a], Portugal[b], Romania[ab], Slovakia[a]
Only postal	Belgium, Ireland, Latvia, Luxembourg
Mixed (two or more methods in use) [a] Personal in homeland [b] Personal abroad [c] Proxy-voting [d] Postal voting [e] Internet voting	Austria[ad], Estonia[abde], France[abcd], Germany[ad], Italy[abd], Lithuania[bd], Netherlands[abcd], Poland[abcd], Slovenia[abd], Spain[bd], Sweden[abd], United Kingdom[acd]
No external voting/not yet implemented	Hungary

Source: Arrighi et al. (2013); Wass et al. (2017).

As shown in Table 6.6, in the European Union, the most common way to organise external voting is by using two or more different methods. Most commonly both personal and postal voting are in use, such as in Austria, Estonia, France, Germany, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom. In addition, in Croatia, France, Italy and Portugal, emigrants can elect their own representatives to the national parliament. These emigrant electoral

districts or overseas constituencies are aimed at reinforcing external voters' link with the national political community as well as offering the possibility of their own legislative agenda from an overseas viewpoint (Navarro, Morales & Gratschew 2007, 28).

In addition to postal voting as a convenience voting method for external voters, voting only by mail (VOBM) has been used for a rather long time. Postal voting was established during the 1990s in several states in the United States and Australia. Perhaps the most used example in VOBM elections is Oregon, where VOBM elections have been in effect since 1993. This has not only decreased the costs of the administration of elections, but it has also made voting easier, which has increased turnout (Karp & Banducci 2000, 223-226; Qvortrup 2005b, 416; Southwell 2010, 107). Southwell (2010, 107) has pointed out that a survey conducted in Oregon in 2003 indicated that nearly 80 percent of voters favoured voting by mail over voting in a polling place. Furthermore, it has been suggested that voting only by mail tends to mobilise those who do not vote because of inconvenience rather than convincing non-voters to vote (Karp & Banducci 2000, 235; Southwell 2010, 108).

Hamilton (1988, 861-862) and Magleby (1987, 88) have shown that postal voting has increased turnout at the municipal level in the United States. Furthermore, Kousser and Mullin (2007, 442-443) have argued that the impact of mail voting is conditional depending upon an election's importance. When participation levels are low and elections are, for one reason or another, "low-profile", the information and convenience of postal voting can produce boosts in turnout. However, in high-visibility elections these benefits have less value or may even reduce turnout. Regarding electorates abroad, it could be argued that the comparison to low-participation, low-profile elections (such as local elections) would be sensible though, because being away from the campaigns and daily discussions, all the elections held in another country (including elections that for residents seem to have high-visibility) seem to be less salient and "low-profile". Thus, for emigrant voters, the turnout could be expected to increase in accordance with adopting convenience voting methods, such as postal voting, even if this would not be the case among resident voters.

The problem of convenience voting is that all forms of easier voting are open to fraud and there is no practicable way of preventing it. The principal problem with postal voting is that no means can be devised to guard against serious and organised fraud (Birch & Watt 2004, 70; Mawrey 2010, 52-54). In fact, the most common concern among postal voting as well as other absentee voting methods is an increased risk of fraud and coercion. Postal voting is theoretically open to fraud,

because of the lack of identity-checking procedures included in the personal voting process. When no personal checking is needed and signatures can be forged, the possibility of fraud is obviously higher than in personal voting. The loss of confidentiality, together with the threat of fraud and coercion are, in fact, issues that must be taken seriously (Gronke et al. 2008, 449). As Norris et al. (2017, 8) have suggested, major problems in electoral integrity can undermine public confidence in electoral processes.

On the other hand, postal voting has proven to boost turnout in elections in Switzerland, and this has not generally declined once the novelty wears off (see e.g. Luechinger et al. 2007; Hodler et al. 2015). However, the experiences from the United States have shown the opposite: any boost in turnout following from the adoption of postal voting wears off over time (see e.g. Gronke & Miller 2012; Giammo & Brox 2010).

Additionally, there have not been many examples of fraud either (Qvortrup 2005b, 418). The problem of fraud seems to be generally overstated, as there is little evidence to suggest that abuse of postal voting is widespread. Southwell and Burchett (1997, 54) have argued that in the first vote-by-mail elections held in Oregon, 0.3 percent of voters felt pressured to vote a certain way, but only 0.1 percent indicated to have voted differently as a result of that pressure. Thus, it is possible that ballot secrecy might be compromised in postal voting, but the risks seem to be rather marginal (Qvortrup 2005a, 6-11). However, the risks of fraud in e-mail and internet voting are considered to be greater than in postal voting (Birch & Watt 2004, 70; Olsen & Nordhaug 2012, 36-38), and hence postal voting seems to be the most secure way of absentee voting for now. However, Puiggali and Morales-Rocha (2007, 24) have opposed this, and suggest the security requirements of internet voting are higher than those of postal voting.

Bearing this in mind, it is important to note that the lack of trust in the secrecy and security of voting among voters might interfere with turnout. When adopting convenience voting methods in order to increase voter turnout, there is a possibility that if voters do not trust the chosen method of voting, they might choose not to vote. The lack of trust for the confidentiality and security of for instance internet voting should not be underestimated. Thus, it is worthwhile pondering whether internet voting could be developed so that it would gain the electorate's trust, as only then could it truly have an impact on turnout. Furthermore, the use of several voting methods simultaneously (such as personal and postal) could minimise both the inconvenience and the possible doubts by letting the electorate individually choose the best method to vote.

6.6 Postal voting and emigrant turnout in Sweden and Italy

Postal voting has been in use in several countries mainly for absentee voting. For example, in the European Union, 16 countries provide external voters the possibility to vote by mail. The impact of postal voting is challenging to calculate due to the other unobserved, yet time specific events that affect the overall turnout. However, Luechinger, Rosinger and Stutzer (2007, 181-191) have examined the effects of postal voting on participation in Switzerland and suggest that the introduction of postal voting increased voter turnout in a sizeable and statistically significant way. The estimated average effect of postal voting on turnout was proven to be 4.1 percent. Additionally, Hodler et al. (2015, 143) have found that postal voting increases turnout on the average by 5 percentage points. Moreover, Hodler et al. (2015) have suggested that postal voting systematically alters the composition of the voting population. On the contrary, the evidence from the United States has shown that the turnout effect following the adoption of postal voting wears off after the first two or three electoral cycles (Gronke & Miller 2015; Giammo & Brox 2010). As most of the studies regarding postal voting concern resident voters, we still have a lack in the knowledge of how postal voting influences turnout among electorate abroad.

Next, we will explore two countries as case studies on how postal voting has influenced emigrant voting and turnout. The countries selected here are Sweden and Italy. We chose these countries due to several reasons. Italy is perhaps the most advantaged country when it comes to empowering emigrants: New possibilities to participate were offered to Italian emigrants in the early 2000s when the legislation governing the vote was radically transformed. After the parliamentary elections in 2001, a law of new voting rights for external voters was passed (*Norme per l'esercizio del diritto di voto dei cittadini italiani residenti al l'estero*). New legislation made overseas voting accessible to virtually all eligible voters through postal voting and created an overseas constituency and representation for Italian parliament (Mascitelli & Battiston 2009, 513). The new legislation was used for the first time in 2006 parliamentary elections and 18 emigrant representatives were elected in Italy's parliament. There are 12 deputies and 6 senators who represent emigrant Italians in the parliament, and Italians abroad have been divided into four constituencies: Europe, North and Central America, Latin America and Africa, Asia and Oceania. The amendments that have been made to the electoral rules engage Italian voters overseas in national and local politics, and this change has marked a turning point in Italian politics (Battiston & Mascitelli 2008, 277). Furthermore, Italian parties

actively work abroad, and emigrants have their own candidates to vote. Moreover, Italy has an exceptional system of registering emigrants. The Registry of Italians Resident Abroad (*Anagrafe Italiani Residenti All'Estero, A.I.R.E.*) was established in the late 1980s and it contains all the personal data of Italians resident abroad for a period longer than 12 months. It is administered by Italian municipalities on the basis of the data and information supplied by the foreign missions. A.I.R.E. enrolment is a citizen's right and a duty, and it provides access to a series of services for foreign missions, as well as the exercise of important rights. The enrolment involves the simultaneous cancellation from the Civil Registry (APR) of the municipality of residence in Italy (Farnesina Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della cooperazione Internazionale 2017). Thus, Italy provides an interesting case of introducing convenience voting in order to increase turnout among emigrants.

Sweden was chosen as the second country to this comparison, as Sweden is the neighbouring Nordic country to Finland and these two countries have traditionally very strong co-operation in different fields. Thus, Sweden is a very natural case of comparison for Finland. Traditionally turnout in Swedish parliamentary elections has been remarkably high; the average turnout in parliamentary elections in 1973-2010 was 86.9 %. However, as in Finland, turnout among emigrants has been lower. Postal voting was introduced to Swedish emigrants in 2002, and in the same year it was possible to use it for the first time in parliamentary elections. Comparing the emigrant turnout and overall turnout in 1998 (no postal voting) and 2002 (postal voting in use), it can be seen that the number of emigrant voters increased after postal voting was introduced from 26.8 percent to 27.0 percent while the overall turnout decreased from 81.4 % to 80.1 % as seen in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7 Turnout in Swedish parliamentary elections 1998-2014

	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014
Eligible voters in Sweden	6,525,167	6,722,200	6,766,700	6,976,200	7,169,200
Eligible voters abroad	77,962	102,900	125,300	147,400	161,300
Overall eligible voters	6,603,129	6,619,300	6,892,000	7,123,700	7,330,400
Votes cast in Sweden	5,352,675	5,385,400	5,614,600	5,983,300	6,237,800
Votes cast abroad	20,900	27,800	35,900	45,300	52,200
Overall votes cast	5,373,575	5,357,600	5,650,400	6,028,700	6,290,000
Turnout in Sweden	82.0 %	80.9 %	83.0 %	85.8 %	87.0%
Turnout abroad	26.8 %	27.0 %	28.6 %	30.8 %	32.4 %
Overall turnout	81.4 %	80.1 %	82.0 %	84.6 %	85.8 %

Source: Statistics Sweden (2018).

Since the overall turnout also includes external votes and the increase of absentee turnout, it is more interesting to compare the turnout among Swedes in Sweden and Swedish emigrants. In the parliamentary election of 2002 emigrant Swedes voted more actively than in 1998, while Swedes living in Sweden voted more passively. As a result, the difference in turnout between Swedes living in Sweden and Swedish emigrants diminished by two percentage points, but the difference increased again in 2006 and 2010. This can be explained by the fact that after 1998 the number of Swedish emigrants with the right to vote more than doubled from 77,962 (in 1998) to 161,300 (in 2014), and accordingly the number of emigrant votes cast increased 2,5-fold from 20,900 to 52,200. Thus, even if the increase in the emigrant turnout is rather moderate, it still exists, and this could be seen as an impact of introducing postal voting.

Lafleur (2011, 483-495) has suggested that migrants need to act as organised groups to push homeland authorities to adopt policies, such as emigrant voting. Emigrants have to actively request and lobby for such legislation, or else it is unlikely to ever materialise. In Italy the emigrant associations were strong and well organised even before the end of mass emigration in the 1970s, but their most notable influence on the adoption of external voting appeared in the 1990s when they

successfully convinced political parties to accept the idea of creating a foreign constituency. In Italy, the supporters of external voting argued that such legislation would strengthen emigrant links with the country of origin and help open markets abroad.

Table 6.8 Turnout in Italian parliamentary elections 2001–2013

	2001	2006	2008	2013
Eligible voters in Italy (incl. Valle D'Aosta)	46,983,250	44,390,799	44,218,259	43,410,467
Eligible voters abroad	2,273,045	2,707,382	2,924,178	3,494,687
Overall eligible voters	49,256,295	47,098,181	47,142,437	46,905,154
Votes cast in Italy (incl. Valle D'Aosta)	39,985,383	38,328,566	36,798,842	34,166,937
Votes cast abroad	100,014	1,053,864	1,155,411	1,103,989
Overall votes cast	40,085,397	39,382,430	37,954,253	35,270,926
Turnout in Italy (incl. Valle D'Aosta)	85.1 %	86.3 %	83.2 %	78.7 %
Turnout abroad	4.4 %	38.9 %	39.5 %	31.6 %
Overall turnout	81.4 %	83.6 %	80.5 %	75.2 %

Source: Italian Ministry of Interior (2014); Battiston and Mascitelli (2008, 262).

As shown in Table 6.8, turnout among emigrant Italians increased significantly after adopting convenience voting methods for Italians abroad. When only 4.4 % of emigrant Italians voted in 2001, in 2006 the turnout was 38.9 %. The number of emigrant votes cast increased more than tenfold, from 100 000 to more than 1.1 million. It is evident that the increase of turnout among emigrant Italians did not decline once the novelty wore off, but convenience voting, in fact, boosted voting turnout and an increase of 25-30 percentage points seems to be rather stable. The change has been significant; the turnout in Italy increased 1.2 percentage points from 2001 to 2006 and has decreased from 2006 to 2013. The increase in emigrant turnout can only be explained by the adoption of convenience voting methods.

The examples of Sweden and Italy show the impact that both postal voting and overseas constituencies have on the emigrant turnout. Postal voting was first used in the Swedish parliamentary elections of 2002 and in Italy a new legislation including both postal voting and overseas constituencies was first used in the parliamentary elections of 2006. In Sweden the emigrant turnout increased during the years 1998 and 2014 from 26.8 % to 32.4 %. The size of the emigrant electorate more than

doubled, and accordingly the number of emigrant votes cast increased 2,5-fold. In Italy the impact was even greater: in 2001 only 4 % of emigrant Italians voted; in 2006 the turnout was 39 % and the number of emigrant votes cast increased from 100 000 to more than 1.1 million. The change has been significant in both of the countries and it can only be explained by the adoption of convenience voting methods.

Adoption of convenience voting techniques such as postal voting and overseas constituencies have had a noteworthy impact on higher turnout in Sweden and Italy. Adoption of internet voting or other convenience method could therefore be expected to increase overseas turnout in Finnish elections. However, the case of Italian emigrants cannot be straightforwardly compared to Finnish emigrants, as the starting point was rather different. Even if Italian emigrants had the right to vote before 2006, to exercise the right to vote emigrant Italians were expected to travel to the particular electoral district in Italy, which lessened the level of possibilities and motivation to participate. In Finland, emigrants are allowed to vote in Finland's missions abroad and thus the possibilities to vote are, in fact, better than the possibilities for Italians abroad were before the change of the electoral law. Thus, adopting postal voting or other convenience voting methods in Finland should not be expected to show as great an increase in turnout as was seen in Italy. Rather, the increase could be expected to be more modest, and a comparison to Sweden would be more accurate. Nonetheless, it is important to notice the empowering effect of convenience voting on Italians abroad, and as a result it can be proven that convenience voting does, in fact, significantly improve the turnout among emigrants.

6.7 Convenience voting methods and Finnish emigrants

Non-voting in Finland has previously been rather profoundly studied (see e.g. Martikainen, Martikainen & Wass 2005; Wass 2008; Söderlund, Wass & Blais 2011; Wass & Borg 2012). Lack of interest and a general apathy have been the distinctive features of the Finnish non-voting youth, whereas lack of trust and different explanations related to protesting have been more common reasons of non-voting in older age cohorts. In general, apathy, lack of interest and detachment seem to be the overriding reasons for non-voting in Finland. However, none of the reasons has been overriding for non-voting, thus indicating the diversity of the reasons of non-voting (Borg 2009, 166-168). Next, we will see how the reasons of non-voting differ between the electorate in Finland and electorate abroad.

Unfortunately, a comprehensive comparison between the electorate in Finland and electorate abroad cannot be done with the data available. In the emigrant data, the reasons for non-voting were measured with a different question than in the Finnish National Election Study. Emigrants were asked to choose the three most important reasons of non-voting and to place them in order of importance, whereas in the National Election Study, the respondents were asked to mark each reason whether or not it had affected their non-voting decision on the scale "was important reason – affected somewhat – did not affect – can't choose". Furthermore, these two studies were done three years apart, National Election Study in 2011 and survey on emigrants in 2014. However, Table 6.9 offers an overview of the reasons of non-voting and the differences in these reasons among Finns living in Finland and abroad.

Table 6.9 Non-voting reasons in Finland and among emigrants

	Emigrants 2014[13]		Finland 2011[14]	
	%	n	%	n
Voting was difficult, because the polling station is too far away	40.0	287	-	-
In my opinion, I did not know enough about the current political situation in Finland	21.6	155	-	-
The time of the election was not convenient for me because of work or a trip	8.1	58	8.6	27
I didn't think voting would benefit me	7.7	55	12.4	39
I'm not interested in Finland's elections	3.6	26	-	-
I'm not interested in politics and am indifferent to voting	3.5	25	10.5	33
I just couldn't be bothered to vote	3.5	25	12.4	39
I didn't know the election was held	2.8	20	-	-
I didn't remember to vote	2.4	17	1.6	5
It was difficult to find a suitable candidate	2.1	15	8.9	28
I have no confidence in politics and politicians	1.7	12	13.1	41
It was difficult to find a suitable party	1.5	11	5.4	17
In my opinion, one vote doesn't affect the results of the elections	0.8	6	9.9	31
I couldn't vote because of sickness or old age	0.7	5	4.8	15
I wanted to protest against politics and politicians	0.0	0	8.3	26
Campaign finance scandal of 2007	-	-	4.1	13
TOTAL	100	717	100	314

Source: FSD2653 Finnish National Election Study (2011); Peltoniemi (2015, 218).

It seems that emigrants' reasons for non-voting differ rather substantially from those of the homeland electorate. As shown in Table 6.9, distance to the closest polling station (40.0 % of respondents) together with the perceived lack of knowledge of Finnish politics (21.6 %) were the two most important reasons of non-voting for emigrants, whereas reasons related to motivation and political apathy are

[13] Respondents were asked to choose the three most important reasons of non-voting and to place them in order of importance. Only the most important reason is included to Table 6.9.

[14] Respondents were asked to mark each reason whether or not it had affected their non-voting decision on the scale "was important reason – affected somewhat – did not affect – can't choose". Only the "was important reason" is included to Table 6.9.

not as significant for emigrants as they are for the homeland electorate. For homeland electorate, the most important reasons for non-voting are: Lack of confidence in politics and politicians (13.1 percent of respondents), not being bothered to vote (12.4 %), considering voting as non-beneficial to self (12.4 %), and lack of interest in politics and voting (10.5 %).

The average turnout among emigrants was during 1995–2015 in parliamentary elections only 8.4 percent, and 90 percent of the electorate abroad chose not to vote. In comparison, approximately one third of homeland electorate chose not to vote. Thus, if the two main reasons, distance and lack of knowledge, were to be either solved or ignored, presumably the most significant reasons for non-voting would actually be rather similar to those of homeland electorate. Therefore, we assume that the low turnout among emigrants is primarily due to practical obstacles and only subsidiarily due to motivational hindrances.

As shown in Table 6.10, different facilitation instruments are considered convenient in different emigrant groups. The likelihood to choose internet voting but not postal voting as the preferred facilitation instrument is statistically significant in age cohorts 40-49 and 50-59. Emigrants residing in Germany are five times more likely to choose postal voting than emigrants living in Sweden (OR=5.67), but otherwise current country of residence does not seem to influence the probability of preferring certain facilitation instrument. Long stays abroad seem to increase the likelihood of preferring postal voting, and to diminish the likelihood of preferring internet voting. Emigrants who consider costs of voting (distance to the polling station; not being able to vote due to work or a trip; not being able to vote due to old age or sickness) as the main reason of non-voting, are more probable to prefer internet voting (OR=1.85). For emigrants who considered their level of political knowledge insufficient for voting (did not know enough about the current political situation in Finland; didn't know the election was held; it was difficult to find a suitable party or candidate), additional information was the preferred facilitation instrument (OR=2.21). Lack of motivation, however, was not statistically significant in preferring any of the facilitation instruments.

Table 6.10 Probability to choose a facilitation instrument as the most important mean to increase emigrant turnout

	Internet voting	Postal voting	Additional information
Age[a]			
30-39	1.448	0.432	0.814
40-49	2.347***	0.454*	0.710
50-59	2.245**	0.311**	1.113
60-69	1.442	0.881	0.590
70-	0.978	0.346	1.090
Interested in politics in Finland[b]			
Very interested	1.743	1.451	0.351*
Fairly interested	0.937	2.159	0.748
Not very interested	0.762	1.468	1.210
Current country of residence[c]			
Germany	0.632	5.672***	0.716
Great Britain	1.516	0.894	0.717
Spain	1.347	1.843	0.659
Canada	1.704	1.573	0.917
US	1.394	1.736	0.983
Time lived abroad[d]			
6-10 years	0.616	4.692	1.144
11-15 years	0.772	4.190	0.779
16-20 years	0.397**	6.929*	2.085
More than 20 years	0.355***	5.625*	1.545
Never lived in Finland	0.352**	4.155	1.676
Voted in Finnish parliamentary elections during the time lived abroad	1.152	1.942*	0.786
Most important reason of non-voting: Costs	1.850**	1.589	0.222***
Most important reason of non-voting: Political knowledge	0.536*	0.631	2.211**
Most important reason of non-voting: Motivation	1.246	0.576	0.928
Nagelkerke R^2	0.207	0.227	0.223

[a] Reference category 18-29; [b] Reference category Not interested at all; [c] Reference category Sweden; [d] Reference category Less than 5 years

Logistic regression analysis, *** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, *p<0.05

Source: Peltoniemi (2015, 219).

The development of information technology has traditionally been considered to increase the possibilities of being informed abroad and furthermore, to increase the basic level of political knowledge among emigrants. The generally accepted idea is that in the era of telecommunications technology, information knows no geographical boundaries. As a result, the access to first-hand information about politics in the country of origin has become less costly and time consuming. Therefore, emigrants are considered likely to have acquired the relevant information and thus, to be as well informed than average citizens residing in the country of origin (see e.g. Bauböck 2003, 714). However, Mykkänen and Borg (2013, 158-160) have pointed out that multimedia channels are significant only for young voters, for the age cohort of under 35. For voters in other age cohorts, news reports and magazine programmes as well as newspapers and televised debates are the most important source of political information. Therefore, the webpages of the parties and candidates as well as different voting aid applications have still a rather marginalised status, and internet cannot be considered yet as the most significant source of political information and knowledge even among the homeland electorate. Thus, the status of internet is still somewhat overemphasised, and regarding to this, the here expressed need for additional information among emigrants can be well understood.

However, would adopting convenience voting methods such as postal voting or internet voting influence the voting decision? This was asked from the respondents, who had not voted even once in Finnish elections during the past ten years or during the time they had resided abroad. As shown in Table 6.11, 77 percent of respondents considered that they would definitely or probably vote if internet voting was possible. Emigrants' interest for postal voting was not as high, but nearly half (47.8 %) of the respondents considered to vote definitely or probably if postal voting was possible. Only 8.6 percent of respondents would not vote regardless of possibility to vote via internet, and 16 percent of respondents would not vote even if postal voting was possible.

Table 6.11 How probable it is that you would vote in Finland's elections if you had the possibility to vote using postal voting or internet voting? (n=630) (%)

	Definitely	Probably	Probably not	I would not vote	Can't choose	Total
I would vote by mail	12.6	35.2	30.2	16.0	6.1	100
I would vote via internet	38.9	38.1	10.2	8.6	4.3	100

Source: Peltoniemi (2015, 220).

As previously presented case studies of Sweden and Italy show, increase in emigrant turnout can be largely explained with adoption of convenience voting methods, such as adopting postal voting. The case of emigrant Italians cannot straightforwardly be compared to Finnish emigrants, as the starting point was rather different: Finnish emigrants have nowadays better possibilities to vote than what Italian emigrants had before 2006 and the change of election legislation. Therefore, we cannot presume that the increase in emigrant turnout would be in Finland as drastic as it was in Italy, but more moderate, as in Sweden.

However, previous research (Heath et al. 2011; Wass et al. 2015) has doubted whether the existing models of participation apply to minorities. Furthermore, it has been suggested that voting only by mail tends to mobilise those who do not vote because of inconvenience rather than convincing non-voters to vote. Thus, because voter facilitation is often introduced to raise turnout among all potential voters, it typically does not lead to more equal participation (see e.g. Karp & Banducci 2000, 235; Southwell 2010, 108). In fact, Wass et al. (2017) have suggested that with the exception of proxy voting, voter facilitation instruments have insignificant main effects, and that voter facilitation intensifies differences by activating those who are more active to begin with.

Nonetheless, 35-38 percent of non-voters claim that they probably would vote, if the method of voting was more convenient, for instance, if postal or internet voting was possible. This number is actually very close to the actual turnout percentage in both Italy and in Sweden. During the time that postal voting has been possible for Swedish emigrants, the average turnout in parliamentary elections has been 30 percent (in the most recent parliamentary elections 32.4 %), and in Italy the average in parliamentary elections after 2006 has been 36.7 percent (in 2013, 31.6 %). Therefore, we suggest that if Finland was to adopt a convenience voting method for emigrant voters, turnout among Finnish emigrants would likely increase to the equivalent level with Sweden and Italy.

7 PARTY IDENTIFICATION AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

7.1 Introduction to party identification and political representation

Party identification is a key concept in the study of mass political behaviour in democratic countries. *The American Voter* (Campbell et al. 1960) portrays party identification as a form of a group identification that arises mainly from familial socialisation. From this perspective, party identification is understood to be quite stable through the life course, and it is considered to be only weakly affected by other political variables, such as political ideology and vote choice. In contrast, from the viewpoint of rational choice theory, party identification is suggested to be for the most part the result of a personal calculation designed to maximise the benefits and minimise costs. Thus, party identification has a modest level of heritability, but both shared and non-shared environmental factors have substantial effects on it (Downs 1957; Bell & Kandler 2015, 136-137; Katz 1979, 147).

Partisanship has a powerful influence on people's perceptions on politics, and one's identification with a political party strongly steers candidate choice during elections. Voters do not approach elections with completely open minds. As Schwennicke (2017, 149) has pointed out, voting behaviour is determined by social identity, which becomes more salient when certain political events heighten the individual's attachment to a group. Moreover, policy preferences are merely a byproduct of partisanship, developed by the most-informed voters as a post hoc justification for their party identification. Previous research (see e.g. Wolak 2009, 573-574) has suggested that when information levels are low, people use their partisanship as "a decision heuristic to fill in the blanks". Thus, party identification is central to understanding how citizens interpret public affairs and make political decisions (Lewis-Beck et al. 2008).

In previous research, the concept of representation as based on the relationship between the represented and the representative is widely used, and democratic decision-making is traditionally understood through representativeness. Representation is conceived as a principal–agent relationship in which the principals

(constituencies formed on a territorial basis) elect agents to stand for and act on their interests and opinions. Elected agents are seen as representing the people inhabiting the same region. Ever since the formation of the modern state, territorial residence has been the fundamental condition for political representation. Historically, residence-based representation was more inclusive than status- or corporate-based representation. As a result, territory has had an important historical relationship to political equality. However, the situation is different from the time when territorial representation sufficiently captured voters' most significant interests, and problems have arisen, when the representational system has not changed correspondingly (Mansbridge 2003; Urbinati & Warren 2008; Wass & Bengtsson 2009).

Exploring Finnish emigrants' representation is important not only in order to develop practical decision-making, but also for the sake of theoretical discussion of political representation of emigrants. In the times of ever-increasing mobility of people, the re-evaluation of the means of emigrant political representation seems necessary. In Finland as well as other countries, growing tolerance towards multiple citizenship has led to the emergence of new questions in the field of political representation. Finding suitable representation – namely, a suitable candidate or party – seems to be difficult for Finnish emigrants. Nearly every sixth respondent (15 %) considered that the difficulty of finding a suitable candidate influenced on their decision not to vote in Finnish parliamentary elections. Furthermore, eight percent of the respondents considered that the difficulty of finding a suitable party influenced their decision not to vote. The difficulty of choosing a candidate or a party influences the decision not to vote among citizens residing in Finland as well, but this difficulty seems less significant in Finland than overseas. Fewer than one in ten citizen (9 %) residing in Finland considered the difficulty of finding a suitable candidate an important reason for choosing not to vote, and the difficulty of finding a suitable party was an important reason for choosing not to vote for only five percent of Finns residing in Finland (Borg & Grönlund 2011; Peltoniemi 2014).

Even if traditional regional representation has several problems regarding territorial representation, political representation is still closely linked to state power. Thus, the questions of territorially based political representation (such as overseas constituencies and emigrant political representation) are increasingly relevant.

In this chapter, we will first explore how Finnish emigrants identify themselves with Finnish parties and see how support for political parties among emigrants differ from those living in Finland. After that, we study which factors influence emigrants' political identification. We are interested to see if country of residence and the political atmosphere in country of residence influence party support among

emigrants. Finally, we consider the possibilities of emigrant representation from the viewpoints of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary representation, and we will present a new framework to organise emigrants' political representation, and analyse different means by which emigrant political representation could be organised.

7.2 Party support in Finland and abroad

Party support is often an intriguing topic, whether it is discussed in media, in political studies or among citizens. Party support among emigrants is an especially interesting matter, as it is not previously studied very widely and emigrants tend to have a very low level of turnout in elections, and thus, there is not very much we know about it. The lack of knowledge has led to interesting debates in many countries. For example, in Italy, the lack of knowledge has even ended up changing policies. A stereotypical image of Italian emigrants overseas was, in part, built on the image of the Italian-American immigrants who were perceived to be politically conservative. This image made conservative right wing parties somewhat more avid supporters in comparison to left wing parties to improve voting from abroad. In fact, more than any other party, the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (renamed National Alliance in 1995) was the most committed of the political parties requesting policy change in this area of legislation, and MSI politician Mirko Tremaglia took the issue to heart. However, as the parliament and senate elections of 2006 showed, Italians abroad preferred the left wing parties, and out of the 12 overseas deputies in the parliament, the centre-left coalition L'Unione gained 7 seats and the centre-right coalition Cosa delle Libertà gained 4 seats (others got 1 seat); in the senate L'Unione got 4 seats, whereas Cosa delle Libertà got 1 seat (others 1 seat). Thus, the expectation of emigrant Italian voters party identification showed to be very different from the actual reality (Battiston & Mascitelli 2008, 263-267).

As in Italy, also in Finland the knowledge of emigrant voters' party preferences is quasi non-existent. In this chapter, we will first observe how the party identification differs between the homeland electorate and the electorate abroad. As shown in Table 7.1, party identification and support for political parties seem to differ rather drastically among emigrants and citizens in Finland. Traditionally, there are three main parties in Finland: The National Coalition Party (right wing), the Social Democratic Party (left wing) and the Centre Party (centre). In the parliamentary elections of 2011, Finns Party challenged the three large parties, but after 2015, the support has again weakened. Among emigrants, the three parties with

largest support seem to be National Coalition Party, Green League and Social Democratic Party. Whereas Social Democratic Party and Christian Democrats seem to be the only two parties with the relatively same support both in Finland and abroad, National Coalition Party, Green League and Swedish People's Party seem to have much higher support abroad than in Finland. Moreover, Centre Party, Left Alliance and Finns Party seem to have much lower support abroad than in Finland.

Table 7.1 Support for political parties in Finland and among emigrants (%)

	Parl. El. 2011	Emigrants 2014	Finland 2014	Parl. El. 2015	Munic.El. 2017
National Coalition Party	20.4	34.4	19.0	18.2	20.7
Social Democratic Party	19.1	17.8	15.5	16.5	19.4
Finns Party	19.1	4.9	15.3	17.7	8.8
Centre Party	15.8	6.5	25.2	21.1	17.5
Left Alliance	8.1	2.5	8.4	7.1	8.8
Green League	7.3	21.2	8.4	8.5	12.5
Swedish People's Party	4.3	8.9	4.1	4.9	4.9
Christian Democrats	4.0	2.7	3.0	3.5	4.1
Other	2.0	1.0	1.1	2.5	3.3

Note: Party support in Finland 2014 is the average of party support estimates from September, October and November 2014 (Opinion polls by Taloustutkimus Oy/Yle News 2017), which was the time the emigrant data was collected.
Source: Peltoniemi (2018c).

In order to tackle the question of party identification and country of residence's political atmosphere, we have done a cross-tabulation of country of residence and of party identification in order to better observe the correlation among countries of residence and parties. We have included only European countries of residence to the Table 7.3 presenting party support in the country of residence. This decision was made due to two separate facts. Firstly, the data used in this study was collected during autumn 2014, only 3-5 months after the European parliament elections of 2014. This made the European parliament elections a rather obvious point of comparison instead of, for instance, parliamentary elections in each country.

Secondly, from the perspective of comparability, comparing parties from each country from the framework of European Parliament's party structure seemed most sensible. Whereas Sweden has a very similar party structure to Finland, and the parliamentary elections of Sweden were held during the very same time the data was

collected, other countries differ very much both from Finland and from each other both from the perspective of party structure and the time of parliamentary elections. For instance, Great Britain and Spain in practise (until around 2015) have a two-party system, but Germany and Sweden have multi-party system. Parliamentary elections were held in Great Britain in 2010 and in 2015, in Spain in 2011, 2015 (and in 2016), in Germany in 2013 and in Sweden in 2014. Thus, the parties in each parliamentary election do not appear truly comparable, but instead, many problems would arise from comparing these parties and their support to emigrants' support for Finnish parties. As each party running in EP-elections stands for a transnational umbrella parties of European Parliament, the comparison between for instance Social Democratic parties' support (parties in the S&D group) is more coherent than trying to ideologically force different parties in different countries' divergent political atmospheres under the same label for the sake of comparison. However, this unfortunately meant, that the United States and Canada were left out from this part of the analysis.

Table 7.2 Emigrants' party identification and country of residence (%)

	Sweden	Germany	Great Britain	Spain	Canada	US
National Coalition Party	21.3	28.7	31.9	50.9	28.4	41.9
Social Democratic Party	22.7	24.7	16.0	17.0	14.9	10.5
Finns Party	6.7	2.0	2.5	8.5	6.0	6.7
Centre Party	1.3	6.0	10.9	0.9	11.9	8.6
Left Alliance	5.3	2.0	2.5	1.9	3.0	1.0
Green League	20.0	27.3	26.9	10.4	19.4	18.1
Swedish People's Party	20.0	6.0	7.6	8.5	6.0	9.5
Christian Democrats	2.7	2.7	0.8	0.9	9.0	2.9
Other	0.0	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.5	1.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Peltoniemi (2018c).

Finnish parties are presented in European Parliament as follows: National Coalition Party and Christian Democrats in European People's Part (EPP); Social Democratic Party in Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats (S&D); Centre Party and Swedish People's Party in Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe (ALDE); Green League in The Greens-European Free Alliance (GREENS/EFA);

Finns Party in European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR); and, Left Alliance in European United Left-Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL).

Table 7.3 Party identification in EP-elections 2014 in European countries of residence, % (seats)

	EPP	S&D	ALDE	GREENS /EFA	ECR	GUE/ NGL	EFDD	Other parties
Sweden	19.6 (4)	29.7 (6)	16.4 (3)	15.4 (4)	0 (0)	6.3 (1)	9.7 (2)	3.0 (0)
Germany	35.3 (34)	27.3 (27)	4.9 (4)	12.7 (13)	7.8 (8)	8.6 (8)	0 (0)	3.4 (2)
Great Britain	0 (0)	24.7 (20)	6.7 (1)	10.8 (6)	23.7 (20)	0.7 (1)	26.8 (24)	6.7 (1)
Spain	26.1 (17)	23.0 (14)	15.1 (8)	5.9 (4)	0 (0)	20.1 (11)	0 (0)	9.79 (0)

Source: European Parliament (2017); Peltoniemi (2018c). See Appendix Table 2 for parties and alliances in EP-elections 2014 in each of these countries.

Ciornei and Østergaard-Nielsen (2015) have suggested that emigrants who reside in another EU country are more likely to vote in home country elections than their co-nationals outside the EU. Thus, the intra-EU mobility does not only contribute to the political socialisation of European migrants in the politics of their country of residence, but it also brings closer the politics back home. In this study, the country of residence was not statistically significant in emigrants' turnout in Finnish elections ($p>0.05$). However, as shown in Table 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4, country of residence seems to relate with party identification. Current country of residence seems to be a significant factor in party identification. Emigrants in Spain support more likely National Coalition Party than centre-left parties (SDP OR=0.31; LEFT OR=0.15; SWE OR=0.15; GREENS OR=0.21). Supporters of Social Democratic Party and Swedish People's Party live less likely in the United States (SDP OR=0.25; SWE OR=0.21) in comparison to National Coalition Party supporters. Furthermore, the supporters of Swedish People's party are less likely to live in Germany (OR=0.22), Great Britain (OR=0.25) or in Canada (OR=0.23) than National Coalition Party supporters.

It seems that political atmosphere in the country of residence does correlate with Finnish emigrants' party support. This seems to be especially prevalent in Sweden, as the biggest party in EP-elections was S&D, second biggest EPP, third biggest ALDE and fourth biggest GREENS/EFA. Among the Finnish emigrants in Sweden the popularity of Finnish parties follows the same order: S&D (Social Democratic Party), EPP (National Coalition Party), ALDE (Swedish People's Party) and

GREENS/EFA (Green League). Thus, among the emigrants in Sweden, the party support seems to correlate very well with the party support in Sweden.

In Germany, the top three parties were the same both among emigrants and in the EP-elections. EPP was the biggest party both in EP-elections in Germany as among Finnish emigrants in Germany, followed by S&D and GREENS/EFA. However, the order between S&D and GREENS/EFA was different; in the EP-elections S&D was bigger, whereas among Finnish emigrants, GREENS/EFA was more popular. Nonetheless, also in Germany the party support seemed very much in line among Finnish emigrants and German voters in EP-elections.

In Spain, the most popular party among Finnish emigrants is decidedly National Coalition Party. In fact, more than 50 percent of emigrants residing in Spain seem to support National Coalition Party, which means that the support of National Coalition Party is among emigrants in Spain nearly three times higher than in Finland. This is probably due to many facts: The only overseas party branches any Finnish party have are those of National Coalition Party in Spain. However, also in Spain, the two largest parties among both Finnish emigrants and Spanish voters in EP-elections were EPP, followed by S&D. The third biggest party was, however, different: Among Finnish emigrants GREENS/EFA was the third most popular, whereas in EP-elections the third biggest party in Spain was GUE/NGL.

In fact, it seems that only in Great Britain, the electoral results in EP-elections did not seem to have much in common with the party support among Finnish emigrants. While Finnish emigrants supported most EPP, second most GREENS/EFA, third most S&D and fourth most ALDE (Centre Party), in the EP-elections of 2014 British voted most EFDD, second most S&D, third most ECR and fourth most GREENS/EFA. While this could prove our assumption of Finnish party identification being influenced by the political atmosphere of country of residence wrong, or at least faulty, we do have to point out the extraordinary circumstances of Great Britain in 2014 and accept that they may have influenced both groups, Finnish emigrants and even more so, British themselves. As Prime Minister David Cameron had promised a referendum of whether Great Britain should be leaving European Union in 2013, Great Britain was getting ready to vote in said referendum in 2015. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the EP-elections of 2014 showed a growing support for Eurosceptic parties, such as UKIP (EFDD).

As shown in Table 7.4, other statistically significant factors to influence emigrants' party identification suggest that women seem to support more likely Green League in comparison to National Coalition Party (OR=2.16). Furthermore, the supporters of Finns Party are likely to have lower level of education (OR=3.84)

than National Coalition Party supporters. Another interesting finding was, that marital status was a significant factor for supporting several parties. Whereas supporters of Centre Party were more likely to be married (OR=6.18) than National Coalition Party supporters, the supporters of Left Alliance and Green League were less likely to be divorced than National Coalition Party supporters (LEFT OR=0.24; GREENS OR=0.47). This, however, could be also due to the fact that the supporters of Left Alliance and Green League tend to be somewhat younger than the supporters of other parties.

In general, we can see that the support for Finnish parties among Finnish emigrants does correlate with the party support in their country of residence. Thus, we may assume that the political atmosphere in the country of residence also influences the party identification of Finnish emigrants in Finland's politics. This raises further questions, for instance: How strong this correlation is? And furthermore, should this correlation be taken into consideration when discussing the normative questions of emigrants' electoral rights? This study cannot offer answers to these questions, but it should be noted that the topic of emigrants' electoral rights, political identification and country of residence's political atmosphere is very much in need of future research, both from the theoretical perspective, but also on the practical policy-making level.

Table 7.4 Finnish emigrants' probability of supporting another party over supporting National Coalition Party (COA) (reference category)

Gender (*ref. male*)	Female	SDP	1.360
		TF	0.479
		CENT	2.296
		LEFT	1.086
		SWE	1.064
		GREENS	2.163**
		CD	1.642
Marital status (*ref. single*)	Married, registered partnership or living as married	SDP	1.492
		TF	5.500
		CENT	6.177*
		LEFT	0.262
		SWE	2.306
		GREENS	0.674
		CD	2.167
	Divorced, separated or widowed	SDP	0.743
		TF	2.491
		CENT	1.595
		LEFT	0.241*
		SWE	1.419
		GREENS	0.473*
		CD	1.347
Highest level of education (*ref. higher education*)	Basic or secondary education	SDP	1.648
		TF	3.843**
		CENT	1.295
		LEFT	0.608
		SWE	0.444
		GREENS	0.628
		CD	1.533
Current country of residence (*ref. Sweden*)	Germany	SDP	0.856
		TF	0.667
		CENT	3.626
		LEFT	0.278
		SWE	0.222**
		GREENS	0.940

	CD	0.763
Great Britain	SDP	0.524
	TF	0.969
	CENT	5.681
	LEFT	0.281
	SWE	0.253*
	GREENS	0.735
	CD	0.218
Spain	SDP	0.308**
	TF	0.990
	CENT	0.251
	LEFT	0.151*
	SWE	0.147***
	GREENS	0.206**
	CD	2.665
Canada	SDP	0.548
	TF	1.416
	CENT	7.811
	LEFT	0.416
	SWE	0.232*
	GREENS	0.701
	CD	2.665
US	SDP	0.254**
	TF	1.571
	CENT	3.884
	LEFT	0.089
	SWE	0.209**
	GREENS	0.443
	CD	0.609

Abbreviatons:
SDP Social Democratic Party of Finland; TF Finns Party (True Finns); CENT Centre Party; LEFT Left Alliance; SWE Swedish People's Party of Finland; GREENS Green League; CD Christian Democrats of Finland.
Multinomial logistic regression, ***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05, Nagelkerke R^2=0.226
Source: Peltoniemi (2018c).

7.3 Emigrant representation and overseas constituency

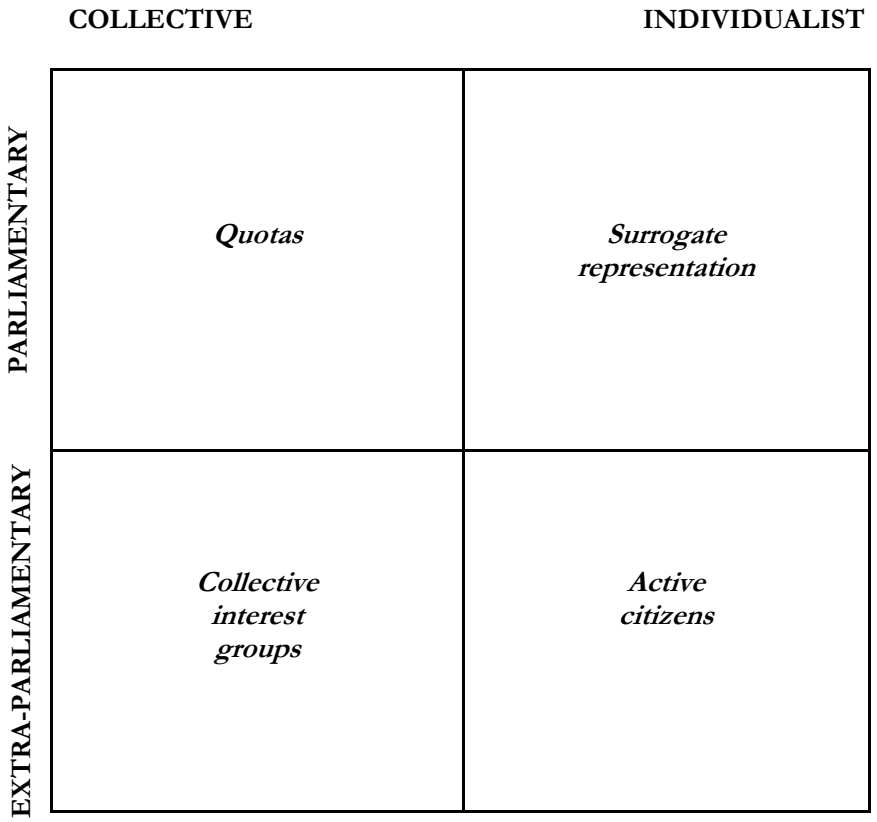
Representation, at least as a political idea and practice, did not emerge until the early modern period. Elections are only one of the links connecting the representative and the represented, and it should not be taken for granted that they are the most critical, the most important or the most effective means to ensure a constituency's influence

or control over public policies and the conduct of representatives (Eulau & Karps 1977, 235; Pitkin 2004, 337). As Urbinati and Warren have argued (2008, 396), if representatives are democratic, they should be responsive to those they would represent. A wide variety of actors may potentially fit these criteria: not only elected representatives, but also NGOs, lay citizens, panels, committees and other entities. Zürn (2000, 190-191) has suggested that, at least in principle, different institutions may compensate for democratic deficits produced by denationalisation and democratic incongruence.

Parliament is not the only arena for representation, as political representation does not necessarily adhere to electoral districts and the members of parliament chosen from them. Thus, the democracy of representation is not confined to elected parliamentarians. Extra-parliamentary sites of representation may include a wide range of agencies, such as, stand-alone government ministries, offices within the head of state's department, quasi-autonomous state agencies, parliamentary commissions, and delegations. The growing significance of extra-parliamentary institutions is framed by wider processes of state reconfiguration in which the state's formal powers and policy responsibilities have been reshaped, relocated and rearticulated (Squires 2008, 192-193).

The objective of political representation should be the best possible outcome for the represented. Achieving this, however, is a difficult task, as there is no absolute knowledge of what ultimately is best for the represented. Political representation can be divided into parliamentary and extra-parliamentary representation. Next, we will present the new framework of four different forms of representation that are believed to challenge traditional, territorially based representation. As shown in Figure 7.1, the first two, quotas and surrogate representation have been placed under parliamentary representation, whereas the latter two rely on extra-parliamentary civic activism and interest group lobbying. The strengths and weaknesses of each mean of representation will be observed next.

Figure 7.1 Political representation of emigrants



7.3.1 Quotas

Representation based on geography and residence is principally founded on inclusion and exclusion. Exclusions are not aimed at people, who are universally included through residency-based franchise, but rather at issues, since residency-based constituencies privilege residency-based interests as most worthy of political conversation and decision. The quotas herein refer to reserving seats in national parliament for citizens residing abroad. Quotas and reserved seats compensate for the inflexibilities of geography. In Finland, one seat in parliament is reserved for the Åland Islands, but about ten countries in the world, including Croatia, France, Italy,

Macedonia, and Portugal, have reserved seats for their emigrant citizens. In practice, these quotas have been implemented through one or several overseas constituencies. Their advantages are that they better accomplish regional equality, and in particular, that they have produced good experiences, especially in Italy (Arrighi et al. 2013; Battiston & Mascitelli 2008; IDEA International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance 2007; Sundberg 2015; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 397).

Finnish emigrants vote in the constituency to which they belonged last before moving abroad. Second and third generation emigrants vote in the constituency of their parents (or grandparents). Constituency cannot be changed, unless the emigrant moves back to Finland and settles in another district. In the 2015 parliamentary elections of Finland, 5.4 percent of eligible voters (242,096 persons) resided abroad. Thus, the size of the Finnish electorate abroad is proportional to, for instance, the Swedish speaking population in Finland, or to all Finnish voters with higher education (Wass & Borg 2012, 101-102). Currently, as shown in Table 7.5, the votes of emigrant voters scatter to various districts. The districts with the highest number of emigrants with the right to vote are Åland, Lapland, Helsinki and Vaasa. The district with the lowest number of eligible emigrants is Savo-Karelia. The number of Finnish citizens with the right to vote who reside abroad is as high as the number of citizens with the right to vote in the district of Central Finland. If emigrants had their own electoral district, an overseas constituency, we can assume the number of emigrant MPs would be the similar to the district of Central Finland's (currently ten MPs). However, this is a rather unlikely scenario, as the pressure for an overseas constituency is diminished by the fact that the level of electoral turnout is substantially lower than among voters in Finland (Peltoniemi 2016c).

Table 7.5 The share of eligible emigrants in Finnish parliamentary elections in 2015 by electoral districts

Electoral district	Emigrants (%)	Eligible residents in Finland	Eligible emigrants	Total number of eligible persons
Åland	22.7	20,873	6,144	27,017
Lapland	11.2	144,585	18,321	162,906
Helsinki	9.4	472,893	48,982	521,875
Vaasa	8.1	339,996	29,921	369,917
Finland	*5.4*	*4,221,237*	*242,096*	*4,463,333*
Oulu	5.2	365,970	20,066	386,036
Varsinais-Suomi	4.5	369,964	17,535	387,499
Uusimaa	4.3	715,626	32,274	747,900
Central Finland	4.2	216,777	9,399	226,176
Southeast Finland	3.9	372,420	14,983	387,403
Satakunta	3.6	179,158	6,641	185,799
Pirkanmaa	3.8	394,171	15,644	409,815
Häme	3.6	297,359	10,960	308,319
Savo-Karelia	3.3	331,445	11,226	342,671

Source: Finnish Ministry of Justice (2015); Peltoniemi (2016b, 150); Peltoniemi (2016c, 300).

The dependent variable, the Finnish emigrants' support for an overseas constituency was measured with the question: "Should Finnish emigrants have their own electoral district?" The response options were: "yes", "no" and "can't choose". Only the respondents who answered "yes" or "no" were included in the analysis (n=718). The analysis was conducted by using binary logistic regression, as the dependent variable (support) has only two possible values (0=Finnish emigrants should not have their own electoral district, 1= Finnish emigrants should have their own electoral district).

29.5 percent of the respondents supported, and 39 percent opposed an overseas constituency. Nearly a third, 31.5 percent, could not choose. Therefore, although an overseas constituency seems to interest Finnish emigrants somewhat, opposition is more prevalent than support. On the other hand, the high number of respondents who chose "can't choose" may reveal that the whole issue is perhaps difficult to understand. After all, not even citizens permanently residing in Finland are that aware of the electoral system. The only variables with strong significance for

supporting an overseas constituency are the duration living abroad and the frequency of travel to Finland. As shown in Table 7.6, emigrants who have lived abroad for more than 16 years are more likely to support an overseas constituency than emigrants who have lived abroad for less than five years (16-20 years OR=2.55; more than 20 years OR=2.63).

Emigrants who visit Finland less frequently than once in five years are nearly five times more likely to support an overseas constituency than emigrants who visit Finland five times a year or more (OR=4.99). Overall, the frequency of visiting Finland and supporting an overseas constituency seem to have a clear relation. Emigrants who visit Finland three to four times a year are almost twice as likely to support an overseas constituency than those who visit Finland a minimum five times a year (OR=1.88). Emigrants who visit Finland one to two times a year, once in every two years, or once in every five years are even more likely to support an overseas constituency (1-2 times a year OR=2.30; once every two years OR=2.35; once every five years OR=2.53).

Other factors that seem to influence the probability of supporting an overseas constituency are the current country of residence and political identification. Emigrants residing in Germany and the United States are less likely to support an overseas constituency than emigrants residing in Sweden (Germany OR=0.52; US OR=0.38). Furthermore, emigrants who support the Social Democratic Party (SDP) or Christian Democrats (CD) are less likely to support an overseas constituency than the supporters of the National Coalition Party (SDP OR=0.54; CD OR=0.17).

Table 7.6 Finnish emigrants' probability to support an overseas constituency

	Odds ratio	95 % confidence interval
Gender[a]		
Female	0.768	[0.544-1.084]
Age[b]		
30-39 years	1.677	[0.949-2.965]
40-49 years	0.959	[0.559-1.645]
50-59 years	1.178	[0.677-2.048]
60-69 years	1.398	[0.833-2.346]
More than 70 years	1.496	[0.438-5.112]
Marital status[c]		
Married, registered partnership, or living as married	0.919	[0.572-1.476]
Divorced, separated, or widowed	0.753	[0.390-1.453]
Highest level of education[d]		
Secondary education	1.515	[0.747-3.074]
Higher education	1.232	[0.658-2.304]
Level of political knowledge	0.869	[0.561-1.348]
Interest in politics in Finland[e]		
Very interested	1.273	[0.626-2.587]
Fairly interested	1.332	[0.731-2.425]
Not very interested	0.955	[0.533-1.710]
Would vote using postal voting if it was possible[f]		
Definitely	1.017	[0.583-1.775]
Probably	1.032	[0.628-1.695]
Probably not	1.081	[0.631-1.854]
Would vote using internet voting if it was possible[g]		
Definitely	1.892	[0.986-3.631]
Probably	1.456	[0.757-2.800]
Probably not	0.940	[0.406-2.180]
Current country of residence[b]		
Germany	0.518*	[0.289-0.930]
Great Britain	0.816	[0.441-1.511]
Spain	0.628	[0.332-1.188]
Canada	0.616	[0.304-1.246]
US	0.375**	[0.196-0.715]
Time lived abroad[h]		
6-10 years	1.280	[0.588-2.789]
11-15 years	1.733	[0.835-3.595]
16-20 years	2.551*	[1.185-5.490]
More than 20 years	2.625**	[1.366-5.047]
Never lived in Finland	2.036	[0.914-4.536]
How often visit Finland[i]		
3-4 times a year	1.880*	[0.830-4.260]

1-2 times a year	2.297*	[1.091-4.834]
Once every two years	2.347*	[1.041-5.293]
Once every five years	2.529*	[1.041-6.143]
Less frequently than once every five years	4.988**	[1.892-13.152]
Never visited Finland	4.624	[0.976-21.911]
Political identification[k]		
Social Democratic Party of Finland	0.542*	[0.319-0.922]
Finns Party	1.524	[0.631-3.680]
Centre Party	0.882	[0.388-2.010]
Left Alliance	0.951	[0.229-3.953]
Swedish People's Party of Finland	1.012	[0.507-2.021]
Green League	1.113	[0.687-1.803]
Christian Democrats of Finland	0.172*	[0.035-0.847]

Dependent variable Supports/does not support an overseas constituency
[a] Reference category Male; [b] Reference category 18–29 years; [c] Reference category Single; [d] Reference category Basic education; [e] Reference category Not at all interested; [f] Reference category Would not vote even if postal voting was possible; [g] Reference category Would not vote even if internet voting was possible; [h] Reference category Sweden; [i] Reference category Less than 5 years; [j] Reference category 5 times a year or more frequently; [k] Reference category National Coalition Party
Logistic regression analysis, *** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$, Nagelkerke $R^2 = 0.112$
Source: Peltoniemi (2016c, 302).

Both the duration of stay abroad and the frequency of visits to Finland are understandable explanations for support of an overseas constituency. It is quite natural that people who visit Finland several times a year are likely to retain a much closer link with Finland and their own electoral district than people who visit Finland less frequently. Similarly, the time lived abroad inevitably also affects the level of closeness emigrants experience to not only Finland, but also their electoral district.

The effect of the country of residence was surprisingly small considering that around a half of Finnish emigrants with the right to vote reside in Sweden. Establishing an overseas constituency would most probably favour Finns in Sweden compared to other emigrant candidates. Furthermore, it would be quite possible that emigrants residing in other countries would unite into a bloc to counterbalance the Finns in Sweden, thus leaving the party politics in the background. However, this arrangement could be avoided by following the Italian model (see e.g. Battiston & Mascitelli 2008) and dividing the emigrants into several regional districts. For instance, possible districts could be Sweden; Europe; North, Central and Latin America; and Africa, Asia and Oceania. However, this would lead to a situation where the number of emigrants with the right to vote – and furthermore, the number of actual emigrant voters – would remain remarkably low. In addition, it seems very unlikely that an overseas constituency, let alone four overseas constituencies, would

gain sufficient support from Finland, as the national tendency has lately been the reverse, that is, towards merging the existing districts into larger unities.

Thus, we found that there is not very strong support for an overseas constituency among emigrants. Furthermore, the low level of turnout among emigrants generate normative question of overseas constituency. An overseas constituency would require a change to the electoral laws, and there does not seem to be the more general political will to establish an overseas constituency. On the contrary, in the 2015 parliamentary elections, the number of electoral districts was reduced by merging four smaller districts into two districts. Furthermore, the number of MPs of other districts would need to be adjusted in order to accommodate the new representatives into the current total of 200 MPs. There is, however, another possible solution. Centralising the emigrant voters into one or a few districts could function as a compensatory action in order to stop the scattering of the emigrant votes. This could, however, potentially influence the relative power of the political parties. This possibility would still require further exploration.

Overseas constituencies have lately become the standard solution for improving emigrant representation in national parliaments. Thus, the fact that Finnish emigrants are showing low interest to this possibility is somewhat surprising. Therefore, it becomes ever more essential to find and explore alternative solutions for emigrant representation aside from quotas.

7.3.2 Surrogate representation

If democracy is understood as based on the presence of citizens, representation is at best a surrogate form of participation for citizens who are physically absent. Here the term "surrogate representatives" denotes representatives who represent voters from outside of their electoral district. Surrogate representation is representation by a representative with whom one has no electoral relationship, meaning the represented cannot vote for the representative in elections (different district). Individuals and interest groups may turn to surrogate representatives to help advance substantive interests. Therefore, surrogate representation plays the normatively critical role of providing representation for voters who lose in their own district. Thus, the relation of the surrogate representative to surrogate constituents can be somewhat deliberative. The sense of surrogate responsibility becomes stronger when the surrogate representative shares experiences with the surrogate constituents that a majority of the legislature does not. For example, for emigrant voters this could

mean a surrogate representative who has resided abroad. Shared experiences often lead not only to a particular sensitivity to these experiences but also a particular responsibility for representing the interests and perspectives of fellow group members (Mansbridge 2003, 522-523; Urbinati & Warren 2008, 393).

As Bengtsson and Wass (2010b, 57) have pointed out, the gap between public expectations on representation and its actual outcome could be related to distance from and discontent with MPs and political parties. Furthermore, the mismatch between voter's views and reality may have implications on turnout if voters feel that their vote only has an effect on electoral results but not on political decision making as such (see also Carman 2007; Méndez-Lago & Martínez 2002). For emigrants, this gap is undoubtedly wider, due to both mental and physical distance. Therefore, surrogate representation could be influential. It would be possible to arrange surrogate representation in Finland within the existing institutional structures. In practice, the emigrants would cooperate with individual MPs, who would represent emigrants' interests in spite of constituency boundaries. Effectively, a group of Finnish emigrants would support an individual candidate's election campaign in exchange for the candidate's promise to promote issues important to the group. Examples of surrogate representation can be found from for example the United States (see e.g. Mansbridge 2003).

In addition, virtual constituency (see e.g. Mannermaa 2006; Tomkova 2014; Parliament of Finland's Committee for the Future 2014), could be a way to execute surrogate representation. However, the question of which role the electoral system (e.g. proportional representation versus a plurality voting system) and the party system (a two-party system versus a multi-party system) would play in surrogate representation is unclear, and this would require further study.

The main advantage of surrogate representation in this context is the promotion of issues important for emigrants. The lack of electoral relationship – the fact that the represented cannot vote for the representative – is one of surrogate representation's greatest weaknesses. The lack of an electoral relationship can also influence the representative's motivation level to further emigrant interests. As von Schoultz and Wass (2015) have suggested, "representation of specific interest groups was the least popular alternative, which only a marginal share of candidates and voters regarded as their first priority". Another one of surrogate representation's weaknesses is that it does not solve the problem of regional representation and electoral districts. In addition, surrogate representative must operate outside of party politics, as decision-making subjected to party discipline does not necessarily reflect the interests of the represented. Furthermore, taking into account the actual

opportunities a single MP has to influence decision-making, the role of a surrogate representative can be understood as primarily symbolic.

7.3.3 Collective interest groups

According to Warren (2008), the idea of institutions serving as collective representatives of the people is not well developed, with the exception of political parties. As a result, theories of electoral democracy lack well-developed concepts of the institutional representation deficit. Different groups can be marginalised or lack power in many ways: they might lack financial resources, they might be the objects of discrimination, they might lack electoral power and have few elected representatives, or they might be stigmatised by the broader society or dominant culture. It is, however, possible to monitor the interests of these marginalised groups and represent them. Traditionally, citizens turn to national interest groups and political parties when in search of representation. The role of lobbyist organisations is to operate as an actor between citizens and elected representatives (Stephan 2004, 126-127; Strolovitch 2006, 894-896).

Collective interest groups can provide an institutionalised voice for the concerns of groups that lack sufficient formal representation. Lobbying and collective interest groups have the opportunity to represent wider communities instead of individual citizens, which gives their activities an institutionalised voice and authority. Different interest groups and lobbyist groups have a long history in Nordic societies. Finland has a long tradition of hosting various interest groups and Finnish people, society and political system are accustomed to their activities: their operational preconditions are rather well known. In addition to traditional trade unions and other professional interest groups, new interest groups and lobbyists have been formed in recent decades. Individuals who lack representation or have insufficient means to influence national politics often benefit from these organisations. Institutions can be more sensitive to information, more deliberative and more formally inclusive, but to realise their potential, there must be connective tissue between these institutions and society. In recent decades, all democratic systems have experimented with new, supplementary conduits to engage citizens, gain information and generate informed public opinion. The distinctive feature of these experiments is that they have little to do with organised party politics or formal political institutions (Siisiäinen & Kankainen 2009; Stephan 2004, 126-127; Strolovitch 2006, 894-896; Warren 2009).

Previous studies have revealed that advocacy organisations provide a crucial form of political representation for marginalised groups by bolstering their political voice, offsetting some of the bias against these groups in politics and public opinion and playing a crucial role in improving their status and expanding the resources available to them. Collective interest groups and NGOs can act as opposition or as "counter politics" when parliamentary representation lacks true representativeness. Organisations devote a great deal of energy and resources to issues they perceive as possessing the broadest impact. Therefore, in order to gain as wide an impact as possible, extra-parliamentary action often aims to further the status of groups rather than the rights or hopes of an individual. The level of advocacy is closely related to actual political possibilities and the organisation's strategic compositions (Strolovitch 2006, 908).

The main advantages of collective interest groups are authority and an institutionalised voice, as well as the fact that collective interest groups are suitable for furthering the interests of marginalised groups. The two main lobbyists on behalf of Finnish emigrants are Finland Society and Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP). FEP fundamentally contributed to the implementation of the Nationality Act of 2003, which permitted dual citizenship. FEP has also lobbied for the introduction of convenience voting methods, such as postal voting, internet voting and an overseas constituency. In many countries, political parties have overseas branches, and these branches may function as collective interest groups. For Finnish political parties, however, such overseas activities are relatively unusual. The main weaknesses of collective interest groups pertain to their societal status, internal representativeness and (lack of) democracy. For instance, FEP, which is the most visible interest group for Finnish emigrants, lacks formal status in Finland. Therefore, the representativeness of such a group is questionable. To what extent can FEP, for example, represent emigrants without formal, institutionalised standing? One way to solve emigrants' (political) representation deficit could be formalising a collective interest group's (such as FEP's) status. If the interest group became a formal state institution, it would solve not only the normative question of emigrant suffrage, but also, obviously, the problem of emigrants' low electoral turnout. Thus, it is essentially a question of institutionalised extra-parliamentary activity.

7.3.4 Active citizens

Active citizens (or citizen representatives) is another possible mean to organise emigrants' political representation. Active citizens can serve as a concrete example of a possible bridge between the traditionally distinct frameworks of representative and direct democracy. In most cases, citizen involvement does not require a formal structure of representation, and private citizens have neither formal authority nor an accountability mechanism. Rather, active citizens can try to influence the decision-making process as independent citizens. This independence can be seen as an asset, as citizens are not beholden to anyone, and thus, move much more fluidly in the field of representation than elected officials or lobbyists. Without an accountability mechanism, however, other community members cannot easily or efficiently register their level of satisfaction with the active citizens' actions. According to Stephan (2004, 121-123), participation by citizen representatives arguably strengthens democracy and may lead to more investment in the political system and greater loyalty to democratic institutions. In addition, involved citizens probably better understand the complexity of political decision-making and the need for compromise than other citizens do (Stephan 2004, 121-123).

From the emigrant viewpoint, noteworthy active citizens could be honorary consuls, for instance, as well as other active emigrants. The main advantage of having active citizens as representatives is that no formal structure of representation is required. The key weaknesses of active citizens derive from the same factors as the advantages: weak authority and the lack of accountability measures. In addition, an individual actor's independence may lead to troubles separating the interests of an individual (active) citizen and the interest of the rest of the community.

This data offered emigrants' perspective only on overseas constituency. Emigrants' support for surrogate representation, collective interest groups or active citizens was not asked, and thus statistical analysis could be done only on overseas constituency. However, this theme could be further investigated in future study, and emigrants' ideas on how their political representation could be organised, should be asked.

7.3.5 The strengths and weaknesses of the suggested means for organising emigrants' political representation

Political representation can be divided into parliamentary and extra-parliamentary representation. Quotas and surrogate representation have been placed under

parliamentary representation, whereas collective interest groups and active citizens rely on extra-parliamentary civic activism and interest group lobbying. The main advantage of each of the suggested alternative means is that they are all less bound to geographical boundaries than the current representative system. Thus, they all offer a more representative take on emigrant representation, a louder voice for the emigrants. On the other hand, all the means have weaknesses that are somewhat difficult to tackle. The strengths and weaknesses of each mean of representation are summarised in the Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2 Strengths and weaknesses of emigrants' political representation

	COLLECTIVE	**INDIVIDUALIST**
PARLIAMENTARY	**Quotas** E.g. *An overseas constituency* + Equality + Good experiences from other countries - Current trend of diminishing the number of districts - Weak interest among emigrants - Low turnout	**Surrogate representation** E.g. *MPs* *Virtual constituency* + Promote specific issues - Does not solve the problem of regional representation - Actual opportunities a single MP has in decision-making - Lack of electoral relationship
EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY	**Collective interest groups** E.g. *Finland Society* *Finnish Expatriate Parliament (FEP)* *Overseas party branches* + Institutionalised voice, authority + Traditional (e.g. trade unionism) + Beneficial for marginalised groups - Possible lack of democracy - No formal institutionalised standing	**Active Citizens** E.g. *Honorary Consul* *Active emigrants* + No formal structure required + Independence - Weak authority - No mechanism of accountability - Interests of an individual vs. interests of the community?

Source: Peltoniemi (2016c, 299).

Quotas and overseas constituencies are the traditional way to organise emigrants' political representation. About ten countries in the world, including Croatia, France, Italy, Macedonia, and Portugal, have reserved seats for their emigrant citizens. Thus,

it seems reasonable to compare the other suggested means with the overseas constituency. Surrogate representation is another parliamentary mean to organise emigrants' representation. As it is with quotas, the perhaps greatest weakness of surrogate representation is that it does not solve the problem of regional representation. Furthermore, the lack of electoral relationship and the actual opportunities a single MP has to influence, seem to make surrogate representation a poorer option compared to quotas. Moreover, surrogate representation does not promote equality to the same extent than overseas constituency, and there are no prior experiences to prove otherwise.

Collective interest groups' main advantages are the institutionalised voice and authority, as well as the fact that collective interest groups are suitable for furthering the interests of marginalised groups. Moreover, collective interest groups are traditional. Thus, they generally share the same advantages with quotas. However, the greatest weaknesses of collective interest groups are the possible lack of democracy within and the lack of formal institutionalised standing, which originate from the extra-parliamentary status. Active citizens have the advantage of independence in comparison to quotas, as no formal structure is required. However, the weak authority and the lack of mechanisms of accountability do pose a serious problem for this mean of representation. Thus, it seems that there is not a single way to organise emigrants' political participation adequately. However, as the different means may compensate the weaknesses, a combination of different means of representation may be the best possibility to offer an equal voice to emigrants and residents.

To conclude, it seems clear that globalisation and people's increased mobility have also changed understandings of migration. A large number of transnational, extraterritorial and non-territorial actors now exist in the world, ranging from relatively formal institutions to a multitude of NGOs, transnational movements, associations and social networks. Territoriality represents only one set of ways by which individuals are involved in collective structures and decisions, but territoriality is over-emphasised in comparison to other (non-regional) identities. In response to this, previous democracy-theoretical literature (see e.g. Herne & Setälä 2005; Zürn 2000) has suggested that, regardless of traditional geographical boundaries, those who are in some way affected by the decision-making should be entitled to participate or to be represented.

The principle of political equality requires that every individual is treated equally. Political equality can be understood as equal opportunities to influence decision-making through representation (see eg. Herne & Setälä 2005). Alternative sites of

political representation can include different, extra-parliamentary actors, such as NGOs and social movements as well as quasi-autonomous state agencies and parliamentary commissions and delegations. Therefore, political representation does not necessarily adhere to electoral districts and MPs chosen from them, nor is the democracy of representation confined to elected parliamentarians. It seems possible that associations and extra-parliamentary institutions may compensate for democratic deficits produced by denationalisation and democracy incongruence, and more flexible and spontaneous forms of representation seem to be effective also in achieving political goals.

8 CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Key findings of the study

Transnational political participation and voting from abroad have become increasingly important topics. People's increased mobility across national borders has highlighted questions not only about migration, but also about voting from abroad. There are many unanswered questions in this field, and the aim of this study has been to contribute to the growing field of research on transnational political participation and emigrant voting. This study has attempted to identify and explain patterns of identification and political participation of Finnish emigrants.

This final chapter is devoted to a discussion of transnational identities and political participation of Finnish emigrants in general and electoral participation and political representation in particular. This chapter summarises the results of the study and discusses the implications. First, a summary of the results from the four empirical chapters are recapitulated and discussion of the key findings will take place. Following this, the implications and the contributions of the study will be discussed, and suggestions for further research based on these findings will be outlined. Finally, concluding remarks will be presented: what this study has revealed about transnational identities and political participation of Finnish emigrants.

The main research questions posed in chapter 3 were the following:

1) How do Finnish emigrants identify themselves and their (trans)national identity?
2) How does the political participation of Finnish emigrants differ from those who reside in Finland?

The general research questions were disaggregated into further questions: do Finnish emigrants identify themselves as Finns or as Finnish expatriates? How do Finnish emigrants maintain their connections to Finland after moving abroad? Which factors influence emigrants' likelihood of having dual citizenship? Does identity influence emigrants' decision to vote in their country of origin and in their country of residence's elections? How do emigrants participate politically and what

factors influence their electoral participation? Is emigrants' party identification comparable to those who reside in Finland? How could representation of emigrants be organised in homeland politics, and what strengths and weaknesses do different approaches have? And finally, do emigrants consider that convenience voting methods will increase their turnout in homeland elections? Next, the key findings of each empirical chapter are presented.

The key findings of the chapter four suggest that Finns in Finland and abroad strongly share the ideas of Finland and Finnishness. Furthermore, Finnish emigrants and Finns in Finland share the same values when it comes to nationality and national pride. For most respondents, regional identity is divided between Finland and their country of residence, which seems to support the previous theoretical discussion of simultaneous, transnational identities. Moreover, the findings let us assume that ongoing contacts to homeland (together with language) influence emigrants' national identity. The "bi-regional identity" can also be seen in the findings regarding dual citizenship: mother's citizenship, time lived abroad and current country of residence all affect the emigrants' probability of having a dual citizenship.

The key findings of the fifth chapter suggest that identification with the sending country has very little to no influence on the likelihood of voting in homeland parliamentary elections. Respondents who identified themselves as Finnish voted slightly more in Finland's parliamentary elections than emigrants who did not identify themselves as Finnish. However, lack of Finnish identity seems to have boosted the motivation to vote in the parliamentary elections of the residing country. Instead, interest in politics, time lived abroad, age and current country of residence seem to significantly influence emigrants' likelihood of voting.

Furthermore, it seems that "zero-sum relationship" best describes the transnational political engagement among Finnish emigrants. As engagement in the country of residence strengthens, engagement in the country of origin weakens. However, a positively reinforcing relationship can be seen in the dynamics of Finnish emigrants' relationship between Finland and their country of residence, and thus a zero-sum relationship is not the only way to accurately describe the transnational political engagement of Finnish emigrants. As migrants often are marginalised from the host society and continue to feel greater belonging to their home societies, they often seem to be almost exclusively involved in cross-border homeland politics and not very interested in political issues in their country of residence. This seems to change mostly with time – as engagement in the country of residence strengthens, the engagement in the country of origin weakens.

It is evident that length of time lived abroad has a rather clear influence on voting in both Finnish parliamentary elections and the country of residence parliamentary elections. The key findings of chapter six show that voting in Finnish elections peaks 6 to 10 years after emigration, but after 10 years abroad, voting in Finnish elections starts to decline. Voting in the country of residence seems to gradually increase with time lived abroad, and after 20 years abroad emigrants are more likely to vote in their country of residence rather than in Finnish elections. Thus, 20 years abroad seems to be a turning point in transnational political participation. This finding is significant as it shows that emigrant voting in homeland elections does indeed decrease with time, while voting in country of residence increases. This is not a surprising result, considering that previous research (Ahmadov & Sasse 2016) has shown a link between the duration of stay in the country of residence and electoral engagement. Nevertheless, it seems that the turning point occurs rather soon, after only 20 years abroad. Considering that for instance Finnish emigrants may keep their Finnish citizenship with electoral rights up to third generation (grandparents originally from Finland), second and even third generation emigrants' right to have dual electoral rights could be challenged. However, this is in line with the previous normative discussion of emigrant voting rights (see e.g. Bauböck 2003; 2005; Rubio-Marín 2006).

The distance to the nearest polling station plays a significant role in Finnish emigrants' decision to vote. Emigrants who live within a 20-kilometre radius of a polling station are more than seven times more likely to vote than emigrants who live more than 200 kilometres away from a polling station. However, there are other factors that influence the voting decision of emigrants. Level of political knowledge correlates with the decision to vote, as well as age, interest in politics in Finland, and the length of time lived abroad. However, gender, marital status, education level, and current country of residence did not have a significant effect on the probability of voting.

Furthermore, the findings of chapter seven show that emigrants' party identification seems to differ rather drastically from that of the electorate in Finland. In fact, only Social Democratic Party and Christian Democrats seem to have the same relative level of support both in Finland and abroad, whereas National Coalition, Green League, and Swedish People's Party have higher, and Centre Party, Left Alliance and Finns Party have lower support abroad than in Finland. Country of residence seems to correlate with party identification, and moreover, party support in country of residence seems to be mirrored in party support for Finnish parties among emigrants. Representation of emigrants in the Finnish parliament

could be questioned, based on the low level of turnout combined with party identification varying so considerably between electorate abroad and electorate in Finland. While these findings are interesting, they should be further studied, as the data available in this study could tackle these questions only on the surface.

Furthermore, the findings of chapter seven suggest that emigrant citizens' political representation could be organised by means other than quotas. In fact, an overseas constituency is a rather unlikely solution for Finnish emigrants' political representation. Finnish emigrants' opinions seem to be divided rather clearly on the overseas constituency question, and less than a third of Finnish emigrants support the constituency. Furthermore, it seems improbable that an overseas constituency would gain support in Finland's current political climate, as recent general developments have diverged, towards merging the existing districts into larger and fewer unities. Other possible ways to organise emigrant representation include surrogate representation, active citizens, and collective interest groups.

Moreover, as Solevid (2009, 8) has pointed out, while citizens experience the channels of representative democracy as less effective or attractive, governments encourage citizens to take part in politics through means that in the long run might drive traditional forms of political behaviour, such as voting, out of the market of political activities. Nowadays, many different arenas through which citizens can take part in political decision making are offered, through both institutionalised channels and non-institutionalised channels. Thus, voting is not the only way to influence decision making.

Recognising the issue of emigrants' political representation is important, especially from the viewpoint of equality. On practical political level, it seems likely that new strategies to develop emigrants' right and possibilities to vote will be pursued simultaneously with citizens' ever-increasing mobility. However, the findings of chapter seven also emphasise the need for further theoretical discussion of the topic of emigrant representation.

To summarise the key findings of this study, Table 8.1 presents the results of this study together with the research questions set.

Table 8.1 Summary of major findings

Research question	*Major finding*
Do Finnish emigrants identify themselves as Finns or as Finnish expatriates?	Majority of respondents identified themselves as Finnish and as Finnish expatriates, but they also identified themselves with their current country of residence. Thus, it seems that Finnish emigrants have a transnational identity.
How do Finnish emigrants maintain their connections to Finland after moving abroad?	Visits, language, political participation, and voting.
Which factors influence emigrants' likelihood of having dual citizenship?	Age, education, parents' (especially mother's) citizenship, current country of residence, and time lived abroad.
Does identity influence emigrants' decision to vote in their country of origin and in their country of residence's elections?	Identification with the sending country (national identity) had little to no influence on the likelihood of voting in homeland parliamentary elections. However, lack of Finnish identity seemed to have boosted the motivation to vote in parliamentary elections of the residing country.
How do emigrants participate politically and what factors influence their electoral participation?	Emigrants' societal and political participation was very much in line with that of Finns living in Finland. There were a few differences though. For instance, Finns living in Finland were more likely to be unionised as well as being members of a church or other religious organisation, in comparison to emigrants. Emigrants' electoral participation in homeland elections was influenced by the level of political knowledge, interest in politics, distance to the nearest polling station and time lived abroad. Moreover, emigrants' electoral participation in country of residence's elections was influenced by the level of education, interest in politics, current country of residence and time lived abroad.
Is emigrants' party identification comparable to those who reside in Finland?	Emigrants' party identification differs rather drastically from that of the electorate in Finland. Only Social Democratic Party and Christian Democrats have the same level of support both in Finland and abroad, whereas National Coalition, Green League and Swedish People's Party have higher, and Centre Party, Left Alliance and Finns Party lower support abroad than in Finland. Emigrants' party identification resembles that of their country of residence's political atmosphere.

Research question	*Major finding*
Are Finnish emigrants supportive of creation of an overseas constituency or some other formal institution to ensure their views are represented in parliament?	Emigrants' representation could be organised by parliamentary means (such as quotas or surrogate representation) or by extra-parliamentary means (such as collective interest groups or active citizens). The strengths associated with quotas are equality and good experiences from other countries, but low turnout, weak interest among emigrants, and the current trend of reducing the number of districts are clear weaknesses. Surrogate representation would promote specific issues important to emigrants, but it does not solve the problem of regional representation. Furthermore, the actual opportunities a single MP has in decision-making are rather limited and the lack of electoral relationship are the most relevant weaknesses. Collective interest groups would offer an institutionalised voice; they are traditional in Finnish society and would be beneficial for marginalised groups. However, they do not have a formal institutionalised standing, and the democracy within them may be questioned. Active citizens' key strength is independence, as no formal structure is required. However, weak authority, no mechanism of accountability, and the possibility of clashing interests of an individual and of the community are definite weaknesses.
Do emigrants consider that convenience voting methods will increase their turnout in homeland elections?	Different facilitation instruments were considered convenient in different emigrant groups. For instance, internet voting was chosen as the preferred facilitation in age cohorts 40-49 and 50-59. Emigrants residing in Germany were more likely to choose postal voting as the preferred method. Furthermore, long stays abroad seemed to increase the likelihood of preferring postal voting and decreased interest in internet voting. 77 percent of respondents considered that they would definitely or probably vote in Finland's elections if internet voting was available. Interest in postal voting was not as high, but nearly half of respondents stated they would definitely or probably vote if postal voting was available.

8.2 Implications of the findings and contribution of the study

Migration has been researched very thoroughly, as has political participation. However, as emigrants' political participation has not been studied very widely thus far, this study has both struggled with the lack of previous research paving the way, but also benefitted from the freedom the novelty has offered. The main difficulty with the field of transnationalism has so far been that its empirical base relies almost exclusively on case studies (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller 2003). This inevitably creates bias and challenges the generalisability of the results. Regrettably, this study has faced the same challenge, as only Finnish emigrants were studied. Thus, these findings should not be generalised or extrapolated to all migrants, seeing that the case of Finnish emigrants is somewhat unique to its own group. What is now needed is a cross-national study comparing emigrant electorates' inclination and possibilities to vote. Another question is to what extent emigrants' political representation is sensible to be organised through parliamentary measures.

The findings of this study cast light on the factors that influence emigrant voting in homeland elections, and offer a more comprehensive understanding of transnational political participation. In this study, emphasis has been put on the perspective of emigrant voters, not immigrant voters. This is because there is no suitable data to compare several receiving countries of respondents. However, as emigrants simultaneously are immigrants in their country of residence, a future study would monitor the political participation of migrants in both directions, thus offering a wider picture of migrant turnout from a mirrored perspective. In addition, future studies could further compare experiences of overseas voters to voters at home. Does electoral system influence turnout among emigrants? For instance, are emigrants more likely to vote for party-list proportional representation than mandatory preferential voting with high candidate centeredness? How do emigrant voters differ from voters at home and furthermore, is voting a symbolic action for exercising civil rights and demonstrating one's symbolic relation with homeland, or should voting be understood as a political act for vested interests?

In conclusion, it is evident that more research is needed to better understand emigrant voting behaviour and the implementation of convenience voting methods. As it has been previously suggested (Bauböck 2003), transnational political practices are mostly a concern for the first generation, and cross-border attentiveness will eventually fade over subsequent generations of immigrant descent. However, as short-term migration (non-permanent migration, e.g. migration for studies, work or

retirement) increases, the means of political participation must be re-evaluated and the political community should be seen to extend beyond state territories.

8.3 Concluding remarks

Despite ever-increasing globalisation and people's mobility, political science has hitherto largely ignored the topic of emigrants' political and electoral participation. Thus, systematic research on the topic has been lacking with only a few exceptions. Migration, migrant-homeland relations and transnational political participation has previously been studied from the viewpoint of migration from countries that are less developed, less democratic, and have lower living standards compared to countries that are more developed, more democratic, and have higher living standards; in other words, migration from the developing South to the developed North. Thus, there has been a significant gap in the literature of migration from welfare countries, such as Nordic countries, as the existing body of knowledge on (Nordic) emigrants' political and electoral participation has been fragmentary at best. This study has aimed to fill this void by increasing the understanding of the Finnish electorate residing abroad. Thus, the contribution of this study lies in adding to the few existing analyses on electorate abroad. This study has provided a new understanding of voter behaviour in the globalised world.

The primary purpose of this study has been to examine how transnationalism is present in Finnish emigrants' identities and political participation. With ever more citizens living and working outside of their home country for several years of their lives, the topic of emigrant voting behaviour is highly relevant and at the same time often omitted from electoral analyses. Low turnout is a potentially serious problem, because when the number of voters is small, policy outcomes may not be representative and might cause conflicts and raise questions regarding the legitimacy of the political system. As previous research (Christensen 2011, 211) has suggested, political participation occupies a central role in representative democracies. From the viewpoint of individuals, the essential mechanisms of representative democracy do not materialise in the best possible way among the (marginalised) lower voting groups. If an individual does not perceive that the viewpoints of their own group have been taken into consideration, it can further reduce their willingness to participate in future elections.

As political rights are increasingly extended to citizens who permanently reside outside their country of citizenship, voting by non-resident citizens in national

elections can be understood as the norm. In fact, emigrant voting is permitted by more than 80 percent of all nation states (Collyer 2013). However, as Braun and Gratschew (2007) have stated, while the constitutions of many countries guarantee the right to vote, in reality external voters are often disenfranchised due to the lack of procedures enabling them to vote. This appears to be the reason behind the low level of turnout among Finnish emigrants as well: costs of voting (especially distance) and inconvenient voting methods appears to induce non-voting among Finnish emigrants. As distance and polling techniques can, at least theoretically, be altered administratively, these findings can be exploited on a practical political level to increase turnout among emigrant voters.

To summarise, the findings show that political participation does not drastically differ between Finnish emigrants and those who reside in Finland. However, electoral participation is much lower among emigrants, and the overriding reason is the higher costs of voting, especially the long distances to voting polls. Adopting convenience voting methods, such as postal and internet voting, could increase turnout among emigrants, as has occurred in other countries (such as Sweden and Italy). Furthermore, emigrants' electoral participation decreases in homeland elections over time, while it simultaneously increases in elections in their country of residence. Another interesting finding was that party identification resembles the current political climate of the country of residence more than it aligns with party support in Finland. However, as political representation does not necessarily adhere to electoral districts and MPs chosen from them, it seems possible that associations and extra-parliamentary institutions could compensate for democratic deficits produced by denationalisation and democracy incongruence.

This study contributes significantly to existing knowledge on transnational political participation, a topic that has been rarely been examined from emigrants' perspective. As the electoral behaviour of (especially Nordic) emigrants is not so frequently studied, this study forms a base for future studies. The findings show that while Finnish emigrants' identities and political participation are transnational, their electoral participation is not high in either country, which can largely be explained by the costs of voting. Consequently, the study contributes to the existing literature on both electoral and migration studies by exploring new perspectives on a previously scarcely addressed field of emigrant voting. The findings of this study suggest the further research on both theoretical and especially on empirical take is necessary to fully understand the central elements of transnational political and electoral participation. Furthermore, the findings of this study can be used to develop

targeted interventions aimed at advancing the Finnish electoral system and, for instance, in the process of adopting postal voting for emigrants.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Appendix Table 1. Question wordings of main variables

Appendix Table 2. Parties and alliances in EP-elections 2014 in the countries of residence