Socio-cultural Capital and Immigrants' Political Participation in Austria

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Abstract

How do the skills, experiences, and knowledge that immigrants brought from their home country and those that they acquired in the new host society affect their political participation? Generally, one's migration background is an obstacle to political involvement. This obstacle is intensified the further away an immigrant's home country is culturally and democratically. Drawing from transferability and exposure theory, it is expected that various forms of host socio-cultural capital, such as speaking the local language, pursuing cultural activities (e.g., following local news) and establishing a social network that consists of locals contribute to overrule this barrier and make immigrants more politically engaged. Austria is chosen as a case since it hosts a significant share of immigrants. The empirical part consists of an analysis of the ninth wave of the European Social Survey (ESS) and of an original, online survey. The results of the former dataset indicate that the origin of the parents' home country and the German skills of the respondent matter for their turnout. The second analysis concludes that in addition to linguistic skills, school level education level of first-generation immigrants only, Austrian-related cultural skills and social network are relevant for political involvement.

Introduction

Immigrants are a significant social group in Western democracies that has been rising in the last decades. Their economic, social, and political integration in society is a goal of democratic states which aim to include citizens equally. One form of this inclusion is participation in political processes. Immigrants' political participation is important since it likely leads to political representation and equality (de Rooij 2012) which is a desirable objective of democracies.

Generally, their involvement in elections is lower than that of the majority population (Messina 2007) which could stem from the barriers and difficulties related to their migration background. It is expected that this 'migration obstacle' differs across immigrants, depending on their educational, cultural, and social background. The type of skills and knowledge which are summarized under the term socio-cultural capital (SCC) and that they bring from their home country and that they acquire in the new host society shapes their political involvement in the latter country. This thesis defines first-generation immigrants as foreign-born while those from the second-generation are born in the host country and have at least one parent who was born abroad. Based on transferability theory (Wass et al. 2015; White et al. 2008) it is expected that the knowledge and values which immigrants bring from their home country impact their political involvement in the host country. Regarding the cultural skills and social network which immigrants establish in their new country of residence, exposure theory argues that these affect their political participation due to the close contact to the local culture and people (de Rooij 2012; Wass et al. 2015; White et al. 2008).

While some studies have examined the political involvement of people with migration background (Humphries, Muller, and Schiller 2013; de Rooij 2012; Scuzzarello 2015; van Londen, Phalet, and Hagendoorn 2007; Wass et al. 2015; White et al. 2008), there is still a need

for more research on this topic. This thesis contributes to the existing literature by exploring the role of cultural skills and social networks for immigrants' participation which has not been previously done.

To evaluate the influence of SCC, Austria is chosen since it hosts a significant share of people with migration background. Austria's Federal Statistical Office estimates that in 202,1 there were on average more than two million (2,240 million) people with migration background or roughly 25% of the total Austrian population (which is measured when both parents of the respondent were born abroad). Out of these 1,635 million belonged to the first generation of immigrants (born abroad and moved to AT), while the remaining 605,000 people were second-generation immigrants (whose parents were born abroad but not themselves) (Statistik Austria 2022, 20). Studying its immigrant population can serve as an example for other Western democracies. A quantitative approach is chosen to test the elaborated theory on the link between immigrants' socio-cultural capital and their political participation. Two datasets are examined for this purpose: the ninth wave of the European Social Survey (ESS) for the Austrian respondents and an original, online survey with immigrants living in Austria.

A first hypothesis test on the ESS dataset shows that apart from the democracy level of the parents' country, no other factor from home SCC is relevant for explaining second-generation immigrants' turnout in elections. Regarding host SCC, strong German skills are associated with higher turnout. A second test on the self-collected data shows that the predictors of home socio-cultural capital are not relevant for explaining political participation or turnout of immigrants except for respondents' education level which matters for political participation. The factors on host SCC provide more support for the established hypotheses since social network, German and cultural skills are substantively and statistically relevant for explaining immigrants' turnout in the past election on a district or municipal level.

The thesis proceeds as follows: The theory chapter summarizes findings from existing research on participation of the majority population. Immigrants are rarely the subject of these studies which opens a gap in the literature that I intend to contribute to. Then the difference between SCC from the home and host country is elaborated. Immigrants who have higher values on either of these factors are expected to be more politically active. I conclude that in line with the theoretical expectations that some forms of home and host socio-cultural capital, like educational attainment, democracy level of the parents, German and cultural skills as well as the social network have an influence on immigrants' political participation in the host country.

Theory

Migration Obstacle

Immigrants in Western European countries are less likely to vote than the majority population on a national and local level (Messina 2007, 197). It is assumed that natives cherish the majority culture, while immigrants might have different values, culture, and socialization. This can act as an obstacle towards participation in the host society, such as for example political participation. While all immigrants are expected to encounter this obstacle, its impact is determined by the culture and values of the immigrant's original society. Heath, Richards and Jungblut see democratic values linked with various forms of participation. People and societies embracing these values are believed to show participation beyond the electoral level, like demonstrations. Similarly, this political participation is expected "to be inhibited in non-democratic societies where the values of freedom of speech and association are less entrenched" (2022, 644). A study on the turnout of immigrants in Finland showed that one of the strongest indicators for electoral participation is having experience in democratic systems (Wass et al. 2015, 419). People from non-democratic countries that discourage or even punish citizen participation and activism are expected to be less likely to participate politically in the new host country because their country of origin transmitted anti-democratic and anti-participatory values to them. Hence, the migrant background would act as a strong obstacle in this case. Nevertheless, this thesis argues that people with migration background could still become active members of society and be politically active if they have managed to build a social network in the host society.

There are various factors that impact the weight of this migration obstacle which affects inclusion in the host society and ultimately political participation. To understand what drives people to participate, the following section reviews literature on political involvement of the majority population (individuals without migration background) to illuminate the main factors

behind political activity and then assess how these aspects hold true for immigrants and what weakens or strengthens their political participation. Ultimately, I draw on this literature to elaborate the role of home and host socio-cultural capital for immigrant's political participation.

Tenets about Political Participation regarding the majority population:

Explaining political participation (for the majority population) can be approached by asking what prevents people from getting involved. Brady, Verba, and Schlozman believe that this is the case "because they can't, because they don't want to, or because nobody asked" (1995, 271). This response includes four important factors that determine political participation: resources, political interest and efficacy, affiliation to a group with common political interests, and political rights. Hadjar and Beck add to the list of motivational factors that determine involvement in politics with "political trust and satisfaction with politics" (2010, 521).

Resources

Regarding the first factor that Brady, Verba and Schlozman (1995) list, socio-economic status (SES) has been an important indicator for political participation in previous studies (Quintelier and Hooghe 2013). Brady, Verba, and Schlozman attempt to go beyond the SES model by turning to a more general resource-approach and "probe the way resources link backward to SES and other social characteristics and forward to political activity" (1995, 271). These social characteristics include civic skills, like organizational and communication abilities. In addition, more observable resources are money and time, which are necessary for political involvement in the form of donating money for political purposes or spending one's time on political actions, like participating in a community meeting, contributing to a political campaign, reaching out to a politician (273). A two-wave study on US American adults from 1989 and 1990 shows that

adult civic skills and participation in high school governance are important predictors on whether someone is participating in political acts which require time. As expected, having financial resources is necessary for being able to donate for political purposes (283).

Apart from SES, time and civic skills, education is one of the most examined factors for political participation. Many studies focus on explaining the link between high education and political action (Berinsky and Lenz 2011; Kam and Palmer 2008; Lindgren, Oskarsson, and Persson 2019; Persson 2012; Hillygus 2005). Persson analyzes theories on the link between education and political participation that argue that people with higher education have higher political participation because it acts as a proxy for socio-economic standing and political socialization. According to this logic, people self-select into political involvement. Another strand of literature argues that education only impacts political engagement if it is also tied to a higher social status in society. This "relative education model" (Persson 2015,) implies that the extent of the effect of education on voting is dependent on the education levels of the surrounding settings. A study shows that education is a proxy for political participation by pairing college-educated people with citizens without a higher degree and finding no significant difference in political engagement between these two groups (Kam and Palmer 2008). Berinsky and Lenz evaluate the links between education and political involvement for men when education levels rose to avoid getting randomly drafted for the Vietnam war. The results of the OLS and instrumental variable analysis question the direct causal impact of education on political participation and argue for a proxy-approach where other factors, like social class and family background explain the positive link between high level of education and high turnout (2011). Another strand of literature sees education as a cause for political engagement. A direct causal influence of schooling is expected in this "absolute education model" (Persson 2015) due to the enhanced cognitive skills and a broadened horizon that is provided by educational facilities.

Political interest and efficacy

The second factor that determines political participation for the majority population are political interest and efficacy. Political interest describes "a sense of curiosity about political matters" (Gabriel and Van Deth 1998, 395). It is one frequently used factor to determine political participation because higher levels of political interest also lead to being more knowledgeable about political affairs (Tilley, Sturgis, and Allum 2004) and possessing more political knowledge reduces the cost for casting a ballot (Denny and Doyle 2008, 298). Assuming that voters are rational, they will also obtain greater utility about their decision to cast a ballot if they are secure and confident about their choice (Matsusaka 1995). In general, showing interest in an activity or topic naturally increases one's probability to get involved.

In an empirical study about voting and personality traits, political interest is chosen as a determinant for the former since, as Blais and St-Vincent argues, it proxies "the best individual-level predictor of perceiving high benefits and low cost in voting, as well as having an opinion about which is the best candidate or party in an election" (2011, 395). Their results show that these traits influence voting indirectly and that they are mediated by duty and interest. This link between turnout and interest allows scholars to measure political engagement by using political interest and efficacy. By doing so, de Rooij finds that high levels of political interest lead to political action (2012, 461). Due to its strong link to political engagement, some studies also focus exclusively on examining political interest. White et al. look at factors that impact the development of political interest since they are interested in explaining the ways how immigrants adapt their behavior in a new political system (2008). It is a relevant factor when examining phenomenons in relation to turnout. In a study on the link between age and turnout, accounting for political interest and information abolishes the variation in voting between older and younger respondents (Rubenson et al. 2004). Due to its strong association with political engagement, the absence of political interest results in citizens' reluctance to participate (Hadjar

and Beck 2010, 526–27). While it is crucial for political participation, it is not clear whether it causes political action or if it is an effect thereof (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995, 280).

Political efficacy is "the degree a person believes in his or her own ability to understand politics and is convinced that individual political action does have an influence on political processes" (Hadjar and Beck 2010, 526). Internal efficacy describes the abilities to handle politics, and external is the person's impression on how responsive political institutions are once they get politically involved (526). Naturally, it is assumed that an absence of motivational factors, like political interest and efficacy, decrease the likelihood of voting (Hadjar and Beck 2010, 521).

Social network

Brady, Verba and Schlozman's third factor that determines political involvement is being affiliated with a group that shares political rights and interests (1995). This can take the shape of a social network, which, according to Lazega, is characterized as a collective of relations of a particular kind, such as cooperation, support or influence between groups of actors (1994 293). It is an important place where political socialization takes place through agents, like parents, friends or teachers (Dostie-Goulet 2009, 407). These social networks offer room for exchange and development of information, opinions, and ideas related to politics. Cognitive developmental theory takes this stand and claims that a young person's knowledge and sense of the political world is based on and developed through social interaction. The political socialization theory claims that civic development in the shape of behavior and values is transmitted through generations (parents to children) (McIntosh, Hart, and Youniss 2007).

Parent-child-transmission

Parents have a specific position in the social networks of their offspring and their influence on them is defined as 'the transfer of individual abilities, traits, behaviors, and outcomes from

parents to their children' (Lochner, 2008), in this case political participation" (Quintelier 2015, 279). There are different theories which aim to explain the cause of this parental influence. The social learning theory argues that observational learning is the key since children imitate their parent's behavior. For instance, actions, like seeing a parent casting their vote, as well as verbal instructions where parents discuss the importance of voting can reduce the cost for voting (Gidengil, Wass, and Valaste 2016, 374–75).

In contrast, there is also indirect influence by parents. Quintelier (2015) identified in the literature three factors which affect political engagement: political discussions at home, political interest, and the family's SES (282-284). The first factor is important since it can be easier to encourage children to take part in politics when family political discussions are frequent (283). Regarding political interest, university students whose parents are politically engaged are more likely to show political interest, which then results in high levels of political engagement (Stockemer 2012: 284). The last mediating factor is socio-economic status, which partly overlaps with the 'status transmission theory'. This theory, according to Gidengil, Wass, and Valaste, claims that parent's SES and educational attainment are important for two reasons. First, children of highly educated parents have higher probability of being exposed to politics at home, like parents discussing politics or participating in political activities. Second, parents are likely to transmit an advantage in terms of socio-economic position and this will transform into political advantage (2016). Empirical research has provided evidence for both theories. The results of Gidengil, Wass and Valaste's study on testing both theories to explain the parent-child link in turnout in Finland concluded that social learning theory rather than the status transmission theory is the mechanisms in place. A parent who votes affects their child's turnout, even after controlling for education and income of both the child and the parent (2016, 379).

In contrast to these findings, Quintelier found that the direct transmission of political participation (social learning theory) between generations has no effect once political interest, discussion and SES were accounted for. Instead, the results show that this transmission is a non-direct process that consists of these three factors (2015).

The result of a study on the effect of parent-child discussions of current events on youth civic engagement found that parents are a source of political knowledge that children use to build their own political knowledge (McIntosh, Hart, and Youniss 2007). Political discussions in families are significant and impact children's civic news monitoring, political knowledge, public communication skills and community service positively. Parents' characteristics are also relevant since the effect of discussions is stronger for politically knowledgeable parents compared to those with low political knowledge (496-497). A multi-phase study of youth civic engagement in the US confirms that a significant part of political involvement is learned at home, since 38% of those young people with a voting intention report to often discuss political issues at home, compared to 20% of those who do not have these discussions. Additionally, having someone at home who volunteers increased their engagement (Andolina et al. 2003).

Friends and Peers

In addition, friends are relevant actors in one's social network. Dostie-Goulet's multi-wave panel study on the impact of social networks on the level and development of political interest of Canadian teenagers showed that young people who discuss politics with teachers, parents, friends are more likely to have political interest. She shows that friends often have a similarly strong effect as parents when investigating the effect of political discussions in a social network (2009). Naturally, discussing political issues with friends is beneficial for one's political interest. Hence, having politically interested friends is beneficial for one's own political socialization.

Drivers of political participation of immigrants: socio-cultural capital from the home and host country

Regarding the literature on political participation of people with migration background, there is not nearly as much as for the majority population. With reference to the previously established factors that influence the political participation (resources, political interest and efficacy, social network), it is clear that various types of socio-cultural capital (e.g. education, civic skills, social network) positively affect political involvement. However, how are these factors that affect political participation of the majority population applicable to immigrants and which other aspects and mechanisms need to be considered to understand what drives immigrants to be politically active?

Since (first-generation) immigrants were socialized in both their home country of origin and the new host society, there are some factors in addition to the previously mentioned ones (e.g. language acquisition) and others might have a different meaning. For example, the effect of parents on children could be different when the former have a migration background. Having parents who come from distant countries with less-democratic political systems might reinforce the initial migration obstacle of the children and weaken the impact of local institutions of political socialization, like educational facilities.

The main argument here is that there is a distinction between socio-cultural capital that immigrants learnt in their home country and in the new country and that both types of capital shape whether immigrants participate or not. This idea of immigrants bringing capital in the shape of cultural goods and traits to a new country is known in migration studies as the 'rucksack approach'. The extent to which this capital is useful in the new society could explain why some immigrants integrate more successfully than others. Erel criticizes this approach and focuses on "new forms of migration-specific cultural capital" (2010, 643) which describes ways how immigrant capitalize on their cultural practices (e.g. formal education and language) to be

successful on the employment market in the new host society while considering existing intra-ethnic, gender and class power relations.

This idea is also represented in different models regarding immigrants' political socialization. Different studies on immigrants' political practices in new, Western societies refer to four different models of political socialization, namely exposure, transferability, assimilation, and resistance (Wass et al. 2015; White et al. 2008). Regarding exposure, political participation is expected to increase with more experience in the new political system of the country because immigrants' behaviors and practices are supposed to change with the length and intensity of being exposed to a new political system and society. The second model, transferability, suggests that the existing knowledge and experience from the home country can be transferred to the new situation. Regarding the assimilation model, the extent of integration in the new society for the immigrants is decisive. These three models expect that turnout of immigrants will increase eventually. A fourth model, the resistance model, expects a negative effect on political participation since new information contrary to their learnt perspectives is easily dismissed (White et al. 2008, 270). The transferability and exposure model are particularly important for the theoretical understanding of this study as the core arguments are reflected in the concepts surrounding home and host socio-cultural capital, respectively.

Home Socio-cultural Capital

The idea of the 'rucksack approach', or the model of transferability, is referred to in this study as home socio-cultural capital (home SCC) and describes knowledge, practices, and experiences that immigrants acquired in their home country and which are brought to the new host society.

Like the majority population, a high level of education for immigrants acts as a source of knowledge, political interest, and skills, which are associated with being politically active. A study on Turkish and Moroccan immigrants found a positive impact of education on turnout for the former group (van Londen, Phalet, and Hagendoorn 2007, 1215). In addition, being educated facilitates the learning of the host language, adjusting to the political, cultural, and social context in the new country of residence. Therefore, high levels of education are assumed to be associated with high levels of political participation of immigrants in Western societies.

Values are another aspect of home socio-cultural capital for immigrants. It is assumed that an essential part of a person's values is shaped by the political system where they were socialized. Regarding the majority population in Western societies, it is seen as a given that they grew up in a democratic political system with functioning institutions, checks-and-balances, as well as political rights. The extent to which values are relevant for them usually limits itself to 'a sense of civic duty', which captures how much the person behaves like the 'good' citizen who should vote (Blais and St-Vincent 2011, 395). First-generation immigrants who originate from very democratic countries experienced regular, fair elections where multiple political actors can participate in, were granted individual and political rights as well as freedom of belief and expression. Experiencing these rights and democratic processes, even passively, are relevant for the political involvement and development of political trust of individuals. This democratic understanding and practice are expected to shape people's political participation when they leave their country. They can more easily and faster adjust to and adopt the democratic values and political system of the new host society since they have already learnt and practices some democratic habits at home. While some immigrants from undemocratic countries could be eager to finally be able to participate in elections and other forms of democratic engagement, this group of people generally lack the practice and experience with these processes and are expected to experience more difficulties and obstacles when adjusting to the new democratic,

political setting. To approximate the values and political socialization that 1st generation immigrants received from their home country, the democracy level is taken as a proxy. It is assumed that the higher the democracy level, the more likely they are to participate because their understanding, internalization, and practice of democratic values from home will be similar and useful for their new host society.

With respect to 2nd generation immigrants who are defined as the children of immigrants, these factors of home SCC do not apply to them since they usually spent a significant part of their child- and adulthood in the host country. They are more likely to be exposed to the local culture and values than their parents who are first generation immigrant's. Unlike their parents they do not have socio-cultural capital from a home country because they were schooled and raised in the host country. As educational facilities are an important place of political socialization, transmission of values as well as political knowledge, the level of education is attributed to host SCC for the 2nd generation of immigrants. Since 2nd generation children grow up in two different socializing contexts, those of the host country with its democratic institutions and the one at home with the cultural context of their parents, it depends which values are fostered.

Building on the literature of intergenerational transmission of values through practices and political discussions at home, this thesis argues that children's home SCC is equal to the parent's home SCC. The higher the parents score on education and democracy level of their country (or in other words: the stronger the parents' home SCC), the higher the children's home SCC. The higher the children's home SCC, the more likely they are to politically participate. However, if the parents come from an undemocratic country, are uneducated, do not speak the local language and have a weak social network in the new society, then it becomes more difficult to transmit democratic values that are present in the host country, less likely for the parents to be a source of political knowledge for their children, or to foster their political interest and have discussion about politics at home.

To conclude, this set of factors about immigrants' home SCC is expected to be beneficial for their integration and political participation in the new society because it promotes critical thinking, civic values, and political knowledge. Hence, the first four hypotheses of this study are:

- *H1: First-generation immigrants who have a high level of education from their home country have higher political engagement in Austria.*
- *H2: Second-generation immigrants whose parents have a high level of education are more likely to participate in Austria than those whose parents are less educated.*
- *H3: First-generation immigrants who originate from countries with a high level of democracy, are more likely to participate in Austria than those who originate from less democratic societies.*
- *H4: Second-generation immigrants whose parents originate from a country with a high level of democracy are more likely to participate in Austria than those whose parents originate from a less democratic society.*

Host Socio-cultural Capital

In contrast to home SCC, host socio-cultural capital (host SCC) describes skills, knowledge and networks that are specific to the new country of residence and were also usually acquired there. Regarding the previously mentioned exposure that immigrants have to the new political set-up, it has been measured so far with the length of eligibility in elections (Wass et al. 2015) or with the duration of residence in the new host country (White et al. 2008). It is believed that the type of exposure should be extended to other aspects of an immigrant's life which proxy the extent of exposure to the new setting: language, cultural skills, and social network.

Language

One resource that is a given for the majority population is the extent to which they speak the language of the host country. However, assessing the level of this knowledge for people with migration background is relevant because they likely grew up speaking another language at home. The degree of this skill is directly linked to political participation because it allows an individual to follow local news and comprehend information about political events. In addition, it can enable, or hamper, pursuing cultural activities in the host country and allow for meaningful interactions and relationships with locals.

Cultural skills

In this study, these skills refer to the knowledge of a culture that is passively and actively obtained. In a study about immigrants' and minorities' voting participation in Canada, Bevelander and Pendakur describe reading newspapers, watching news on the TV, affiliation to voluntary or recreational organizations as social capital characteristics (2009). Sullivan defined cultural capital as the type of books, TV programs and music consumed by respondents, as well as the attendance of formal cultural activities, like theatres, art galleries etc. to explain educational achievement (2001). In the case of immigrants, these activities transmit cultural knowledge, foster interest in political issues and indicate how interested and familiar they are with local values, topics, and culture. For instance, it is assumed that following the news of the local country contributes to developing political interest and knowledge of that country, which can then motivate an individual to be politically active. Reading newspapers from one's own home country might add to general political interest and knowledge, but it is not expected to translate into interest and participation in the host society. Pursuing many cultural activities that are linked to the host society increases knowledge, interest and skills which are relevant for being politically active.

Social network

A general embeddedness and connectedness to other members of the local society is a given for the majority population. However, the role and importance of such a social network is different for people with migration background since having local friends and colleagues means that they are in regular exchange with the values, language, culture, and political affairs of their new country of residence. A strong social network indicates multiple, significant interactions with locals and an active involvement in community life. They are more likely to develop an interest and civic responsibility for political issues in the local host country, which can then translate into higher political participation. If there is a lack of social network and this contact and interaction with the local population is missing, there is a chance that immigrants end up living in a parallel society separate from the main one. These individuals are assumed to be less interested and involved in local politics since they have few local friends and colleagues and do not participate in local cultural activities with them.

Indicators for a strong social network are colleagues at work or school and friends. Many people spend a significant share of their time at the workplace, cooperating and interacting with their colleagues. It offers many opportunities to be exposed to other people's culture. For example, if an immigrant manages to secure employment in a company with many locals, they are likely to be exposed to the local work culture, language, way of life and be more closely involved in the community due to their job. A contrary example would be, for instance, a person who works in a restaurant that is operated by people from their own home country and hosts mostly clients from this community. This work environment requires little interaction and country-specific socio-cultural skills, which indicates a weak social network.

A similar mechanism is expected for younger immigrants who might still attend school or university. Attending a high school or university which hosts a significant share of local students indicates that students with migration background are not only being socialized in a

local institution, but that they are learning alongside and socializing with students from the host society. If a teenager with migration background attends a school that hosts predominantly students with immigrant background, it does not strengthen their social network. While this adolescent might gain insight on the cultures and languages of their peers from other countries, they are less likely to be aware, knowledgeable, and involved in the local community due to a lack of contact with that culture, values, and people.

Friendships with locals bring the immigrants closer to Austrian values and culture and intensifies their social network. From the majority literature, we know that having friends with whom to discuss politics is beneficial for one's political interest (Dostie-Goulet 2009). For immigrants being friends with locals could have a positive impact on their political involvement because they are more likely to have discussions about national politics than with other groups of the society. Befriending locals increases their engagement with Austrian values, culture, and language. It is assumed that spending time with Austrians leads to the exposure and partial adoption of Austrian values, which include democratic principles. They are also more likely to be aware and up-to-date with events or issues of the host country and participate in cultural activities (e.g., going to the movies or to a cultural event), which fosters political interest. Naturally, it is necessary to have at least some basic knowledge of the local language to make and maintain friendships and professional relationships with locals at school or work. Moreover, having shared values might facilitate this socialization process.

To summarize, language, cultural skills and a tight social network with locals is expected to be positively linked to immigrant's inclusion and participation in the host society. The following three hypotheses are therefore:

- *H5: Immigrants who have good German skills are more likely to participate than those with a lower level.*

- *H6: Immigrants who have strong Austrian-related cultural skills, are more likely to participate.*
- *H7: Immigrants who have many Austrian friends, work or school colleagues are more likely to participate than those who have fewer Austrians in their social network.*

Other relevant factors

There are a couple of factors that affect both political participation and various forms of host socio-cultural capital. A facilitator of any type of host SCC (language, cultural skills, or social network) is their socio-economic status (SES) in the host country. Having financial means allows them to pursue cultural and linguistic activities (going to the cinema, buying newspapers, attending additional language classes, participating in school trips etc.), which bring them closer to local culture and give them opportunities to meet and strengthen their relationships to local people. Hence, it is assumed that their SES impacts the political involvement of people with migration background indirectly by enabling other factors that are directly linked to political engagement. In addition, literature on the majority population has shown that high SES and political participation are frequently correlated (Quintelier and Hooghe 2013).

Another determining factor is the duration of residence in the local society. This positively affects the turnout of immigrants (Messina 2007, 197–99), as well as the level of language, the extent to which immigrants follow local news and establish a social network. The longer the stay in the new society, the stronger the social network since there have been more opportunities to get involved in the community and meet locals.

Political rights are often a necessary condition for political participation. Naturally, most studies on political engagement, including those who study electoral participation of immigrants, focus on the part of the population that already has voting rights since turnout could not be studied otherwise. The variable citizenship is often highly statistically significant in these analyses

(Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995). With respect to people with migration background, citizenship impacts their turnout positively and immigrant citizens who possess full political rights are better involved in the politics of the host country than immigrant non-citizens (Messina 2007, 197). However, in this study political rights are included neither in the analysis of the ESS dataset, nor in the original, online survey. The former focuses on self-reported actual turnout and excludes immigrants without citizenship as they are not eligible to vote. The latter analysis deals with the relationship between intended political participation and home and host SCC. Since political rights in the host country do not affect any of the previously discussed forms of SCC, it is not a confounder.

Contextualizing the political participation of immigrants: Results from the European Social Survey

To test the previously established hypotheses on different forms of home and host socio-cultural capital one analysis is run based on the results of the ninth wave of the European Social Survey (ESS). ESS is performed in over thirty countries every two years to evaluate the practices, conviction, and attitudes pattern of the respondents. Due to its comprehensive, cross-sectional, and scholarly driven character, it is a high-quality data set that applies random sampling and has a high number of observations (European Social Survey 2023). The ninth wave inquiry in Austria took place from September 2018 until January 2019 (European Social Survey 2021).

Logistic regressions were carried out for each predictor variable since the outcome variable is categorical with only two values. This statistical technique is commonly used when the dependent variable is binary and allows to estimated change in odds in the outcome variable for a one-unit change in the independent variable. The interpretation of the coefficients, confidence intervals and statistical significance of logistic regression models allows to establish the magnitude and direction of the explanatory variable on the odds of the binary dependent variable.

Drawing on the concept of the 'rucksack approach' and transferability theory from literature, education level and values in the shape of democracy level of the respondent's country are examined. The political socialization in a (non-) democratic country and highest educational achievement proxy the home SCC, and are expected to positively influence political participation in the host country. Regarding home SCC, the education level of the respondents is looked at when they were foreign born and of their parents' education for in-country born immigrants. The same difference between first and second-generation immigrants is made when evaluating the influence of values which are proxied by the state of democracy of the respondent's or their parents' country of birth. To assess the influence of the democratization

level of one's origin country and how it affects turnout in the new host country, the democracy level of the respondent's country of birth was added to the dataset. This information was extracted from the Freedom House Index (FHI), which is a comprehensive, widely used index to assess the extent of democratization for each country. It assesses the state of political and civil rights in 210 countries and territories (Freedom House 2023a). An online available, comprehensive dataset that includes the indices from the years 2013-2023 is used to calculate the average score regarding the democracy level for each country (Freedom House 2023b). The average FHI is used to proxy the democracy level of the respondent's country because it reflects the democratic development of countries.

With respect to exposure theory which claims that duration and close contact with the local society and political system positively affects political engagement of immigrants (White et al. 2008), two additional analyses were carried out. One of them focuses on the German skills of respondents, which is approximated by whether the respondent speaks a foreign language at home and second how much time they spend following the news. Since the ESS dataset does not include variables on one's social network, H7 could not be tested.

The outcome variable is turnout in the past national election. The options were captured as 'Yes/No/Not eligible'. Respondents who do not have the right to vote were excluded from the analysis since it is not conceptually valid to assign them to either voters or non-voters. The final sample with eligible immigrants and Austrians has 2,340 responses.

Education level of the respondent (1st generation)

To test H1, which claims that a higher education level is linked to more political engagement, the different levels, and degrees of education in the ESS dataset which range from primary school to PhD are collapsed in three categories ("No or lower secondary education",

"Vocational or Highschool" and "University Degree") for the purpose of practicality and simplicity. The first category serves as a baseline group for the latter ones.

The coefficients from the logistic regression (Model 1 in Table 1) show that for both immigrants and Austrian higher education level is linked to a higher turnout probability, however these coefficients are not statistically significant at a 95% confidence level. Regarding immigrants, the increase in log odds of turning out are 1.266 for university degree compared to secondary educated respondents. However, this is only statistically significant at a p-value of 01. The analysis on Austrians suggests a similar, but also statistically insignificant trend. The difference in education level on turnout probability between first-generation immigrants and Austrians is only significant (p-value 0.01) for the baseline group. Austrians with no or secondary education have a predicted probability of 0.81 compared to 0.55 for immigrants.

To summarize, the data does not provide enough statistically significant evidence to reject the null-hypothesis which claims that there is no association between higher education and political participation. The regression model only suggests that a higher level of education is linked to a higher estimated voting probability and that this is generally higher for Austrians (Figure 1).

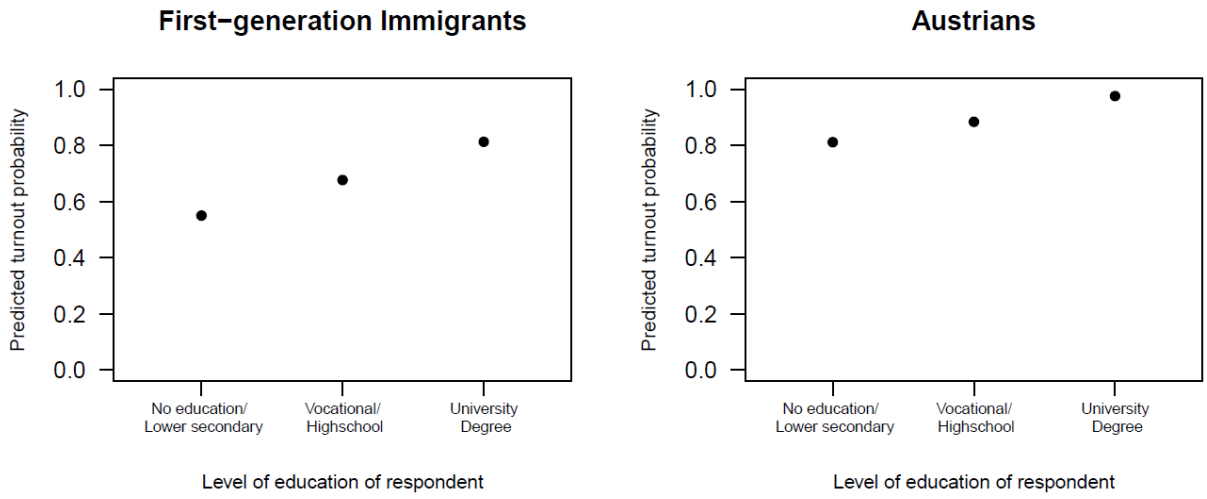

Figure 1: Education level of respondents on Turnout

Table 1: Education level of immigrant respondents and parents on turnout

	Dependent variable:		
	Turnout of respondent		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Intercept	0.201	1.331***	1.099***
	(0.318)	(0.300)	(0.231)
Voc./Highschool	0.537		
	(0.410)		
University Degree	1.266*		
	(0.715)		
Voc./HS Father		0.223	
		(0.414)	
University Degree Father		0.920	
		(0.802)	
Voc./HS Mother			1.175**
			(0.459)
University Degree Mother			1.204
			(1.074)
Austrian	1.258***	0.758**	0.917***
	(0.350)	(0.330)	(0.252)
Voc./Highschool: AT	0.033		
	(0.443)		
University Degree: AT	0.950		
	(0.859)		
Voc./Highschool: AT Fathers		−0.328	
		(0.444)	
University Degree: AT Fathers		−0.402	
		(0.903)	
Voc./Highschool: AT Mothers			−1.179**
			(0.481)
University Degree: AT Mothers			0.542
			(1.479)
Observations	2,107	2,089	2,140
Log Likelihood	−779.438	−762.140	−780.035
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,570.876	1,536.280	1,572.070
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Education level of the respondent's parents (2nd generation)

It is argued that the education level of parents is positively associated with turnout of second-generation immigrants (H2). The previously created categories of education ("No or lower secondary education", "Vocational or Highschool" and "University Degree") were used again for the regressions. The sample size consists of 2,089 and 2,140 responses for the regression on father's and mother's education level, respectively.

The logistic regression for father's education (Model 2 in Table 1) indicates that there is no statistical difference in the voting probability across different education levels. The change in education level is very similar across the different education levels and not statistically significant. The difference in log odds between immigrant and Austrian fathers is statistically meaningful for the secondary education group.

The same analysis was carried out with the education level of the mothers (Model 3 in Table 1). The difference across the educational groups is more pronounced. The increase in predicted change in log odds in turnout is 1.175 when the respondent's mother has a high-school dergee compared to when she has no or only secondary education. This means that the odds of turning out increase by 3.24 when the mother has vocational school degree compared to secondary education degree (Figure 2). This is statistically significant at a p-value of 0.05. The change in log odds in turnout is 1.204 for university educated mothers of 2nd generation immigrants, but this is not statistically significant. The difference in log odds between 2nd generation immigrants and Austrians is statistically significant for secondary and high-school education. Austrians whose mothers have secondary education have an increase in log odds in turning out of 0.917 compared to respondents whose mothers are in that education group. Surprisingly Austrians whose mothers have a vocational school background have a decrease in log odds in turning out of 1.179 compared to their immigrant peers. Regarding second-generation immigrants, this translates to predicted probabilities of turning out of 0.75 and 0.91 for respondents with mothers

who have secondary education and high-school education, respectively. In contrast, Austrians have an estimated turnout probability of 0.88 for both secondary and high-school-educated mothers.

Overall these results provide mixed support for H2. The regression on father's education does not confirm the expected relationship between transmitted knowledge and political engagement. For mothers there is a statistically significant trend suggesting that higher education levels are associated with higher turnout, especially comparing secondary and high-school education. The existence of the migration obstacle was not confirmed since Austrians had a significantly higher turnout probability than immigrants among mothers with secondary-education level. Regarding mothers' high-school education, immigrants had a similar (and slightly higher) voting probability than Austrians. This could hint to the fact that the barriers related to migration background are not as pronounced for second-generation immigrants.

The fact that the increase in mother's education for second-generation immigrants is linked to higher turnout for 2nd generation immigrants and partially statistically significant suggests that mothers might play a bigger role in the transmission of values and practices in the family. Particularly in more traditional circles where mothers stay at home and are primarily responsible for childcare, this impact could be more pronounced.

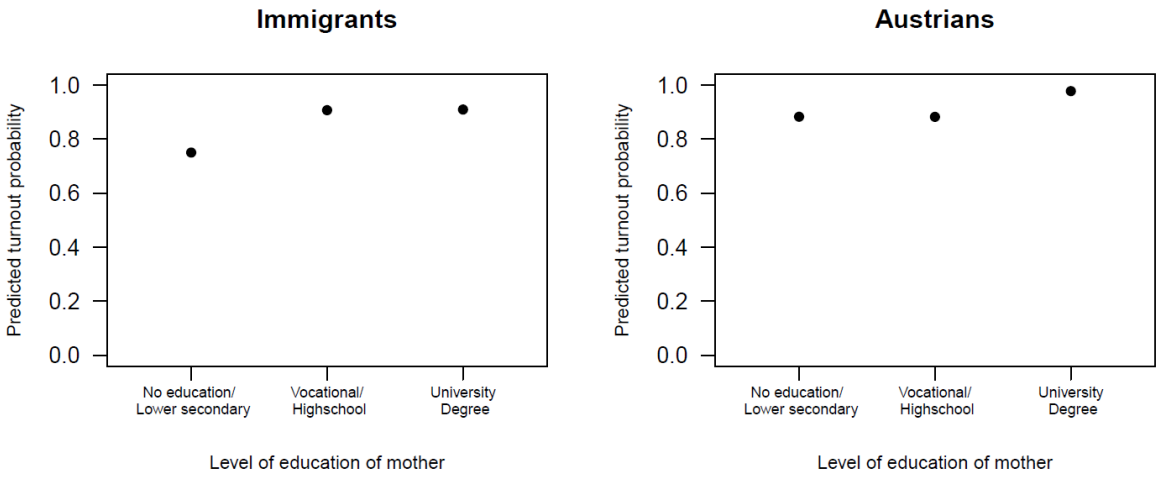

Figure 2: Education level of mother for 2nd generation immigrants and Austrians

Democracy level of the respondent's country of birth

As stated in H3 first-generation immigrants who were born in democratic countries are expected to be more likely to participate than those who were born in less democratic countries. The assumption is that the country of birth of the respondents is also the place where they grew up in and attended school. A linear regression on turnout by democracy level shows that the log odds in turnout increase by 0.008 for a one-unit change on the democracy scale (Model 1 in Table 2). Since this coefficient is not statistically significant, the data does not provide sufficient evidence to conclude that there is a meaningful relationship between democracy level of an immigrant's home country and their turnout in the new host country. Contrary to theoretical expectations, the values that the respondent adopted from their home country do not play a role in their new place of residence.

Table 2: Democracy level of respondent's, mother's and father's country and turnout

	Dependent variable:		
	Turnout of children		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Intercept	0.075	−0.041	0.012
	(0.575)	(0.683)	(0.728)
Demlvl of respondent's cntry	0.008		
	(0.008)		
Demlvl mother's cntry		0.020**	
		(0.009)	
Demlvl of father's cntry			0.019**
			(0.009)
Observations	124	191	190
Log Likelihood	−79.514	−85.236	−85.550
Akaike Inf. Crit.	163.029	174.472	175.100
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Democracy level of parent's country of birth

H4 claims that second-generation immigrants whose parents emigrated from democratic countries are more likely to politically participate in Austria, compared to their peers whose family originates from an undemocratic country. To test this, two linear regressions were performed to evaluate the inter-generational effect of political socialization for immigrants based on the democracy level of the mother's and father's country of birth. It is assumed that the country of birth of the parent (mother or father) corresponds to the country that the parent was socialized in and that the values, practices, and knowledge that they acquired throughout their life were passed on to her child. Since this analysis only includes second-generation immigrants the sample size is small for father's (n= 191) and mother's country (n = 190).

Regarding mother's country of influence, the results from Model 2 in Table 2 show that for each additional point on the democracy scale, the log odds in voting probability increase by 0.020 at a significance level of 0.05. This means that the odds in turning out for a one-unit change are associated with an increase of 1.02. The plot with the predicted probabilities for

different democracy levels of the mother's country illustrate that a higher democracy level is linked to a higher turnout probability of the children (Figure 5). To illustrate better the effect of democracy level on turnout, here are a couple of examples: having a mother from Germany (average FHI: 95), Bosnia-and Hercegovina (average FHI: 56), Turkey (average FHI: 42) and Syria (average FHI: 0) results in a predicted turnout probability for second-generation immigrants of 0.87, 0.75, 0.69 and 0.49, respectively.

With respect to the democracy level of the father's home country, the findings are similar. An additional point on the Freedom House Index is linked to an increase in the log odds of voting by 0.019. This translates to an increase in odds of turning out of 1.02 for a one-unit increase on the democracy scale and is statistically significant at a p-value of 0.05 (Model 3 in Table 2). Returning to the previously used country examples, respondents whose father was born in Germany have a voting probability of 0.88, while those who with a father from Bosnia-and Hercegovina have a probability of 0.75 to go vote. Immigrants with a Turkish father have a voting probability of 0.69 and those with a Syrian one have an estimated probability of 0.46 to have casted a ballot in Austrian elections (right plot in Figure 6).

To conclude the influence of the democracy level of parent's home country is substantively and statistically meaningful for their children's turnout in Austria. The data from the European Social Survey provides sufficient evidence to establish a significant relationship between democracy level of mother's country of birth and turnout of their children in the host country which gives support for H4.

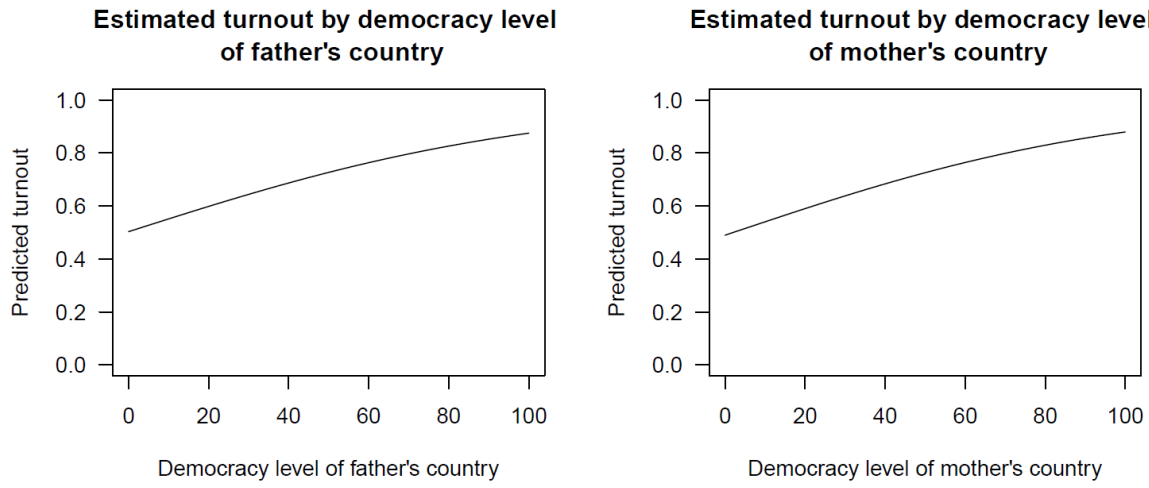

Figure 3: Democracy of parent's country

German skills

It is argued in H5 that immigrants with better German skills are more likely to be politically active than those with limited linguistic abilities. Linguistic skills are abilities useful and necessary for political participation. Regarding immigrants it has more weight and meaning because mastering the language of the host country is key to access to the social and political sphere which indirectly impacts how well integrated and socially embedded they are in the society. Since the ESS dataset does not cointain a variable on German skills, the closest proxy would be the information on the language spoken in the respondent's home. A dummy variable is created to indicate whether the language spoken at home is German or a foreign one. The assumption is that immigrants who mainly speak a different language than German at home have lower levels of German. While this is a big assumption, it can indicate the direction in which linguistic skills play out when investigating political engagement.

As the results from the linear regression (Table 3) and the plot in Figure 5 shows, that the decrease in log odds in voting is 1.512 when the respondent speaks a foreign language at home. This is statistically significant at a p-value of 0.01. The predicted turnout probabilities are 0.6

and 0.87 for foreign-language speakers and those speaking German at home. Assuming that speaking a foreign language at home is linked to poorer German skills, these findings give support for H5. In light of this, the results point to the direction that speaking German at home has a positive influence on voting probability. To confirm this result, it is necessary to have variables that capture the German skills of immigrants more precisely.

Table 3: Influence of following news on turnout

	Dependent variable:	
	Turnout of respondent	
	(1)	(2)
Intercept	1.930***	1.186***
	(0.064)	(0.134)
Foreign language	−1.512***	
	(0.256)	
News		−0.0003
		(0.0002)
Austrian		0.845***
		(0.152)
News: Austrian		0.0002
		(0.0003)
Observations	2,301	2,301
Log Likelihood	−894.520	−890.202
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,793.040	1,788.403
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

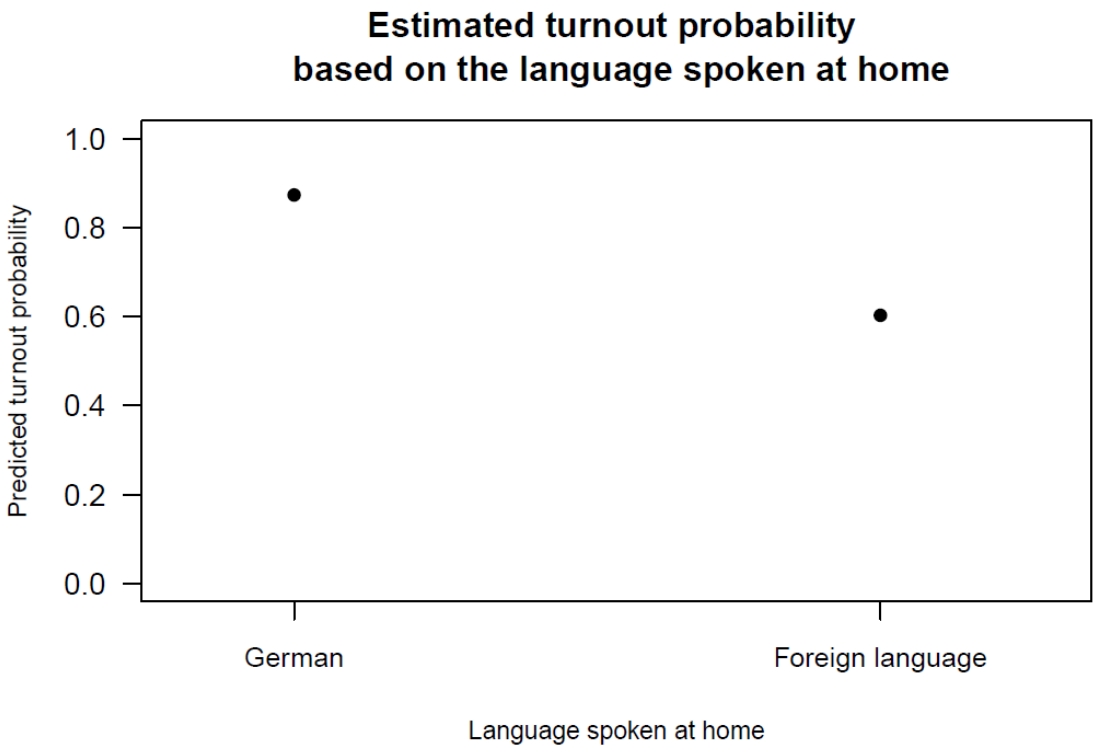

Figure 4: Estimated turnout probability based on the language spoken at home

Austrian-related cultural skills

Immigrants with better Austrian-related cultural skills are expected to have higher levels of political participation (H6). The only variable in the ESS dataset which is suitable to proxy these cultural skills is the variable 'news' which describes how many minutes per day the respondent spends reading, listening, or watching the news on current affairs and politics on a typical day. The question in the ESS dataset does not distinguish whether the news are local or foreign. Nevertheless, it still implies that being up-to-date with current affairs (from any news source) is beneficial for political participation as it indicates political interest and knowledge which is expected to be positively associated with turnout (H6).

However, the logistic regression (Model 2 in Table 3) indicates that the decrease in log odds in turnout for immigrants is 0.0003 for each additional minute spent following the news. This is

essentially zero and not statistically significant. The trend is similar for Austrians, however also not statistically significant.

Even though the regressions showed that reading the newspaper had barely any effect on Austrians and even a slight negative one for immigrants, it is still a form of socio-cultural capital that is necessary to include in other analysis. This surprising outcome might be because following the news was measured in minutes and the type of news was not specified. In addition, immigrants might report the minutes they spend on following media outlets from their home countries which would not benefit their political interest and activity in Austria and explain the negative association. To conclude, I fail to reject the null-hypothesis that there is no association between news consumption and political engagement due to a lack of substantive statistical evidence in the ESS dataset. More precise questions on the origin and language of the media would be necessary to better understand the ongoing mechanism and provide support for H6.

Conclusion of the ESS-analysis

To summarize the analysis of the ninth wave of the European Social Survey for Austria offered some interesting results. Various forms of socio-cultural capital, such as the high level of education of mothers from second-generation immigrants and not speaking a foreign language at home (which is a proxy for German skills) are positively linked to turnout of respondents with migration background. Other variables, like education level of the respondent and of their father, values in the form of democracy level of the respondent's or their parents' country of birth are positively linked to turnout, albeit not statistically significant.

Speaking a foreign language at home also lowered the probability to be politically active. As previous research has pointed out that acculturation of immigrants affects children's skills (Becker, Klein, and Biedinger 2013), the results suggest that it could also affect the child's

behavior, like political participation. It is an indication that one form of acculturation (ethnic language use at home) is negatively associated with turnout of children. There is also evidence for the intergenerational effect of SCC since the education level of mothers matters for their children's turnout. This not only provides support to the hypothesis that the educational level of parents matters but also suggests that mother's influence on their children is more pronounced than that of fathers'. The analysis confirms that there is an obstacle which stems from having migration background since immigrants were less likely to vote than their Austrian counterparts, when evaluating the impact of father's and mother's education level.

Following the news barely had any effect on turnout, however this might be because the frequency of that activity was measured in minutes and on a Likert-scale. While it was shown that this impact is weakened by higher levels of education, the question remains whether this can be attenuated by one's social network and embeddedness in the local society. Does having Austrian friends, colleagues and participating in social, cultural events help immigrants to partly overcome this turnout gap? Looking at the social network of immigrants might help explain the positive association between democracy level of the mother and the turnout of her child because originating from a democratic country instills democratic values and practices in a person which can facilitate the inclusion and integration in the new host society.

Testing socio-cultural capital factors on an original, online survey

To test the same predictors as in the ESS analysis, I will rely on my own data. An original survey was carried out in May 2023 to assess whether the trends identified in the ESS analysis can be identified as well in the present and to examine more closely the impact of socio-cultural capital of the host country. Concretely more questions were asked about the influence of Austrian-related cultural skills (e.g. reading Austrian newspaper, having political discussions about politics in this country) and linguistic skills (German level). In addition to the previously used factors, a new variable on the social network in Austria of the immigrants was included in the survey and analysis. Due to time and resource constrictions the sample of the online survey is not representative and contains imbalances in the distribution of different variables. However, it provides a snapshot of the setting and offers more comprehensive understanding of the trends observed in the ESS analysis.

Data collection

The responses were collected mostly on social media. A Facebook advertisement was launched over the course of two weeks mid-May that targeted people who were above the age of 16 and living in Austria. The age restriction was set this low because voting rights are granted at age 16 to Austrian citizens. The ad itself stated more precisely that the target audience is people with migration background which is defined as being born abroad or having at least one parent who fulfills this criterion. In the introduction of the survey people confirmed again that they are residents in Austria, older than 16 years and have migration background by continuing with the survey. Throughout the course of the data collection process, there were multiple comments by Facebook users who started discussing topics, such as immigration policies, gender diversity and other issues in a provocative, not respectful way. When editing the advertisement and promoting it again, old comments disappeared which also ensured that these discussions which

quickly drifted away from the topic of my survey do not question the credibility of the study. This led to a total sample size of 499 responses. Furthermore, a program which provides scholarships to ambitious, underprivileged high-school students with migration background in Austria was contacted to distribute the survey. Due to a low response rate and communication problems the sample size consists of four responses from that recruitment process. For both data collection strategies, a lottery prize was offered to the respondents. The prize encompassed three vouchers for a common Austrian supermarket, with values of 50€, 30€ and 20€ respectively. This incentive intended to increase the response rate of the survey.

The two data collection sources led to a sample size of 503, however incomplete responses and cases where both parents and the respondent were born in Austria were excluded. In addition, respondents who completed the survey in less than 2,4 minutes were pruned from the dataset. It is assumed that the survey cannot be filled out conscientiously in less time than that. The final, complete data set has a size of n = 357.

Descriptive statistics

There are 258 first-generation immigrants and 99 respondents who are second-generation.

Table 4: Summary of Immigrants

	Freq
1st Generation	258
2nd Generation	99
Sum	357

Regarding the gender distribution among respondents, women were in the majority since there were 102 male, 248 females and 7 non-binary ones.

Table 5: Gender distribution

	Gender
Male	102
Female	248
Non-binary	7
Sum	357

The most common age group represented is the category 46-60 years and the sample consists mostly of adults who are above 36 years old.

Table 6: Age distribution

	Age
16-18	27
19-25	30
26-35	36
36-45	65
46-60	127
60+	72
Sum	357

There is more balance with respect to socio-economic status and half of the respondents have monthly income of 1000-3000€.

Table 7: Income distribution

	Income
Below 500€	38
500-1000€	49
1000-1500€	64
1500-2000€	73
2000-3000€	94
more than 3000€	39
Sum	357

There are 258 respondents from the first and 99 respondents from the second-generation. The former indicated the age that they arrived in Austria and the vast majority arrived in early or late adulthood (+ 16 years).

Table 8: Residence in Austria

	Age of arrival in Austria
0-6 years	9
7-15 years	21
16-30 years	133
31-45 years	74
46-65 years	21
Sum	258

There are two dependent variables: turnout and political participation. The first one is binary and captures whether the respondent voted in the previous election on a district or municipal level. The sample consists of 158 immigrants with Austrian citizenship, 133 with an EU citizenship (which allows them to participate in district and municipal elections in Austria) and 66 non-EU citizens. Hence, the immigrants which have some electoral rights are 291 compared to 66 respondents who cannot participate in any elections. The distribution of turnout is 104 non-voters compared to 187 voters.

Table 9: Citizenship distribution

	Citizenship
Austria	158
EU	133
Non-EU	66
Sum	357

Table 10: Turnout distribution

	Turnout
Not voted	104
Voted	187
Sum	291

The second outcome variable is an index that includes the responses on ‘voting intention’ and ‘political engagement’ which measured whether respondents participated in a demonstration,

signed a petition, or volunteered for a political organization or campaign. The political engagement variable shows that nearly half of the respondents did not engage in any of the listed political activities in the past twelve months. A fourth of the immigrants reported to have done one political activity.

Voting intention is measured on a scale from 0-100 and reports how likely a person is to vote if they had the possibility, considering that some immigrants do not have the Austrian citizenship. The table below shows that half of the respondents reported to go to vote since the median is 100. This high voting intention might be biased due to social desirability or because survey participants overestimate their actual political engagement. For this reason, voting intention is combined with the variable on political engagement since the former measures a low-cost political activity which means that collapsing it with other, more costly forms of engagement (e.g. demonstrating) balances this out.

Table 11: Voting intention distribution

	Min	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max	Standard deviation
Voting Intention	0	82	100	82.58	100	100	31.54

Table 12: Distribution of political participation

	Amount of political activities
No political activities	173
1 polit. activity	85
2 polit. activities	49
3 polit. activities	49
Sum of responses	356

Table 13: Summary of Political Participation Index

	Min	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max	Missing	Standard deviation
Political engagement index	0	0.51	0.53	0.59	0.69	1	0	0.25

The resulting political engagement index range from 0-1, has an average value of 0.59 and a standard deviation of 0.25.

There are six variables on home socio-cultural capital: education and democracy level of the respondents and their mothers and fathers. There are three educational categories: 1) secondary school which includes apprenticeship degrees that do not qualify for university entrance in Austria ('Matura'), 2) vocational or high-school which includes the Matura, and 3) university that encompasses Bachelor, Master or PhD level. The most common education level among foreign-born respondents is a university degree, while it is secondary education for both mothers and fathers for respondents born in Austria.

Table 14: Distribution of education levels

	Respondent (1st gen)	Mother (of 2nd gen)	Father (of 2nd gen)
Secondary education	50	51	56
Voc/Highschool	71	30	19
Uni	137	18	24
Sum	258	99	99

The average democracy level ('Demlvl') of the respondents' country when they are first-generation immigrant is 75. Half of the respondent's countries lie between 67 and 93 points on the Freedom House Index. Regarding 2nd generation immigrants, the mother's and father's country average democracy state is 70 and 67 respectively. These values are based on the FHI which takes an average of the democracy from 2013-2023.

Table 15: Summary of democracy level

	Min	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max	SD	Sum
Demlvl of respondent's country (1st gen)	0	67	83	75	92	100	22	258
Demlvl of mother's country (2nd gen)	16	56	71	70	90	96	22	99
Demlvl of father's country (2nd gen)	18	54	71	67	90	99	24	99

German level was measured on a four categories and most respondents fall in the group fluent or native. This is not surprising since the survey was written and conducted in German.

Table 16: Distribution of German skills

	German level
Beginner	12
Intermediate	38
Fluent	194
Native	113
Sum	357

There are three variables that measure Austrian related activities on a five-point Likert scale that ranges from never, rarely, sometimes often to always: reading newspaper and watching from Austria and attending cultural events in Austria (e.g. festivals, theater, museums). The table below shows that respondents are active since the median is category 4 ("Often") for the first two and category 3 ("Sometimes) for the latter activity. There are also two variables that measure activities related to one's home country which include: following news from the home country and attending events from organizations, sport clubs or associations from one's home culture. Respondents are a bit less active there since the median category is 3 ('Sometimes') for the former variable and 2 ('Rarely') for the latter variable. The index 'cultural skills AT' is composed of three other variables that measure the frequency of reading Austrian newspaper, watching Austrian television and attending cultural events in Austria (e.g. festivals, theater, museums). It ranges from 1-5 and has a median of 3. The index that is composed of the activities related to one's home country has a median of 2.

Table 17: Summary of Frequency of Cultural activities

	Min	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max	SD	Sum
Reading AT newspaper	1	3	4	3	5	5	1	357
Watching AT TV	1	2	4	3	5	5	1	357
Doing AT cultural activities	1	2	3	3	4	5	1	357
Following news from the home cntry	1	2	3	3	4	5	1	357
Doing cultural activities from home culture	1	1	2	2	3	5	1	357

Two variables measure the extent of contact with Austrians in friendship circles and in a school or work setting. These are measured in percentages on a scale from 0-100. The proportion of

local friends in one's friendship circle is on average 45% and 70% in school or at work. These variables were collapsed to create the 'Social Network Index' which has a mean of 52 and indicates the extent of relationships with locals for each respondent.

Table 18: Summary of Number of Austrian friends and colleagues

	Min	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max	SD	Sum
Number of AT friends	0	10	49	45	73	100	33	357
Number of AT school/work colleagues	0	33	70	59	90	100	32	357

Table 19: Summary of Index for Social Network, Austrian Cultural activities, Cultural activities from home country

	Min	1st Qu.	Median	Mean	3rd Qu.	Max	SD	Sum
Social Network Index	0	35	55	52	74	100	27	357
Cultural skills AT	1	3	3	3	4	5	1	357
Cultural skills home cntry	1	2	2	2	3	5	1	357

Education level of the respondent (1st generation)

To assess the impact of home socio-cultural capital, like education from one's country of origin on the political participation in the new host country, a linear and a logistic regression were carried out for 1st generation immigrants. The group "Secondary education" serves as the reference group in the following analyses.

It is theorized in H1 that a higher level of education acquired in the home country is expected to lead to higher levels of political engagement in the host country. The predicted change from secondary education to high-school is 0.116 and 0.57 to university degree, respectively (Model 1 in Table 20). These coefficients are statistically significant at a p-value of 0.001. The estimated influence of education on political participation is 0.451 for respondents with secondary education, 0.567 for respondents who attended vocational or high-school and 0.607 for university-educated ones (see left plot in Figure 5). While this offers support for H1 since there is a statistically and substantively meaningful increase in participation probability for high-school educated compared to those with only a secondary education level, there is barely any difference between those with a high-school degree and a university degree. This is surprising since one would expect people with higher education to show higher levels of knowledge and skills to better integrate in the host society and therefore also become more politically interested and involved.

Regarding the logistic regression in Model 2 in the table, the change in the log odds turnout probability lower from secondary to high-school is 0.017 and 0.298 to university, respectively. However, there is no statistical significance and no substantive change in turnout probability.

To conclude, the analysis provides some support for the hypothesis due to the significant results on the participation index, however the estimated probability is almost the same for high-school and university educated.

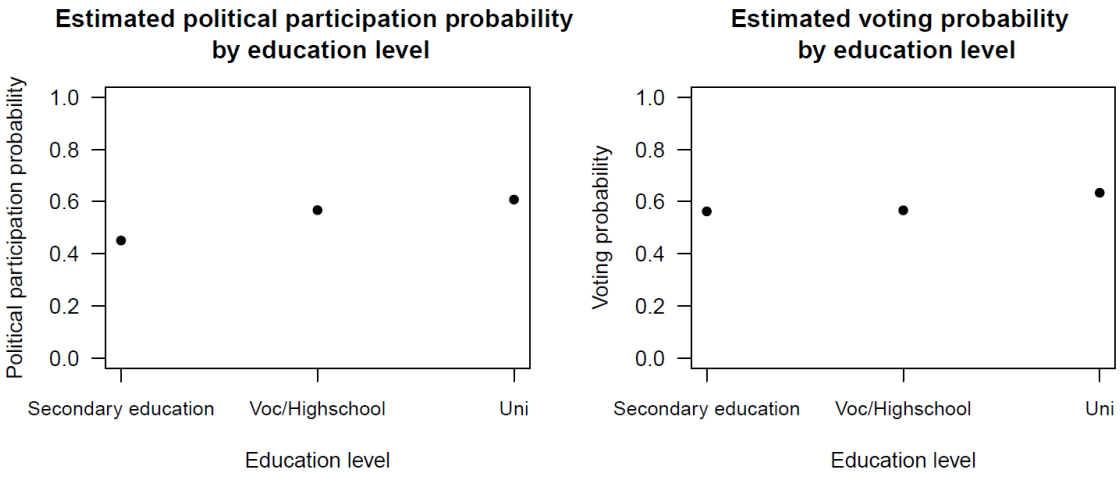

Figure 5: Political involvement based on education level of 1st generation immigrants

Table 20: Education level of respondents on political participation and turnout

	Dependent variable:	
	Political participation	Turnout
	OLS	*logistic*
	(1)	(2)
Intercept	0.451***	0.251
	(0.035)	(0.356)
Voc/Highschool	0.116**	0.017
	(0.046)	(0.441)
Uni	0.157***	0.298
	(0.041)	(0.407)
Observations	258	204
R^2	0.055	
Adjusted R^2	0.047	
Log Likelihood		−136.549
Akaike Inf. Crit.		279.098
Residual Std. Error	0.247 (df = 255)	
F Statistic	7.398*** (df = 2; 255)	
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Education level of the respondent's parents (2nd generation)

Regarding 2nd generation immigrants, the impact was assessed based on the education that their parent's received in the country of origin. Responses where both parents were born in Austria were excluded since they do not possess migration background.

The linear regression (n= 85) demonstrated that the influence of mother's education on political participation of her child is very similar for the three education categories. The change in participation probability from secondary education to university is 0.156 but only significant at a p-value of 0.1 as the coefficients Model 1 in Table 21 show. Unlike stated in H2, the predicted participation does not increase with the education level of the mother.

The results from the logistic regression indicate that higher education level is associated with higher participation, however none of the results are statistically significant. One needs to note the small sample size. For instance, there are only 10 respondents whose mothers have a university degree and all of them reported to have voted in the past election.

Regarding fathers, the influence of the education acquired in their respective country of origins on political participation and turnout of their children is the same across different educational degrees (see Figure 9). Model 3 in Table 21 shows that the change in political participation (n = 87) differs only by 0.005 and -0.002 for high-school and university-educated respectively compared to secondary education. The change in participation probability is basically zero and not statistically significant. With reference to turnout (n = 75) the change in log odds for turnout does indicate a higher turnout probability, however these are not statistically significant.

To conclude, the analysis of education level of immigrant mother and fathers on their Austrian-born and raised children's political participation and turnout in Austria does not provide sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The data does not suggest that there is a statistically significant relationship between parental education from their home country and

the political engagement of their child. Generally, the respondent's probability to be politically involved does not increase with their parent's education. Considering the small sample size of second-generation immigrants, it is necessary to repeat the analysis with a bigger dataset to test the hypothesis again and assess whether these unexpected results stem from the limited sample size or from the fact that the hypothesized relationship between education level of parents and political involvement for second-generation immigrants does not exist. This could also suggest that second-generation immigrants assimilate more the tendencies of Austrian people and their link between education level and turnout.

Table 21: Education level of respondents's parents on political participation and turnout

	Dependent variable:			
	Political participation	Turnout	pp	vote
	OLS	*logistic*	*OLS*	*logistic*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	0.592***	0.969***	0.634***	0.731**
	(0.037)	(0.354)	(0.035)	(0.338)
Voc/Highschool mother	0.040	−0.882		
	(0.063)	(0.547)		
Uni mother	0.156*	17.597		
	(0.082)	(2,062.639)		
Voc/Highschool father			0.005	0.448
			(0.067)	(0.664)
Uni father			−0.002	0.879
			(0.065)	(0.717)
Observations	85	73	87	75
R^2	0.042		0.0001	
Adjusted R^2	0.019		−0.024	
Log Likelihood		−39.447		−42.608
Akaike Inf. Crit.		84.895		91.217
Residual Std. Error	0.254 (df = 82)		0.244 (df = 84)	
F Statistic	1.818 (df = 2; 82)		0.004 (df = 2; 84)	
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Democracy level of the respondent's country of birth

According to H1, the political participation is expected to be higher for first-generation immigrants coming from countries that score higher on the Freedom House Index than those with a low level of democracy. A linear regression (n = 258) on the political participation index does not confirm this idea since the participation increases by 0.003 for each additional score on the democracy scale (Model 1 in Table 22) but is not statistically significant.

A logistic regression (n = 204) that examines the change in the self-reported turnout in the past election on a municipal or district level by democracy level shows a similar trend. The coefficient in Model 2 of Table 22 means that for a one-unit change on the Freedom House Index, the log odds of voting increase by 0.006 which is not statistically meaningful.

The results from these analyses suggest that there is no relationship between democracy level of the respondent's country of birth and their political participation and turnout in the host country. Assuming that the respondent was socialized and raised in that country to a certain degree, it means that the political values and practices experienced and acquired in the home country are not transferred to the new host country and do not incite higher levels of political engagement.

Table 22: Democracy level of respondent's country on political participation and turnout

	Dependent variable:	
	Political participation	Turnout
	OLS	*logistic*
	(1)	(2)
Intercept	0.063	−0.042
	(0.062)	(0.658)
Demlvl respondents's cntry	0.0003	0.006
	(0.001)	(0.008)
Observations	258	204
R^2	0.001	
Adjusted R^2	−0.003	
Log Likelihood		−136.794
Akaike Inf. Crit.		277.588
Residual Std. Error	0.280 (df = 256)	
F Statistic	0.143 (df = 1; 256)	
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Democracy level of the country of birth of the respondent's parents (2nd generation)

Since second-generation immigrants were born in the host country, the influence of their parent's country of birth is used to assess the impact of the democratic values and practices which are transferred from parent to child. It is expected that higher levels of democracy of parent's home countries is associated with higher political participation and turnout of their children.

The linear regression (n = 99) for the mother's country of birth on the political participation index of second-generation immigrants (Model 1 in Table 23) indicates that each additional democracy point on the Freedom House Index is associated with a 0.0004 decrease on the participation index. This is basically zero and not statistically significant. In addition, a logistic regression (n = 87) on turnout was carried out which indicates that adding a point on the

democracy scale, the log odds of turning out enhance by 0.009. This does not substantively affect the turnout variable and does not have statistical significance.

The regressions on the democracy level of fathers' has similar null results. The coefficients of the OLS on political participation and of the logistic regression on turnout are neither statistically nor substantively meaningful (Model 3 and 4 in Table 23).

Assuming that parents were not only born but also raised and socialized in the political systems of these countries and that this shapes the values which they pass down to their children, this does not provide support for H4. The values which parents inherited from growing up in their home countries and pass on to their children are not associated with their offspring's turnout or political participation.

Table 23: Democracy level of respondent's, mother's and father's country on political participation and turnout

	Dependent variable:			
	Political participation	Turnout	Political participation	Turnout
	OLS	*logistic*	*OLS*	*logistic*
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	0.180	0.422	0.090	0.680
	(0.121)	(0.807)	(0.110)	(0.759)
Demlvl mother's cntry	−0.0004	0.009		
	(0.002)	(0.011)		
Demlvl father's cntry			0.001	0.005
			(0.002)	(0.010)
Observations	99	87	99	87
R^2	0.001		0.004	
Adjusted R^2	−0.010		−0.007	
Log Likelihood		−49.954		−50.137
Akaike Inf. Crit.		103.909		104.275
Residual Std. Error (df = 97)	0.362		0.362	
F Statistic (df = 1; 97)	0.059		0.349	
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

German skills

Proficient German skills are expected to be associated with higher levels of political involvement (H5). The linear regression on the participation index suggests that a higher linguistic level is linked to a slightly higher participation probability, however none of the coefficients are statistically significant. This finding holds true when interacting German skills to with the variable on generation. None of the coefficients are statistically or substantively relevant (Model 1 and 2 in Table 24).

The logistic regression on turnout however shows a clear positive relationship between voting and German skills. Compared to respondents who are beginners in German, the log odds of voting are higher by 0.762 for those on an intermediate level, by 2.243 for fluent speakers and by 2.721 for native-speakers, respectively (Model 3 in Table 24). The latter two are statistically significant at a p-value of 0.05, while the change in log odds in the outcome variable for intermediate speakers is not. This means that the estimated voting probability in percentage is 0.167, 0.3, 0.65 and 0.75 for beginners, intermediate-speakers, fluent ones, and natives, respectively (see Figure 6). While not all coefficients have statistical significance, it can be concluded that the probability to politically participate and to go vote increases with the German level of the respondent. The better they speak German, the more likely they are to participate. An interacted logistic model was carried out on turnout, however none of the coefficients for German levels or for the generational difference is significant, apart from the coefficient for native-speaker (Model 4 in Table 24).

The data gives evidence for H5 and confirms that higher German skills are associated with a higher turnout probability.

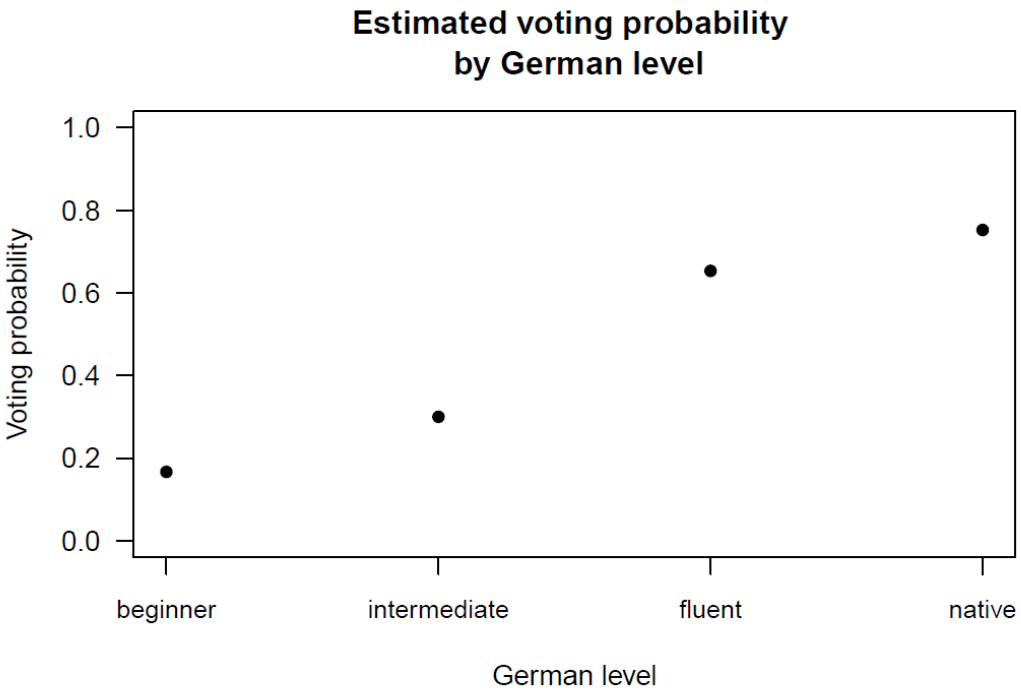

Figure 6: Political involvement based on German level of the respondent

Table 24: German skills of respondents on political participation and turnout

	Dependent variable:			
	Political participation		Turnout	
	OLS		*logistic*	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	0.000	−0.054	−1.609	−1.684
	(0.088)	(0.105)	(1.095)	(1.186)
Intermediate	0.026	0.111	0.762	−0.148
	(0.101)	(0.230)	(1.166)	(2.026)
Fluent	0.108	0.095	2.243**	1.990
	(0.091)	(0.128)	(1.109)	(1.313)
Native	0.133	0.102	2.721**	2.680**
	(0.092)	(0.098)	(1.119)	(1.145)
2nd generation		0.054		0.075
		(0.058)		(0.454)
Intermediate:2nd gen		−0.083		0.842
		(0.192)		(1.543)
Fluent:2nd gen		0.003		0.205
		(0.083)		(0.647)
Native:2nd gen				
Observations	357	357	291	291
R^2	0.014	0.019		
Adjusted R^2	0.005	0.002		
Log Likelihood			−176.602	−176.212
Akaike Inf. Crit.			361.204	366.425
Residual Std. Error	0.304 (df = 353)	0.305 (df = 350)		
F Statistic	1.640 (df = 3; 353)	1.126 (df = 6; 350)		
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Austrian-related cultural skills

Another aspect of the host socio-cultural capital are cultural skills which are applicable and useful in the new host country. The linear regression from Model 1 in Table 25 shows that Austrian cultural skills are positively related to political participation. The participation probability increases by 0.038 for one-unit increase on the cultural skills index which ranges from 1-5 (Figure 7). In Model 2 it was assessed whether there are heterogenous effects between the cultural skills of the host and home country, however there are no meaningful differences. In Model 1 of Table 25 the same regression was carried out while holding German levels

constant since it can disturb the relationship between engaging in Austrian cultural activities and political participation. The coefficients suggest a weak positive relationship between linguistic skills and cultural activities, however no meaningful differences were found.

Table 25: Cultural skills on political participation

	Dependent variable:		
	Political Participation		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Intercept	−0.024	−0.011	−0.047
	(0.057)	(0.133)	(0.092)
Cultural skills AT	0.038**	0.007	0.032*
	(0.016)	(0.040)	(0.018)
Cultural skills home cntry		−0.003	
		(0.046)	
Cultural skills AT: Cultural skills home cntry		0.012	
		(0.014)	
gereintermediate			−0.018
			(0.104)
gerefluent			0.041
			(0.098)
gerenative			0.072
			(0.098)
Observations	357	357	357
R^2	0.015	0.030	0.023
Adjusted R^2	0.012	0.021	0.012
Residual Std. Error	0.303 (df = 355)	0.302 (df = 353)	0.303 (df = 352)
F Statistic	5.454** (df = 1; 355)	3.577** (df = 3; 353)	2.040* (df = 4; 352)
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

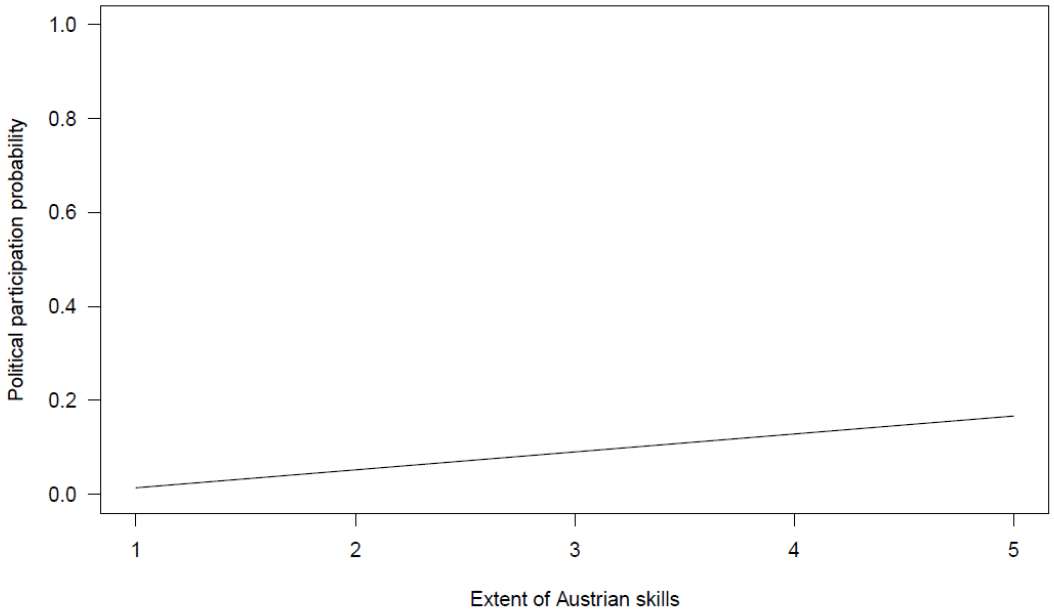

Figure 7: Estimated political participation by extent of Austrian skills

Model 1 in Table 26 represents the logistic regression of Austrian cultural skills on turnout. It indicates that an additional point on the cultural skills scale increases the log odds of turning out by 0.634. When exponentiated, this results in odds of turning out of 1.89. The turnout probability increases with the frequency of doing Austrian-related cultural activities (Figure 8). Immigrants who score high on the cultural activities index and frequently attend cultural events in Austria or follow local news, have a predicted turnout probability of 0.83, compared a probability of 0.28 of peers who never do these activities.

An interaction was added to evaluate whether this positive impact of cultural skills is different across different levels of cultural skills which are associated to the immigrant's home country. While it suggests that cultural skills from the home country are slightly negatively associated with turnout, the coefficients are not statistically significant (Model 2 in Table 26). Hence, the data does not provide evidence to deduce that skills from one's home culture influence voting behavior differently than Austrian-related cultural activities. When controlling for German level (Model 3 in Table 26) the coefficient of Austrian skills becomes smaller and more precise.

Assuming that the other variables are held constant, the log odds of voting increase by 0.596 at a p-value of 0.01. This equals to odds of turning out of 1.81 when controlling for German skills. The different German levels suggest that the higher the German level, the higher the log odds of voting, however none of these coefficients are statistically significant.

To conclude, the data provides evidence for H6 which argues that Austrian-related activities, like reading newspapers, watching TV, and attending cultural events have a positive influence of turnout and other forms of political participation of immigrants. These activities expose the respondents to the culture and language of the host country and foster political interest for local events.

Table 26: Cultural skills on turnout

	Dependent variable:		
	Turnout		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Intercept	−1.564***	−1.411	−2.757**
	(0.504)	(1.185)	(1.153)
Cultural skills AT	0.634***	0.670*	0.596***
	(0.146)	(0.358)	(0.159)
Cultural skills home cntry		−0.082	
		(0.455)	
Cultural skills AT: Cultural skills home cntry		−0.010	
		(0.134)	
Intermediate			0.024
			(1.195)
Fluent			1.254
			(1.148)
Native			1.928*
			(1.146)
Observations	291	291	291
Log Likelihood	−179.506	−179.178	−169.195
Akaike Inf. Crit.	363.013	366.357	348.390
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

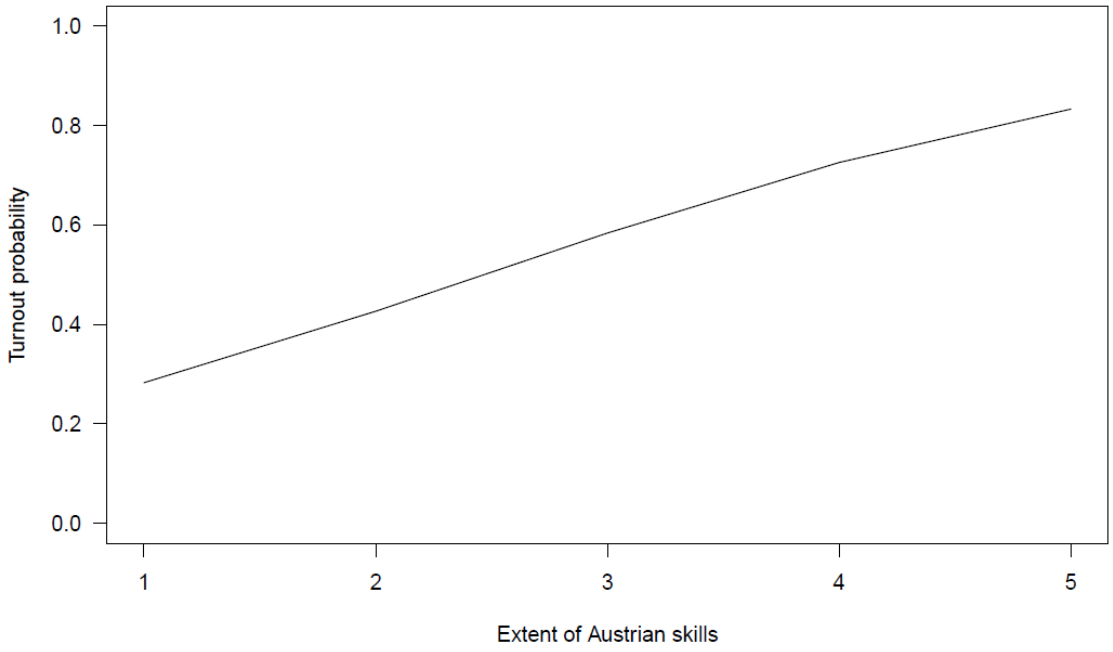

Figure 8: Estimated turnout by extent of Austrian skills

Social network

It is hypothesized that a social network which consists of many Austrian friends and work/school colleagues is linked to higher levels of political participation (H7). Two questions which measure the extent of Austrians among the respondent's work or school colleagues and friends in percentages (from 0-100) were collapsed to one social network variable.

The OLS on political participation by social network indicates that a one-unit change on the latter is linked to a 0.001 change in the former. This is a weak association and statistically significant at a confidence level of 90% (Model 1 in Table 27). When controlling for German the statistical relevance disappears which suggests that there is no association between social network and political participation.

The logistic regression in Model 3 in Table 27 shows a similar trend when evaluating the impact of social network on voting probability. The change in log odds of turning out increase by 0.026 for a one-unit change on the Social Network Index. This equals to odds of turning out of 1.03

for a one-unit change in social network variable. This is statistically significant at a p-value of 0.01. Having more Austrian friends and colleagues is linked to a higher turnout probability (Figure 9). This corroborates the analysis on political participation and is in line with the theory which argues that being exposed to more locals and therefore also their culture, topics of conversation at school, work, or one's friendship circles, leads to more involvement in the host society which can express itself in political participation. When controlling for German level in the logistic regression, the change in log odds in voting probability for an additional point on the social network scale is 0.022 (Model 4 in Table 27). This is statistically significant at a p-value of 0.001. The coefficients suggest having an Austrian social network is linked to higher turnout level for each linguistic category, however none of these coefficients are statistically significant. Assuming that German level is held constant, the odds of turning out increase by 1.02 for a one-unit increase on the social network index.

To summarize, close contact to locals at school, work or in one's friendship circles is positively linked to turnout of immigrants, however not to other forms of political participation. To conclude, these results provide some support for H7.

Table 27: Social network on political participation and turnout

	Dependent variable:			
	Political participation		Turnout	
	OLS		*logistic*	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Intercept	0.043	−0.012	−0.757***	−2.030*
	(0.035)	(0.088)	(0.286)	(1.112)
Network index	0.001*	0.001	0.026***	0.022***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Intermediate		0.010		0.231
		(0.102)		(1.188)
Fluent		0.078		1.506
		(0.094)		(1.132)
Native		0.096		1.914*
		(0.097)		(1.143)
Observations	357	357	291	291
R^2	0.011	0.018		
Adjusted R^2	0.008	0.007		
Log Likelihood			−175.466	−167.682
Akaike Inf. Crit.			354.931	345.364
Residual Std. Error	0.304 (df = 355)	0.304 (df = 352)		
F Statistic	3.862* (df = 1; 355)	1.634 (df = 4; 352)		
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

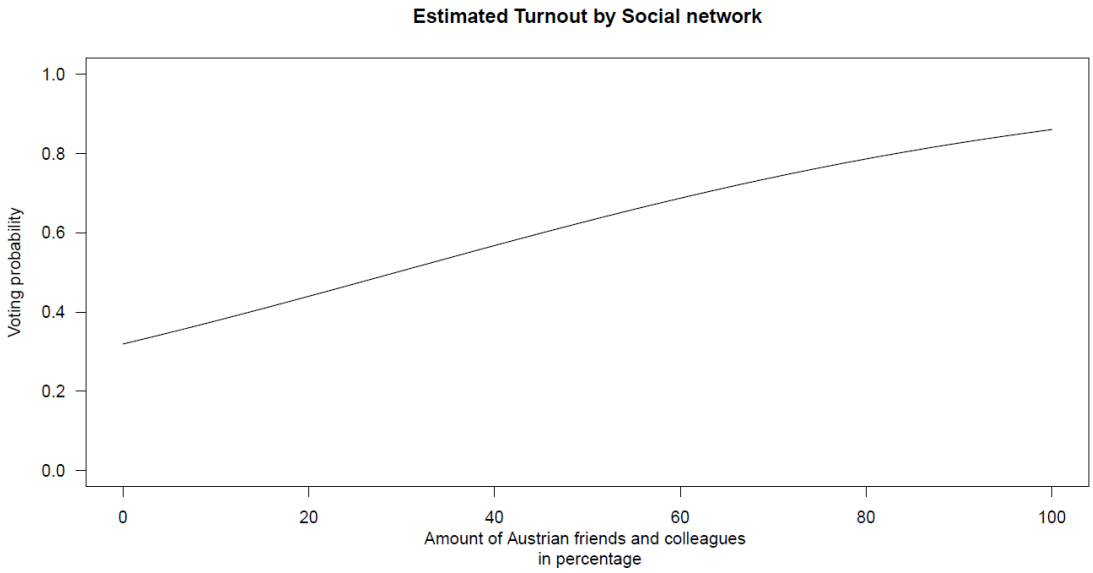

Figure 9: Estimated turnout by extent of Austrian social network

Discussion of the results from the original survey

Analyzing the data from the original online survey provided some support for the established hypotheses. Regarding the socio-cultural capital from the home country, the regressions showed that the only statistically significant factor for the political participation index of first-generation immigrants is education level. The difference in participation probability is similar across the different education levels. The education level of the respondent did not matter for their turnout. The democracy level of first-generation respondents as well as the education and democracy level of second-generation immigrants' parents is neither substantively nor statistically meaningful. The influence of the political socialization of parents in democratic countries does not have a role in the intergenerational transmission of values and results in children with higher levels of participation. The political values that first-generation immigrants acquire from growing up in a democratic country do not affect their participation in the host country. The findings of these analyses weakly support Hypotheses 1-4.

With respect to the socio-cultural capital from the host country, the results demonstrate that German level, social network, and cultural skills of immigrants are overall positively associated with political involvement in Austria. A strong German expertise is related to more political participation and turnout. Immigrants who are fluent or native are significantly more likely to turn out than those with a beginner's or intermediate level. However, this does not apply to general political participation. This is in line with the theory which states that linguistic skills are necessary to understand (political) information in the news, to engage in cultural activities of the host country and build a social network of locals.

The analysis on Austrian-related cultural skills showed that political participation and turnout are positively associated with it, even when controlling for German skills. This relationship is both statistically and substantively significant. Doing cultural activities which are related to Austrian politics, like reading newspaper or attending cultural events is linked to higher levels

of political participation. It is assumed that this relationship stems from the fact that more exposure and involvement with the host country fosters political interest which helps to overcome the migration obstacle.

Social network does not matter for the participation index, but for turnout. The positive association between voting probability and social network is statistically meaningful when holding German skills constant. This attests that close and regular social interactions with locals at school or work and in form of friendships are relevant for explaining immigrant's electoral turnout in Austria. The data offers evidence to support H7 and indicate the importance of social network when investigating the integration and participation of immigrants in host societies.

Conclusion

This thesis elaborated the question on how the knowledge, skills and experiences which people with migration background acquired in their home countries and in the host society influence their political participation in the latter society. This study contributes to tackling the literature gap on political participation by focusing on people with migration background and include those with non-Austrian and non-EU citizenships.

It is assumed that immigrants have lower participation levels than their local peers due to difficulties that stem from their migration background. This is reflected in the concept of the migration obstacle. The theoretical framework consisted of two main components. The first one adopted the 'rucksack approach' or the model of transferability which describe the skills and capital that immigrants bring from their original countries. This approach is summarized under the keyword 'home socio-cultural capital' and encompasses the education level of first-generation immigrants and the democracy level of their home country which serve as a proxy for values. To test the impact of this type of socio-cultural capital for second-generation immigrants, the education level and state of democracy of their immigrant parents are evaluated assuming that the knowledge and values of parents are transmitted through parent-child processes. The second component is based on exposure theory which argues that being confronted with different aspects of the new society leads to higher involvement. This is referred to as 'host socio-cultural capital' and consists of immigrants' German level, Austrian-related activities they engage in, and the extent to which they include locals in their social networks.

To test the influence of these different forms of socio-cultural capital two main analyses are carried out. The first one is a large-N study that uses the ninth wave of the European Social Survey from the year 2018-2019 and the second one is an original, online survey that collected data on Facebook in May 2023. Regarding the impact of the education level of first-generation

immigrants, there is some evidence from the online survey which suggests that higher education is linked to higher levels of the participation index, however not to turnout. While a positive association can be observed for the ESS data on turnout, the results were not significant. The findings from the online survey were significant for the political participation and indicated that higher education levels are associated with a higher turnout probability which is in line with H1. The education level of parents for second-generation immigrants had different impacts depending on the gender of the parent. Both the ESS and the online survey demonstrated that the participation and turnout of children is for the most part essentially the same across various educational degrees. While the online survey found no association between parents' education and children's turnout, the ESS found a positive and statistically significant relationship when evaluating the change from secondary education to high-school education for second-generation immigrants' mothers. Overall, there was no substantial evidence to support the hypothesis that immigrant parents' educational background matters for children's political involvement. However, there are some suggestions that mothers' influence is more relevant than fathers'. This is surprising since it has been argued theoretically and shown empirically that educational achievement of parents is linked to more political engagement of their offspring. This study suggests that the intergenerational transmission of knowledge might not apply for immigrants.

Regarding values, the democracy level of the respondent's home country is not relevant for explaining their turnout or political participation. H3 that claims a positive relationship between parent's home country and turnout could not be supported by the data. The democracy level of parent's countries is positive and significant in the ESS dataset, however not in the original online survey. There is some support for H4 which argues that parents from democratic countries have politically active children due to the intergenerational transmission of political values. With respect to linguistic skills, the ESS analysis showed that speaking a foreign

language at home had a lower turnout probability than speaking German at home. This is significant and assuming that not speaking German at home equals to having a low level of German, it gives support to the H5 that strong linguistic skills matter for turnout of immigrants. When this test was repeated in the online survey with questions that precisely measure the level of German, the influence of certain levels, like 'fluent' and 'native' were substantively and statistically meaningful for turnout, however not for other forms of political participation. In addition, there was no significant difference noted between first and second-generation immigrants. This confirms that host socio-cultural capital in the shape of German skills matters for immigrants' political engagement.

Austrian-related cultural activities ended up being not substantively significant in the ESS analysis, however that could have been caused by an odd measurement of the variable. The index for cultural activities in the online survey consisted of three variables and its influence on turnout and participation is significant, even when holding the German level constant. To conclude, there is empirical evidence that cultural capital from the host country has a positive influence on political participation and turnout. Regarding social networks from the host countries, these variables were not included in the ESS dataset. However, the results from the online survey showed that having many Austrians in one's social network was substantively and statistically meaningful for turnout in local or municipal elections.

The ESS analysis partially confirmed the theorized migration obstacle that results in a higher turnout of Austrians than immigrants. This was the case when assessing the influence of respondent's education and the mother's education on turnout. Future research can expand my dataset and findings by including a larger sample that equally represents first- and second-generation immigrants to assess the impact of different forms of host and home socio-cultural capital and achieve more generalizable results.

This research has two broad implications for theory and practice. The positive association between social network, cultural skills and political engagement in this analysis suggests that the measurement of the exposure model in the literature can be extended to include these two factors. They are both theoretically sound and empirically relevant to assess the extent of exposure that immigrants have from the host country. Forthcoming studies on the integration of immigrants in societies should consider the role of these elements. In addition, policy actors can consider investing in enabling the access to cultural activities to enhance immigrants' political engagement. Designing inclusive school and workplaces which allow interactions between locals and immigrants can contribute to enhance the latter's political participation in democracies.

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Appendix A

Original Survey Questionnaire in English

[I. Informed Consent]

This survey is conducted as part of a master's thesis and focuses on adults (+16 years old) with migration background in Austria. It takes approximately 10 minutes to complete the 25 questions. To ensure the success of the study, it is necessary to answer all questions on each page.

The data will be anonymized and treated confidentially. To participate in the prize draw, an email address must be provided at the end of the survey. (This will be used solely for contacting the randomly selected winners in a confidential manner and will be deleted afterwards.) Thank you for your participation! If you have any questions, you can reach me at: myemailadress.

By clicking 'Next,' you confirm that you are at least 16 years old, have a migration background, and live in Austria.

[II. Demographics]

1. What is your citizenship?
   Austria
   EU citizenship (non-Austrian)
   Non-EU citizenship

2. How old are you?
   16-18
   19-25
   26-35
   36-45
   46-60
   60 or older

3. Select your gender:
   Female
   Male
   Non-binary / Other

4. Which option best describes your current situation?
   Pupil (secondary school, vocational school, technical school, preschool teacher training institute, etc.)
   Student at a university, university of applied sciences, etc.
   Employed
   Not employed (disabled, on parental leave, retired, etc.)
   Civil service, military service, or voluntary service

5. In which federal state do you live?

Vienna
Lower Austria
Upper Austria
Salzburg
Burgenland
Styria
Carinthia
Tyrol
Vorarlberg

6. What is your monthly net income (including allowances)?
   Under 500€
   500 - 1000€
   1000 - 1500€
   1500 - 2000€
   2000 - 3000€
   more than 3000€

7. In which country did you primarily grow up?
   [select country from a list of approx. 200 countries]

8. In which country was your mother born?
   [select country from a list of approx. 200 countries]

9. In which country was your father born?
   [select country from a list of approx. 200 countries]

10. [if answer to question 7 is not Austria, then:] At what age did you move to Austria?
    0-6 years
    7-15 years
    16-30 years
    31-45 years
    46-65 years

[III. Socio-cultural capital questions]

11. What is the highest level of education you have attained?
    Elementary school/ Lower secondary school/ Vocational training without Matura
    Matura (Austrian secondary school leaving certificate)
    University degree (BA, MA, PhD)

12. What is the highest level of education your mother has attained?
    Elementary school/ Lower secondary school/ Vocational training without Matura
    Matura (Austrian secondary school leaving certificate)
    University degree (BA, MA, PhD)

13. What is the highest level of education your father has attained?
    Elementary school/ Lower secondary school/ Vocational training without Matura
    Matura (Austrian secondary school leaving certificate)
    University degree (BA, MA, PhD)

14. How often do you read Austrian newspapers?
    Never
    Rarely
    Occasionally
    Often
    Very Often

15. How often do you watch Austrian news?
    Never
    Rarely
    Occasionally
    Often
    Very often

16. How often do you attend cultural events in Austria (festivals, theater, museums, etc.)?
    Never
    Rarely
    Occasionally
    Often
    Very often

17. How well do you speak German?
    Beginner level
    Intermediate level
    Fluent (not native language)
    Fluent (first or native language)

18. What percentage of your close friends are from Austria?
    [scale from 0-100]

19. What percentage of your classmates/colleagues at school/work are from Austria?
    [scale from 0-100]

20. How often do you read/watch news from your home country?
    Never
    Rarely
    Occasionally
    Often
    Very often

21. How often do you attend events organized by organizations, associations, sports clubs, etc. from your home culture?

Never
Rarely
Occasionally
Often
Very often

[IV. Political participation questions]

22. How many of the following activities have you done in the past 12 months: Participated in a protest, signed a petition, engaged in a political organization or campaign?
    None
    1
    2
    3

23. I discuss Austrian politics with my family...
    Never
    Rarely
    Occasionally
    Often
    Very often

24. I discuss Austrian politics with my friends/colleagues...
    Never
    Rarely
    Occasionally
    Often
    Very often

25. How often do you discuss the politics of your home country with family, friends, or colleagues?
    Never
    Rarely
    Occasionally
    Often
    Very often

26. If you had the opportunity, how likely would you be to participate in the next election in Austria?
    0 (very unlikely) - 100 (very likely)

27. Did you vote in the last district or municipal election?
    I did not vote in the election
    I wanted to vote but did not do it last time
    I usually vote, but not this time
    I voted in the last election

[V. Email]

28. If you would like to participate in the prize draw (prizes: 50€, 30€, or 20€ vouchers for the supermarket SPAR), please provide an email address:

    Thank you for participating in the survey!