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# Pipeline or Prejudice?

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# Background

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## Introduction

## Results

- Over the past decades, immigrant populations have been steadily growing across European countries.
- Yet immigrants remain significantly underrepresented in national and local parliaments.
- In Sweden, immigrants are 42 % as likely to become elected, compared to Swedish-born.
- Systematic underrepresentation poses deep challenges to democratic practice and norms.
- We ask *why are immigrants underrepresented in politics?*



# Existing Approaches

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## **1 Political opportunity structures:**

- Citizenship and integration regimes (e.g., Bird et al. 2011; Dancygier 2017; Garbaye 2005)
- Electoral rules (Dancygier 2017; Portman and Stojanović 2018)
- Settlement patterns (Dancygier et al. 2015, Bird 2005)

## **2 Discrimination:**

- Party gate-keepers (Dancygier et al. 2015; Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Soininen 2011; van der Zwan et al. 2018)
- Voters (Fisher et al. 2015, Portman and Stojanović 2018, Street 2014; but see Bueno and Dunning 2017 on racial bias)



# What about supply of candidates?

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## Introduction

## Results

### Individual-level factors

- Demography and SES (Dancygier et al. 2015).
- But do they exhibit similar levels of political *interest* and *efficacy* as natives?
- Do they even want to become politicians, to they same extent as natives?



# Our approach

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**Can the under-representation be explained by differences in these characteristics?**

- The differences must be relevant.
- The difference must be large enough.

**Where do immigrants get stuck?**



- At the first steps (the *pipeline effect*)?
- Or the last steps (discrimination by voters and party gate-keepers, cf. the *glass-ceiling effect*)?



# Design

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## Introduction

## Results

- Case-control design (stratify on DV) with stratification on immigrant background.
- Swedish registry data allows us to draw simple random samples from each of the  $2 \times 2$  groups.
- We sent out 16 000 surveys and 6 386 (40 %) answered.
- All analyses are made on weighted data (adjusts for differences in sampling probability and response rates).



# The Survey

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## We focus on five potential explanations for immigrant underrepresentation

- 1 *Political efficacy*: An index consisting of nine items tapping internal and external efficacy.
- 2 *Political interest*: Six items capturing interest in politics from the local, through the national, to the international.
- 3 *Political networks*: Nine items capturing discussion networks as well as connections to activists and politicians.
- 4 *Political encouragement*: Twelve items tapping encouragement to join a party or become a politician from various sources ranging from friends/family to elected politicians.
- 5 *Socialization*: Three items capturing pre-adult political discussion and encouragement to become a politician.



# Results: Candidates vs. Non-Candidates

	Non-candidates	Candidates	Difference	St.Dev.
Political interest	0.50	0.76	0.25***	0.23
Efficacy	0.45	0.74	0.29***	0.23
Network	0.35	0.69	0.34***	0.21
Encouragement	0.10	0.52	0.42***	0.19
Socialization	0.24	0.33	0.09***	0.20
Could consider to join party	0.41	.	0.00***	0.28
Could consider public office	0.37	.	0.00***	0.30
Current party member	0.05	.	0.01***	0.23
Ever party member	0.13	.	0.01***	0.35
Nominated 2014 (percent)	0.00	.	1.00***	7.94
Elected 2014 (percent)	0.00	.	0.22***	3.72
Welcome in party (1 to 3)	2.29	2.53	0.23***	0.61
Discrimination index (0 to 1)	0.60	0.55	-0.05***	0.18





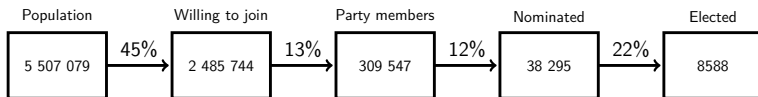
# Results: Immigrants vs natives

	Born in Sweden	Immigrants	Difference	St.Dev.
Political interest	0.50	0.52	0.02**	0.23
Efficacy	0.45	0.43	-0.02*	0.23
Network	0.36	0.32	-0.04***	0.21
Encouragement	0.10	0.11	0.01	0.19
Socialization	0.23	0.27	0.04***	0.20
Could consider to join party	0.42	0.38	-0.04***	0.28
Could consider public office	0.37	0.39	0.02	0.30
Current party member	0.06	0.05	-0.01	0.23
Ever party member	0.14	0.12	-0.02	0.35
Nominated 2014 (percent)	0.70	0.33	-0.36***	7.94
Elected 2014 (percent)	0.16	0.05	-0.10***	3.72
Welcome in party (1 to 3)	2.31	2.19	-0.12***	0.61
Discrimination index (0 to 1)	0.60	0.62	0.02***	0.18

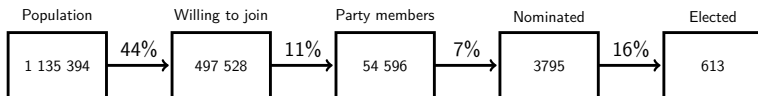


# Results: The Road to Election

## Swedish-born



## Foreign-born



## Relative transition probabilities





# Conclusions

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## Key findings

- 1 Political socialization, encouragement, networks, efficacy and interest cannot explain the representation gap.
- 2 The main causes of the representation gap are found later in the process of becoming a candidate.

## Interpretation

- No support for the “pipeline” explanation.
- On the whole, our findings are more in line with the hypothesis that it is party gate-keepers that undermine immigrants’ chances, although we present no direct evidence of discrimination.