

...dones that do it yourself government by citizens threatens the interests of minorities (Madison 1961). But despite considerable scholarly work on the topic, our understanding of how different forms of democratic government affect minority interests continues to be limited. Some

Jhain, Gerber, and Louch 2002; Zimmerman and Fabelo 1986). And while critics of direct democracy are quick to cite popular votes that have infringed upon the rights of minorities, supporters argue that such decisions are often simply window dressing because legislatures would have

Jens Hainmueller is Professor, Department of Political Science, Immigration Policy Lab, and Graduate School of Business, Stanford University, 616 Serra Street, Stanford, CA 94305 (jhain@stanford.edu). Dominik Hangartner is Associate Professor, Public Policy Group and Immigration Policy Lab, ETH Zurich, Leonhardshalde 21, 8090 Zurich, Switzerland; and Department of Government, London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE, United Kingdom (d.hangartner@lse.ac.uk).

We thank the seminar participants at the Institute for Advanced Studies Lucca, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, University of Bern, University of Essex, Stanford University, University of California San Diego, University of California Berkeley, Washington University in St. Louis, and the University of Geneva for their helpful comments. We thank Matthias Christen, Roman Kuster, Fabian Morgenthaler, Emilia Pasquier, Giuseppe Pietrantuono, Rocco Pietrantuono, Livio Raccuia, Mirjam Rüttsch, Laura Schmid, and Tess Wise for excellent research assistance. We would especially like to thank the head secretaries of the municipalities for participating in our survey and interviews, Marc Helbling and Marco Steenbergen for their valuable support, Eva Andonie for expert legal counsel, and Rafaela Dancygier, David Laitin, Duncan Lawrence, Didier Ruedin, Lucas Stanczyk, Ingemar Stenmark, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Catherine de Vries for providing detailed comments. Funding for this research was generously provided by Swiss National Science Foundation grant no. 100017_132004.

American Journal of Political Science, Vol. 63, No. 3, July 2019, Pp. 530–547

© 2019 The Authors. *American Journal of Political Science* published by Wiley Periodicals, Inc. on behalf of Society for American Journal of Political Science
DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12433

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, which permits use, distribution and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited and is not used for commercial purposes.

530

passed similar measures even in the absence of the direct democratic vote. As Matsusaka (2005, 201) concludes in a recent review,

Legislatures have harmed minorities, too—almost all Jim Crow laws throughout the South were brought about by legislatures—and elected representatives, not direct democracy, interned Japanese-American citizens during World War II. There is no convincing evidence—anecdotal or statistical—that minority rights are undermined by direct democracy with a greater regularity than by legislatures.

The reason for the absence of “convincing evidence” on the effects of direct democracy on minority outcomes is that identifying the causal effect of direct democracy is challenging. In a recent review, Matsusaka and

right to permanently stay in the host country, and, as correlational studies suggest, access to better jobs and higher wages (e.g., OECD 2011). Quasi-experimental evidence also shows that naturalization propels the political and social integration of immigrants (Hainmueller, Hangartner, and Pietrantuono 2015, 2017).

In Switzerland, citizenship applications of immigrants are decided by the municipality in which the immigrant resides. Municipalities use two main types of regimes to vote on naturalization applications: direct democracy, in which citizens vote on the applications using referendums, and representative democracy, in which elected legislators vote on the applications in the municipality council. This configuration has generated a wealth of data that enable us to examine whether immigrant minorities fare better or worse if their naturalization re-