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Abstract

The marked increase of asylum seekers arriving in Western Europe after 2014 has renewed debates on the policy measures countries should put into place to support their integration. Yet, knowledge about the links between integration policy and broader labour market, sociocultural or psychological adjustment in destination countries is still limited. Exploiting a comprehensive integration policy reform in Switzerland, and using survey data from the Health Monitoring of the Swiss Migrant Population, our difference-in-difference analyses reveal substantial policy effects. Provisionally admitted Sri Lankans benefiting from the reform enjoy a higher employment probability (plus 30 percentage points), increased income levels (plus 60 per cent), better language skills and feel less lonely or without a homeland relative to comparable Sri Lankan asylum seekers who did not benefit from the reform. Robustness checks using register data confirm the beneficial policy effect on labour market participation for the whole population of provisionally admitted individuals.

Keywords: Asylum, Integration Policy, Labour Market, Sociocultural adaptation, Psychological Wellbeing, Difference-in-Differences.

1. Introduction

In the literature on the integration of asylum-related immigrants, the asylum process is shown to play a significant role in their economic inclusion (for a review, see Dustmann et al., 2017). For instance, a longer waiting period for a decision on the asylum claim reduces the probability of subsequent employment (Hainmueller et al., 2016; Hvidtfeldt et al., 2018). Alternatively, a more inclusive labour market access tends to increase the employment rate of asylum seekers (Slotwinski et al., 2018). However, and in spite of an increasingly rich literature on migration policies (Filindra and Wallace Goodman 2019; Filindra 2019), we lack so far a systematic assessment of the effectiveness of integration policies on different aspects of asylum-related immigrants' economic inclusion, sociocultural adaptation and psychological wellbeing. What is more, convincing causal evidence on policy effectiveness is still scarce.

In this paper, we use an encompassing reform of the *Swiss Federal Act on Asylum* and the *Swiss Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration* as a source of exogenous variation to identify the causal impact of this reform on various dimensions of asylum-related immigrants' adjustment process. Until 2006, the foreign population in Switzerland – including asylum-related immigrants such as provisionally admitted refugees (F-permit) and asylum seekers (N-permit) – were excluded from compulsory integration programs. Between 2006 and 2008, a comprehensive reform of the Swiss integration and asylum policy was set up to foster the economic and social adaptation of F-permit holders, whereas N-permit holders have remained unaffected by the new policy measures of this reform.

After reviewing the literature on the impact of integration policy on different facets of adjustment, we use individual survey data from the Health Monitoring Program of the Swiss Migrant Population (*Gesundheitsmonitoring der Migrationsbevölkerung* GMM) for the years 2004 and 2010, exploiting this policy reform as a quasi-experiment. The GMM is one of the few surveys that representatively samples specific groups of asylum-related migrants and provides information on a wide range of integration outcomes. Our study focuses on Sri Lankans, as they were surveyed in both GMM waves, and constitute an important share of asylum-related immigrants in Switzerland.

Using a difference-in-differences approach, we find that the reform significantly improves both the labour market inclusion (employment, income) as well as the sociocultural adaptation (host-country language proficiency) and psychological wellbeing (reduced feeling of loneliness and of no longer having a homeland) of Sri Lankans affected by the reform relative to their peers who remained unaffected. Several robustness checks lend support for our causal

interpretation of the substantial policy effects, and confirm the generalizability of the beneficial effect of the policy reform on the labour market participation of F-permit holders overall.

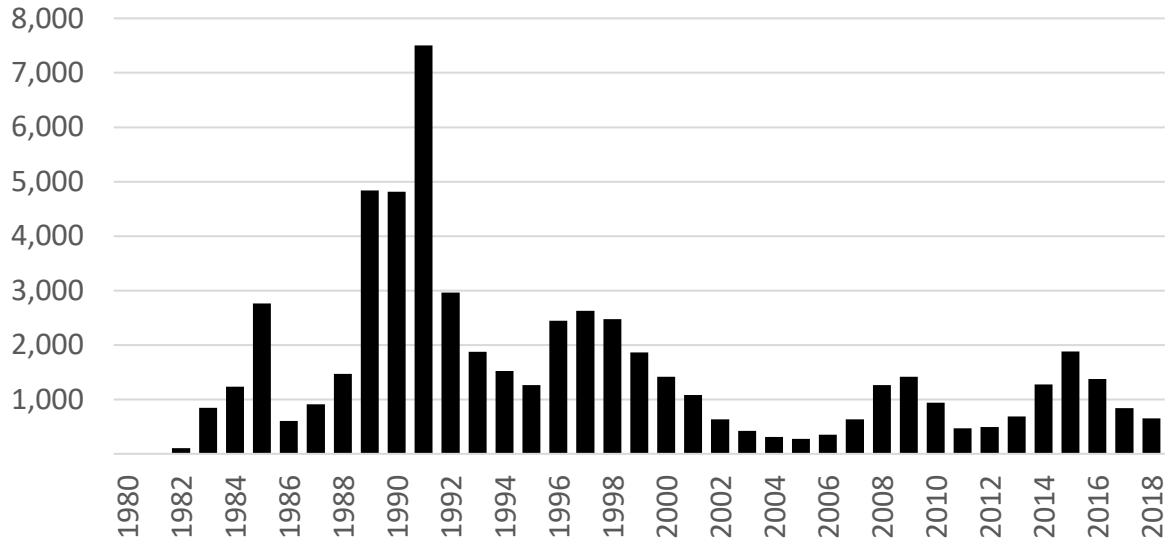
2. Asylum-related Sri Lankans in Switzerland

By the 1980s, ethnic conflicts between the Sinhala majority (in power) and the Tamil minority led to the exodus of many Tamils mainly to Canada, Great Britain, India, the United States, Germany, France and Switzerland. (for an overview on the Sri Lankan diaspora in Switzerland, see Moret et al., 2007).

The arrival of the first Sri Lankans in Switzerland at the beginning of the 1980s coincided with the establishment of individual asylum procedures still in force today. The Sri Lankans were among the first groups of 'asylum seekers', a legal category that did not exist until then. The asylum population in Switzerland is composed of two main categories: The first category comprises *provisionally admitted individuals* who benefit from a temporary residence permit (F-permit). Asylum related individuals with an F-permit do not qualify for legal recognition as a refugee and/or Swiss asylum status, yet they cannot be sent back to their country of origin, for instance for security reasons such as fear of torture or civil war (Efionayi-Mäder and Ruedin, 2014a).[1] The second group represents *asylum seekers* who have applied for asylum but have not yet received a final decision on their application (N-permit). If asylum seekers fulfil the legal requirements for recognition of refugee status, then they get a residence permit (B-permit) and are entitled to a long-term stay in Switzerland. Permanent legal residence (B-permit) can also be issued for individuals with an F-permit under certain conditions (financial independence, "good" integration, family situation) after five years of residence (Art. 14 Asylum Act).

[1] The distinction between individuals who received their F-permit status because they were not recognized as refugees, or because they were recognized as refugees but did not qualify for Swiss asylum, is neither made in the policy reform, nor coded in the GMM survey data we use in this study. Thus, we do not distinguish between the two types of F-permit.

Figure 1. Asylum applications from Sri Lankan nationals



Source: Register of asylum seekers (*Automatisiertes Personenregister, Asyl*). *Note:* Numbers from 1980 to 1985 are taken from Moret et al. (2007), Figure 3 page 33.

Figure 1 reveals an increase in the number of asylum applications by Sri Lankans following the outbreak of the conflict in Sri Lanka from 1983 (reaching a first spike in 1985). Between 1989 and 1991, the number of asylum applications peaked not only because of the politico-military situation in Sri Lanka but also due to the "flexible" stance of the Swiss authorities in comparison to other European countries (Moret et al., 2007). Given the political instability in Sri Lanka and the deterioration of the human rights situation, as well as a significant mobilization of some humanitarian and economic groups in Switzerland, it was difficult to implement a policy of return for Sri Lankan asylum seekers. In addition, in the 1990s, the Swiss authorities engaged three times in collective regularization of asylum-related Sri Lankans. As a result, the residence status of many Sri Lankans in Switzerland stabilized over time. Nevertheless, at the turn of the 21st century, the number of asylum applications by Sri Lankans are still substantial, indicating that Sri Lankans, on which this study focuses, constitute an important share of asylum-related immigrants in Switzerland.

3. The reform of Swiss integration and asylum policy

Until 2006, provisionally admitted individuals had very limited rights (Neubauer, Kamm, & Efionayi-Mäder, 2004). They had in general no right to reunite their families in Switzerland. Access to the labour market was very difficult, because in employment procedures, priority was given to Swiss citizens (*Inländervorrang*), EU citizens, or individuals with a permanent

residence status. Individuals with an F-permit also faced restrictions with regard to vocational training after finishing school in Switzerland, and they had only reduced access to social benefits. Before 2006, the legal situation of and practice regarding F-permit holders was thus very similar to asylum seekers with an N-permit, and a change of status from asylum seeker to provisionally admitted immigrant was rarely perceived as an improvement (ibid.).

Between 2006 and 2008, the legal situation of provisionally admitted immigrants improved substantially. In 2006, a new decree abolished the prioritization of permanently resident foreigners or Swiss workers, granting F-permit holders the same labour market access. With the new asylum law, which came into force in 2008, access to integration and labour market measures was extended to provisionally admitted individuals (Efionayi-Mäder & Ruedin, 2014a). The measures specified in the new Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration include a per capita federal integration allowance[2] as well as additional contributions to foster the sociocultural integration and economic independence of provisionally admitted individuals (article 87 of the new Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration). The use of this federal per capita allowance is regulated by cantonal integration programmes, and it can be complemented by integration measures at the municipality level. These integration and labour market measures, which are free of charge for provisionally admitted persons, include for instance language courses, employment related integration courses, mentoring programmes or specialised qualification courses. In spite of the decentralized nature of the implementation of this new integration policy, which leaves cantons and municipalities considerable leeway, the confederation, cantons and municipalities are legally obliged to promote the social and economic integration of F-permit holders (SECO and BFM, 2012). The new Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration allows further family reunifications for F-permit holders after three years of residence in Switzerland.

Asylum seekers with an N-permit, in turn, do not have access to these new policy measures, as the Swiss legislation does not foster the integration of individuals in an ongoing asylum procedure. To be able to participate in language or other integration courses, asylum seekers first need to obtain a provisional or permanent residence status. Moreover, asylum seekers need to wait three to six months until they can access the labour market, and priority is given to Swiss or permanent resident job applicants. In other words, individuals with an N-permit only get a job, if no equally qualified Swiss, EU citizen, or other legal permanent resident can be found.[3]

[2] At the time, this allowance was 6000 CHF (approx. 5400 Euro) per provisionally admitted individual (https://www.kkf-oca.ch/wissen-integration/ [last accessed: 11 October 2019]).
[3] See https://www.kkf-oca.ch/wissen-integration/ (last accessed: 11 October 2019).

Table 1 summarizes the changes in the pre- and post-reform periods for provisionally admitted individuals (F permit) as compared to N permit holders.

Table 1. Policy changes for provisionally admitted individuals

	Until 2006 (pre-reform)		**After 2008 (post-reform)**	
Integration policy domain	*F permit*	*N permit*	*F permit*	*N permit*
State funding of social and economic integration programs	-	-	✓	-
Family reunification	-	-	✓	-
Equal access to the labour market as Swiss/EU citizens or legal permanent residents	-	-	✓	-

Notes: F-permit = provisionally admitted, N-permit = asylum seeker.

Nevertheless, in spite of the legal improvements for F-permit holders between 2006 and 2008, the "provisional admission" status still carries a stigma. It is often perceived of as an "illegal" or only temporary residence status, although provisionally admitted individuals often stay for a long time or permanently in Switzerland (Efionayi-Mäder & Ruedin, 2014b). Consequently, while the legal situation of provisionally admitted individuals improved compared to N-permit holders, they still face discrimination in the labour market due to their status, be it out of ignorance about their employability among potential employers, or stigmatization related to the label "provisional". Although more recent policy reforms since 2018 aim at further facilitating F-permit holders labour market integration (Graf and Mahon, 2018), this label has not changed.

4. State of research

While there are manifold definitions of and controversies about the concept of integration, there is consensus that integration policy is a transversal and multidimensional policy field (Manatschal, 2011; Wallace Goodman, 2018). In line with this literature, and adopting Entzinger's (2000) trichotomy who argues that immigrants need to find their place in the nation, the market, and the state respectively, integration policies can be defined as policies steering immigrants' psychological and sociocultural adaptation, economic integration, and political incorporation (see also Berry and Ward, 2016; Bourhis et al., 1997). Immigrant integration thus cuts across policy areas that are normally dealt with in separate literatures, and by different

disciplines, such as economics, political science, or social psychology. Different disciplinary backgrounds notwithstanding, these approaches build on the basic assumption that integration policies define inclusive vs. exclusive settings that shape individual affect, attitudes and behaviour (Condon et al., 2016; 2014; Green and Staerklé, 2013; Ward and Geeraert, 2016). Empirical evidence on the effectiveness of integration policies in fostering immigrants' labour market integration, sociocultural adaptation, and psychological wellbeing, on which this study focuses, is, however, mixed.

A first strand of research is directly concerned with integration policy effects on immigrants' labour market integration. Studies in this field can be broadly divided into two groups (Kogan, 2016): large-scale studies that examine whether host countries' overall integration policies relate to immigrants' socioeconomic situation, and smaller-scale, country specific evaluations of various integration programmes. Large-scale cross-national studies using policy data from the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), however, have yielded mixed evidence. While Aleksynska and Tritah (2013) report a significant positive association between MIPEX and labour market outcomes, other studies find no significant correlation between integration policy and immigrants' unemployment propensity, labour force participation, or occupational class (e.g., Pichler, 2011). Summarizing multilevel studies examining the impact of the MIPEX, Bilgili et al. (2015) further reveal that there is no systematic link between general integration policies and immigrants' individual labour market inclusion. The authors contend that this does not mean that integration policies do not matter, but rather that they are not properly implemented, targeted, or effective across countries (ibid.). Small-scale policy evaluations based on single countries often allow for a more precise identification of the causal effect of specific labour market integration policies. Although the verdict on policy performance is again mixed, these studies reveal that programs that are closely linked to the labour market (e.g. specific types of active labour market policies), language training and anti-discrimination policies appear to be most effective in fostering immigrants' labour market integration (Kogan, 2016; Rinne, 2013). Research on asylum-related immigrants further shows that the asylum process affects economic inclusion (for a review, see Dustmann et al., 2017). A long waiting period for a decision on the asylum claim reduces the probability of subsequent employment (Hainmueller et al., 2016; Hvidtfeldt et al., 2018). Alternatively, a more inclusive regime in terms of labour market access tends to increase the employment rate of asylum seekers (Slotwinski et al., 2018). However, Rosholm and Vejlin (2010) show that granting limited social assistance upon arrival in the form of low-income transfers increases

refugees' transition rate out of the labour force during the first months of residence, but improves transition into employment after two years of residence.

Another strand of research considers cultural integration policy. Migration scholars consider language policy to be a central indicator of cultural integration policy. Language policies can be restrictive, if they promote cultural monism, i.e. if they prioritize the official language(s) in the country of residence or demand proficiency in the host language for accessing certain rights such as resident status or social benefits (Goodman, 2011). Inclusive language policies, in turn, foster linguistic pluralism, for instance via bilingual education (Banting and Kymlicka, 2013; Filindra and Manatschal, 2019) or via access to language courses in the mother tongue. Existing studies address consequences of language skills rather indirectly or implicitly, based on the observation that language proficiency entails important resources in terms of human or social capital, which, in turn, facilitate integration in other areas (Ager and Strang, 2008). Language proficiency, and other forms of sociocultural adaptation (e.g., understanding local value system, acquisition of cultural practices of host country, interaction with host nationals), improve for instance the stock of human capital in the host labour market via increased knowledge and access to information, reducing job search costs and increasing immigrants' employability. Unsurprisingly, economists find that language courses count among the most effective policies in supporting immigrants' labour market integration (Clausen et al., 2009; Rinne, 2013). Political scientists observe, in turn, that immigrants' civic engagement and political participation flourishes best in integration policy contexts combining culturally monist (e.g. demand for host language proficiency) and pluralist policies (Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen, 2014), supporting the argument that language skills facilitate access to local social networks and participation. Indirectly, these studies suggest that language policies improve language skills, which in turn foster immigrants' social, labour market or political integration. Research investigating the direct language policy-individual language skill link is, however, surprisingly scarce.

Turning finally to policy effects on immigrants' psychological wellbeing, research from political and social psychology points to the role of "symbolic boundaries" (Lamont and Molnár, 2002) and socio-political climate (Ward and Geeraert, 2016) that integration policies as well as (perceived) discrimination set up. By regulating immigrants' access to civic-political, socio-economic and cultural rights and obligations, integration policies, as well as host country majority attitudes, define the reception environment of a given territory. While the link between integration policies and psychological wellbeing has been theorised, the empirical evidence is scarce. Whether integration policies and discourses give a "warm handshake" or a "cold

shoulder" (Reeskens and Wright, 2014) should affect immigrants' psychological wellbeing and identification with the host country (Bloemraad, 2013; Schwartz et al., 2010). As Bennour and Manatschal (2019) show, immigrants' attachment to the destination country grows over time, and this process is further reinforced by inclusive regional integration policies. Relatedly, a multicultural climate was related to psychological engagement, akin to belongingness, among ethnic minorities in the US (Plaut et al., 2009). An exclusionary receiving country context may, in turn, foster acculturative stress, resulting in reduced psychological wellbeing manifested as depression, anxiety and other psychological maladaptation (Berry, 1997). Such contexts are thus likely to foster feelings of loneliness and marginalization.

Summing up, evidence on the effectiveness of integration policies in fostering immigrant integration is still scarce, and points to mixed results.

4.1 Hypotheses

Drawing on the existing literature on integration policy outcomes, we can formulate the following set of hypotheses for our quasi-experimental research setting.

H1 *Labour market integration (employment, income) of provisionally admitted Sri Lankans (F-permit holders) improved after the integration policy reform, when compared to Sri Lankan asylum seekers (N-permit holders).*

H2 *Host language proficiency of provisionally admitted Sri Lankans improved after the integration policy reform, when compared to Sri Lankan asylum seekers.*

H3 *Feelings of loneliness and marginalization decreased among provisionally admitted Sri Lankans after the integration policy reform, when compared to Sri Lankan asylum seekers.*

5. Research design and data

5.1 Causal identification strategy

The mixed evidence reviewed in the preceding section suggests a number of limits in past research. First, researchers using overall integration policy indices often ignore that policies may yield heterogeneous or mixed effects on various immigrant groups, such as asylum seekers, undocumented or high skilled immigrants. Second, since policy data over time is scarce, many

studies relying on broad integration policy indices are restricted to cross-sectional correlational analyses, which are limited in establishing a causal effect of policies on individual integration outcomes. Third, limits in assessing policy effectiveness may arise due to (self-)selection into integration programs. Immigrants receiving for instance labour market counseling might carry a negative signal and be stigmatized due to their perceived (or actual) (self-)selection. Thus, it is hard to assess, whether integration policies have no effect, or whether eventual policy effects are cancelled out by other factors such as discrimination by employers. Fourth, while quasi-experimental studies assessing the effects of specific integration measures often surpass correlational analyses in identifying underlying causal mechanisms, their focus is often either on single cases, or particular policy interventions, which limits the generalizability of their findings.

Our study can tackle many of the outlined issues. To start with, the policy reform under scrutiny here is clearly targeted, as it addresses a specific asylum-related immigrant group, provisionally admitted immigrants. In other words, we can accurately identify policy beneficiaries, Sri Lankans with a provisional admission (F-permit), and compare them to a highly comparable but untreated control group, Sri Lankan asylum seekers (N-permit) who are not eligible for these policies. Our quasi-experimental research design exploits an exogenous source in policy variation, by comparing integration outcomes of F- and N-permit Sri Lankans before and after policy reform. The imperfection of real-world quasi-experiments notwithstanding, we argue that our empirical strategy has clear inferential advantages in trying to identify causal effects (Robinson et al., 2009). We cannot rule out persisting discrimination, for instance by employers, given the stigma associated with the label "provisional". Yet, negative self-selection into integration measures should be less of an issue here, considering the universal coverage of the legal changes for F-permit holders (labour market access, family reunification) and comprehensive coverage through integration measures. Finally, while our findings are restricted to the Swiss case, we can nevertheless simultaneously assess the effectiveness of various policy measures targeting economic integration as well as sociocultural adaptation, allowing us to generalize effects across different policy fields and areas of integration. Having said this, the simultaneity of the different measures included in the reform implies that we can only assess the effectiveness of the policy reform as a whole on various integration outcomes, but not of single policy instruments.

5.2 Data

The empirical analysis in this study is based on cross-sectional data from the Health Monitoring of the Swiss Migrant Population (GMM). The primary objective of this monitoring is to provide information on migrants' health state, their health behaviour and utilization of health services. The GMM includes migrant groups that due to language problems had not been adequately represented in standard health surveys or, as asylum-related immigrants, have not explicitly been addressed by those surveys.[4]

The first monitoring was carried out in 2004 and focuses on different migrant groups aged 15 to 74 years who permanently resided in Switzerland or were in a process of asylum admission (either provisionally admitted or still waiting for a decision). Regarding the foreign permanent population, the GMM includes representative samples of the Portuguese, ex-Yugoslavian, Turkish and Sri Lankan communities, taken from the Register of foreigners (*Zentrales Ausländer-Register*). In addition, two representative samples of asylum-related migrants from Kosovo and Sri Lanka were randomly selected from the Register of asylum seekers (*Automatisiertes Personenregister, Asyl*). The second monitoring took place in 2010. Just as in the first monitoring, four focus countries were selected among the foreign permanent population (Portugal, Turkey, Kosovo and Serbia) and two among foreigners seeking asylum in Switzerland (Sri Lanka and Somalia). Relative to the first GMM, the age range has been further limited to include all foreign individuals from 17 years old to 74 years old. It should also be noted that, in contrast to the first GMM, the samples of asylum-related immigrants have been stratified by gender and type of permit. Details on the sampling methodology and characteristics of the GMM samples are documented in reports by the Federal Office of Public Health (FOPH, 2007; 2012).

Since we are interested in the effects of the new integration policy on asylum-related immigrants who are provisionally admitted (F-permit) relative to those who are still waiting for a decision (N-permit), and we also need to examine a group of immigrants who share the same ethnic background over the two-year periods 2004 and 2010, we restrict the analysis to Sri Lankans in a process of asylum admission whose age ranges from 17 to 74 years. When analysing labour market outcomes, we further select the working age population (17-65 years old) with at least one year of residence in Switzerland. The latter restriction is important given that asylum seekers are forbidden to work the first three to six months of residence (Art. 43 Loi

[4] In 2004, the GMM survey was conducted in the following languages: German, French, Serbo-Croatian, Albanian, Turkish, Portuguese, and Tamil (OFSP, 2007). This list was extended by Somali in the GMM survey 2010 (OFSP, 2012).

sur l'asile LAsi; Piguet and Wimmer, 2000; Bolzman, 2001). Summary statistics of the selected samples, by year and permit, are presented in Table A.6 in the appendix.

Although there are only few common variables between the two GMM waves, we are nevertheless able to gather the necessary outcomes and controls to adequately study the impact of the new integration policy. We consider five outcomes to measure economic inclusion, sociocultural adaptation (language) and psychological wellbeing among asylum-related Sri Lankans. With respect to labour market outcomes, we use the two variables *employment* (=1 if employed, 0 if non-employed) and the *log household monthly net income* (deflated into 2000 Swiss francs). We use three dependent variables for *knowledge of a national language* based on the respondents' self-assessment of fluency in a Swiss language. The first outcome equals 1 if respondents indicated one Swiss language (German, French or Italian) when asked 'which of the national languages do you master best', and 0 otherwise. The second and third outcomes are based on questions whose wording in the 2004 GMM sample is slightly different from the one in the 2010 GMM sample. Respondents speaking one national language were asked in 2004 'How well do you understand this language in your opinion?' and 'How well do you speak this language?' on a 1 to 5 scale, where 1= 'very well', 2= 'well', 3= 'average'. 4= 'badly' and 5 is 'very badly'. Both these questions measure the same concept – how well someone masters a national language – given that the coefficient of correlation between these two one-to-five scale variables is high (about 0.84) and very significant ($p < 0.01$). In 2010, a single alternative question for those speaking a national language is implemented as follows: 'How well do you master this language in your opinion?', with answers on the same one-to-five scale. We then construct two binary outcomes, each of them proxying good knowledge in a Swiss language, where the question in 2010 is combined with either the question relating to understanding or speaking asked in 2004. Each of these outcomes takes the value 0 when respondents know no national language or at least one national language very badly/badly, or the value 1 when they know at least one national language moderately/well/very well. Our results are robust to these different definitions of perceived language proficiency. In terms of psychological wellbeing, we analyse two self-assessed indicators. The *feeling to have no longer a homeland*, akin to marginalisation as one does not feel part of the receiving country nor of one's country of origin, is measured on an ordinal scale using the question 'When you live as an immigrant in Switzerland, over time you may feel that you no longer have a homeland. You do not really belong anywhere, so to speak. How often does it happen that you have such feelings?'. We collapse its ordinal scale into a binary indicator which equals 1 if the respondents felt homeless at least once (i.e. rarely, sometimes, often or very often) or 0 otherwise. The outcome for the

feeling of loneliness is derived from the question 'How often do you feel lonely? Does that happen very often, quite often, sometimes or never?'. We construct a dummy variable equal to 1 (0 otherwise) if the answers range from sometimes to very often.

For the analysis, the two GMM samples are pooled as a cross-section. Using STATA's *svy* command, we incorporate cross-sectional individual weights to take the sampling design of the GMM into account and thus obtain reliable estimates concerning the population under study. Via this command, STATA calculates robust standard errors using the "linearization" variance estimator based on a first order Taylor series linear approximation (Eltinge and Sribney, 1997). To test the common time-trend assumption, we further draw random samples from the Census data 2000, following the random sampling strategy applied in GMM (see methods section for more details). Finally, we rely on panel data from registers to assess the robustness of the employment effects of the policy shift over time within individuals; further information on this panel dataset are provided in the methods section.

5.3 Methods

It is often difficult to assess the effectiveness of integration policies targeting immigrants' labour market or social integration empirically, either because the scope and thus the range of potential beneficiaries of these policies is very broad, or because studies rely on mere correlational analyses, which cannot identify clear causal effects. In this paper, we analytically exploit an exogenous reform occurring between the two-year GMM waves from 2004 and 2010, which aimed at facilitating the labour market and social integration of one specific group of asylum-related immigrants, namely those with a provisional admission (F-permit). This quasi-experimental pre- and post-scenario allows us to test whether labour market outcomes and social well-being of Sri Lankans with an F-permit improved significantly after the integration policy reform, compared to Sri Lankan asylum seekers with an N-permit, who could not benefit from these policy changes. Consider the following cross-sectional difference-in-differences (DID) model:

$$(1) \qquad y_{it} = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1\, d2010_{it} + \alpha_2\, \text{F-permit}_{it} + \delta_{\text{did}}\,(d2010_{it} \times \text{F-permit}_{it}) + \mathbf{X}_{it}\,\boldsymbol{\beta} + \text{error}_{it},$$

where y_{it} denotes the outcome of interest for individual i in year t. $d2010_{it}$ is a dummy variable which equals 1 if time t is 2010, meaning after the reform implementation, and 0 otherwise. F-permit$_{it}$ is also a dummy variable which equals 1 for provisionally admitted refugees (F-permit) and 0 for asylum seekers (N-permit). Because the implementation of the integration policy reform only affects F-permit but not N-permit holders, δ_{did} represents the causal effect of the

reform shock. The vector of control variables $\mathbf{X}_{it}$ includes gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, and a region dummy (= 1 for French and Italian regions and 0 otherwise). Another control is a vector of dummies for mastering either the Swiss German, French or Italian language when estimating the employment and wage equations given that language proficiency is one dimension of immigrants' human capital.

A further check consists in applying the difference-in-differences estimator to compare changes in outcomes between F-permit and N-permit Sri Lankans before the reform. If there are no preexisting differences between treated and control groups, i.e. if we cannot reject the hypothesis that $\delta_{\text{did}} = 0$ for this pre-treatment period, the common trend assumption is likely to hold and the difference-in-differences estimator around the policy shift will produce unbiased estimates. To test for the common trend assumption, we draw 5,000 random samples of size 250 from the asylum-related Sri Lankan population using the 2000 Census data.[5] We run 5,000 difference-in-differences models using each of these samples and the GMM sample for 2004, so that δ_{did} represents the interaction between the dummy variables for 2004 and F-permit.

We finally replicate the DID regression analysis for the likelihood of employment using individual panel data from linked registers – Registers of foreigners and asylum seekers, and the Register of the Central Compensation Office (*Caisse de Compensation*).[6] This robustness check has three notable advantages over our analysis based on the GMM data. First, it allows us to assess the effectiveness of the policy reform not only for Sri Lankans but all immigrants in the asylum process. Second, since these data are available on a yearly basis from 2000 on, we are able to track the impact of the policy reform on the individual employment propensity over time. Finally, given the longitudinal nature of the data, it is straightforward to use the fixed effects (FE) estimator when estimating the DID regression model.

[5] The same procedure was originally applied to construct the GMM sample of asylum-related Sri Lankans in 2004: 250 Sri Lankans with both F- and N-permit were randomly selected from the Register of asylum seekers.

[6] Every foreigner, including asylum seekers and temporary admitted, received an identification number, the social security number which is available in almost all national registers. Using this identification number, it is possible to link at the individual level the information on the asylum seekers, including the legal status based on registers of foreigners and asylum seekers, with the information on professional earnings and thus on the participation in the labour market, available in the register of the Central Compensation Office. The latter register is managed by the Central Compensation Office in charge of the old-age and survivors' insurance. Linked information is exhaustive, even if it can be assumed that there are cases of undeclared work among asylum seekers and temporary admitted migrants.

6. Results

This section presents the results of the effects of the comprehensive reform of the Swiss integration policy on asylum-related Sri Lankans' labour market, sociocultural and psychological integration. The following results center on our five outcome variables: employment and income for labour market outcomes (subsection 6.1), host-country language proficiency as an indicator for sociocultural integration (subsection 6.2), and feeling to have no longer a homeland and feeling of loneliness as proxies of psychological wellbeing (subsection 6.3). Subsection 6.4 provides support for the common trend assumption and shows that our results on employment are robust to panel data analysis and can be generalized beyond the Sri Lankan asylum-related population.

6.1 Labour market outcomes

As shown in Table 2, the integration policy reform improved the employment rate of Sri Lankans with an F-permit relative to their peers with an N-permit. More specifically, the reform has increased the probability of employment by 29.4 percentage points. The size of this effect is fairly important, meaning that the implementation of the new integration policy measures has been a fruitful instrument to foster the asylum-related immigrants' rapid transition to the labour market.

Table 2. Employment vs. non-employment: DID results

Outcome	(1) Employment
δ_{did2010}	0.294**
	(0.111)
Controls	Yes
Observations	369
R-squared	0.290

Notes: Coefficient estimates, linearized standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are weighted. Outcome variable: Non-employed (= 0), employed (= 1). Control variables: Gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, language proficiency (speaking a Swiss language) and regional dummy. Without control for language proficiency, all coefficient estimates of δ_{did} are slightly higher and equally significant. Unweighted results, displayed in Table A1 in the appendix, are qualitatively the same.

The results in Table 3 further show that the income effect of the integration policy reform is positive and statistically significant. As indicated in the first column of this table, the reform

is associated with a considerable income gain of 67.7 per cent. Other specifications including standardized versions of the household income – based on the square root scale or the per-capita scale, respectively – lead to the same conclusion, the additional coefficient estimates of δ_{did} being not statistically different from the one in the first column (at the 10 percent level). As for employment (Table 2), the size of the policy impact is substantial, lending support to the importance of an active integration policy in improving the income level of asylum-related households.

Table 3. Household monthly income: DID results

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Outcome	*log(income)*	*log(equivalent income)*	*log(per-capita income)*
$\delta_{did2010}$	0.677**	0.723**	0.769**
	(0.209)	(0.211)	(0.229)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	266	266	266
R-squared	0.392	0.331	0.340

Notes: Coefficient estimates, linearized standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are weighted. Outcome variable: log household monthly income (deflated into 2000 Swiss francs). The equivalent income is equal to the household income divided by the square root of household size. The per-capita income is equal to the household income divided by the household size. Control variables: Gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, language proficiency (speaking a Swiss language) and regional dummy. Without control for language proficiency, all coefficient estimates of δ_{did} are slightly higher and equally significant. Unweighted results, displayed in Table A2 in the appendix, are qualitatively the same.

The results on labour market outcomes are in line with the human capital framework, in which training courses enhance employability and thus lead to higher employment and positive wage growth in the host country. In parallel, they are also consistent with the search and matching models according to which training courses also provide valuable information on the host labour market and its functioning, thus reducing search frictions and promoting better job matching.

6.2 Knowledge of a national language

The first column of Table 4 shows the linear probability model of our difference-in-differences estimate, where the outcome measures if immigrants speak German, French or Italian. The integration policy reform slightly misses the 10 per cent significance level, but yields a marginally significant positive effect on the probability of speaking one of these languages, in line with our expectations: it increases language proficiency probability by 8.8 percentage points for provisionally admitted Sri Lankans (F-permit) compared to those whose asylum application is being processed (N-permit). The results for the two definitions of good

knowledge in a Swiss language, presented in the second and third columns, are quite similar and go in the same direction than the one reported in the first column: the effects of the reform on the probability of having a good knowledge in a Swiss language is significantly positive, corresponding to an increase in this probability of at least 20 percentage points. All in all, these findings lend support to the beneficial effect of inclusive integration policy on Swiss language proficiency.

Table 4. Knowledge of a Swiss language: DID results

Outcome	(1) *Speaking a Swiss language*	(2) *Good knowledge in a Swiss language*	(3)
		Understanding (2004)	*Speaking (2004)*
$\delta_{did2010}$	0.088	0.202**	0.232**
	(0.060)	(0.101)	(0.104)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	441	441	440
R-squared	0.190	0.294	0.286

Notes: Coefficient estimates, linearized standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are weighted. Outcome variable *speaking a Swiss language*: Speaking no national language (= 0), speaking one national language (= 1). Outcome variables *good knowledge in a Swiss language* (understanding or speaking in GMM 2004): no or very bad/bad knowledge of a national language (= 0), moderate/well/very well knowledge of a national language (= 1). Control variables: Gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, and regional dummy. Unweighted results, displayed in Table A3 in the appendix, are qualitatively the same.

6.3 Psychological well-being

The first column of Table 5 presents the results for the outcome measuring the *feeling to have no longer a homeland*, proxied by a dummy variable. The difference-in-differences estimate is negative and significant at the 10% level. Put differently, the integration policy reform has decreased the probability of feeling homeless by 17.0 percentage points for Sri Lankans with an F-permit relative to their peers with an N-permit.

The second column of Table 5 displays the difference-in-differences results for the dummy specification for *feeling of loneliness*. In this case, the effect of the integration policy reform is negative and significant at the 10% level: the estimated decrease in the probability of feeling lonely almost reaches 18 percentage points for Sri Lankans with an F-permit compared to those with an N-permit.

Table 5. Psychological well-being: DID results

Outcome	(1) *Feeling to have no homeland*	(2) *Feeling of loneliness*
δ_{did2010}	-0.172*	-0.175*
	(0.102)	(0.089)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Observations	438	442
R-squared	0.088	0.274

Notes: Coefficient estimates, linearized standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are weighted. Outcome variable *feeling to have no homeland*: Never (= 0), rarely, sometimes, often or very often (= 1). Outcome variable *feeling of loneliness*: Never (= 0), sometimes, quite often or very often (= 1). Control variables: Gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, and regional dummy. Unweighted results, displayed in Table A4 in the appendix, are qualitatively the same.

6.4 Robustness checks

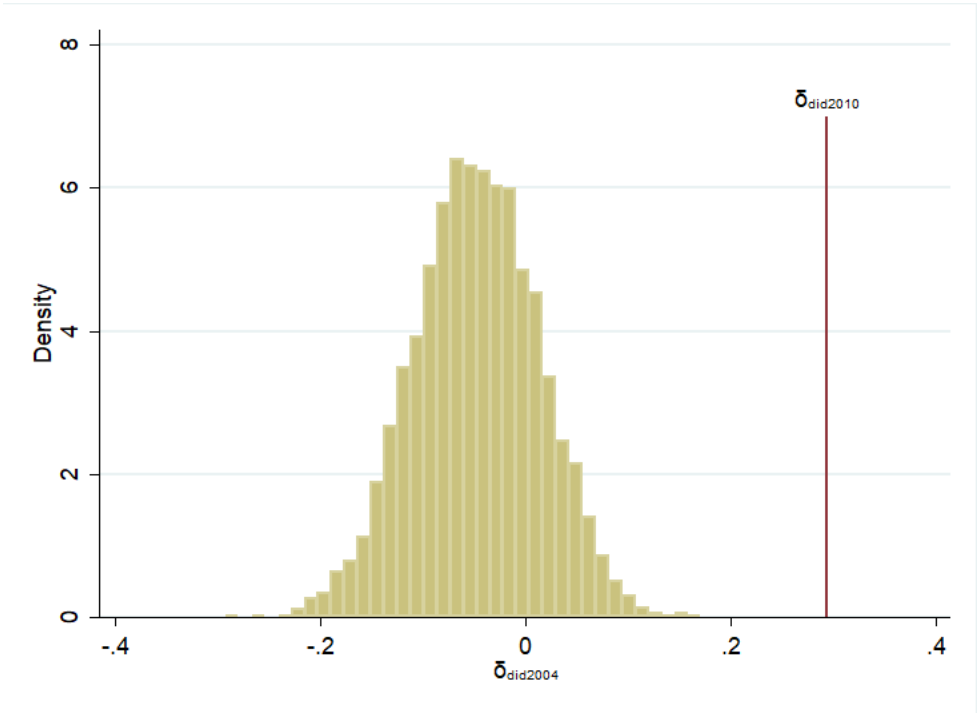
Common trend before the policy implementation

To further support our causal interpretation of the preceding results, we must assess whether the sample of Sri Lankans we examine follows common pre-trends before the policy shift. The common trend assumption implies that in the absence of the integration policy reform, both groups of F- and N-permit Sri Lankans would have experienced the same time trends conditional on our covariates (Lechner, 2010). In order to test this, we run a placebo test before the implementation of the integration policy reform for every random sample of asylum-related Sri Lankans drawn 5,000 times from the 2000 Census in association with the 2004 GMM sample, and then examine the distribution of potential effects. This procedure is illustrated for the probability of employment versus non-employment (Figure 2) and the dependent variables 'knowledge of a national language' (Figure 3) since the other outcomes are not available in the Census.

Figures 2 and 3 show the frequency distribution of the estimated effects for each considered outcome. In spite of some dispersion across estimated hypothetical effects, the mean values are numerically near zero, and almost all of the effects are statistically non-significant (at the 10 percent level). In contrast, the key effects derived from Equation (1) reported in Tables 2 and 3 are positive and much larger. The results from Figures 2 and 3 suggest that both F-permit and N-permit Sri Lankans would have behaved equally in terms of labour market inclusion and language proficiency over time in absence of the policy. While this may indicate that the difference-in-differences estimator yields unbiased estimates (at least for the outcomes under

scrutiny in this subsection), the estimation results could still be plagued by unobserved heterogeneity bias. Indeed, according to Equation (1), unobserved individual heterogeneity is assumed to be uncorrelated with the key coefficient δ_{did}. For instance, if there is a positive correlation due to the possibility that recent cohorts of asylum-related Sri Lankans may be more informed about the Swiss system than the earlier ones (i.e. due to the rising importance of the internet), estimates of δ_{did} are likely to be overestimated and could be considered as upper bounds of the true estimates. At the same time, possible selection effects of successfully integrated individuals into a permanent residency status (transition from F- to B-permit) after policy reform could imply that our assessment of integration outcomes based on F-status individuals in 2010 underestimates real policy effects on integration outcomes.[7]

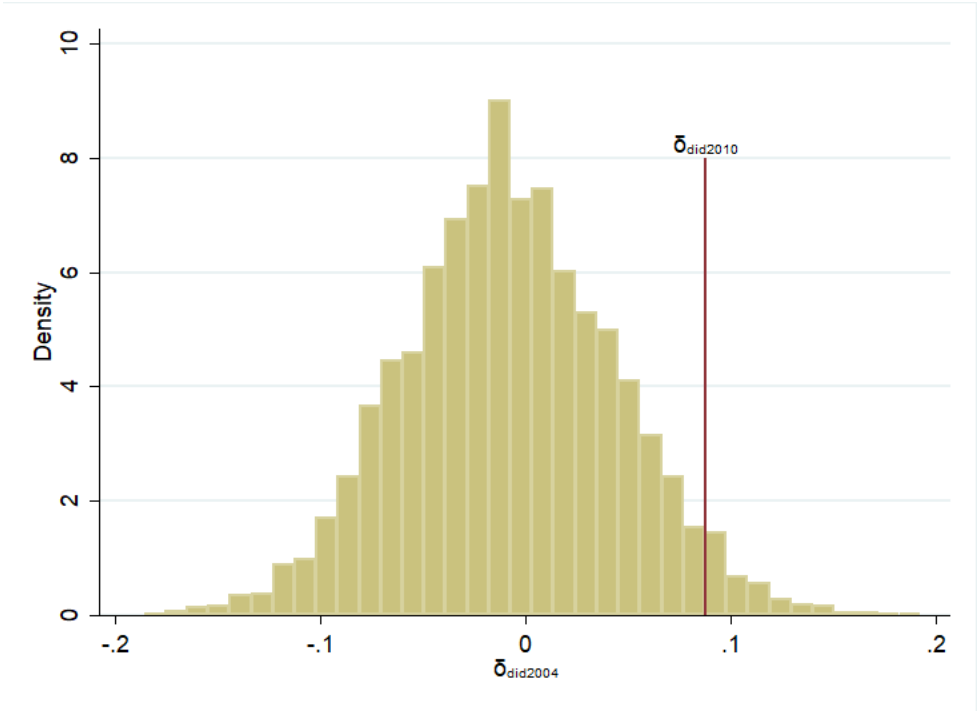
Figure 2. Distribution of hypothetical pre-policy impacts on the probability of employment (versus non-employment) in 2004 relative to 2000



Notes: Distribution of 5,000 OLS coefficients, each of them estimated from a difference-in-differences regression model in the spirit of Equation (1) where the pre-treatment year is 2000 and the (hypothetical) post-treatment year is 2004. The DID estimation procedure is carried out using 5,000 random sample of 250 asylum-related Sri Lankans in the 2000 Census data, each of them being pooled with the GMM sample for 2004. The mean value of the estimated coefficients is -0.047. Only 233 coefficient estimates are statistically significant at the 10 percent level, namely 4.66% of the 5,000 estimates. The vertical red line indicates the estimated DID effect of the integration policy reported in Table 2.

[7] A transition from F- to B-status is possible after 5 years of residence and in case of successful integration. This possibility was introduced with the new Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration in 2008.

Figure 3. Distribution of hypothetical pre-policy impacts on the probability of speaking one of the Swiss languages in 2004 relative to 2000



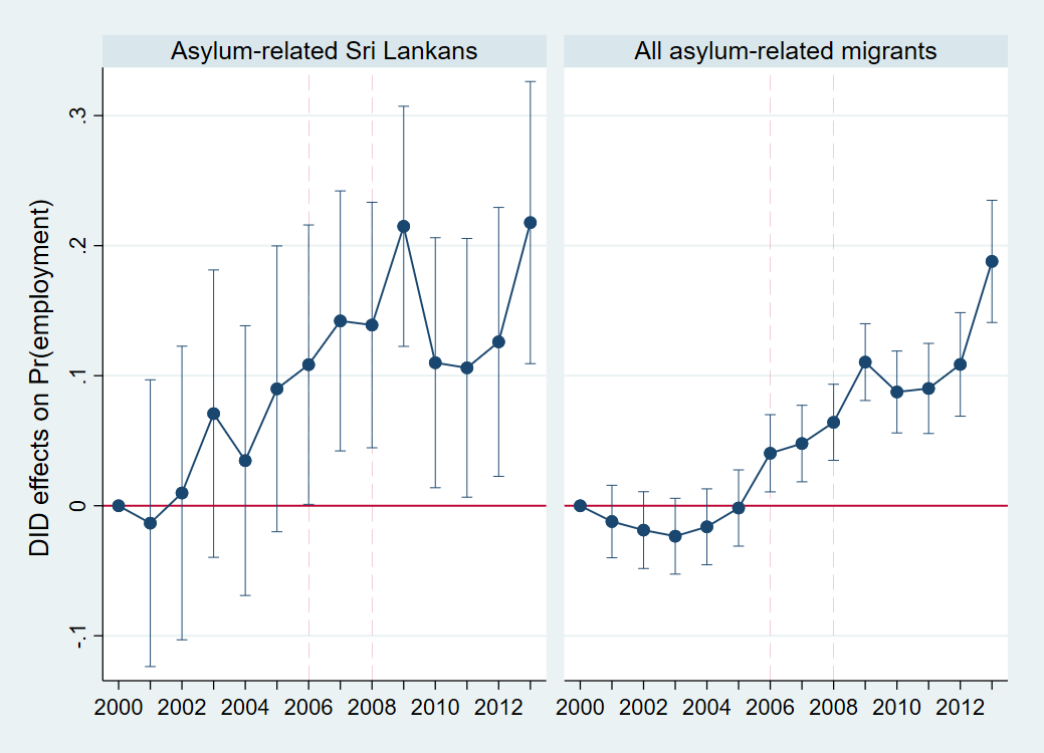
Notes: Distribution of 5,000 OLS coefficients, each of them estimated from a difference-in-differences regression model in the spirit of Equation (1) where the pre-treatment year is 2000 and the (hypothetical) post-treatment year is 2004. The DID estimation procedure is carried out using 5,000 random samples of 250 asylum-related Sri Lankans in the 2000 Census data, each of them being pooled with the GMM sample for 2004. The mean value of the estimated coefficients is -0.008. Only 193 coefficient estimates are statistically significant at the 10 percent level, namely 3.86% of the 5,000 estimates. The vertical red line indicates the estimated DID effect of the integration policy reported in Table 3.

Panel data analysis

As a final check, we replicate the cross-sectional results for employment using an alternative data source with a longitudinal structure, allowing us to apply a fixed effects approach. In addition, the panel data resulting from the linkage with the registers of foreigners and asylum seekers and with the register of the Central Compensation Office – the former including demographic indicators for asylum seekers in Switzerland and the latter recording information on professional earnings – provide a comprehensive source of population-based information; it means that we can also study the employment impact of the policy reform among the whole population of asylum-related migrants. What is more, we are able to cover a wider period (from 2000 to 2013) and check the variability of our cross-sectional results. In particular, it is possible to use pre-treatment trend comparisons or placebo-interventions to test the common-trend assumption as data coverage begins at least five years prior to the real intervention.

The main results based on this alternative panel data are displayed in Figure 4. The left panel shows the DID effects on employment for asylum-related Sri Lankans, while the DID estimates in the right panel are derived from the entire population of asylum-related migrants in Switzerland. As expected, and in line with our results based on the GMM data, the likelihood of employment begins to increase from 2006 (the first year of the policy shift) on for provisionally admitted individuals and this increase remains significant and positive in all the following years. It should be noted that the fixed effects estimate of the interaction between the permit dummy and the year 2010 is somewhat lower than the cross-sectional estimates in Table 2. This discrepancy is likely to originate from the fact that cross-sectional estimates do not adequately account for unobserved heterogeneity and may be upwardly biased, as mentioned above. The DID-FE results displayed in the right panel confirm that the policy shift has been accompanied with an increased likelihood of employment for all provisionally admitted migrants. Besides, the employment effects appear to keep growing in more recent years, emphasizing the long-term beneficial impact of the policy shift.

Figure 4. Employment effects of the reform for provisionally admitted Sri Lankans and all provisionally admitted migrants



Notes: The figures are based on DID models with fixed effects (see Table A.5 in the appendix), where we regress employment on permit and year dummy variables, interactions between permit and year (i.e. the DID effects), and other controls. The reference year is 2000 and the reference permit (red horizontal zero-line) is the N-permit (asylum seekers). The DID effects for provisionally admitted individuals (F-permit) are plotted with the 95 per cent confidence intervals. The vertical red dashed lines indicate the begin (2006) and end (2008) of the integration policy reform.

7. Conclusion

At the peak of the most recent humanitarian migration crisis in 2015, EU countries registered more than 1.2 million new asylum applications, more than in any previous refugee crisis in Europe since World War II (OECD, 2015). Questions around the permanent inclusion of asylum-related individuals in destination countries are thus more pressing than ever. However, studies assessing the effectiveness of integration policies on a broad range of individual integration outcomes are still scarce, and the empirical evidence emerging from this research is mixed. This inconclusive state of existing research can be attributed to important methodological limitations in assessing policy effects. In this paper, we exploited an exogenous source of policy variation, the Swiss integration policy reform entering into force between 2006 and 2008, to assess its effect on asylum-related migrants using a quasi-experimental research design. The results of our difference-in-differences analyses point to substantial policy effects on integration outcomes of provisionally admitted Sri Lankans who benefited from the policy reform, when compared to their peers, Sri Lankan asylum seekers who remained unaffected by the reform. Among provisionally admitted Sri Lankans, employment probability increased by almost 30 percentage points, and income rose by more than 60 percent. While we interpret these cross-sectional estimates as upper bounds of the true estimates, panel data estimates confirm the positive employment effects of the policy shift in the short- and long-run. Provisionally admitted Sri Lankans were also significantly more likely to have a good knowledge of a Swiss language, and felt less lonely and less marginalized after policy reform. Overall, our findings suggest that the Swiss integration policy reform was highly effective, reaching its aim to foster the economic and social integration of provisionally admitted individuals. In the light of our results, most recent policy developments from 2019 (cf. Graf and Mahon, 2018), which entail an increase of the per capita integration allowance from 6'000 CHF to 18'000 CHF, or the abolition of the requirement to demand authorization before taking up gainful employment, can be considered steps in the right direction.

At the same time, our study was not able to assess the performance of single policy instruments, but could only assess the effect of the overall reform package on various economic, sociocultural and psychological integration outcomes targeted by the reform. As a consequence, we cannot disentangle which instrument or interplay of various policies yielded which integration outcome. Related to this point, existing research suggests that integration outcomes in different domains interact and likely reinforce each other: language skills are an important precondition for successful labour market integration (Clausen et al., 2009), whereas both,

language proficiency and economic integration may mediate the link between policy and psychological wellbeing (Esses et al., 2017). A second limitation of the current study relates to the fact that we could not define how the policy reform affected the relationship to countries of origin (i.e. maintenance of language skills, identification etc.). Existing literature discusses and examines the different outcomes of multicultural vs. assimilationist expectations and policies. Such policies endorse and foster integration (adapting to the host culture while maintaining one's culture of origin) and assimilation (adapting to the host culture while shedding one's culture of origin), respectively. Indeed, there is ample evidence that integration compared to assimilation is associated to better psychological, civic and sociocultural adaptation (Berry, 1997; Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen 2014) as well as academic achievement and career success (for a meta-analysis see Nguyen and Benez-Martinez, 2013). In addition to comparing the effects of different policy instruments, future research should also deepen our understanding of how multicultural vs. assimilationist policies affect the psychological, sociocultural and economic adaptation of immigrants.

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Appendix

Table A1. Employment vs. non-employment: Unweighted DID results

Outcome	(1) Employment
δ_{did2010}	0.280**
	(0.097)
Controls	Yes
Observations	369
R-squared	0.315

Notes: Coefficient estimates, robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are unweighted. Outcome variable: Non-employed (= 0), employed (= 1). Control variables: Gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, language proficiency (speaking a Swiss language) and regional dummy. Without control for language proficiency, all coefficient estimates of δ_{did} are slightly higher and equally significant.

Table A2. Household monthly income: Unweighted DID results

Outcome	(1) *log(income)*	(2) *log(equivalent income)*	(3) *log(per-capita income)*
$\delta_{did2010}$	0.496**	0.590**	0.685**
	(0.178)	(0.177)	(0.194)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	266	266	266
R-squared	0.478	0.415	0.431

Notes: Coefficient estimates, robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are unweighted. Outcome variable: log household monthly income (deflated into 2000 Swiss francs). The equivalent income is equal to the household income divided by the square root of household size. The per-capita income is equal to the household income divided by the household size. Control variables: Gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, language proficiency (speaking a Swiss language) and regional dummy. Without control for language proficiency, all coefficient estimates of δ_{did} are slightly higher and equally significant.

Table A3. Knowledge of a Swiss language: Unweighted DID results

Outcome	(1) *Speaking a Swiss language*	(2) *Good knowledge in a Swiss language*	(3)
		Understanding (2004)	*Speaking (2004)*
$\delta_{did2010}$	0.112*	0.220**	0.236**
	(0.062)	(0.087)	(0.092)
Controls	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	441	441	440
R-squared	0.295	0.366	0.313

Notes: Coefficient estimates, robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are unweighted. Outcome variable *speaking a Swiss language*: Speaking no national language (= 0), speaking one national language (= 1). Outcome variables *good knowledge in a Swiss language* (understanding or speaking in GMM 2004): no or very bad/bad knowledge of a national language (= 0), moderate/well/very well knowledge of a national language (= 1). Control variables: Gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, and regional dummy.

Table A4. Psychological well-being: Unweighted DID results

Outcome	(1) *Feeling to have no homeland*	(2) *Feeling of loneliness*
$\delta_{did2010}$	-0.172*	-0.175*
	(0.102)	(0.089)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Observations	438	442
R-squared	0.088	0.274

Notes: Coefficient estimates, robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance: ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are unweighted. Outcome variable *feeling to have no homeland*: Never (= 0), rarely, sometimes, often or very often (= 1). Outcome variable *feeling of loneliness*: Never (= 0), sometimes, quite often or very often (= 1). Control variables: Gender, age, age squared, years since migration, years since migration squared, education level, marital status, number of children below 15 years, and regional dummy.

Table A5. *Employment vs. non-employment: DID-FE results*

	(1)	(2)
Outcome	*Employment*	
$\delta_{did2001}$	-0.013	-0.012
	(0.056)	(0.014)
$\delta_{did2002}$	0.010	-0.019
	(0.058)	(0.015)
$\delta_{did2003}$	0.071	-0.023
	(0.056)	(0.015)
$\delta_{did2004}$	0.035	-0.016
	(0.053)	(0.015)
$\delta_{did2005}$	0.090	-0.002
	(0.056)	(0.015)
$\delta_{did2006}$	0.108**	0.040***
	(0.055)	(0.015)
$\delta_{did2007}$	0.142***	0.048***
	(0.051)	(0.015)
$\delta_{did2008}$	0.139***	0.064***
	(0.048)	(0.015)
$\delta_{did2009}$	0.215***	0.110***
	(0.047)	(0.015)
$\delta_{did2010}$	0.110**	0.087***
	(0.049)	(0.016)
$\delta_{did2011}$	0.106**	0.090***
	(0.051)	(0.018)
$\delta_{did2012}$	0.126**	0.109***
	(0.053)	(0.020)
$\delta_{did2013}$	0.218***	0.188***
	(0.055)	(0.024)
Time-varying controls	Yes	Yes
Observations	14,330	161,238
Number of individuals	2,331	27,589
Within R-squared	0.083	0.113
Overall R-squared	0.033	0.089

Notes: Coefficient estimates, robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.10. Data are unweighted. Outcome variable: Non-employed (= 0 if earnings = 0), employed (= 1 if earnings > 0). Control variables (only time-varying): age squared, years since migration squared, marital status, and region dummies. The reference year is 2000.

Table A6. Summary statistics

	2004						2010					
	F-permit			N-permit			F-permit			N-permit		
	Mean	Linearized Std. Err.	N	Mean	Linearized Std. Err.	N	Mean	Linearized Std. Err.	N	Mean	Linearized Std. Err.	N
Controls												
Women	0.789	0.031	180	0.250	0.055	64	0.368	0.050	100	0.202	0.034	100
Age	40.717	1.127	180	31.469	1.185	64	38.059	1.318	100	31.202	1.096	100
Years since migration	6.872	0.217	179	3.344	0.286	64	6.448	0.793	100	0.930	0.075	100
No education or compulsory education	0.615	0.036	179	0.531	0.063	64	0.684	0.054	100	0.637	0.059	100
Upper secondary education	0.380	0.036	179	0.438	0.063	64	0.290	0.053	100	0.291	0.055	100
Tertiary education	0.006	0.006	179	0.031	0.022	64	0.026	0.019	100	0.072	0.031	100
Married	0.661	0.035	180	0.344	0.060	64	0.448	0.055	100	0.449	0.063	100
Number of children	1.278	0.081	180	0.516	0.114	64	0.539	0.092	100	0.385	0.081	100
Latin region	0.139	0.026	180	0.156	0.046	64	0.202	0.045	100	0.232	0.061	100
Outcomes												
Employment	0.363	0.038	160	0.563	0.063	64	0.464	0.057	89	0.238	0.064	66
log(income)	7.972	0.038	105	7.658	0.080	40	7.190	0.140	66	6.549	0.113	60
Speaking a Swiss language	0.806	0.030	180	0.922	0.034	64	0.920	0.027	99	0.877	0.035	100
Good knowledge of a Swiss language (1st def.)	0.656	0.036	180	0.688	0.058	64	0.662	0.051	99	0.392	0.060	100
Good knowledge of a Swiss language (2nd def.)	0.550	0.037	180	0.619	0.062	63	0.662	0.051	99	0.392	0.060	100
Feeling to have no homeland	0.737	0.033	179	0.734	0.056	64	0.626	0.053	98	0.811	0.047	99
Feeling of loneliness	0.544	0.037	180	0.797	0.051	64	0.559	0.054	100	0.895	0.031	100

Source: GMM 2004 & 2010. *Note:* Data are weighted.