
The great accelerator: The relationship between inclusive political reception contexts and immigrants' sedentary ties

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Le doyen
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Summary

This PhD thesis focuses on the relationship between the political reception context (PRC) and immigrants' sedentary ties. The PRC, an aspect of the context of reception (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006), is captured via integration and citizenship policies as well as natives' attitudes towards immigration. Thus, the PRC represents the socio-political atmosphere faced by foreign-born noncitizens when they settle in a new place of residence.

Research on the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes are rather disparate. Research on how integration policies – an aspect of the PRC – interact with immigrants' attitudes and behaviours lead to mixed findings. Similarly, inquiries on citizenship policies focus on either naturalization rates or the effects of citizenship acquisition. More comprehensive and less equivocal, studies describe the negative effects of xenophobic attitudes on a wide set of outcomes including mobility, wages and wellbeing. This thesis focuses on the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' sedentary ties with the host country – this thesis comprises five separate articles that capture the various outcomes under scrutiny: feelings of attachment (Paper I), naturalization intentions (Papers II and III), (im-)mobility behaviours (Paper IV) and residential location choice (Paper V). These outcomes can all be described as sedentary markers.

Prior studies on the relationship between PRC components and immigrants' outcomes have all analysed the *direct* relationship. This thesis proposes a new mechanism, arguing that the PRC may also moderate the positive effect of immigrants' time spent in the host country on sedentary ties.

Thus, this thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

- How does the subnational PRC relate to immigrants' sedentary ties to the host country?
- Can inclusive PRCs amplify time's effects on immigrants' sedentary ties?
- Can some immigrants' characteristics moderate the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' sedentary ties?

Based on empirical quantitative analyses at the level of the Swiss Cantons, the findings of this PhD thesis regarding the association between the PRC and sedentary ties are rather inconclusive. However, the main finding of this thesis is that an inclusive PRC amplifies time's positive effects on immigrants' sedentary ties. Importantly, this shows the importance of the

PRC when seen together with time spent in the host country, offering a better way to understand the PRC's relationship with immigrants' outcomes. This finding is especially valuable for the literature on the association between integration policies and immigrants' outcomes. This thesis also demonstrates that this relationship is more significant for some immigrant categories, such as the most vulnerable immigrants in terms of residence permit and country origin. Furthermore, this thesis complements the migration–mobility literature by demonstrating that political factors matter for immigrants' immobility decisions and residential location choice – a hitherto under-researched phenomenon.

Keywords: Political Reception Context; Integration Policies; Sedentary Ties; (Im-)mobility; Subnational Level analyses; Switzerland; Quantitative analyses

Résumé

Cette thèse de doctorat porte sur la relation entre le contexte politique d'accueil (CPA) et les liens de sédentarité des immigrant.e.s. Le CPA est basé sur le concept de « contexte d'accueil » (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006) et est implémenté à l'aide de trois composantes : les politiques d'intégration et de naturalisation ainsi que l'attitude de la population native envers l'immigration. De ce fait, le CPA représente l'atmosphère socio-politique dans lequel vivent les populations étrangères au moment de leur installation dans un lieu de résidence.

La recherche sur les liens entre les composantes du CPA et les migrant.e.s a débouché sur des résultats plutôt disparates. Par exemple, la recherche démontre des résultats ambigus quant à la relation entre politiques d'intégration et les attitudes et comportement de la population étrangère. Concernant les politiques de naturalisation, un fort accent a été mis sur les taux de naturalisation et les effets de la naturalisation sur les personnes migrantes. Les recherches sont plus équivoques et compréhensives concernant le lien entre les attitudes xénophobes et leurs effets négatifs sur la population étrangère en termes de mobilité, de salaire ou de bien-être psychologique.

Cette thèse cherche donc à compléter cette littérature en analysant la relation entre le CPA et les liens de sédentarité entre les non-ressortissant.e.s et le pays d'accueil. Le concept de liens de sédentarité représente l'attachement émotionnel et/ou l'incorporation dans l'environnement de vie. Ce concept de liens de sédentarité synthétise les différents comportements et intentions des articles qui composent ce doctorat : le sentiment d'attachement au pays d'accueil (article I), les intentions de se naturaliser (articles II et III), les comportements d'(im-)mobilité (article IV) et le choix du lieu de résidence (article V). Ces comportements et intentions peuvent tous être décrits comme des marqueurs de sédentarité.

Cette thèse complète aussi la littérature existante en proposant un nouveau mécanisme sur les liens entre CPA et immigrant.e.s. Jusqu'alors, la recherche a présupposé un lien direct entre CPA et non-ressortissant.e.s. Néanmoins, je démontre que l'association entre CPA et population étrangère est plutôt indirecte et agit à travers le temps passé en Suisse.

Ainsi, mon travail vise à répondre aux questions de recherche suivantes :

- Quel est le lien entre le CPA régional et les liens de sédentarité des immigrant.e.s avec le pays d'accueil ?

- Les CPA inclusifs peuvent-ils amplifier les effets du temps sur les liens de sédentarité des immigrant.e.s ?
- Certaines caractéristiques individuelles peuvent-elles modérer la relation entre le CPA et les liens de sédentarité des immigrant.e.s ?

En se basant sur des analyses quantitatives au niveau des cantons suisses, ce doctorat démontre que le CPA n'a peut-être pas d'association directe avec les liens sédentaires, car les résultats sont plutôt peu concluants. Cependant, la principale conclusion est qu'un CPA inclusif amplifie les effets positifs du temps sur les liens de sédentarités des immigrant.e.s. Cela répond de manière importante aux résultats ambigus concernant les effets des politiques d'intégration. En effet, cette thèse montre l'importance de prendre en compte le temps passé par les immigrant.e.s dans le pays d'accueil afin de mieux comprendre la relation entre la CPA et les immigrant.e.s. Cette thèse démontre également que cette relation est plus marquée pour certaines catégories d'immigrant.e.s, en fonction de la vulnérabilité liées au permis de séjour et au pays d'origine. En outre, cette recherche complète la littérature sur la migration et la mobilité en montrant que les facteurs politiques jouent un rôle dans les décisions d'(im-)mobilité des immigrant.e.s et du choix de résidence, un phénomène négligé jusqu'ici par la recherche.

Mots-clés : Contexte politique d'accueil ; Politiques d'intégration ; Liens de sédentarité ; (Im-)mobilité ; Analyses de niveau régional ; Suisse ; Analyses quantitatives

List of acronyms

AMCE	Average Marginal Component Effects
EFTA	European Free Trade Agreement
FSO	Federal Statistical Office
IPI	Integration Policy Index
MMS	Migration-Mobility Survey
PRC	Political Reception Context
STATPOP	Population and Households Statistics
SVP	Swiss People's Party
SWISSCIT	Index on Citizenship Law in Swiss Cantons

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1. Introduction

In 2019, almost 149,000 newly arrived noncitizens¹ unpacked their suitcases to settle in Switzerland (nccr - on the move, 2021b). If it follows the typical pattern, a quarter of them would have left within a year while another fourth will be gone after five years (nccr - on the move, 2021b). Over the past decades, the number of noncitizen residents in Switzerland has increased, rising from 913,497 to 2,210,788 between 1980 and 2020 (Federal Statistical Office, 2021c). In total, 25.5% of the individuals living in Switzerland do not hold a Swiss passport as of 2020, while 38% of the population has an immigration background, whether naturalized or not (Federal Statistical Office, 2021a). This thesis aims to understand how, after arrival, immigrants develop sedentary ties with the host country. These sedentary ties can be described as an attachment to their new place of residence in terms of social and physical environment (Lewicka, 2011). Such emotional bonds appear to favour long-term settlement (Fischer et al., 2000; Schewel, 2020). From a political science perspective, one may wonder how political factors relate to the establishment of sedentary ties for foreign-born noncitizens.

This question is relevant in political and societal fields. For instance, it can help legislators to better understand how a reform or the implementation of an integration policy will relate to immigrants. This thesis can also improve the understanding of mobility and residential location choices of immigrants in Switzerland. This element is highly relevant for planning infrastructure such as public transport or educational facilities. In addition, at a time when social cohesion is a contentious topic, my work can show the kinds of political factors that can create a beneficial climate for immigrants, helping them to feel at home, which in turn favours social cohesion (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012).

From a scientific perspective, such interrogation is also highly relevant. To answer this core research question, I use the concept of a “context of reception” (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006), which includes such elements as government policy, societal discrimination, ethnic community strength and foreign nationals’ human capital attributes. In this thesis, however, I focus solely on the dimensions that are a “product” of the receiving state: government policies on integration and citizenship, and natives’ attitudes towards immigration (to capture the societal discrimination dimension). Taken together, these components shape the receiving context faced

¹ Throughout this thesis, I use the terms foreign-born noncitizens and immigrants interchangeably to refer to individuals who do not hold a Swiss passport and born abroad.

by foreign-born noncitizens in the host country and range from exclusionary to inclusionary. In other words, the PRC refers to the socio-political atmosphere within which immigrants can create sedentary ties with the host country. The PRC's relative openness towards immigration may be associated with foreign-born noncitizens' sedentary ties to the host country; receiving a "warm handshake" rather than a "cold shoulder" (Reeskens & Wright, 2014) matters for how welcome noncitizens born abroad feel at and after arrival in their place of settlement.

Integration policies are the first and main component of the PRC under scrutiny in this thesis, as they are at the core of all five articles. These policies frame and regulate access to civic, political, socio-structural and cultural rights and obligations for foreign nationals. Studies show that this legal and institutional setting can create a more or less inclusive context and varies across countries (see e.g.: Brubaker, 1992; Favell, 2001; Koopmans, 2010). The degree of inclusiveness or exclusiveness of integration policies is related to the extent of rights granted to foreign nationals, such as labour market integration programmes, alien voting rights or anti-discrimination legislation. However, in response to criticisms of "methodological nationalism" which highlights an overemphasis on state-level factors, while overlooking regional heterogeneity (Castles, 2010; Wimmer & Schiller, 2003), more recent studies show the increasing importance of subnational integration policies (Hepburn, 2011; Hooghe & Marks, 2016; Paquet, 2014). Therefore, this thesis joins the expanding literature on integration policies at the subnational level (Filindra & Manatschal, 2020; Gundelach & Manatschal, 2016; Hooghe & Marks, 2016; Joppke & Seidle, 2012; Keating, 1999; Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013; Spiro, 2001).

Furthermore, research has tended to put a strong emphasis on understanding the philosophies and reasons behind the inclusiveness or restrictiveness of integration policies (Favell, 2001; Koopmans et al., 2012; Lutz, 2019). This work complements instead the rapidly growing strand of research studying the association between integration policies and immigrants' outcomes, rather than the roots of the policies' themselves. Therefore, the PRC component of integration policies is considered here at the subnational level, with a focus on its relationships with foreign-born noncitizens' outcomes.

Subnational integration policies vary greatly across regions in terms of their degree of liberalness (Filindra & Manatschal, 2020; Gundelach & Manatschal, 2016; Manatschal et al., 2020; Zuber, 2020) and one may expect this to influence immigrants' behaviours and intentions. Indeed, at both the national and subnational levels, some findings seem to indicate positive

effects of inclusive integration policies on foreign citizens' labour market integration, educational achievements or host-country identification, for instance (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2011; Igarashi, 2019; Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013). Other articles show an opposite relationship by demonstrating the positive effects of exclusive integration policies on noncitizens' political engagement or labour market integration (Bloemraad et al., 2011; Filindra & Manatschal, 2020; Koopmans, 2010). But few studies do not find any significant correlation between policies and foreign citizens' behaviours (Dinesen & Hooghe, 2010; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). The literature on integration policies' association with immigrants' outcomes appear to produce rather mixed conclusions. This PhD thesis aims to better apprehend whether and how subnational integration policies, in particular, relate to immigrants' behaviours and intentions. To do so, I argue here that these mixed findings of the above-mentioned research may be due to their naïve approach to understanding how integration policies relate to foreign-born noncitizens' outcomes. Existing research seems to imply that integration policies associate *directly* with immigrants' outcomes, whereas I argue here that it may instead be *indirect*, with integration policies playing the role of moderator. I consider that integration policies can relate to immigrants' outcomes depending on the time spent in the host country – a perspective that complements the existing literature. This assertion is detailed further below in the introduction.

The second PRC element I analyse is subnational citizenship policies. This has received extensive attention, mostly at the national level, from research on the negative effects of restrictive citizenship policies on naturalization rates (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Janoski, 2010; Reichel & Perchinig, 2014; Vink et al., 2013). Other research emphasizes the effects of naturalization on immigrants' voting behaviours, income and employment levels, for example (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2011; Helgertz et al., 2014; Peters et al., 2018, 2020).

Thus, it appears that research on citizenship policies focuses either on the filtering effects of citizenship policies – immigrants' self-selection into the naturalization process – or on the effects of citizenship acquisition. But these studies do not answer whether inclusive citizenship policies, by lowering naturalization requirements, can also send a more welcoming signal to immigrants, independently of whether or not they seek to naturalize. In other words, can citizenship policies also relate to immigrants *prior* to potentially launching a naturalization process? This thesis helps to answer this question by showing whether citizenship policies can send a welcoming/deterring message towards immigrants *during* the establishment of sedentary ties.

The last element of the PRC is natives' attitudes towards immigration. Maxwell (2010) proposed that exclusive attitudes can send a hostile signal towards immigrants, preventing them from feeling like legitimate members of the host country. This has been confirmed by research showing that natives' xenophobic attitudes influence immigrants in terms of location choice, wages, wellbeing, or host-nation identification (Bracco et al., 2017; Gorinas & Pytliková, 2015; Knabe et al., 2013; Slotwinski & Stutzer, 2019; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Waisman & Larsen, 2009). Also, most research on natives' attitudes towards immigration focuses on hostile attitudes and their effects on noncitizens' outcomes. This thesis helps to widen this understanding by including more welcoming attitudinal stances on immigration, applying several additional analyses. While papers analyse the effects of hostile attitudes on certain outcomes, these additional analyses look at the relationship between welcoming attitudes and the very same outcomes. This is an aspect that has been so-far overlooked in the literature.

To analyse the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes, I use the concept of sedentary ties. The latter describes an attachment to a place in terms of emotional bonds and a certain embeddedness with regard to the environment in which one lives (Lewicka, 2011; Schewel, 2020). It is important to note that creating sedentary ties with the host country does not mean that immigrants sever ties with their country of origin. Research on transnationalism show that home- and host-country ties can coexist (Jónsson, 2011). However, ties to the home country are beyond the scope of this thesis.

I chose the term "sedentary ties" because it synthesizes this study's outcomes of interest, namely feelings of attachment, naturalization intentions, (im-)mobility behaviours and residential location choice. These outcomes can be understood as sedentary markers, indicating a certain embeddedness in the receiving country. Each individual outcome forms the focus of a separate article within this thesis, while the "umbrella term" of sedentary ties describes the overarching concept around which this inquiry is built. Thus, the main research question of this PhD thesis is:

- How does the subnational PRC relate to immigrants' sedentary ties to the host country?

I propose a hypothetical "settlement pathway" that incorporate outcomes and the PRC and illustrates the relationship between them. This pathway is helpful for understanding why the outcomes of this PhD can be understood as sedentary markers and how they interact or complement each other. Before presenting this hypothetical pathway, it is important to mention

the sample under scrutiny. I focus here on foreign-born noncitizens who benefit from a stable residence permit and a reliable income, and who can ultimately choose to stay in Switzerland and apply for naturalization.

This pathway starts with the foreign-born noncitizens' arrival in the host country, which can itself create a certain feeling of attachment to their new place of residence. This attachment can either be understood as a matter of embracing the host-nation identity (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010), or more pragmatically as an accumulation of "particular practices and material attachments" (Raffaetà & Duff, 2013, p. 328). Research shows that, for instance, hostile natives' attitudes can decrease immigrants feeling of belonging to the host country (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012) while inclusive integration policies may favour immigrants' feelings of attachment (Igarashi, 2019). Therefore, Paper I hypothesizes that an inclusive PRC can create a more welcoming political climate for immigrants, which in turn may enhance their feelings of attachment to the host country.

After arrival comes the "settling in/joining in" period, in which foreign-born noncitizens may further embrace the host-country identity and/or participate politically. Therefore, seeking naturalization might be the next step in the development of attachment to the host country, as shown by research (Carrillo, 2015; Van Hook et al., 2006; Witte, 2014). The intention to naturalize could fulfil symbolic (identity) and/or instrumental (political participation) purposes for foreign nationals. Research shows that the inclusiveness of citizenship policies can influence the naturalization rate of noncitizens (Peters et al., 2016a; Vink et al., 2013a) but much less is known about what drives immigrants to seek naturalization. Thus, the wish to naturalize is overlooked by the literature. The same holds true for the role of the PRC in this process. To my knowledge, only one study demonstrating that a hostile majority attitude can lead to more willingness to naturalize (Fouka, 2019) deals with this relationship. Papers II and III of this PhD thesis aims to complement these fragmentary forays by analysing the relationship between the PRC and foreign-born noncitizens' naturalization intentions.

Feelings of attachment can also lead to a decision to settle in the long term (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011; Raffaetà & Duff, 2013; Steiner, 2019), whether through naturalization or otherwise. Some research looks at the relationship between natives' attitudes and noncitizens' mobility behaviours and find that immigrants tend to avoid or leave municipalities with xenophobic attitudes (Bracco et al., 2017; de Coulon et al., 2016; Slotwinski & Stutzer, 2019). Regarding the association between immigrants' mobility behaviours and citizenship/integration policies,

to my knowledge, no research exists. Therefore, Paper IV investigates the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' decision to stay in their place of residence.

Last, after having decided to stay, whether they naturalize or not, immigrants may choose more precisely where to settle in the host country to optimize their stay (Paul, 2011). This outcome is largely overlooked by the literature in terms of the possible influence of the PRC components on immigrants' location choice. Therefore, Paper V analyses the effect of the PRC on immigrants' intentions regarding residential location choice.

Research shows that duration of stay is positively associated with feelings of attachment (Alba & Nee, 2009; Manning & Roy, 2010; Nandi & Platt, 2015; Platt, 2014), citizenship acquisition (Vink et al., 2013a) as well as immobility (Fischer et al., 2000; Pungas et al., 2012; Thomassen, 2021). Thus, these sedentary markers are highly influenced by time spent in a place (Fischer & Malmberg, 2001). Residential location is the exception; Paper V focuses on whether PRC components can attract immigrants to a new place of residence, which is a matter of optimization rather than exposure to a specific PRC. Therefore, time spent does not play a significant role in foreign-born noncitizens' residential location choice.

Based on this presentation of the outcomes, I now introduce the second research question of this thesis.

- Can inclusive PRCs amplify time's effects on immigrants' sedentary ties?

I argue that the PRC can moderate the effects of time spent in the host country on immigrants' sedentary ties. I expect that an inclusive PRC, which entails a more welcoming political climate, may *accelerate* time's positive effects on sedentary ties. The logic is that newly arrived immigrants may not be directly aware of the inclusiveness of the regional PRC, or how it compares to other regions. Rather, this knowledge is more likely to build over time. I

For instance, if immigrants settle in a region where alien voting rights are guaranteed, identification with the polity may occur quite swiftly. By contrast, if immigrants can only access voting rights after having been naturalized, this process is likely to take more time. Thus, feeling part of the polity is slower in an exclusive integration policy context. The same holds true for natives' attitudes: locals who are open to newcomers may help new arrivals to create social bridges and connections to the place of residence. On the other hand, where xenophobic

attitudes prevail, racial prejudices may prevent or slow down the process of joining the local community (Spicer, 2008).

These examples demonstrate that in more inclusive PRC regions, immigrants may *more rapidly* feel part of the polity and the community. Therefore, it seems plausible that immigrants will more easily develop ties to the host country if it has an inclusive PRC because they access certain rights and social networks more rapidly. Thus, I presume that an inclusive PRC can *accelerate* the effects of time spent on immigrants' sedentary ties with the host country.

By analysing the relationship between the PRC and these specific outcomes, this thesis addresses gaps in integration policies and migration/mobility literature: First, it considers integration policies' relationship with immigrants' outcomes *indirectly* as well as *directly*. Showing that inclusive integration policies may amplify the effects of time spent in a country on immigrants' outcomes is, to my knowledge, a novelty in this field. Thus, this work also provides rich evidence of the mechanism at work by emphasizing the accelerator role played by these policies. In addition, Paper IV focuses on (im-)mobility behaviours as they relate to integration policies, which brings a more dynamic perspective to the possible relationship between integration policies and immigrants' outcomes. So far, most research has focused on static outcomes such as labour market integration, wage level or language acquisition.

Second, the outcomes analysed in this thesis also help to address some gaps in the migration/mobility literature. The so-called "mobility turn" in social science has emphasized the drivers of mobility and migration, neglecting to investigate what makes people to stay in place (Jónsson, 2011; Schewel, 2020). Some research seeks to explain why people choose to remain in their place of birth (Jónsson, 2011), but much less is known about the factors that motivate international movers to voluntarily stay in their new country of residence. This thesis aims at a better understanding of this issue by analysing the creation of sedentary ties with the host country. To be precise, I aim at understanding immobility in the sense of a "spatial continuity" in the receiving country (Schewel, 2020), which does not preclude internal mobility within the host country. Analysing factors relating to immigrants' decision to stay complements the literature on the migration/mobility nexus, which has tended to overlook the possible influence of political factors on these outcomes. This thesis encourages the consideration of political factors by demonstrating that they play a role in residential location choice.

In addition, research has shown that some individual and home-country characteristics, such as whether or not the person comes from an EU country, their educational attainment or income, can moderate the effects of the various PRC components on outcomes (Peters et al., 2016; Putnam et al., 1994; Vink et al., 2013; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). Therefore, in addition, to the direct and over-time relationship between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes, I also aim to decipher whether some individual characteristics can moderate the association between the PRC and immigrants' sedentary ties:

- Can some immigrants' characteristics moderate the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' sedentary ties?

To answer the three research questions, I focus on the Swiss cantons (i.e. subnational polities) because the federalist structure of Switzerland produces a strong heterogeneity in PRCs across the country. These important differences in reception contexts create distinct life conditions for foreign-born noncitizens, which, in turn, generate a certain inequality regarding the creation of their sedentary ties with the host country. Therefore, one may expect this subnational PRC heterogeneity to influence immigrants' attitudes/intentions and behaviours, such as their naturalization intentions, feelings of attachment, or mobility (described later).

In Switzerland, the federal authorities set the overall and general guidelines for integration policies, but cantons can implement these guidelines with discretion, as long as they remain within the federal legal framework. In addition, cantons have an important margin of manoeuvre and can even create laws, such as granting voting rights to noncitizens. This federalist structure leads to a significant heterogeneity of subnational integration policies at the cantonal level (Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013). For instance, a few cantons grant voting rights to noncitizens at the municipality and canton-level, while most subnational polities do not allow such practices. The same holds true for Islamic burials, which are accepted only in some cantons. Some regional polities also differentiate between third-country nationals and EU citizens in terms of the requirements for family reunification (for an in-depth discussion of this topic, see Manatschal, 2011).

As for citizenship policies, the structure of Switzerland's naturalization process represents a rather particular case. I describe here the naturalization procedure before its modification in January 2018 because the index used in this thesis (see Chapter 3.1.2) relates to the legislation before its most recent change. The naturalization procedure is defined by a three-tier system

involving municipalities, cantons, and the federal state (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Helbling, 2008, 2010). The federal level sets the general framework but only participates through formal and administrative procedures (Helbling, 2010). Municipalities act as “gatekeepers” to the naturalization process, deciding which formal procedures and criteria to use in assessing applicants’ level of integration and familiarity with Swiss habits (Helbling, 2010). Municipalities are therefore a key decisional and political component of the naturalization process. However, cantons still have some significant flexibility regarding central aspects of the naturalization process, such as the procedures’ fee (from less than 500CHF to more than 2,000 CHF). Also, the naturalization requirement for residence in Switzerland is 12 years, but some cantons require that at least two of these years be spent in their territory while others demand at least 10 (Manatschal, 2011).

Natives’ attitudes towards immigrants can also vary greatly across cantons, reflected in the relative strength of political parties in each canton. Left-wing parties – the New Left, Greens and Social Democrats (Strijbis, 2014) – generally demonstrate a more welcoming stance. On the other hand, conservative-right parties are more likely to display an anti-immigrant stance. According to Strijbis’ typology, the Swiss conservative-right includes the Swiss People’s Party (SVP), the League of Ticino, Swiss Democrats and various smaller parties mostly implanted in specific regions.

The 2019 federal election for the national council shows the substantial variety in parties’ relative strengths across cantons. Together, left-wing parties won between 47% and 51% of votes in cantons such as Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Vaud (Federal Statistical Office, 2021b), while in cantons such as Appenzell Ausserrhoden or Nidwald, left-wing parties do not even run. The converse is true for conservative-right parties, whose vote shares ranged from 49.5% (Appenzell Ausserrhoden) down to 12.7% (Neuchâtel and Basel-City).

Additionally, the Swiss political system has become much more polarized overall since the 1990s (Traber, 2015). Among other topics, immigration has become increasingly politicized and divisive during federal elections (Grande et al., 2019; Kriesi et al., 2006). Therefore, Swiss political parties show enough heterogeneity to serve as an indicator in analysing the relationship of natives’ attitudes with immigrants’ behaviours and intentions.

In terms of research design, there is a substantial advantage to this subnational heterogeneity because this *federal laboratory* allows me to control for country-level effects – “cantons approximate most similar systems” (Gundelach & Manatschal, 2016, p. 15), whereas other methods such as cross-country comparison would produce more statistical noise.

Regarding the analysed population in this thesis, I use the terms “foreign-born noncitizens”, and “immigrants” interchangeably. This terminology refers to individuals who do not hold a Swiss passport, and who are therefore the target of both integration and citizenship policies. This perspective discards dual nationals and naturalized citizens as they are legally Swiss, and thereby outside the scope of both policy areas. Although naturalized citizens may still face societal discrimination, I opted for a narrow definition to ensure that all PRC components would be meaningful for the entire sample.

Because the outcomes under scrutiny in this thesis relate to immigrants’ sedentary ties with the host country after arrival, the focus is solely on 1st generation immigrants. This is important to mention because there is no *jus soli* in Switzerland, and being born in Switzerland does not automatically lead to citizenship; But even though both 1st and 2nd generation immigrants can be noncitizens, it would be misleading to consider the same mechanisms for creating sedentary ties across these two categories. Last, my research focuses on immigrants with a stable residence permit that allows them to stay legally in the country, to work and to move freely across the country. I therefore exclude immigrants with temporary residence permits.

A strength of this PhD is its empirical richness. I use three main data sources to gather individual information on immigrants in Switzerland. First, the Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS) was conducted in 2016, 2018 and 2020 in 6 languages, guaranteeing the inclusion of non-language-assimilated immigrants. This survey has the advantage of containing a large number of variables related to, for instance, socioeconomic status, attitudes towards Switzerland, labour market situation and migration history. Also, the MMS surveys a large number of respondents – between 5,500 and almost 8,000 depending on the wave – all of whom arrived in Switzerland in the previous 15 years. This is complemented by micro-administrative data from STATPOP, which is exhaustive and, thus, contains the entire foreign-born population of Switzerland, independent of their time spent in the country. Drawn from administrative registers, however, STATPOP contains fewer data points (mostly demographics) than the MMS. Papers I to III use the MMS while Paper IV is based on STATPOP data, but all four use multilevel correlational analyses. Based on these papers, I cannot claim any causality regarding the first outcomes under

scrutiny – I can only build correlational models and make a plausible argument that the PRC has an effect on immigrants' sedentary ties based on the literature and the mechanisms described throughout this thesis. In Paper V, however, my co-authors and I built a conjoint experiment to assess the role of the PRC in immigrants' residential location choice, which allows us to construct causal models. This conjoint experiment is linked to the MMS 2020, which permits us to conduct analysis on subsamples by using the wide range of information contained in the survey.

To succinctly summarize the findings, this thesis demonstrates that an inclusive PRC associates positively with the creation of foreign-born noncitizens' sedentary ties with the host society. Although direct relationships between PRC components and immigrants' outcomes are rather rare, it seems that inclusive PRCs play an important role in amplifying time's positive effects on outcomes. Finer-grained analyses on subsamples also reveal some significant differences regarding the association between the PRC and outcomes. Tendentially, it appears that the outcomes of the most vulnerable immigrants, in terms of residence permit and country of origin, are the most significantly correlated with the PRC. However, these variations need not be overestimated as the PRC seems to matter for all subcategories.

This thesis is formed of five discrete articles, four of which have been published and one of which is currently under revision. The articles are presented in the order in which they were originally written. Following this introduction, the second chapter discusses the thesis' theoretical framework and contribution, by way of a literature review. I first introduce the core concepts – the PRC and its components – and then present the outcomes scrutinized in the various papers. I also discuss the mechanism of the over-time relationship between the PRC and immigrants' sedentary ties.

Chapter 3 tackles the methodology used in the articles. First, I introduce the implementation of the thesis' concepts by presenting the various independent variables. Three datasets are then discussed to show their complementarity and limits. Then, I present the models used in the five papers. I conclude this chapter by discussing correlation and causality based on the models and data used in this PhD thesis.

Chapter 4 presents the abstracts of each article to give a clear overview of the findings. This last introductory chapter aims to link the three previous introductory chapters with the five articles and their additional analyses.

Chapter 5 summarizes the main findings and contribution of this PhD dissertation. I then discuss some societal and political implications of my research before closing with a view to future research based on this thesis' findings.

To render this document as readable as possible, Chapter 6 provides a consolidated list of references and finally, the five articles are condensed into Chapter 7 together with supplemental analyses, which help to fill some gaps left by the articles.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Political reception context

The PRC is the core concept of this thesis and depicts the receiving context faced by immigrants in the location where they live. Thus, this term refers to the socio-political atmosphere within which foreign-born noncitizens settle, and its relative openness regarding immigration may be associated with immigrants' sedentary ties with the host country. Benefiting from a "warm handshake" rather than a "cold shoulder" (Reeskens & Wright, 2014) matters for how welcome immigrants feel at, and after, arrival in their place of settlement. In the literature, the PRC can be related to the concept of "context of reception" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006) that, in the US context, combines "government policy, societal discrimination, ethnic community strength and immigrants' human capital attributes". However, I focus solely on elements "produced" by the receiving state, namely government policy and societal discrimination. As discussed in more detail in Chapters 2.1.1. to 2.1.3, I understand government policies as subnational integration and citizenship policies. Also, I use natives' attitudes towards immigration to capture societal discrimination, since the literature shows that they are highly correlated (Carlsson & Eriksson, 2012; Constant et al., 2009). Following Portes and Rumbaut, this thesis also acknowledges that ethnic community strength and human capital attributes influence and interact with governmental policies and societal discrimination. Ethnic community strength is not discussed in detail in this dissertation but is included in the various analyses. Human capital is discussed later in terms of individual characteristics and their possible moderating role of PRC's association with immigrants' outcomes.

Before discussing the PRC components in more detail, it is important to mention that I do not consider the components to be isolated from one another (Favell, 2001; Manatschal, 2012a; Weldon, 2006). Rather, I assume that they collectively represent a general cantonal "philosophy" towards immigration, which can lean toward inclusive or exclusive poles.

2.1.1. Integration policies

Integration policies are the main component of the PCR under scrutiny in this thesis. I understand these policies as multidimensional such that the relative inclusiveness or exclusiveness of integration policies can ease or hinder immigrants' incorporation into the cultural–religious, civic, political, and socioeconomic dimensions of the host country (Joppke & Seidle, 2012; Koopmans et al., 2012; Manatschal et al., 2020). In the case of Switzerland, inclusive cantonal integration policies could mean granting voting rights to foreign citizens, accommodating diversity such as allowing Islamic burials, legal provisions covering anti-discrimination or facilitating the employment of noncitizens in state administration (Manatschal, 2011). The Swiss federal setting can create a substantial diversity of integration policy contexts across subnational units, which implies a certain inequality of treatment for noncitizens within the same country (Cattacin & Bülent, 2001).

Traditionally, scholars mainly scrutinize and compare integration policies at the national level (Brubaker, 1992; Favell, 2001; Koopmans, 2010; Koopmans & Statham, 2000). However, this perspective has been criticized by other scholars as “methodological nationalism”, which grants to the state too much explanatory power and overlooks regional disparities (Castles, 2010; Wimmer & Schiller, 2003). Aside from these theoretical criticisms, regions have become increasingly important for integration policies in practice (Gundelach & Manatschal, 2016; Hepburn, 2011; Paquet, 2014). Accordingly, a new strand of literature looks beyond nation-state policies and scrutinizes the significant policy variation existing within a national polity (Gundelach & Manatschal, 2016; Hepburn, 2011; Hooghe & Marks, 2016; Joppke & Seidle, 2012; Keating, 1999; Manatschal et al., 2020; Paquet, 2014; Spiro, 2001). By analysing integration policies at the subnational level, this thesis joins this growing body of literature.

In addition to this main focus on the national level, many studies have traditionally analysed specific determinants of integration policies, such as immigration history (Favell, 2001) or the influence of right-populist parties (Koopmans et al., 2012; Lutz, 2019). This approach overlooks the other side of the coin, namely the relationship between these integration policies and noncitizens' outcomes. This thesis complements this literature, contributing to the more recent trend of scrutinizing the relationship between integration policies and noncitizens' intentions and behaviours (Breton, 2019; Dinesen & Hooghe, 2010; Filindra & Manatschal, 2020; Koopmans, 2010; Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013; Pecoraro et al., 2022; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012).

It has been shown that inclusive integration policies positively influence outcomes such as labour market integration (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2011), immigrant educational achievements (Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013), psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Pecoraro et al., 2022; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012), or an increase in host-country identification among non-EU citizens (Igarashi, 2019). Other studies show a different picture. For instance, exclusive integration policies can lead to an increase in noncitizens' political engagement (Bloemraad et al., 2011; Filindra & Manatschal, 2020) and assimilationist (compared to multiculturalist) regimes can ease immigrants' integration in the labour market (Koopmans, 2010). Other research suggests an absence of integration policies' effects on foreign citizens (Dinesen & Hooghe, 2010; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). This thesis aims to complement these mixed findings and thus, better understand the association between inclusive integration policies and foreign-born noncitizens' behaviours and intentions.

To complement the literature on the relationship between integration policies and immigrants' outcomes, I introduce two previously neglected elements. First, these above-mentioned studies report inconclusive findings after analysing the *direct association* of integration policies with outcomes. I propose that these inconclusive findings may be due the omission of *indirect association* in the analysis. I therefore suggest that inclusive integration policies, as with the other PRC components, should be considered as amplifiers of time's positive effects on the various outcomes. The mechanism proposed here is that the relationship between integration policies and foreign-born noncitizens take time to unfold. Rather than playing a direct role, I hypothesize that inclusive integration policies can create a more welcoming political context within which immigrants can more easily develop sedentary ties with the host country. I present this amplifying role in more detail in Section 2.3.

Second, most outcomes described above relate to the static outcomes of integration policies, in terms of intentions or behaviours. A more dynamic approach allows for the possibility that integration policies also play a role in immigrants' (im-)mobility behaviours. Paper IV therefore demonstrates that inclusive integration policies may act as a *retain* factor for immigrants living in such a context, making an onward international or inter-cantonal move less likely. Moreover, Paper V shows that inclusive integration policies can be an attractive factor for immigrants, influencing their intentions to choose a new place of residence.

Integration policies can relate to immigrants' intentions and behaviours through two main resource channels. First, material resources grant access to noncitizens to labour market or

language classes, for instance, which facilitate their inclusion into the host country (Bloemraad, 2013). Second, integration policies can relate to more symbolic resources, which send a more or less welcoming signal to foreign citizens as legitimate members of the host society. However, it is important to note that this thesis does not aim to empirically disentangle these channels and their possible association with immigrants' intentions and behaviours; the focus remains on PRC components and adding these additional subdimensions would blur the focus of the current thesis.

I anchor this thesis in an evaluation of public policies targeting and potentially relating to immigrants' behaviours and intentions. For this reason, my theoretical framework eschews specific angles such as neo-institutional perspectives (Pierson, 2006; Schlicht-Schmälzle & Möller, 2012), a political opportunity approach (Cinalli & Giugni, 2011), or policy feedbacks (Filindra & Manatschal, 2020; Pierson, 1993). Instead of following a specific approach, I use the common understanding that “integration policies embody societal norms of inclusion or exclusion, which can influence [...] immigrants' attitudes and behaviour” (Manatschal, 2022, p. 195).

2.1.2. Citizenship policies

The second component of the PRC is citizenship policies, which have garnered significant interest from scholars. Research mainly focuses on two stages in immigrants' lives in the host country: either at citizenship acquisition itself or in the aftermath of naturalization. Studies have shown the positive consequences of citizenship acquisition on noncitizens' incorporation (see e.g.: Bevelander & Pendakur, 2011; Bloemraad, 2017; Hainmueller et al., 2015, 2019; Helgertz et al., 2014; Peters et al., 2018) and tackle the institutional determinants of citizenship acquisition among immigrants. The general finding is that restrictive citizenship policies lead to lower naturalization rates among immigrants (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Janoski, 2010; Peters et al., 2016; Reichel & Perchinig, 2014; Vink et al., 2013). Thus, this strand of research describes how the restrictiveness of citizenship policies filters out possible naturalization applicants (Vink et al., 2013)

Studies on the effects of citizenship policies or naturalization tend to focus on who has been able to acquire citizenship and what benefits can emerge from naturalization. In other words, it looks at macro-determinants of naturalization with a focus on individuals who have not been filtered out by citizenship requirements.

Conversely, this thesis aims to understand whether citizenship policies are also influential within the larger socio-political environment faced by immigrants. It has been shown that citizenship acquisition does not always influence host-country belonging among immigrants (Simonsen, 2017). However, similarly to integration policies, one might expect citizenship policies to send a more or less welcoming signal to foreign nationals by setting the threshold for national membership (Wimmer, 2013), which in turn may influence immigrants' intentions and behaviours.

It is important to address both integration and citizenship policies separately, even though citizenship policies can be considered a component of broader integration policies (Manatschal, 2011), because they do not serve the same aim. On the one hand, integration policies relate to the legal framework that circumscribes immigrants' rights and obligations in the host country, and help immigrants meet naturalization requirements (de Groot, 2006) by, for instance, supporting their labour market integration or providing language classes. Citizenship policies, on the other hand, focus on the "integration requirements" of naturalization applicants as a prerequisite for accessing host-country citizenship (de Groot, 2006; Helbling, 2013).

In addition, these two policy objectives imply different time frames. Immigrants will likely be exposed to integration policies as soon as they settle in the host country, but owing to the minimum residence requirements for naturalization, they will only interact directly with citizenship policies after some years. Therefore, given the central role of the duration of stay in this thesis, I treat these two policies distinctly.

To summarize, I focus here on the association between citizenship policies and immigrants' outcomes that do not relate *directly* to citizenship acquisition, but rather to immigrants' intentions and behaviours happening *prior to*, or in parallel with, access to citizenship. By using a different time frame than above-mentioned studies, this thesis also covers a new set of outcomes in relation to citizenship policies, as described in Chapter 2.2.

2.1.3. Natives' attitudes

The third component of the PRC concerns the attitudinal aspect of the reception context. Natives' attitudes give a signal of legitimacy to noncitizens, who may perceive themselves as relatively more or less legitimate members of the host society (Maxwell, 2010). There is an extensive literature on natives' attitudes; several studies tackle determinants of xenophobic attitudes, such as the welfare state (Crepaz & Damron, 2009), news media (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009), or ethnic diversity (van Heerden & Ruedin, 2017).

More recently, research also started to examine the effects of xenophobic attitudes on foreign citizens. Analyses of natives' attitudes in relation to immigrants' outcomes are more comprehensive than the two other PRC components. Studies on the effects of natives' attitudes on noncitizens all point in the same direction: immigrants are less likely to settle in a municipality or a country if natives display xenophobic attitudes (Bracco et al., 2017; Gorinas & Pytliková, 2015; Slotwinski & Stutzer, 2019). If settled in a place with a significant share of xenophobic attitudes, noncitizens see their wages and wellbeing reduced (Knabe et al., 2013; Waisman & Larsen, 2009), there is a decrease in host-nation identification (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012), and immigrants are more likely to return to their country of origin (de Coulon et al., 2016). This thesis adds to this literature, seeking to better understand how natives' attitudes can correlate with immigrants' intentions and behaviours.

I complement this literature with two elements that have received little attention. First, I extend the exploration of natives' attitudes to include more welcoming stances with regard to diversity. This allows me to assess how both inclusive and exclusive attitudes towards immigration can relate to immigrants' behaviours and intentions. Second, outcomes such as naturalization intentions or immobility have been neglected relative to natives' attitudes.

2.2. Outcomes

This section proceeds as follows: First, I introduce the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes. I articulate this association with a hypothetical pathway representing the various stages of an immigrant establishing sedentary ties with the host society. This mapping is only one among many possibilities, but it is nevertheless useful in illustrating the coherence and complementarity of outcomes. Such complementarity is relevant for understanding how the various papers build on each other. Second, in Subchapters 2.2.2 to 2.2.5, I provide more detail on the various outcomes and their individual relationships with the PRC.

2.2.1. Sedentary ties

Each paper of this thesis focuses on a specific outcome: feelings of attachment to the host country, naturalization intentions, (im-)mobility behaviours and residential location choice. The choice of outcomes is elaborated below.

Much of the literature on the PRC focuses on a particular set of objective and material outcomes. For instance, analyses on the impacts of citizenship policies focus mostly on naturalization rates (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Janoski, 2010; Peters et al., 2016; Reichel & Perchinig, 2014; Vink et al., 2013), while research on integration policy or hostile natives' attitudes tends to focus on labour market integration and wage levels (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2011; Koopmans, 2010; Pecoraro et al., 2022; Waisman & Larsen, 2009).

Research on the correlation between the PRC and attitudes/intentions and mobility behaviours are scarcer. Few scholars discuss the association between integration policies and outcomes such as host-country identification (Igarashi, 2019) or psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Pecoraro et al., 2022; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Research has also apparently ignored the relationship between integration policies and migration and mobility. In addition, to my knowledge, attitudes/intentions and mobility behaviours have been largely overlooked by scholars in terms of their relationship with citizenship policies. On the other hand, there is more research on the effects of natives' attitudes, such as studies on the effects of xenophobic stances on noncitizens' migration and mobility behaviours (Bracco et al., 2017; de Coulon et

al., 2016; Gorinas & Pytliková, 2015; Slotwinski & Stutzer, 2019), their wellbeing or their host-country identification (Knabe et al., 2013; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). By analysing the association between the PRC and immigrants' attitudes/intentions and migration/mobility behaviours, this PhD dissertation complements this strand of the literature.

All of these outcomes can be grouped under the concept of “sedentary ties”, which refer to an increasing embeddedness in the country in which one lives (Schewel, 2020). This can be understood as “place-attachment” (Lewicka, 2011) in terms of emotional bonds to physical, economic or social environments (Schewel, 2020). These sedentary ties are highly influenced by time spent in a place, and ultimately lead to voluntary immobility (Fischer & Malmberg, 2001).

Using this notion of sedentary ties is also helpful for avoiding the term “integration”, which is widely used in political discourse (Wieviorka, 2014) but which is rather vaguely defined, varying from one country to another (Carrera, 2006). Therefore, to avoid any confusion between political rhetoric and analytic categories, I opt for a better defined concept to facilitate the analysis.

Each outcome analysed in this thesis can be understood as a sedentary marker. In other words, an increase in each of these outcomes may indicate that immigrants have developed stronger sedentary ties to the host country. To illustrate this, I propose a hypothetical pathway along which an immigrant develops sedentary ties to the host society. This explains the differences between the stages and the choices they imply, but also shows how they progress coherently from one stage to another. The following paragraphs provide a narrative of this progression, highlighting the key markers along the way from arrival to stable settlement, together with the outcomes that apply in each case.

Before presenting the hypothetical pathway, it is important to properly characterize the representative protagonist. The path from arrival to rooting described here relates to a “privileged” immigrant – an individual who enjoys a stable residence permit and reliable income, and who is eligible to seek naturalization. Unemployed immigrants or those with precarious residence permits are not represented in the following paragraphs. This hypothetical pathway also focuses more on those immigrants who can decide whether to relocate within or outside of the country. Foreign-born noncitizens in the lower economic classes may be more tied to their place of residence; agricultural labourers may not have the possibility of moving

across Switzerland because of limited financial resources or job opportunities. By contrast, a banker living in Zürich can easily choose to live in another canton because they possess greater financial and mobility capacities.

Arrival/aftermath

Upon arrival and in its aftermath, newly arrived immigrants may first develop a sense of belonging to the host country. This feeling of attachment can mean embracing the host-nation identity (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010) or it can reflect a more pragmatic understanding that “belonging accrues in particular practices and material attachments” (Raffaetà & Duff, 2013, p. 328). Paper I scrutinizes the relationship between the PRC and immigrants’ feelings of attachment to the host country at this early stage.

Settling in/Joining in

These feelings of attachment may lead one to formally embrace the host-country national identity or participate politically. Both of these goals are facilitated by seeking naturalization. Literature shows that, indeed, feelings of attachment to the host country increase the wish to acquire citizenship in order to embrace this national identity or to participate politically (Carrillo, 2015; Van Hook et al., 2006; Witte, 2014).

From this perspective, naturalization would fulfil both symbolic (identity) and instrumental (political participation) needs. However, this thesis is focused on the PRC and therefore disregards the more instrumental motives for citizenship acquisition (Bauböck, 2019). Instead, I adopt an “understanding of citizenship as a political and emotional bond to the adopted country” (Bloemraad, 2006, p. 668) to understand how an inclusive PRC creates a welcoming emotional and political climate for newcomers. To this end, Paper II scrutinizes how the PRC associates with immigrants’ naturalization intentions over time. Paper III makes a link between the first two papers by demonstrating how the PRC and feelings of attachment (understood in the article as immigrants’ acculturation strategy) can together moderate foreign-born noncitizens’ naturalization intentions.

Deciding to stay

These feelings of attachment may also lead to a decision to settle in the long term or indefinitely (de Haas & Fokkema, 2011; Raffaetà & Duff, 2013; Steiner, 2019), with or without acquiring citizenship. In terms of naturalization, Switzerland has some of the most demanding citizenship

requirements of countries in the Global North (Simonsen, 2017), which may discourage immigrants from initiating the naturalization process. This is supported by the relatively low naturalization rates of immigrants in Switzerland (Ruedin, 2011), even though these rates vary considerably across municipalities (Wanner et al., 2012). Statistics confirm that after 21 years spent in Switzerland, 38% of immigrants do not have Swiss citizenship (nccr - on the move, 2021a).

It appears, therefore, that voluntarily staying in the host country and claiming citizenship do not necessarily go hand in hand. Paper IV analyses immigrants' immobility behaviours and demonstrates that the PRC plays a role at this stage of their establishment of sedentary ties.

Stabilizing the settlement

Having decided to stay, whether seeking naturalization or not, immigrants may then choose which part of the host country to settle in (Paul, 2011). Statistics show that most immigrants arriving in Switzerland settle in urban cantons such as Basel or Geneva (nccr - on the move, 2021c), but that 9.1% of them later initiate an internal relocation (Zufferey et al., 2021). Paper V aims at understanding the role of the PRC in immigrants' residential location choice within the country of residence.

As mentioned at the outset, this is only one of many possible pathways towards creating sedentary ties. Furthermore, the process does not necessarily proceed in discrete stages or in one inevitable chronological order. Clearly, immigrants may relocate before deciding to settle, may be able to participate in politics without ever naturalizing, or may reconsider and reverse earlier decisions. This nevertheless provides a useful framework for understanding the role that the PRC can have at different key stages of immigrants' creation of sedentary ties.

2.2.2. Feelings of attachment to the host country

Paper I scrutinizes the sense of belonging or feelings of attachment to the host country. Feelings of attachment – also called “host-country identity” or “majority identity” – relate to an “awareness of affiliation with the nation” (Hjerm, 1998, p. 337) or the ability to “feel at home” (Keane, 1994). This overarching identity (Gaertner et al., 1989) has been shown to be an important social lubricant (Miller, 1995; Reeskens & Wright, 2014). In turn, this may be beneficial to social cohesion by diminishing intergroup conflicts.

The PRC has been shown to relate to immigrants’ feelings of attachment. Xenophobic natives’ attitudes have received much attention in the literature, which clearly indicates that perceived discrimination diminishes noncitizens’ feelings of attachment to the host country (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006; Koopmans et al., 2005; Maxwell, 2010). Mostly, this literature revolves around hostile attitudes towards immigration. In this work, I broaden this focus to also cover inclusive attitudinal positions. Therefore, this thesis adds an understanding of whether more welcoming natives’ attitudes can also associate with immigrants’ feelings of attachment to the host country.

Scholars have also explored whether receiving country institutions relate significantly to noncitizens’ sense of belonging to the host country. Findings are rather inconclusive on the association of multiculturalism, citizenship and integration policies with immigrants’ host-country identity. In general, inclusive policies do not seem to have any significant correlation with feelings of attachment (Dinesen & Hooghe, 2010; Hjerm, 1998; Reeskens & Wright, 2014; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). Other scholars show that liberal citizenship policies increase immigrants’ host-nation identity (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010).

My thesis also aims to complement this literature understanding both integration and citizenship policies as drawing symbolic boundaries (Lamont & Molnár, 2002) which emanate from the discursive opportunity structure created by policies (Koopmans et al., 2005). In short, I understand policies as a governmental construction of a more “emotive understanding of citizenship” (Bloemraad, 2013, p. 201), which sends a more or less welcoming signal to immigrants.

The above-mentioned studies are all based on a direct relationship between policies and foreign-born noncitizens' feelings of attachment. I hypothesize that this focus on a direct association, without accounting for immigrants' time spent in the host country, is naïve. Thus, as discussed in Chapter 2.3, I conceptualize the PRC as a moderator of the effects of time spent, and expect inclusive institutional settings to amplify time's positive influence on immigrants' feelings of attachment to the host country.

It is important to note that while the PRC is analysed at the subnational level, foreign-born noncitizens' feelings of attachment is analysed vis-à-vis the host nation (i.e. at the national level). This mismatch is due to a lack of survey data on feelings of attachment to the region. Nevertheless, feelings of attachment to the host country may still be a good proxy for how immigrants relate emotionally to their place of residence.

2.2.3. Naturalization intentions

The second outcome under scrutiny is naturalization intentions (papers II and III). Naturalization, or acquisition of host-country citizenship, relates to new obligations and rights such as voting rights, the state's protection, diplomatic protection, or free access to the territory (Vink et al., 2013). Depending on the understanding of citizenship, naturalization can either be seen as the end-point of integration or as a motivation to integrate into the host society (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2011). Also known as a "citizenship premium" (Peters et al., 2018), acquiring host-country nationality also fosters and improves immigrants' socio-structural (Hainmueller et al., 2017) or political incorporation (Bloemraad, 2018).

Citizenship policies have received extensive scholarly attention in explaining immigrants' path towards naturalization. Research shows that liberal citizenship policies positively influence immigrants' naturalization behaviours (Peters et al., 2016; Vink et al., 2013). As Vink et al. (2013) describe: citizenship requirements can have a "filtering out" effect on candidates. However, this research strand overlooks the motivation and willingness of noncitizens to embark on a naturalization process in the first place. In this thesis, I therefore explore the possible beneficial relationship between inclusive citizenship policies and immigrants' naturalization intentions, rather than just their naturalization behaviours.

The literature has furthermore largely overlooked the possible role of integration policies in influencing immigrants' naturalization intentions and behaviours. Papers II and III address this gap and show how integration policies relate to foreign-born noncitizens' naturalization intentions.

Surprisingly, scholars have accorded little attention to the association between natives' attitudes and immigrants' naturalization intentions. In certain institutional settings, natives vote directly on a noncitizen's application via a referendum, providing an obvious case of naturalization processes being largely influenced by natives' attitudes (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013). Regarding naturalization intentions, the only paper I know of that analyses the effect of majority anti-immigrant feelings shows that hostile societal attitudes towards a specific group can actually increase their willingness to naturalize (Fouka, 2019). This thesis complements this under-researched literature by studying how both hostile and welcoming natives' attitudes towards diversity can relate to immigrants' willingness to acquire host-country citizenship.

2.2.4. (Im-)mobility

With regard to migration and mobility, the literature has mainly scrutinized international movements, focusing on what drives individuals to leave their country of origin (Gheasi & Nijkamp, 2017; Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014) and what leads to a secondary movement outside of the host country (Puppa & King, 2019; Toma & Castagnone, 2015). Various determinants at the host country macro level, such as tax rates, have been identified as significant in explaining mobility (Dowding et al., 2002; Schmidheiny & Slotwinski, 2018), but research has overlooked how political factors can relate to immigrants' mobility. In addition, this focus on mobility has disregarded factors that enhance immigrants' willingness to stay in the host country. Paper IV tries to explain these immobility behaviours and, thus, focuses on *retain* factors from the PRC perspective.

The effects of natives' attitudes towards immigration on immigrants' mobility have received some academic attention (Bracco et al., 2017; de Coulon et al., 2016; Slotwinski & Stutzer, 2019). These papers demonstrate that immigrants tend to move less to municipalities or countries in which natives display hostility towards immigration. Their analysis is based on traditional "push/pull" factors (Lee, 1966), again ignoring "keep" factors. Here, I scrutinize whether natives' attitudes can play a role in immigrants' decision to stay in their location.

There is relatively little research on citizenship and integration policies' association with immigrants' mobility decisions, but studies have demonstrated that the effects of citizenship acquisition on mobility behaviours can lead to an increase in mobility (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Vink et al., 2013), a lesser likelihood to out-migrate (Saarela & Scott, 2020), or both, depending on origin-country characteristics (Galeano et al., 2021). Aside from these studies, not much research has been conducted to understand how policies targeting immigrants may relate to their propensity to move or stay. There is research, however, showing that noncitizens who feel integrated and satisfied with their life in the host country have a lower propensity to leave (Steiner, 2019). The possibility that a welcoming socio-political climate has a positive correlation with immigrants' immobility is investigated in Paper IV.

2.2.5. Residential location choice

The last outcome is residential location choice. This outcome is explored in Paper V which analyses whether an inclusive PRC in a municipality can attract immigrants. In other words, the focus here is solely on “pull” factors. Many research fields study residential location choice at various levels of analysis (e.g. micro–, meso– and macro factors), but little is known regarding the influence of the PRC on immigrants’ residential location choice.

Only two studies analyse the influence of natives’ anti-immigrant attitudes on noncitizens’ location choice (Bracco et al., 2017; Slotwinski & Stutzer, 2019), with both showing deterring effects. This suggests that immigrants tend to avoid localities where they do not feel welcome. These two studies have the great merit of showing that political factors matter to immigrants when choosing a new place of residence.

Building on these two papers, we focus on the attractive features rather than deterring characteristics of a municipality. The last paper thus builds on this emerging literature, looking at political factors’ effects on immigrants’ residential location choice and internal mobility. We also extend the scope by including integration and citizenship policies, besides natives’ attitudes, in our analysis.

By analysing the outcomes of (im-)mobility and residential location choice, this PhD dissertation addresses some gaps in the migration/mobility literature. The so-called “mobility turn” in social science has emphasized drivers of mobility and migration, without understanding what makes people to stay (Jónsson, 2011; Schewel, 2020). In other words, “mobility washes over the narratives we tell about ‘migrant’ lives, and the moments in which further movement is renegotiated, resisted, or restrained – when migrants are not migrating – are lost” (Schewel, 2020, p. 330). Therefore, this thesis takes aim at the “mobility bias” by including immigrants who choose to stay in their host country.

To approach this topic, I use the aspiration/capability model proposed by migration and (im-)mobility scholars (Carling, 2002; de Haas, 2003, 2010; Schewel, 2020). This model posits that mobility encompasses both the aspiration and the capability to move (Carling, 2002; de Haas, 2003, 2010), such that immobility may be *voluntary* (the capability to move is obviated by the aspiration to stay) (Carling, 2002; de Haas, 2003, 2010; Schewel, 2020) or *involuntary* (where there is the aspiration to move but not the capability) because of a lack of financial means or obstacles to legally accessing a territory. This thesis focuses on *voluntary* immobility

because most papers (I, II, III and V) focus on newly arrived immigrants who are mostly in the middle/high economic classes and who can therefore decide to become mobile again, at least from a financial point of view. Of course, there may be many other reasons for immigrants to stay, such as schools or job prospects, but it is still an active choice. Paper IV encompasses more economic diversity as it contains all immigrants living in Switzerland, however this paper is also restricted to immigrants who enjoy a residence permit, which is predicated on a certain degree of financial stability.

Some research tries to explain why people choose to remain in their place of birth (Jónsson, 2011), but much less is known about the factors that drive international movers to become voluntarily sedentary in their new country of residence. This thesis aims to better understand this issue by analysing the creation of sedentary ties with the host country. This is analysed in Paper V, where immobility incorporates the notion of a “spatial continuity” (Schewel, 2020), meaning that an immigrant can still be considered sedentary if they move within the country of residence.

Moreover, research on internal mobility and residential location choice has, so far, overlooked the possible influence of political factors on these outcomes. This PhD shows that they may play a role and therefore proposes that political factors should be accounted for in such research.

Paper IV contributes to the migration/mobility literature by showing how the PRC can act as a *retain* factor (de Haas, 2011), which refers to the attractiveness of the place of residence (Schewel, 2020). I refrain from using the term “keep factors” to avoid the inference that immobility is connected to a lack of agency (note: Paper IV was written and published before I became aware of the theoretical distinction between retain/repel and push/pull factors). Paper V shows how the PRC can act as an attractive feature in a municipality, illustrating the relevance of political factors for internal mobility intentions.

2.3. *The great accelerator*: the moderating role of the PRC on duration of stay's effects on immigrants' sedentary ties

To recap, studies on the association between integration policies and noncitizens' outcomes arrive at rather inconclusive findings. These may be explained by the fact that research mostly conceptualizes and operationalizes a *direct* relationship between integration policies and immigrants' outcomes. Based on the limitations of this previous research, I propose a more *indirect* relationship between integration policies, and the PRC more generally, and noncitizens' outcomes.

There is an important incoherence in the logic of a direct correlation: for the PRC to be associated with noncitizens' outcomes, immigrants first need to become familiar with the PRC in which they live, which may take some time. Presuming a direct association, therefore, ignores the possibility that people will adjust their intentions and behaviours over time, as they assimilate information about the political context. Therefore, the more logical assumption is that time may be needed for noncitizens to become familiar with the cantonal PRC, which is a prerequisite for any outcome, whether intentional or behavioural. Therefore, more time spent in the host country means a greater likelihood of knowing the PRC in which immigrants live.

This is borne out by the outcomes modelled in this thesis which, with the exception of residential location choice, are all positively associated with time spent. Research has shown that a higher duration of stay in the host country increases feelings of attachment (Alba & Nee, 2009; Manning & Roy, 2010; Nandi & Platt, 2015; Platt, 2014), naturalization behaviours (Vink et al., 2013), and immobility (Fischer et al., 2000; Pungas et al., 2012; Thomassen, 2021). Thus, it appears that duration of stay is a key factor for explaining noncitizens increasing sedentary ties. Time spent does not matter for explaining residential location choice because the perspective of Paper V analyses the *attractive* factors of a potential future municipality. Therefore, there is no exposure to the local PRC.

Based on these findings, I hypothesize that an inclusive PRC can *accelerate* the effects of time spent on immigrants' sedentary ties. For instance, noncitizens can benefit from voting rights after a certain amount of time spent in some cantons, while other cantons do not allow noncitizens to vote at all, regardless of the duration of stay. In the first case, immigrants may come to feel part of the polity quite rapidly by voting at local and cantonal elections and referendums. By contrast, having to wait until one is a citizen before participating politically

can stretch the time it takes to feel part of the polity. Also, welcoming natives' attitudes may help to create social bridges between local and immigrant populations (Spicer, 2008), but in cantons where natives display more xenophobic stances, immigrants may find it more difficult to mix with the local population. It does not mean that a noncitizen living in such a canton would remain eternally without social bonds, but befriending local individuals may take more time here than in a place with more welcoming locals.

Therefore, the examples above show that theoretically, welcoming and inclusive PRCs can play an important role in accelerating the effects of time on immigrants' outcomes.

2.4. Individual factors moderating the PRC's association with outcomes

Some immigrant characteristics can moderate the role played by the PRC regarding the outcomes, and this finer-grained perspective appears in all five papers of this thesis. The inspiration for investigating such conditional associations comes largely from papers on the effects of citizenship policies (see e.g.: Peters et al., 2016; Vink et al., 2013). Here I provide an overview of the different and complementary features used throughout this thesis' articles, arranged along three main lines of categorization.

First, following the examples of Peters et al. (2016) and Vink et al. (2013), I consider home-country characteristics as potential moderators of the PRC's relationship to the outcomes. Papers II, IV and V distinguish these characteristics along two dimensions: The first relates to the legal framework of international mobility, which, pursuant to the Maastricht Agreement, allows free mobility rights for EU/European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA) citizens across European countries. In other words, immigrants are divided into those that come from an EU/EFTA country and those who come from a third country. The second dimension is the level of development of the home country. This factor has also been shown to play a significant role in moderating policies' effects on immigrants (Bevelander & Veenman, 2006; Peters et al., 2016; Vink et al., 2013; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012).

Second, I explore whether and how the characteristics of both the home- and host country conspire together to moderate the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes. This is divided into two subcategories: the first relates to Swiss legislation; the second deals with more subjective feelings of belonging and social "integration".

The former is explored in Paper IV, using a typology of four different categories built on two dimensions. First, entry rights to Switzerland depend on the country of origin – whether it is part of the EU or not. Second, residence rights and stability rely on the type of residence permit – a B permit for resident foreign nationals is restricted and conditional, whereas a C permit for settled foreign nationals is unrestricted. Paper IV discusses this typology in terms of legal vulnerability and aims to demonstrate that this categorization is relevant for understanding the PRC's (moderated) association with the outcomes of specific immigrant groups.

The latter tackles the acculturation strategy of immigrants and relates to the sociocultural adaptation to the host country, based on psycho-sociological research (Berry, 1997a; Schwartz et al., 2010; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Acculturation strategies are based on two continuums:

heritage-culture maintenance and host-culture adoption. This classification results in four acculturation strategies: “Integration” represents a high willingness to combine both cultures. “Assimilation” occurs when host-culture adaptation is higher than heritage-culture maintenance. “Separation” describes a high degree of heritage-culture maintenance and relatively low host-culture adoption. “Marginalized” occurs when both types of cultural relations are low, but this category is not covered by this thesis. This categorization is used in Paper III.

Third, some immigrants’ individual characteristics are moderators of the PRC’s effect on their residential location choice (Paper V). These characteristics, such as education, employment, or income, are utilized in an exploratory way in Paper V. Their use is therefore not dependent on strict theoretical expectations.

3. Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology of the articles, succinctly covering the main elements and components of the various methods used. It does not describe each article's methodologies in detail, but outlines how the various methods and data sets complement each other, as well as outlining the limitations inherent in all methodologies.

This chapter begins with a discussion of independent variables as this aspect has a direct link to the preceding theoretical section. I discuss the implementation of the concept of the PRC along three main variables: integration policies, citizenship policies and natives' attitudes towards immigration. The second part of the chapter relates to the data sources on which my articles were built. I show how survey data, administrative micro data and conjoint experiment data aptly complement each other to answer the core questions of this thesis. In the last part of the chapter, I consider the advantages of the quantitative methods used, as well as their limitations. This methodological chapter paves the way for Chapter 3, which examines the findings of the thesis.

3.1. Central explanatory factors of the PRC

As stated in the previous chapter, the main concept under scrutiny of this thesis is the "context of reception" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). I have implemented the "government policies" component using two main dimensions, namely subnational integration policies and citizenship policies. Regarding societal discrimination, I use natives' attitudes (welcoming or hostile) towards immigration. Because of their focus on specific literatures, the articles do not necessarily implement every dimension of the PRC, as shown in Table 1. Where some PRC elements are missing from an article, I have run additional analyses to obtain the full picture of all associations between PRC components and the various outcomes.

Before discussing the main independent variables in more detail, I summarize the use of the various PRC components across the five articles of this thesis. Paper I uses the Integration Policy Index (IPI) as well as natives' attitudes, captured through two variables described in Subchapter 3.1.3. In addition, robustness checks were run on models including the SWISSCIT. This paper uses the 2016 wave of the MMS to build multilevel models to analyse the

relationship between PRC components and foreign-born noncitizens' feelings of attachment to Switzerland.

Table 1: Summary of PRC components, operationalizations, outcomes and data sources used in main models and robustness checks.

Paper	Independent variables (PRCs)	Data source (PRCs)	Individual Outcomes	Data source (outcomes)
I	Integration Policies Citizenship Policies Natives' attitudes	IPI SWISSCIT Yes-share in Mass Immigration Referendum Conservative-right share	Feelings of attachment to Switzerland	Migration - Mobility Survey - 2016
II	Integration Policies Citizenship Policies	IPI SWISSCIT	Naturalization intentions	Migration - Mobility Survey - 2016
III	Integration Policies	IPI	Naturalization intentions	Migration - Mobility Survey - 2016
IV	Integration Policies Citizenship Policies	IPI SWISSCIT	Immobility behaviours	STATPOP - 2012 STATPOP - 2016
V	Integration Policies Citizenship Policies Natives' attitudes	Noncitizens' voting rights Residence requirement for naturalization Relative share of SVP	Residential location choice	Conjoint Experiment Data / Migration - Mobility Survey - 2020

Paper II focuses the main analyses on the relationship between integration policies (as captured in the IPI) and naturalization intentions, and uses the SWISSCIT index on citizenship law as a robustness check. Natives' attitudes, in terms of left-wing share, are only considered as a control variable. As with Paper I, Paper II utilizes the 2016 MMS as the main data source.

Paper III aims at explaining naturalization intentions based on the interaction of the IPI and immigrants' acculturation strategies, using the MMS 2016. We do not use any other PRC's components.

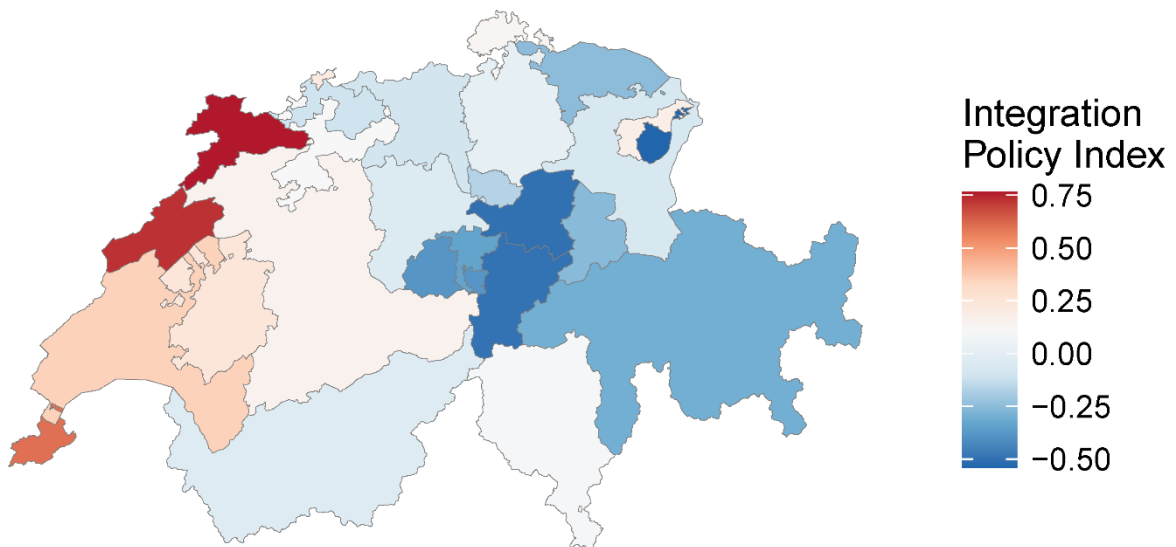
The focus of Paper IV is clearly on the IPI, with natives' attitudes – both in terms of conservative-right and left-wing shares – included as control variables and citizenship policies in the robustness checks. This is the only paper using administrative microdata (STATPOP).

Paper V covers all three components of the PRC, with integration and citizenship policies implemented using specific dimensions, namely immigrants' voting rights and naturalization requirements in terms of time spent in Switzerland. Natives' attitudes are captured by the relative vote share of Swiss People's Party (main anti-immigrant party in Switzerland) in comparison to surrounding municipalities. This paper uses data from a conjoint experiment that I designed with my co-authors, and that was conducted in the context of the most recent wave of the MMS (2020), so the conjoint data could be merged with the MMS data.

3.1.1. Integration Policy Index (IPI)

The main independent variable of this thesis captures Swiss subnational integration policies. The IPI (Manatschal, 2011) measures cantonal integration policies according to the ease or difficulty of accessing rights and obligations. This measurement targets various dimensions relative to civic, political, socio-structural and cultural–religious rights using 24 indicators in total. For instance, these 24 indicators capture aliens’ voting rights, state employment in the public administration or the requirements for family reunification (for a detailed discussion, see Manatschal, 2011). Based on these domains and indicators, cantons are then ranked from the most inclusive (highest score) to the most exclusive policy pole (lowest score). Figure 1 shows the geographic distribution of the IPI across Swiss cantons.

Figure 1: IPI across Cantons



Data source: Manatschal (2011), own illustration.

This index is discussed in more detail in the papers of this thesis; here, I focus instead on its advantages and disadvantages. The IPI has the great advantage of being comprehensive, covering a large array of dimensions that measure subnational integration policies. Another advantage of the IPI is that it is possible to disaggregate the index along its various dimensions. Paper II uses this feature to analyse whether and how the IPI’s subdimensions relate to

naturalization intentions. In Paper II, this disaggregation allows me to discard some components relating to citizenship laws to avoid any overlap with the SWISSCIT index on cantonal citizenship laws, described below. However, I did not conduct such analyses on IPI subdimensions as this may blur the general message of this thesis. As already mentioned, this work focuses on the general political climate and the three PRC components. Thus, disaggregating one of the PRC components would render the general message of this work less clear. More pragmatically, this decision was also driven by the word limits in each published article, making it difficult to include such analyses in addition to the main research question.

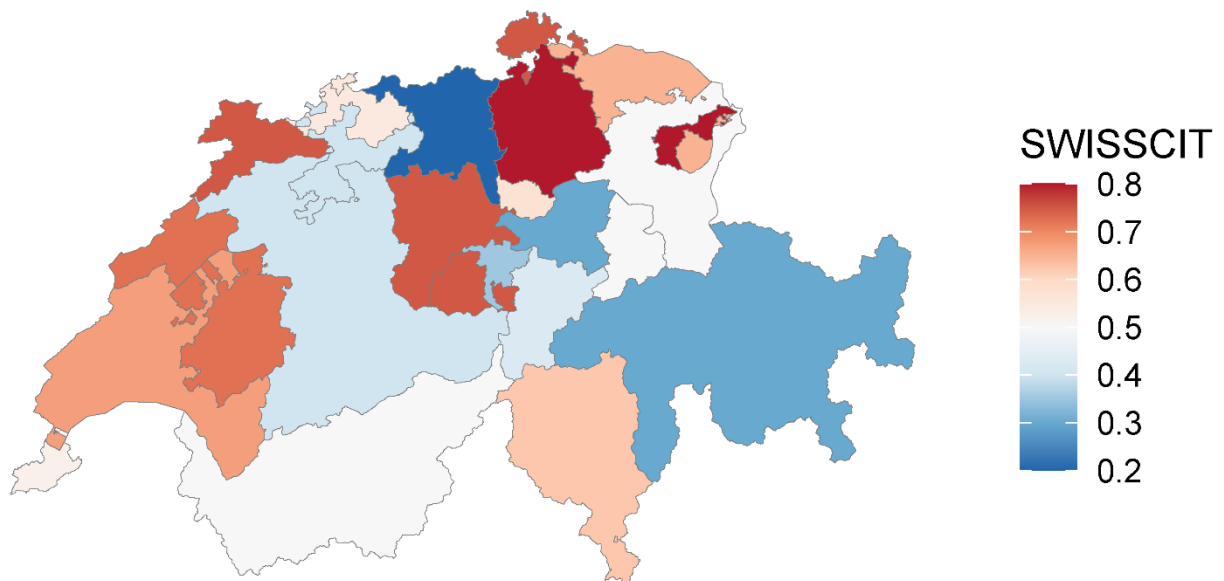
As discussed in Chapter 3.2 on individual outcomes, this thesis' years of analysis lie between 2012 and 2020, depending on the article. It should be noted that although the IPI gathers data from 2005 to 2008, this is still relevant for measuring behaviours and intentions in later years because, as demonstrated by the literature, integration policies are highly path-dependent (Manatschal, 2012a; Sager & Thomann, 2017) and the general ranking of the index is not likely to show any substantial change over the proceeding years.

One could argue that the IPI focuses solely on legal texts, overlooking the concrete implementation of the laws. Differences may exist between law and practice, which could lead to divergent findings, but further research would be needed to explore this possibility. A second critique could be in relation to the cantonal level of analysis because, although Swiss cantons have a prominent role in implementing federal recommendations, disparities can still exist within the same subnational polity. By focusing on the cantonal level, the IPI has a homogenizing effect on these finer-grained differences. For instance, immigrants living in a rural part of the canton of Zürich may not face the same reality as if they settle in the city itself, which has specific integration programmes adapted to the local context (Stadt Zürich, 2020).

3.1.2. SWISSCIT – Index on citizenship law in Swiss cantons

SWISSCIT is a legal index that ranks Swiss cantonal citizenship policies along a restrictive/liberal scale (Arrighi & Piccoli, 2018). This ranking is built on four dimensions: minimum residency period, language skills, good moral character and criminal records, and economic resources. Figure 2 shows the geographical distribution of the SWISSCIT across Swiss cantons. The higher the score, the more inclusive a canton's citizenship laws.

Figure 2: SWISSCIT across cantons



Data source: Arrighi and Piccoli (2018), own illustration.

I complement the IPI with the SWISSCIT because the latter has a more comprehensive measure of civic-political policies, while the IPI is more generalist and contains other dimensions such as cultural-religious rights. Complementing the IPI with the SWISSCIT offers three other advantages.

First, the SWISSCIT is comparable to the IPI as it also measures the legal framework rather than the implementation of laws. This common element is crucial for avoiding discrepancies in the operation of the concept.

Second, even though the indices are comparable in their method of measurement, they have a rather moderate Pearson correlation coefficient of 0.65 ($p < .01$). This clearly demonstrates that the indices do not entirely overlap, and therefore capture different aspects of cantonal laws.

Third, the IPI and SWISSCIT are complementary in terms of time frame. The IPI's data were gathered between 2005 and 2008 (Manatschal, 2011) while the SWISSCIT focuses on the citizenship laws at the end of 2017 (Arrighi & Piccoli, 2018). Although one would not expect any stark change in integration policy given its strong path dependency (Manatschal, 2012b; Sager & Thomann, 2017), this difference still allows for complementarity in terms of the time frames of analysis.

It is also important to mention one of the main limitations of the SWISSCIT, which concerns its level of analysis. Even though all three political levels (i.e. federal, cantonal and municipal) are involved in the path to Swiss citizenship (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Helbling, 2008), cantons are not the central legislators in the naturalization process. Indeed, municipalities have substantial room to manoeuvre within the decisional process as well as in their understanding of citizenship, which greatly influences naturalization rates at the municipal level (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013). In addition, immigrants must first face municipal authorities before reaching cantonal and federal levels. This means that municipalities are a central actor in the naturalization process. However, the SWISSCIT index does not capture municipal-level differences, focusing only on a subsequent stage of the naturalization process.

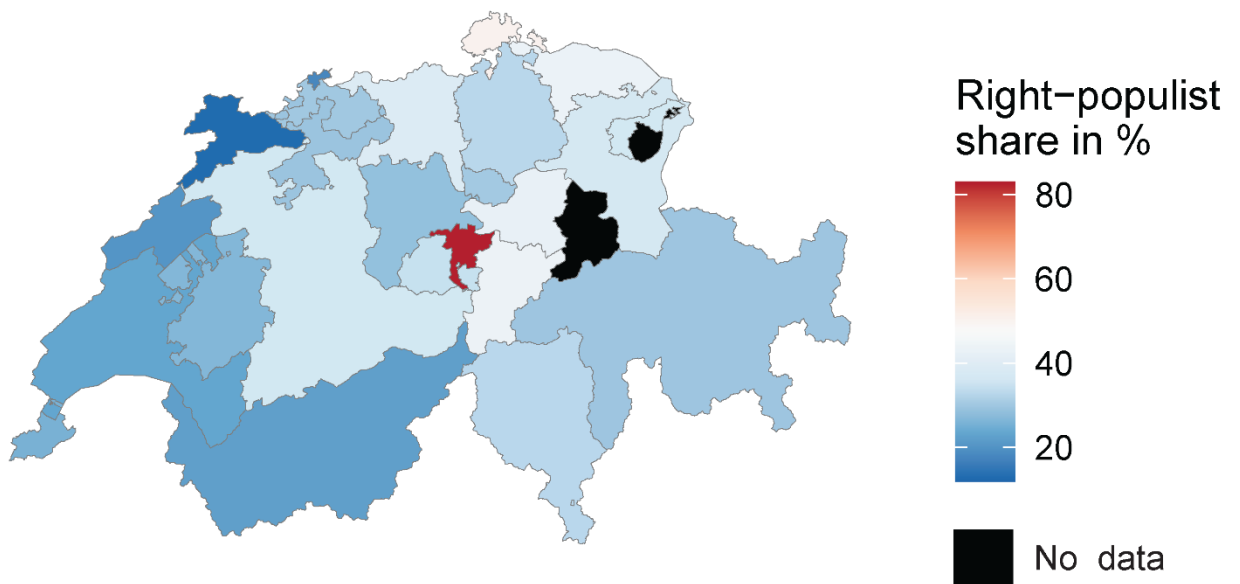
Owing to the limitations mentioned above, the SWISSCIT has a secondary role in this thesis, being mostly consigned to robustness checks, with the IPI occupying the central position. And although citizenship policies are a subcomponent of broader integration policies, I devote less attention to them in this thesis because citizenship policies and their effects have already received a large amount of attention from scholars (see e.g.: Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Peters et al., 2016b; Reichel & Perchinig, 2014b)).

3.1.3. Natives' attitudes towards immigration

The last independent variable under scrutiny in this thesis is natives' attitudes towards immigration. This variable is not as central to the thesis's articles as subnational citizenship and integration policies, but it appears as a central independent variable in two papers and in models appearing in the additional analyses.

The operationalization of this variable has followed different patterns across papers. Paper I focuses on exclusive natives' attitudes towards immigration and their relationship with feelings of attachment. To capture this sensibility, we use two different variables: the right-populist vote share in the 2015 national council elections and the "yes" share in the 2014 referendum "against mass immigration". These two variables complement each other as they are positively correlated (0.62 Pearson correlation coefficient, $p < .01$). Figure 3 displays the cantonal distribution of right-populist vote share.

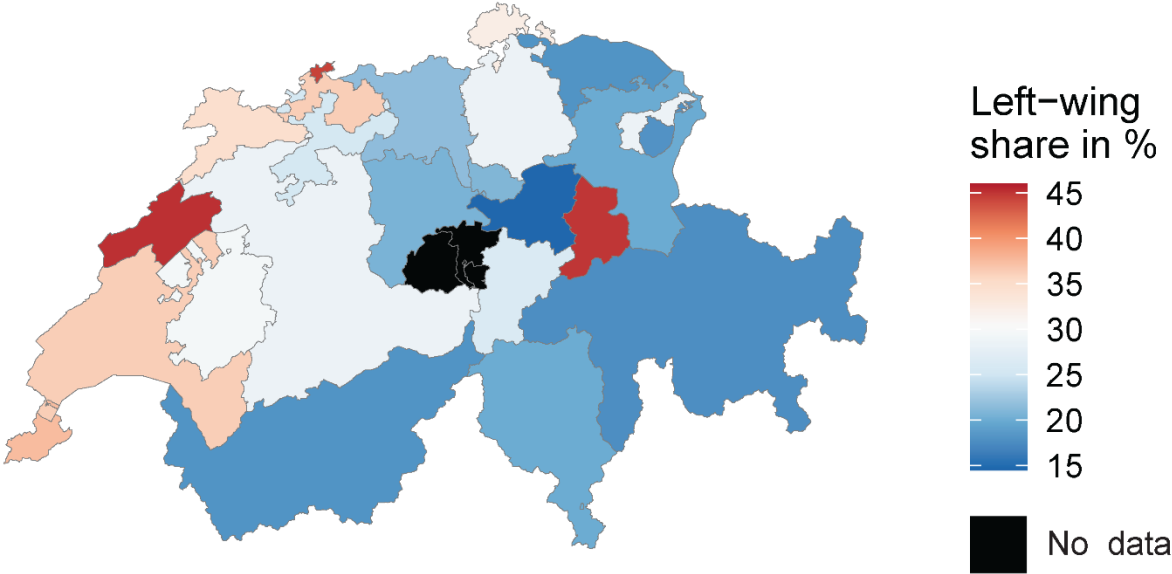
Figure 3: Right-populist parties' vote share across cantons (2015 national council elections)



Data source: Federal Statistical Office (2015), own illustration.

Because of the relevance of welcoming natives’ attitudes to explain naturalization intentions among immigrants (Janoski, 2010), Paper II only includes the measure of the cantonal left-wing share based on the 2015 national council elections. Paper IV also looks at national council elections, but from 2011, and captures the share of both conservative-right and left-wing parties. In these two papers, natives’ attitudes are used as control variables without referring to any specific hypothesis, excluding them from the focus. As shown in Figure 4, an important heterogeneity exists with regard to the cantonal vote share for left-wing parties.

Figure 4: Left-wing parties’ share across cantons (2015 national council elections)



Data source: Federal Statistical Office (2015), own illustration.

Paper V uses the relative share of seats occupied by the SVP (Swiss People’s Party) in a municipality and its surrounding area as an indicator of municipality attractiveness in residential location choice.

As shown above, the measurement of natives’ attitudes towards immigration is based on a variety of factors. Using different measures such as inclusive attitudes (e.g. left-wing parties’ share) and conservative attitudes (e.g. right-populist party’s share, share of acceptance for right-populist referendum) helps to capture a wider spectrum of stances towards immigration. This is beneficial as it avoids possible biases that might arise from using a unique measurement.

3.2. Individual outcomes

Three data sources were used in this thesis to predict immigrants' behaviours and intentions. As with Section 3.1, this subsection provides only a brief overview of the data themselves, examining instead the complementarity and limits of their sources.

3.2.1. Survey data – Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS)

The MMS is used in the first three papers and appears in Paper V for exploratory analysis. In this thesis, I use two waves of the MMS: the 2016 survey which captured immigrants who had arrived within the previous 10 years, and the 2020 survey which captured those who had arrived within the previous 15 years. This feature is important as it gives information on immigrants who, for the most part, have spent more time abroad than in Switzerland. This renders the MMS particularly interesting with regard to the association between the PRC and relatively recent immigrants' outcomes. These consecutive waves also allow researchers to conduct longitudinal analyses. This method has not been used in this PhD because PRC components are relatively stable over time, obviating their use in causal models. This survey data also reflects a large array of variables stemming from its extensive questionnaire, covering topics relating, for instance, to socioeconomics (e.g.: household income, highest completed education), demographics, migratory history and family configuration. Respondents also provide important information on the more subjective elements of their links to Switzerland. Also, the MMS was conducted in six languages, which allows for the inclusion of noncitizens who are not linguistically assimilated. Another advantage is the large N for survey data, varying between 5,973 in 2016 and 7,740 in 2018.

The MMS is therefore highly valuable as it is the only data in this thesis to explore such an extensive range of questions. Papers I to III capitalize on these advantages, focusing on feelings of attachment and naturalization intentions, which are used as dependent variables. Paper V runs an exploratory analysis on the MMS and its more than 100 questions. This allows us to evaluate a vast set of immigrant characteristics to test for their possible moderation of PRC effects on location choice.

3.2.2. Conjoint experiment data

In Paper V, my co-authors and I designed a conjoint experiment focusing on immigrants' residential location choice in Switzerland. In the experiment, respondents had to decide in which municipality they would rather settle. Municipalities were described along several attributes: public transportation, access to nature, living costs, attitudes towards immigration, naturalization requirements, presence of a co-ethnic community, voting rights for foreign citizens, and cultural and leisure infrastructures. We then assigned two levels to each attribute, describing attractive and deterring features of the municipality, which were then randomly assigned to the attributes. Integration policies were represented by whether newcomers have the ability to vote after a year of residence or not. Citizenship policies are represented by the duration of residence required before applying for naturalization (2 vs 8 years). To represent natives' attitudes, we set the share of seats occupied by the SVP (right-populist party with a hostile position on immigration) as either higher or lower than in surrounding areas. This generated 256 unique locality profiles, with each respondent having to respond to five different vignettes showing a total of ten municipalities.

Conjoint experiment data are extremely valuable as they allow for an assessment of causal estimations because the dimensions of the attributes are randomly assigned. This random variation ensures that respondents' intentions and attitudes are solely attributed to these manipulations (for a detailed discussion, see Hainmueller et al., 2014). This feature helps to avoid social desirability bias in the responses (Horiuchi et al., 2020; Wallander, 2009). This causal feature of conjoint experiment data provides an important supplement to survey data, which can mostly only lead to conclusions on correlation.

This causal aspect also complements the other papers, which are based on correlational analyses. Thus, these experimental data are of great value to my PhD dissertation, allowing me to go beyond these analyses on correlation. I discuss this complementarity in more details in Subchapter 3.3.3.

In addition, we had the great opportunity to select respondents for our conjoint experiments from the pool of individuals who had also participated to the MMS. This offers us an opportunity for exploratory analyses and allows us to combine the advantages of conjoint and survey data in Paper V.

3.2.3. Administrative microdata – STATPOP

STATPOP, collected and held by the Federal Statistical Office (FSO), is administrative registry data covering the entire population living on Swiss territory. It facilitates highly precise statistical analyses as it contains data on all immigrants living in Switzerland. We used this data source in Paper IV on (im-)mobility behaviours, relying upon 1,272,856 observations from the data set of 2012.

As for the MMS, it would have been technically possible to merge various waves of these microdata, but for the reasons discussed in Chapter 3.2.1, there have been no drastic changes in either policies or natives' attitudes since 2010 (i.e. first year of the STATPOP data). Therefore, this longitudinal feature of STATPOP data would not be of any use to a causal method.

From a radical-empiricist perspective, these exhaustive data could allow us to study all immigrants' movements, giving us the opportunity to draw conclusions based on causality (Kitchin, 2014). However, as a causal conclusion drawn from "big data" models is still open to debate (see e.g. Anderson, 2008; Cowls & Schroeder, 2015), my co-author and I cautiously describe the possible causation based on theory rather than strictly on the empirical analyses in Paper IV. Nevertheless, being able to describe the (im-)mobility behaviours of all foreign-born noncitizens is of great value for further understanding this pattern.

3.2.4. Discussion on individual outcomes data

An important strength of this PhD is the complementarity of the three data sources for individual outcomes. The complementarity of the first two datasets with the conjoint experiment is tackled in Chapter 3.3.3 because it also includes a discussion on the models of this thesis. Therefore, the following subchapter focuses solely on the MMS and STATPOP data.

First, STATPOP and MMS mirror each other in terms of the number of observations and individual information. On the one hand, STATPOP provides many observations and can even claim exhaustivity as it encompasses the entire immigrant population of Switzerland. By contrast, the MMS, like any survey, is far more limited in terms of observations, even though it tends to represent the preceding 15 years wave of immigration. However, the number of respondents (between 5,000 and 7,800) is still significant for a country the size of Switzerland.

On the other hand, the MMS provides many more variables and, thus, individual information that we can use in our analyses. The scope of information is quite large as discussed in Subchapter 3.2.1. On the other hand, STATPOP data provide much less information at the individual level as it is based on administrative registry data. Also, a limitation of STATPOP data is due to an author error: I omitted to request the income variable from the FSO, which would have strengthened our analyses on (im-)mobility behaviours in Paper IV.

Second, it is important to succinctly discuss the samples included in both the MMS and STATPOP. The databases are similar in many respects: they contain only immigrants, with binational and naturalized individuals discarded from my analyses, and both samples contain only foreign nationals, excluding Swiss-born noncitizens. There are differences, however, regarding residence permits; in the MMS, an average of approximately 29% of records relate to C permit holders, and 63% to B permit holders, with a small percentage either holding a diplomatic residence permit or a short-term permit. The STATPOP data used in Paper IV, on the other hand, has been restricted to foreign-born noncitizens holding either a B permit (42.75%) or a C permit (57.25%). The more important share of C permit holders in the STATPOP data is mostly explained by the fact that the average duration of stay is much larger in STATPOP data than in the MMS.

3.3. Models

This section presents the models used in this thesis and demonstrates their complementarity. This overview allows for a better synthesis of the findings in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.3.1. Multilevel analyses

In Papers I to IV, I use multilevel models to understand the association between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes. This choice was mainly driven by the hierarchical data used in this thesis; analysing the relationship between contextual factors and different individual outcomes leads quite naturally to using such models. This is because research shows that multilevel models outperform models such as cluster analyses in terms of standard errors regarding the rejection of the null-hypothesis (Cheah, 2009).

Multilevel modelling furthermore has several advantages. First, in baseline models, it is possible to assess conjointly the direct association between the various PRC components and immigrants' behaviours/intentions. This modelling also allows me to implement an array of control variables at the contextual and individual levels.

Second, multilevel models are useful for testing various interaction terms between individual and contextual factors. This allows me to assess the relationship between the PRC and various immigrant subgroups, as well the over-time association on the entire sample. I used these cross-level interaction terms in the first four papers, and used triple-interaction terms to capture the over-time PRC correlation on these very same subsamples in Paper IV.

Third, these interactions could be displayed using various graphical figures. Whether based on predicted probabilities or marginal effects of the PRC, these plots have been really helpful in better visualizing the association between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes. In turn, this allowed me to interpret the results in a more substantive manner.

3.3.2. Conjoint analyses

Paper V is the only article that does not rely on multilevel modelling, but rather on conjoint experiment data. Various research fields, such as marketing or business studies, have applied this method for some time (Green et al., 2001), with political scientists adopting it into their research at the beginning of the 2010s. This method has the significant advantage of being able to “estimate causal effects” (Hainmueller et al., 2014).

Having access to conjoint experiment data also leads us to use different methods of analysis. In Paper V, we mostly estimate Average Marginal Component Effects (AMCE) which has the advantage of maintaining all components equal, and thereby demonstrate the causal effects of each political attribute on the outcome.

In addition, we run Difference in Marginal Means models (or nested model comparisons) in Paper V by merging the data from the conjoint experiment with MMS data. This modelling allows us to assess whether any significant statistical differences exist across subgroups in terms of the influence of the PRC on residential location choice. Using the two datasets in this way helps to develop the second part of the paper, which concerns exploratory analyses for different subgroups. As described above, the MMS offers a large array of items covering vast fields relating to immigrants’ lives before and in Switzerland. This allows us to investigate an important number of individual variables that may affect the relationship between the PRC and immigrant subgroups, for instance, whether an inclusive policy context is more important for well-off individuals than those who are poor or otherwise marginalized.

3.4. Correlation versus causation

In Chapters 3.2.4 and 3.3, I show that the triangulation of different quantitative methods and data, especially if they lead to consistent findings, can produce more solid empirical evidence than one data source and methodological approach alone. This complementarity of data and methods is an important empirical strength of this thesis. However, to be as exhaustive as possible, it is also important to discuss the issue of correlation and causation, in order to emphasize what this PhD can claim in terms of causality.

Based on Chapter 3, it is now possible to address the issue of correlation and causation in this thesis. As discussed in Chapter 3.2, the first four papers use multilevel models, which estimate correlations between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes. Even though STATPOP and MMS data allow for various yearly waves to be merged, the main independent variables of this PhD thesis do not allow for any causal method. Both citizenship and integration policies are stable over time, which prevent the empirical analyses from using a causal method. The same holds true for natives' attitudes, as the surge of the SVP, the main right-wing populist party, already began in the 1999 in federal elections. At that time, there were no annual administrative microdata or survey data, such as the MMS, focusing on immigrants. Based on these elements, the use of longitudinal analyses or difference-in-differences research design, for example, are not applicable to this PhD thesis. Therefore, only correlation-based models could be built with these two datasets, and these cannot totally exclude some endogeneity issues. This represents a limitation of this PhD, and further research in this field may validate or refute the findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

The last paper of this thesis complements these correlation-based models with a causal model. By using conjoint experiment data, Paper V shows that the PRC can indeed affect foreign-born noncitizens' intentions, in this case regarding residence location choice. Of course, one cannot directly infer that the same mechanism is at work with the other outcomes presented in this thesis, but it provides a positive signal of the possibility that the PRC can also directly influence immigrants' other intentions, attitudes and ultimately behaviours as well.

4. Abstracts of the articles and additional analyses

In this section, I briefly present the central findings of each paper to give a general overview. I also introduce the additional findings that complement each article. It is important to note that the additional analyses use the same methodology, data and subsamples as the papers they complement. The only changes concern the introduction of another main independent variable that was not included in the original papers; this helps to cover all PRC components for every outcome.

The following summary of the findings first introduces the direct association between the PRC components and outcomes before discussing the over-time correlations. For the sake of consistency, the following discussion sets aside any analyses of the various subsamples. The models based on subcategories are instead discussed in the conclusion (Chapter 5).

Paper I: Bennour, S., & Manatschal, A. (2019). Immigrants' feelings of attachment to Switzerland: Does the cantonal context matter? In I. Steiner & P. Wanner (Eds.), *Migrants and expats: The Swiss migration and mobility nexus* (pp. 189–220). Cham: Springer.

Abstract.

This contribution investigates how cantonal norms of in- or exclusion, as expressed by cantonal integration policies and attitudes towards immigrants (xenophobia and right-wing voting), affect immigrants' national identity in terms of their feeling of attachment to Switzerland. This chapter complements the emerging body of research emphasizing the relevance of studies "beyond and below" national policy frameworks by studying how cantonal integration policy affects immigrants' national identity, which is a vital – but so-far understudied – factor contributing to social cohesion. The analyses are based on various data sources: the MMS, a data set on cantonal integration policies, and cantonal statistics e.g., on direct democratic vote results on immigration-related topics or right-wing voting rates. The results of our multilevel analyses show that cantonal reception contexts matter, yet not in a direct way but rather as catalysts. In line with assimilation theory, noncitizens' feelings of attachment to Switzerland increase with time spent in Switzerland. Inclusive cantonal reception contexts, and liberal cantonal integration policies in particular, amplify this positive effect of years of residence on immigrants' national identification, except in the most restrictive cantonal reception contexts.

Paper I – Additional analyses:

The additional analyses of Paper I are built on replacing the conservative-right with the left-wing share during the same 2015 national council elections. These new models with inclusive natives' attitudes confirm the findings of Paper I. They show that inclusive attitudes amplify time's positive effects on immigrants' feelings of attachment. Another confirmation is that welcoming natives' attitudes do not have any direct and significant correlation with the outcome.

Paper II: Bennour, S. (2020). Intention to become a citizen: Do subnational integration policies have an influence? Empirical evidence from Swiss cantons. *Regional Studies*, 54(11), 1535-1545.

Abstract

Little is known about the outcomes of integration policies on immigrants, and even less so at the subnational level. This paper scrutinizes immigrants' responses to regional integration policies, focusing on their naturalization intentions. Multilevel analyses of Swiss cantons' integration policy indices and a survey of immigrants indicate that inclusive integration policies are positively associated with EU/EFTA nationals' naturalization intentions and amplify time's positive effect on the same outcome for immigrants from less-developed countries. The findings contribute to the territorial politics literature, with their focus on subnational policies, and to the citizenship literature, given the importance of integration policies in the naturalization process.

Paper II – Additional analysis:

I run additional models to test the association between natives' attitudes and immigrants' naturalization intentions. Considering over-time correlation together with left-wing share, it appears that inclusive natives' attitudes do strengthen time's positive effects on naturalization intentions. On the other hand, exclusive natives' attitudes are not related to any significant degree with the outcome, neither directly nor over time.

Paper III: Politi, E., Bennour, S., Lüders, A., Manatschal, A., & Green, E. G. (2021). Where and Why Immigrants Intend to Naturalize: The Interplay Between Acculturation Strategies and Integration Policies. *Political Psychology*.

Abstract

Via naturalization procedures, immigrants have the opportunity to acquire rights and duties limited to nationals. Yet little is known about acculturative contexts and naturalization motives underlying immigrants' naturalization intentions. Employing a large sample of first-generation immigrants in Switzerland ($N = 3,928$) and a multilevel approach, we articulated individual acculturation strategies and cantonal integration policies to explain naturalization intentions and underlying motives. Results at the individual level showed that assimilated immigrants report the highest intentions to naturalize, followed by integrated and lastly by separated immigrants. Motives underlying naturalization intentions also differed as a function of acculturation strategies. Whereas integrated and assimilated immigrants reported higher symbolic motives than separated immigrants, the latter reported the highest level of instrumental motives. A cross-level interaction qualified results at the individual level. Indeed, the gap between integrated and separated immigrants was more pronounced under inclusive integration policies. Accordingly, integrated immigrants' naturalization intentions increased the more integration policies were inclusive, whereas this was not the case among assimilated and separated immigrants. Overall, our findings cast a positive light on inclusive integration policies as contextual affordances to overcome barriers to naturalization and encourage migration scholars to consider the broader political context in which immigrant acculturation is embedded.

Paper III – Additional analyses:

Instead of integration policies, these additional analyses use natives' attitudes and citizenship policies in interaction with immigrants' acculturation strategy. The inclusiveness of subnational citizenship policies does not seem to differentially associate with immigrants with different acculturation strategies. The same holds true when inclusive natives' attitudes are accounted for. In other words, the left-wing share relate to immigrants evenly, regardless of their acculturation.

Conversely, exclusive natives' attitudes, indicated by conservative-right share, do display a differentiated association with immigrants' naturalization intentions. The more hostile natives' attitudes are, the more similar the naturalization intentions are of integrated and separated

immigrants. On the other end of the spectrum, cantons with a relatively low share of conservative-right representatives see a more significant gap in naturalization intentions between integrated and separated noncitizens. Therefore, these findings corroborate what has been described in Paper III.

Paper IV: Bennour, S., & Manatschal, A. (forthcoming). Voting with Their Feet by Staying? The Political Drivers of Noncitizens' (Im-)mobility.

Abstract

While research documents that some migrants leave their country of origin for political reasons, we do not know how the political factors in the host country matter to explain immigrants' (im-)mobility behaviours after an initial migration. Addressing this gap, this study explores noncitizens' (im-)mobility responses to regional integration policies. Building on the evidence that inclusive policies foster immigrants' ties to the host country over time, the paper argues that effective exposure to inclusive policies decreases inter-cantonal and international mobility, i.e. increases noncitizens' immobility. To test this, we run multilevel analyses using STATPOP register data on the entire immigrant resident population of Switzerland, and cantonal integration policy data. Findings reveal that inclusive policies do indeed amplify the sedentary effect of time spent in Switzerland, and, thus, increase noncitizens' immobility. This pattern holds true for international and inter-cantonal mobility, and is most pronounced among vulnerable immigrants, i.e. non-EU citizens holding a less-stable legal permit.

Paper IV – Additional analyses:

Additional analyses aim to understand the role played by natives' attitudes in immobility decisions over time. I find that the highest conservative-right shares weaken time's positive effects on immobility; this holds true for both international and inter-cantonal movers. However, it is important to note that both estimates are small, even though they are statistically significant.

On the other hand, higher the left-wing shares amplify the sedentary effects of time on noncitizens. This result is only significant when comparing immobility to international mobility. As for the conservative-right share, the estimates are extremely small.

Paper V: Bennour, S., Manatschal, A., & Ruedin, D. (under review). How political reception contexts shape immigrants' location decisions

Abstract

Several academic fields study how immigrants choose their place of residence when moving to, or within destination countries. Existing studies, however, focus on isolated factors, and we do not know whether political factors matter once we have accounted for well-established determinants. This paper examines the extent to which political factors, such as voting rights for foreign citizens, citizenship policies and popular support for right-populist parties, influence internal mobility decisions of immigrants, relative to other variables. We draw on a 2020 conjoint experiment in Switzerland (N=1,596) in the context of a larger survey of foreign citizens who arrived in Switzerland in the preceding 15 years. The conjoint experiment provides data on the causal effects of contextual factors on mobility decisions, allowing us to assess their relative importance. We show that inclusive political reception contexts constitute a pull factor for immigrants. Exploratory analysis indicates that the size of the effect of the political reception context on residential location choice depends on educational achievement, income, legal status, a feeling of belonging to Switzerland and social networks. We conclude that studies of immigrant location choice should routinely consider political factors.

5. Conclusion

This concluding chapter proceeds as follows: First, I discuss the articles' findings in relation to the overarching research question and the sub-questions. Second, I show how my research contributes to the literature on the association between political factors and immigrants' behaviours and intentions. Third, I consider the societal and political implications that my investigations may have. Fourth, I introduce possible further studies that could complement the present research.

5.1. Discussion of the findings

Table 2 summarizes the main findings of the articles and additional analyses in this thesis. Paper III is not included here as this table only refers to findings derived from the entire sample. Subsample analyses – and Paper III – are discussed later in this chapter.

Table 2: Overview of the findings of the papers and additional analyses.

Paper	Outcome	PRC component	Direct Correlation	Moderating time's correlation
I	Feelings of attachment to Switzerland	Integration Policies	-	Amplifies
		Citizenship Policies	Negative	-
		Exclusive natives' attitudes	-	Least exclusive natives' attitudes amplify time's positive effects
		Inclusive natives' attitudes	-	Amplifies
II	Naturalization intentions	Integration Policies	-	Amplifies
		Citizenship Policies	-	-
		Exclusive natives' attitudes	-	-
		Inclusive natives' attitudes	-	Amplifies
IV	Immobility behaviours	Integration Policies	-	Amplifies (compared to both inter-cantonal and international mobility)
		Citizenship Policies	-	Amplifies (only compared to international onward mobility)
		Exclusive natives' attitudes	-	Reduces (compared to both inter-cantonal and international mobility)
		Inclusive natives' attitudes	-	Amplifies (only compared to international onward mobility)
V	Residential location choice	Integration Policies	Positive impact	-
		Citizenship Policies	Positive impact	-
		Welcoming Natives' attitudes	Positive impact	-

Notes: This table only reports the analyses on the entire sample (i.e. Paper III is not included).
How does the subnational PRC relate to immigrants' sedentary ties to the host country?

Regarding the direct association between the PRC and foreign-born noncitizens' sedentary ties, the findings are rather inconclusive. This is in line with the literature on the effects of integration policies, which is also mixed. This thesis shows that inclusive citizenship policies are negatively associated directly and significantly with immigrants' feelings of attachment. However, this counterintuitive finding is only weakly supported by the model, and further studies would be needed to confirm or refute this result. All other PRC components are not significantly correlated with the three first outcomes (feelings of attachment, naturalization intentions and immobility behaviours). This seems to indicate that the PRC, in most cases, does not play a direct role in explaining the creation of immigrants' sedentary ties.

The general apparent absence of direct association with the first three outcomes, however, does not mean that the PRC does not matter *per se*. This absence of direct correlations with these outcomes may be due to the peculiar nature of establishing emotional bonds with the host country, which some studies have shown to take time (Manning & Roy, 2010; Nandi & Platt, 2015; Platt, 2014). Therefore, the PRC may not be sufficient to create bonds, out of the blue, between immigrants and the host country. In other words, an inclusive PRC does not deploy its relationship instantly with immigrants. Instead, the PRC may accompany immigrants in this over-time development of bonds with the host country. Therefore, this demonstrates that effective exposure to the PRC, in terms of time spent, may be needed to see any significant relationship between the PRC and the outcomes under scrutiny in this thesis.

This is already confirmed by the findings on the positive impact of inclusive PRC components on immigrants' location choice. It is not surprising that the PRC displays direct effects on residential location choice, but not on the other outcomes. This outcome is of a different "nature" to the others in this thesis – while the other outcomes describe relations between immigrants and the host society, residential location choice is a way to "optimize" one's living conditions in a new place of residence. In this case, an inclusive PRC acts directly as an attractive feature for internal movers. Therefore, if one can choose where to live in the host country, one may consider the PRC when selecting the future location. This finding demonstrates that the PRC can act as an *attractive* factor for immigrants, independent of their duration of residence. Also, this finding is of great value because it demonstrates that the PRC can causally affect immigrants' intentions. This does not mean that these intentions would

automatically be manifested in behaviours, but it does pave the way for future research on a causal relationship between the PRC and immigrants' behaviours.

Can inclusive PRCs amplify time's effects on immigrants' sedentary ties?

This question leads to the most important finding of this work. To fully assess the correlation between the PRC and foreign-born noncitizens' sedentary ties, the moderating role of the PRC is highly relevant. This PhD demonstrates that inclusive PRCs do positively moderate time's effects on the first three sedentary markers (i.e. feelings of attachment, naturalization intentions and immobility), indicating that these effects unfold over time, through effective exposure to the political context. Therefore, an inclusive PRC may act as an accelerator of time's positive effect on immigrants' sedentary ties rather than as a *magic wand* that creates a connection between immigrants and the host country upon arrival.

Based on these findings, it appears that an inclusive PRC does positively relate to immigrants at various key stages of the process of creating sedentary ties. Thus, inclusive PRCs seem to act as a *retain* factor by creating this more welcoming political climate for foreign-born noncitizens.

Another important point is the relationship between the exclusive pole of the PRC and immigrants' outcomes. Tendentially, neither exclusive integration/citizenship policies nor anti-immigrant natives' attitudes do reduce time's positive effects on the outcomes (with the exception of immobility). This shows that immigrants may relate more to the welcoming characteristics than the hostile political features of their canton of residence, or, at least, that the latter is not sufficient to "push" immigrants away, either physically or emotionally. To summarize, for the PRC to matter, it needs to be inclusive and act as either a *retain* factor (for feelings of attachment, naturalization intentions and immobility) or as an *attractive* factor (for residential location choice).

To be more precise about time's accelerator role, I summarize each PRC component and its association with the outcomes. First, it is important to recall that the elements comprising the PRC are not mutually isolated, but rather represent a more general "philosophy" of a specific place (e.g. cantons) towards immigration and "integration" (Favell, 2001; Manatschal, 2012a; Weldon, 2006). The following paragraph discusses the relationship between each PRC component and the outcomes, without intending to "rank" them in terms of "efficiency".

First, subnational integration policies seem to matter for immigrants' sedentary ties. These policies amplify time's positive effects on feelings of attachment, naturalization intentions and immobility behaviours. Adding these findings to the direct effects of integration policies on residential location choice, it appears that integration policies matter significantly for each outcome under scrutiny in this thesis. This demonstrates that integration policies are a key component for these sedentary markers. It also shows that these policies need time to develop their relationships with immigrants.

Second, natives' attitudes towards immigration seem to correlate with immigrants' sedentary ties to the host country. Exclusive natives' attitudes weaken the sedentary effects of time on mobility behaviours, but only to a small extent. These hostile natives' attitudes are not significantly associated with other outcomes under scrutiny, suggesting a rather minor role for xenophobic attitudes.

Conversely, inclusive natives' attitudes positively moderate time's effects on feelings of attachment, naturalization intentions and immobility. Furthermore, natives' attitudes seem to directly influence residential location choice as immigrants favour municipalities with welcoming natives' attitudes. To summarize, considering both inclusive and exclusive attitudinal poles, natives' attitudes to immigration associate significantly with all the behaviours/intentions analysed in this thesis. In addition, it appears that welcoming natives' attitudes seem to matter more for foreign-born noncitizens' sedentary ties than the most hostile attitudinal pole.

Third, it appears that inclusive citizenship policies only significantly relate to immobility behaviours, and then, only over time. This suggests that citizenship policies only begin to matter after several years when immigrants become eligible for naturalization, or begin to consider naturalizing. These findings demonstrate that PRCs do not all come to matter for immigrants' outcomes over the same time frames.

Can some immigrants' characteristics moderate the relationship between the PRC and immigrants' sedentary ties?

This thesis demonstrates that the PRC displays differentiated correlations with immigrants' intentions and behaviours. Table 3 summarizes the findings on subcategories, drawn from Papers II, III, IV and V. Paper I is not reported in Table 3 as this article does not contain an

analysis of subgroups. It is important to note that this table summarizes the significant *differences* in the PRC’s relationship to subgroups’ outcomes, relative to each other. In other words, this table does not contain all PRC associations with each subcategory.

Table 3: Overview of subgroups’ findings in papers (II, III, IV and V) and additional analyses.

Outcomes	Subcategories	PRC components			
		<i>Integration policies</i>	<i>Citizenship policies</i>	<i>Inclusive natives’ attitudes</i>	<i>Exclusive natives’ attitudes</i>
<i>Naturalization intentions</i>	Country of origin (Baseline: non-EU)	Positive direct correlation for EU citizens	-	-	-
	Country of origin’s development	Amplification of time’s positive effects on less-developed countries’ nationals	-	Amplification of time’s positive effects on highly developed countries’ nationals	-
	Acculturation strategy	Positive direct correlation for “integrated” immigrants	-	-	Negative direct correlation with “integrated” immigrants
<i>Immobility (only compared to international onward mobility)</i>	Vulnerability (Baseline: least vulnerable (EU citizens with C Permit))	Amplification of time’s sedentary effects on EU citizens (B Permit) and non-EU citizens (B/C Permits)	Amplification of time’s sedentary effects on non-EU citizens (B / C Permits)	Amplification of time’s sedentary effects on non-EU citizens (B/C Permits)	Weakening of time’s sedentary effects on non-EU citizens (B/C Permits)
<i>Residential location choice</i>	Country of origin (Baseline: non-EU)	-	Non-EU citizens favour more inclusive citizenship requirements	-	-

The first point to mention is that the moderation of the PRC’s association with outcomes on a subcategory can act in opposite directions. For instance, inclusive integration policies have more influence on the naturalization intentions of EU citizens than non-EU nationals, but non-EU nationals are more attracted to municipalities with inclusive citizenship practices than their EU counterparts. This bifurcation is also evident in the case of immigrants from less-developed countries being more influenced by integration policies, but less sensitive to inclusive natives’

attitudes, than their counterparts from highly developed countries. In other words, a single categorization can have opposite moderating effects on the PRC's relationship with outcomes. The examples mentioned here suggest that this can be explained either by a difference in behaviour and intention, as in the first example, or by the very nature of the PRC component.

Second, some categorizations seem to moderate the PRC's correlation with outcomes in a more coherent manner. For instance, the naturalization intentions of immigrants with an "integration" strategy are most influenced by the inclusiveness of the PRC, in terms of both integration policies and exclusive natives' attitudes. Also, legally vulnerable immigrants (non-EU citizens with a B permit) seem to be largely more associated in their (im-)mobility behaviours with the PRC than any other subcategory. This also holds true to a lesser extent for non-EU nationals with a C permit. This sensitivity to the PRC is valid for all components, which implies a certain robustness in these findings.

Third, these findings show that while the PRC does exert a differentiated influence on subgroups, there is no clear distinction across subgroups in many cases. This rather mixed conclusion on differentiated effects is especially true for Paper V. This paper shows that some differences exist across subgroups, particularly in terms of feeling of belonging to Switzerland, but the more usual socioeconomic and demographic characteristic are much less significant. Even if income or educational attainment play a moderating role, most subgroup analyses in this paper reveal no difference of PRC influence on residential location choices for different subcategories.

To summarize, these findings demonstrate the importance of having a finer-grained approach to the PRC's relationship with immigrants' outcomes. Looking beyond the aggregate estimate is important because some clear differences exist across subgroups. These results corroborate previous research showing the differentiated association between the PRC and immigrants' behaviours and intentions based on home-country (Bevelander & Veenman, 2006; Bloemraad, 2004; Jones-Correa, 2001; Peters et al., 2016; Vink et al., 2013) and individual factors (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Molina & Yalçinkaya, 2020; Vink et al., 2013; Witte, 2014; Yang, 1994). However, it is also important not to overstate these subgroups' discrepancies. As shown in Table 3, half of the subsamples did not show any differentiated correlation with their outcomes. In addition, some categorizations lead to rather mixed findings, pointing in opposite directions. These subgroup findings require further research to properly understand how immigrants' individual characteristics moderate the association between the PRC and outcomes.

5.2. Contribution to the literature

This thesis contributes to the current literature in various ways. First, and most importantly, it demonstrates that the PRC matters. Be it directly, over time, on the whole sample or on various subcategories, the PRC significantly relates to immigrants' establishment of sedentary ties. From arrival in the host country to deciding to settle more definitely, the PRC is a fundamental companion to the immigrants' path within the host country.

Second, this thesis complements various findings concerning the relationship between integration policies and immigrants. So far, research had led to rather mixed findings regarding this association (Bloemraad et al., 2011; Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2011; Dinesen & Hooghe, 2010; Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013; Pecoraro et al., 2022; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012a). This thesis, however, displays unambiguous results as inclusive policies clearly foster immigrants' sedentary ties with the host society. Thus, this PhD thesis complements the literature by showing that integration policies may matter as a moderator of immigrants' duration of stay. If so, inclusive integration policies can *accelerate* time's positive effects on various outcomes, and research on integration policies should consider that policy exposure over time is central to understanding the relationship between these policies and foreign-born noncitizens' outcomes.

This analyses of sedentary ties brings a new focus to research on integration policies, which mostly studies more traditional and material outcomes such as labour market integration and wage level (Cebolla-Boado & Finotelli, 2011; Koopmans, 2010; Pecoraro et al., 2022). This demonstrates that a more "emotional" understanding of the role of integration policies is useful for better capturing the wide spectrum of outcomes associated with these policies.

Third, research on immigrants' naturalization have so far focused almost exclusively on the role of citizenship policies (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Janoski, 2010; Peters et al., 2016; Reichel & Perchinig, 2014; Vink et al., 2013). However, citizenship policies are not the only PRC element that matters for naturalization. Based on this thesis' findings, it is important to widen the understanding of the process that immigrants follow to eventually become naturalized. Creating an emotional bond to the host country, through inclusive natives' attitudes and integration policies, is an important first step towards citizenship acquisition. Immigrants who feel "integrated" are also the most influenced by an inclusive PRC in terms of their naturalization intentions. Therefore, it is important to understand naturalization as a wider process during

which different political factors can play a role, even before immigrants' formal naturalization. Also, the findings of this PhD thesis seem to indicate that citizenship policies may not matter much for immigrants' sedentary ties. This may imply that these policies are, effectively, only associated with immigrants' outcomes regarding naturalization behaviours and citizenship acquisition. This demonstrates a difference in timing of the association between integration and citizenship policies and immigrants' outcomes.

Fourth, most research on the association between natives' attitudes and immigrants' outcomes focuses on xenophobic stances (Bracco et al., 2017; de Coulon et al., 2016; Gorinas & Pytliková, 2015; Knabe et al., 2013; Slotwinski & Stutzer, 2019; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Waisman & Larsen, 2009). However, my work shows that research on this relationship should not neglect the inclusive attitudinal pole. This thesis shows that more welcoming natives' attitudes seem to relate more significantly to immigrants' outcomes than xenophobic attitudes do.

Last, this research contributes to the literature on migration/mobility, which has so far overlooked the potential role of political factors. My PhD dissertation shows that the PRC can relate significantly to immigrants' (im-)mobility behaviours and that political factors can influence the intentions of foreign-born noncitizens regarding internal mobility. Therefore, future research on internal and international mobility should account for political factors to fully depict mobility behaviours and intentions. This thesis also contributes by looking beyond the "mobility bias" in migration and mobility literature by complementing the literature on immobility decisions (Carling, 2002; de Haas, 2003, 2010; Schewel, 2020), which has so far focused on international mobility. This thesis shows that immobility should also be queried for immigrants in the host country, and that political factors should be considered in order to fully understand this phenomenon.

5.3. Societal and political implications

In addition to its academic relevance, these findings can also have various societal and political implications. First, as shown by the over-time results, the implementation of new integration policies should not be expected to directly associate with immigrants' outcomes. Cantonal executive and legislative bodies need to take into account the fact that policies need time before their relations with immigrants' outcome can unfold.

Second, Switzerland is a densely populated country. A better understanding of immigrants' mobility and residential location choice may inform political decisions on infrastructure, public transport and educational facilities. Therefore, it is relevant to consider these findings to understand how noncitizens – 25% of the population living in Swiss territory – may decide to move across or out of the country.

Third, social cohesion is becoming an increasingly hot topic, with general societal polarization forming around, for instance, identity politics. The same holds true for migration, evidenced by a surge of right-populist party candidates, some of whom propose a reduction in immigrants' rights, succeeding in the 2019 European Parliament elections. Both rights' restrictions and the growth of right-populist parties largely undermine the creation of sedentary ties for immigrants willing to become legitimate members of the host society. This is especially the case for immigrants maintaining both home– and host country cultures. An increasingly hostile socio-political climate may negatively affect immigrants who are willing to incorporate.

Last, the political rhetoric around low-skilled immigrant workers being a problem for receiving states (de Haas et al., 2019), and hoping that a restriction of their rights will push this specific immigrant category to leave, misses a central point. This thesis shows that all immigrants are sensitive to the inclusiveness of the PRC, even though there are some differentiated correlations across subgroups. Therefore, developing restrictive integration policies will not only impact those individuals rejected by right-populist parties, but may imperil the retention of all foreign-born noncitizens, as well as their attachment to the host country.

5.4. Further research

This research paves the way for further quantitative studies that could complement this PhD.

First, in this thesis I have assembled the different components of the PRC, which shows the importance of having a broad understanding of political factors. However, this approach may benefit from a more systemic classification. Therefore, future studies could look to build a comprehensive index of the local, regional or national PRCs by aggregating integration and citizenship policies as well as natives' attitudes towards immigration within a single PRC index. This may give a more precise description of the inclusiveness of each polity and its relationship to immigrants.

Second, I have proposed here an understanding of immigrants through the various stages from arrival to settlement. As mentioned, this picture might be too simplistic considering the possible diversity of life paths in reality. Thus, longitudinal research following immigrants from their arrival could show the role of the PRC along the process of creating sedentary ties. This would allow the researcher to capture phenomena such as circular migration, long settlement before a return migration, or having to leave the country due to non-access to a residence permit. Such a longitudinal approach could examine more precisely how and when the PRC plays a significant role for immigrants.

Third, the findings regarding the over-time relationship between the PRC and immigrants' sedentary ties should be widened to include other intentions and behaviours. Future analyses could try to understand whether other outcomes, such as the more traditional labour market integration and wages levels, also significantly relate to the PRC as an accelerator of time's effects. This would help to understand whether sedentary ties represent a peculiar type of outcome or if the accelerating role of the PRC can also relate to other behaviours and intentions. Also, future research could scrutinize samples other than foreign-born noncitizens. For instance, analysing the relationship between the PRC and Swiss-born noncitizens could help to understand some key differences between various generations of immigrants.

Fourth, in this thesis, the PRC has been shown to play a moderating role. Future research could also query whether the PRC can act as a mediator by scrutinizing, for instance, whether the inclusiveness of the PRC can directly and positively influence immigrants' duration of stay, which, in turn, increases sedentary ties. Another example is language proficiency, which is a control variable in Papers I and II and plays a significant role in explaining both outcomes.

However, language fluency may itself be influenced by the inclusiveness of the PRC. In both examples, the mediating effects of these variables may reduce the general association between the PRC and immigrants' outcomes. Therefore, mediation analyses could be useful in future research to better capture how the PRC relates to such individual factors.

Fifth, future research could try to better understand how the various dimensions of integration policies relate to immigrants' outcomes. This would help to understand whether integration policies per se matter for these outcomes, or whether specific dimensions are driving the overall association between integration policies and the outcomes.

Sixth, future research on migration and mobility should consider including the PRC in their analysis, given the importance of these factors as demonstrated in this thesis.

Also, this thesis demonstrates that time is needed for an association between the PRC and outcomes to unfold. This mechanism potentially entails an issue of self-selection. For instance, does the PRC only matter for immigrants who decide to stay? Therefore, further research could seek to better understand what the relationship is between the PRC and immigrants who leave again within their first years after arrival.

Then, in addition to Switzerland's federalism and regionalist particularities, it also has four official languages. As discussed in the article on mobility intentions (Paper V), having to cross a linguistic barrier may be an additional hinderance. Thus, future studies looking at the influence of the subnational PRC on mobility patterns could be conducted in countries with a single official language. Italy, the US or Germany may be promising cases for such research.

Last, analysing the relationship between an inclusive subnational PRC and immigrants' host country identification has shown some meaningful results. Because most of daily life happens within a single subnational polity, future studies could tackle regional identity instead of host country identity. This could also help to nuance the importance of host country identity adoption by showing that regional attachment may also matter for social cohesion. Therefore, future research could go beyond this PhD and analyse the relationship between the regional PRC and regional identification, which could not be achieved in this thesis due to data limitations.

In addition to quantitative studies, qualitative research could help to build on these macro-findings. For instance, a street-level bureaucrat approach could be highly beneficial for better understanding the implementation of integration and citizenship policies. Also, longitudinal

qualitative studies on immigrants could be extremely important for apprehending how foreign-born noncitizens experience a more or less inclusive PRC at different stages of their life course.

6. References

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7. PhD – Core articles and additional analyses

7.1. Paper I – Feelings of attachment

Bennour, S., & Manatschal, A. (2019). Immigrants' feelings of attachment to Switzerland: Does the cantonal context matter? In I. Steiner & P. Wanner (Eds.), *Migrants and expats: The Swiss migration and mobility nexus* (pp. 189–220). Cham: Springer.

1. Introduction

Immigration, increasing ethnic diversity, and managing the integration of foreigners into host societies are among the most pressing issues of contemporary societal and political debates. Consequently, academic interest in these topics is not only increasing but also spreading across social science disciplines, which hitherto rather neglected these subjects. Numerous studies focus on how receiving countries address and react to immigration, for instance, by studying migration policies such as immigration, integration policies, or natives' attitudes towards immigrants. Much less is known about immigrants'² attitudes towards the host country or society and how these attitudes are affected by the political and societal receiving context to which immigrants are exposed. Existing research suggests that national identity, in the sense of a feeling of attachment to a country, can assume the role of an overarching identity that reduces social distances between distinct groups in a society, diminishing social conflicts and contributing to social cohesion (Transue [2007](#); Verkuyten and Martinovic [2012](#)).

Given the potential role of national identity as a "social lubricant" (Miller [1995](#); Reeskens and Wright [2014](#)), the purpose of this study is thus to examine the factors that enhance immigrants' feelings towards their new country of residence in terms of national identification. More specifically, we are interested in how cantonal norms of inclusion or exclusion affect immigrants' national identity in terms of their feelings of attachment to Switzerland. Our main focus will be on the crystallization of these norms in cantonal integration policies. Alternative measures to capture the degree of cantonal exclusivity or inclusivity towards immigrants include, first, popular attitudes towards immigrants aggregated at the cantonal level and, second, cantonal vote shares of conservative right parties.

Research on integration, immigration and citizenship policy is abundant. Whether qualitative or quantitative in orientation, the predominant approach of these studies is based on cross-country comparisons of national policies (e.g., Brubaker [1992](#); Bjerre et al. [2015](#); Favell [2001](#); Goodman [2010](#); Koopmans et al. [2012](#)). This narrow, nation-state focus is increasingly criticized (Castles [2010](#)) by scholars emphasizing striking policy differences (e.g., between Italian regions or Swiss cantons) and by bustling integration policymaking activities (e.g., in the US states) at the subnational level (Condon et al. [2016](#); Manatschal [2012](#); Wisthaler [2016](#)). Subnational policy heterogeneity creates different living conditions for immigrants and, therefore, a non-negligible heterogeneity in integration possibilities (Cattacin and Kaya [2001](#)). A large number of studies focus further on determinants of integration policies such as immigration history, meaning path-dependency (Favell [2001](#)), or the influence of far-right parties (Koopmans et al. [2012](#)). However, few studies analyse integration policy outcomes. For instance, Cebolla-Boado and Finotelli ([2011](#)) evaluate the effect of integration policies on labour market integration, and Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen ([2013](#)) scrutinize policy outcomes on immigrant educational inequality across cantons. Our study addresses the two gaps identified above: First, we try to understand the effect of integration policies on immigrants from a thus far neglected perspective, their feelings of national attachment. Second, by focussing on cantonal integration policy, the study complements the emerging body of research emphasizing the relevance of subnational integration policy heterogeneity.

² Throughout this chapter, we use the terms immigrants and non-citizens interchangeably. Note that only one of the 5855 respondents included in our analysis is not a non-citizen (meaning the respondent indicated Swiss nationality), implying that de facto our results apply to non-citizen immigrants living in Switzerland.

In addition to cantonal integration policy, we also account for the potential effects of societal norms on immigrants' national identification in terms of majority attitudes towards immigrants. Several scholars scrutinize the different determinants of public attitudes towards immigrants (e.g., xenophobia), investigating, for instance, the effect of the type of the welfare state (Koopmans [2010](#)) or the effect of news media (Boomgaarden and Vliegthart [2009](#)). Similarly to the research on integration policy, outcome studies focussing on how inclusionary or exclusionary popular attitudes affect immigrants' attitudes or behaviour in turn remain scarce. Only a handful of studies aim at analysing the outcomes of natives' attitudes on non-citizens' location choices (Slotwinski and Stutzer [2015](#)), return migration (de Coulon et al. [2016](#)) or labour market discrimination (Waisman and Larsen [2007](#)). Our study adds to this research because we are interested in the more immediate effect of welcoming or hostile attitudes towards immigrants on non-citizens' sense of national identity.

Beyond these specific contributions to the literature, this chapter also speaks directly to the Migration-Mobility Nexus standing at the core of this edited volume (see Chap. [1](#)). First, the study follows the sedentary premises of classical migration research when focussing on how societal norms affect immigrants' integration outcomes (Castles [2010](#); Dahinden [2016](#)). Second, mobility scholars argue that governance of migration and mobility occurs at subnational, national or supra-national levels. By focussing on the subnational policy level, this study circumvents the narrow focus on the nation-state, which is predominant in classical migration studies (Wimmer and Glick-Schiller [2006](#)). Third, this chapter also contributes to this nexus by questioning what makes immigrants feel attached to their host country. This emotional connection is likely to be related to higher intentions to remain in Switzerland rather than to leave again. In this sense, the findings of this study can also help to better understand potential drivers of individual (im-)mobility trajectories. This study builds on different data sources. The main data source is the Migration-Mobility Survey conducted in 2016, from which we draw our dependent variable, immigrants' feelings of attachment to Switzerland. This survey clearly surpasses other population surveys in Switzerland because it is the only comprehensive and nationally representative survey focussing explicitly on immigrants. The survey is conducted in six different languages, which also guarantees the inclusion of non-language-assimilated immigrants. Even more importantly for the present study, the large sample of 5973 immigrant respondents facilitates individual analyses at the level of the Swiss cantons, which is hardly feasible with general population surveys. To measure cantonal integration policies, we draw on data collected by Manatschal ([2011](#)). Public attitudes towards immigrants at the cantonal level, in turn, will be captured by direct democratic vote results (e.g., the national vote on "mass immigration" from 2014), which are less distorted by social desirability than are survey data on xenophobia, and cantonal statistics on conservative-right voting rates. To empirically test the relationship between societal norms at the cantonal level and immigrants' individual national identities, we apply multilevel regressions suitable for cross-sectional analyses of this type, accounting for the pertinent individual and cantonal control variables discussed in the literature.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section [2](#) discusses the current state of the research and develops theoretical hypotheses concerning the assumed relationship between inclusionary/exclusionary societal norms and the national identification of immigrants in Switzerland. Section [3](#) presents the data sources and explains the research design and methods used in this study. The results of our multilevel regression analyses are presented in Sect. [4](#). Section [5](#) concludes.

2. Theoretical Background

National identity can be understood as an “awareness of affiliation with the nation” (Hjerm [1998](#), p. 337) that increases the possibility to “feel at home” (Keane [1994](#)). “National identity” relates to a broader lexical field in the literature, with scholars using different terms such as “host-country identity” or “majority identity” to refer to the same concept. Although we use the term “national identity” in this chapter, it can be understood as a synonym for the abovementioned terms. In surveys, national identification is typically measured with questions such as “how close do you feel to country XY?” This understanding of national identification as closeness or affiliation with a country can be demarcated from two other forms of positive perceptions of the nation. First, patriotism implies pride in the nation, e.g., in national democratic institutions. Second, nationalism reflects an uncritical and blind attachment to the nation, which is often combined with a sense of national superiority with respect to other countries (Coenders et al. [2004](#); Green et al. [2011](#)).

National identity, in turn, can decrease social distance between distinct sub-groups sharing the same overarching identity and, thus, diminish intergroup conflicts because individuals with distinct religious, ethnic, or home country-related identities can continue to reunite under the same overarching identity (Transue [2007](#)). Identification with the country one lives in, meaning national identification, can take over the role of such an overarching identity. Given its role as a social lubricant (Miller [1995](#); Reeskens and Wright [2014](#)), national identification by immigrants can be a remedy for social problems resulting from ethnic diversity. Indeed, immigrants’ attachment to the host-country identity helps to reduce inter-group conflict via two main mechanisms. First, national identification among immigrants decreases social distance from the majority group by embracing, partly or entirely, the overarching identity (Gaertner et al. [1989](#)). Second, negative feelings across minority groups can also shrink due to host-country identification because that identification unites a plethora of subgroup identities under an encompassing identity (Transue [2007](#); Verkuyten and Martinovic [2012](#)). More generally, trust and solidarity develop more easily between individuals sharing common values related to the same identity (Doosje et al. [1999](#)). In summary, this type of a shared overarching identity, which can be approximated by national identification, can be a solution to tensions arising from ethnically diverse societies because national identification creates a common sense of belonging (Moran [2011](#); Transue [2007](#)), reduces social distance between states’ residents and helps to develop national solidarity (Kymlicka [2015](#)). Because of its beneficial effects on social cohesion, scrutinizing more closely the feeling of attachment to the host country appears highly relevant for contemporary states facing growing ethnic diversity. The first contribution of our chapter to the existing research is thus that we try to understand the effect of welcoming or hostile reception contexts on immigrants from a thus far neglected perspective, their feelings of national attachment.

A broad range of research examines the interplay between host and origin country identities. Traditionally, and in contrast to the idea of the overarching identity delineated above, scholars have depicted dual identity as impossible, meaning that identification with a specific ethnic identity is inversely related to identification with other subgroups (Verkuyten and Martinovic [2012](#); Gecas and Burke [1995](#); Hall and du Gay [1996](#); Simon [1997](#)). More-recent research contradicts these earlier findings, claiming that, in reality, identities are not exclusive but rather overlapping and overarching (Bauböck [2002](#)). For instance, support for this argument is provided by the increasing acceptance of dual citizenship attribution in many European countries (Blatter [2011](#); Vink and Bauböck [2013](#)). Phalet and Swyngedouw ([2002](#)) examine the long-distance affiliation sustained by Turk and Moroccan communities in Belgium with their homelands through transnational identities. Based on this empirical evidence, the authors develop a composite understanding of identities in the context of a contemporary European state. Nandi and Platt ([2015](#)) study minorities in the UK, showing how three different identity levels (ethnic, regional and national) interact with one another. They emphasize that groups are not homogeneous in terms of identities, which can be composed of different affiliations. Based on

the interaction of different identities, Verkuyten and Martinovic (2012) delineate a four-field typology of possible identity configurations: First, *assimilation* occurs when immigrants favour the host-country identity over the ethnic identity of the country of origin. Immigrants maintaining both identities as salient represent cases of *integration* or *dual-identity*, whereas a major support for the ethnic identity implies *separation*. *Marginalization* describes individuals without any specific attachment to either of the countries. These studies show that identities are not fixed and unique but rather are fluid and hyphenated.

A variety of individual factors determines the national identification process. Being able to speak the local language and being citizen of a country (Maxwell 2010) are all factors that are positively associated with the national identification of immigrant minorities with the host land. Concerning duration of stay in the host country, assimilation theory (Alba and Nee 2009) stipulates that, with time, immigrants' identities converge towards national identification with the destination country. Some studies confirm this theory, finding that the length of time since immigrants' arrival is positively correlated with national identity (Manning and Roy 2010; Nandi and Platt 2015; Platt 2014). However, other scholars find that the correlation between length of stay and host-country identity is U-shaped (Reeskens and Wright 2014), implying that recently arrived and long-time resident immigrants are the most attached to their host country. In addition, Reeskens and Wright (2014) find that a higher level of education coincides with less national group identification because highly educated individuals tend to have more cosmopolitan and transnational identities. However, this finding is partly weakened by studies considering the interplay between education and national identification (e.g., Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012). On the one hand, highly educated individuals tend to have more contacts with nationals, which increases overarching group identification; on the other hand, highly educated individuals are also more likely to notice discrimination towards themselves or, more generally, their subgroup.

According to the literature, the receiving context matters for immigrants' national identification in three respects: immigrants' perceived discrimination, natives' anti-immigrant attitudes and an ethnic conception of the nation. There is a negative relationship between perceived discrimination and minorities' national identity (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2009; Maxwell 2010; Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012). Indeed, "perceived discrimination prevents minority members from developing a sense of belonging to an overarching national in-group" (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al. 2009,

p. 109). As Maxwell (2010) summarizes, discrimination appears to be more justified in a context in which anti-immigrant feelings are widespread (Fetzer 2000; Joppke 2005; Paskeviciute, A., & Anderson. C. (2008). *Friendly Territory: Opinion Climate, Discontent, and Immigrant Political Action in Europe. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association conference, Boston MA, August 28–31*). In addition, natives' xenophobic attitudes undermine the inclusion of immigrants as a legitimate part of the society (Koopmans et al. 2005; Banting and Kymlicka 2006; Maxwell 2010), which can directly hamper immigrants' attachment to the host country. Moreover, Hjerm (1998) suggests that there is a positive association between xenophobic attitudes and an ethnic conception of national identity among the majority group. Not surprisingly, such a national identity based on ethnic principles leads to a greater gap in national group identification between majorities and minorities, with natives identifying more strongly with the nation than, for instance, immigrant minorities (Staerklé et al. 2010). Ultimately, natives' anti-immigrant feelings are more likely to develop when an ethnic conception of national identity prevails, which in turn paves the way for justifying discrimination. This interplay of factors suggests that the reception environment of immigrants in the host country in terms of hostile/ welcoming native attitudes is relevant to immigrants' feelings of national identity.

Few studies scrutinize the role of institutional settings, such as multiculturalist, integration and citizenship policies, with respect to the host-country identification of immigrants. Outcomes of these different manifestations of migration policy can be studied through two theoretical lenses. First, an instrumental-legalistic perspective, based on the economic rational-choice model, stipulates that individuals react to institutional rules defined by migration policies based on a purely rational cost-benefit calculation (Van Hook et al. 2006). For instance, according to this logic, a non-citizen would move from the canton of Nidwald to Zurich because access to naturalization is comparatively easier in Zurich. Because our study does not relate to material benefits but rather to the receiving political context in terms of atmosphere, we follow a second theoretical approach instead, which highlights policies' "symbolic boundaries" (Lamont and Molnár 2002). The national self-understanding of a state defines who belongs to a community, who does not (meaning the boundaries of nation states), and consequently the reception environment of a given territory (Koopmans et al. 2005). Van Hook et al. (2006) describe the importance of feeling welcomed at arrival to understand, for instance, naturalization intentions. Therefore, by giving a "warm handshake" or a "cold shoulder" (Reeskens and Wright 2014) to immigrants, the country's discursive opportunity structure (Koopmans et al. 2005) leads immigrants to construct an "emotive understanding of membership" (Bloemraad 2013, p. 201) generated by governments. The literature discusses different political institutions as important drivers of national identification, such as multiculturalist policies (Wright and Bloemraad 2012), access to citizenship (Ersanilli and Koopmans 2010) and integration policies (Dinesen and Hooghe 2010), without however reaching unanimous conclusions, as we further elaborate upon below.

Drawing on the notion that national self-understanding and reception environments crystallize in territories' integration policies (Koopmans et al. 2005, p. 6), the chapter transfers this approach to the subnational level. This chapter addresses the puzzle of how the subnational reception environment, measured amongst others through cantonal integration policies, affects the feeling of attachment to the host country. As mentioned above, the literature finds consensus on the negative correlation between hostile natives' attitudes towards immigration and immigrants' identification with an overarching identity. However, mixed findings emerge when scholars address the effects of inclusive or exclusive integration policies. Some studies find no effect of inclusionary policies on national identification (Hjerm 1998; Dinesen and Hooghe 2010; Wright and Bloemraad 2012). Contradicting these results, more-accessible citizenship policies yield positive effects on minorities' identification with the host country according to Ersanilli and Koopmans (2010). Multiculturalism and citizenship policies have attracted great attention from scholars. At the same time, little is known about the precise role of more-comprehensive integration policies. Only two papers address this specific type of policy (Dinesen and Hooghe 2010; Reeskens and Wright 2014), and these studies do not find any effect of integration policies on the feeling of attachment to the host country.

One major limitation of these studies is that they focus unanimously on national policies, which might not be the most adequate analytical level when investigating interpersonal relationships or personal attitudes (Gundelach and Manatschal 2017; Kesler and Bloemraad 2010). National identification is an individual attitude that develops when exposed to local, regional, and national discourses and policies. Given that individuals' everyday lives are more or less closely tied to the specific locality and canton in which they live, we can assume that the regional reception and integration policy environment is decisive in shaping an individual's national identification. The second contribution of this chapter, therefore, concerns the political unit under study. Complementing the abovementioned studies addressing receiving contexts and national identification exclusively at the national level, this paper scrutinizes the pronounced but often neglected subnational integration policy heterogeneity and how that heterogeneity affects the national identification of non-citizens in Switzerland. Thus, this paper

adds to the recently emerging literature on subnational integration policy outcomes (e.g., Condon et al. 2016; Gundelach and Manatschal 2017; Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen 2013).

Based on the theoretical reflections delineated above, our first hypothesis stipulates that *national attachment of immigrants increases in regions with more-inclusive cantonal reception contexts in terms of integration policy and popular attitudes*. With the exception of integration policy, this hypothesis is in line with the results reported in other policy fields (e.g., naturalization and multiculturalism) on how such reception contexts affect national identification. Drawing on the “assimilation theory” argument, according to which identification with an overarching identity emerges only after a certain period of time (Alba and Nee 2009; Manning and Roy 2010; Nandi and Platt 2015; Platt 2014), we deem it necessary to further refine the positive relationship stipulated in hypothesis one. Reception contexts might not have an immediate effect on national identification but rather act as a catalyst. Our second hypothesis, therefore, postulates that *inclusive cantonal reception contexts in terms of integration policy and popular attitudes amplify the positive effect of duration of stay on immigrants’ national identification*.

We refrain from formulating explicit hypotheses concerning the homeland identification of immigrants. As the literature suggests, all possible combinations of home- and host-land identification occur in reality (Verkuyten and Martinovic 2012). In other words, an increase in host-land identification does not necessarily imply a decrease in homeland identification. We will nevertheless complement our main analyses on national identification and test, in an exploratory manner, how cantonal reception contexts in terms of cantonal integration policies or popular attitudes affect immigrants’ homeland identification.

3. Data and Research Design

To empirically test our theoretical expectations, our research builds on three data sources. The dependent variable, immigrants’ feelings of attachment to Switzerland, is drawn from the Migration-Mobility Survey conducted in 2016. This survey clearly surpasses other population surveys in Switzerland because it is the only comprehensive and nationally representative survey focussing explicitly on immigrants that is conducted in six different languages, which also guarantees the inclusion of non-language-assimilated immigrants. Even more importantly for the present study, the large sample of 5855 non-citizen respondents available for our particular analyses guarantees sufficient respondents at the level of the individual cantons. Consequently, the survey allows for individual analyses at the cantonal level, which is hardly feasible with general population surveys. To measure cantonal integration policies, we draw on data collected by Manatschal (2011). Public attitudes towards immigrants at the cantonal level, in turn, are preferably captured by cantonal statistics on right-wing voting rates or direct democratic vote results (more specifically, the vote against “mass immigration”³ from 2014), which are less distorted by social desirability than are survey data on xenophobia.

To measure our main dependent variable, immigrants’ feelings of attachment to Switzerland, we use an item from the Migration-Mobility Survey in which respondents had to answer the following statement: “On a scale from 0 (no feeling of attachment) to 7 (strong feeling of attachment), to what

³ This popular initiative that aimed at limiting immigration by means of quotas was accepted by 50.33% of Swiss people and 17 cantons out of 26 in a national vote held on February 9, 2014.

extent do you have a feeling of attachment to Switzerland?" This eight-point scale item can be used as a fine-grained continuous factor. Promisingly, only a very low number of missing answers

(23) is listed, leaving us with a sample of 5855 respondents for our analyses. As the left-skewed distribution in Fig. 1 shows, the sample under scrutiny tends to feel rather attached to Switzerland. Fewer than 3% of all respondents indicated that they do not feel attached to Switzerland at all (0), whereas approximately 20% expressed a strong feeling of attachment (7). More than 60% of the questioned individuals ranged their attachment between 4 and 6, whereas only 17.4% indicated a relatively low attachment to Switzerland, ranging from 1 to 3.

Cantonal integration policies serve as the main independent variable in this study. We measure cantonal integration policy using an index built by Manatschal (2011). Conceptually, this index captures subnational integration policies along different policy dimensions that measure the ease or difficulty of accessing civic, political, socio-structural, as well as cultural and religious rights and obligations based on 24 indicators overall. The overall additive Integration Policy Index (IPI) is a continuous variable ranking from -0.54 (most restrictive policy pole) to 0.76 (most inclusive policy pole; for a detailed discussion see Manatschal 2011; Manatschal and Stadelmann-Steffen 2013). The index reveals a clear divide along Switzerland's language regions, as shown in Fig. 2.

French-speaking cantons have in general more-inclusive integration policies than do German-speaking cantons, with the canton of Ticino lying in between. This linguistic policy pattern reflects a cultural-historical coinage, with French-speaking cantons being influenced by France's more inclusive *jus soli* citizenship conception and German-speaking cantons (and Ticino) reflecting Germany's (and Italy's) traditionally more-restrictive *jus sanguinis* citizenship tradition (Manatschal 2012).

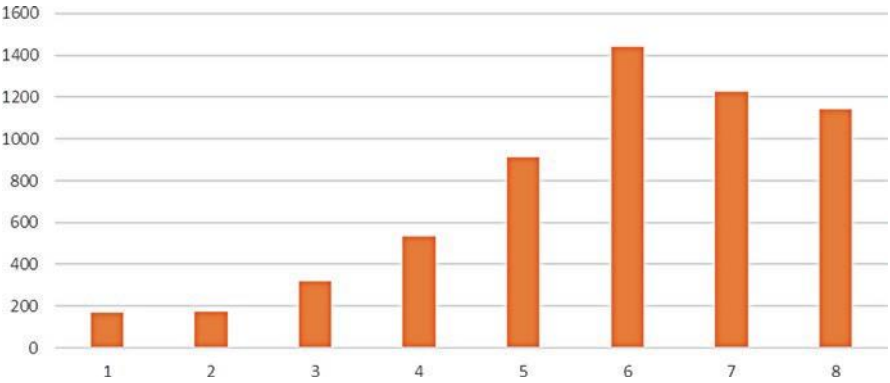


Fig. 1 Feelings of attachment to Switzerland

Note: Immigrants' feelings of attachment on an 8-point scale (0–7), mean = 5.83, standard deviation = 1.77
 Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016 (weighted results)

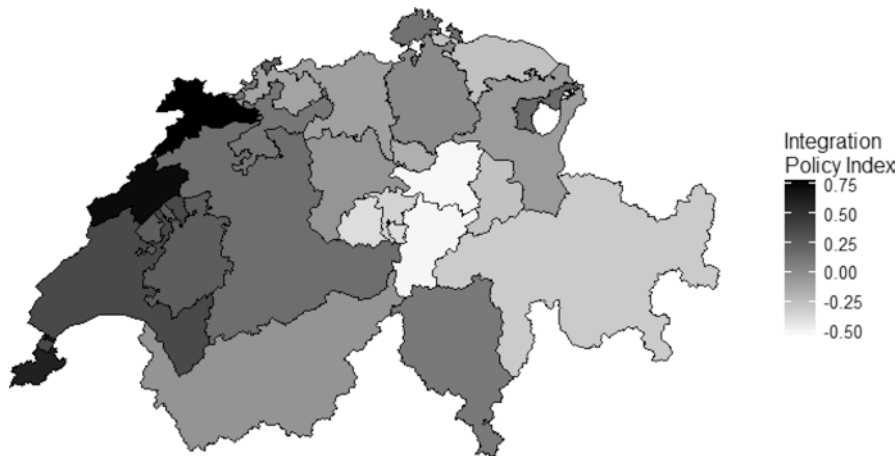


Fig. 2 Restrictiveness/inclusiveness of cantonal integration policy, Switzerland 2011 Source: Manatschal (2011), own illustration.

In line with the literature documenting the path dependency of national integration regimes (Brubaker 1992; Favell 2001), cantonal integration policies reflect path dependent, meaning fairly stable, policy frameworks over time (Manatschal 2012; similar findings are reported in Sager and Thomann 2017 for the related policy field of cantonal asylum policy). We also, however, consider testing more recent cantonal policy data. Currently, there is no more-recent comprehensive cantonal integration policy measure available, but there is an index for the single policy field of naturalization policy (Arrighi and Piccoli 2018), which we will use as an alternative cantonal policy measure in this study.

In addition to cantonal integration policy, we use alternative measures that capture the degree of cantonal exclusivity or inclusivity towards immigrants. First, popular attitudes towards immigrants aggregated at the cantonal level (measured in terms of cantonal yes-shares to the national vote against “mass immigration” from 2014) capture the cantonal reception environment. Second, the most recent federal elections in 2015 are used to extract cantonal vote shares of conservative right parties based on the following parties: Swiss People’s Party (SVP), the League of Ticino, the Citizens Movement of Geneva, the Swiss Democrats and the Federal Democratic Union (Strijbis 2014). We gathered additional contextual variables at the cantonal level to control for other influencing factors. The unemployment rate for foreigners and the GDP per capita grasp the economic realities of the cantons. The geographic context is approximated by the cantonal degree of urbanity. The foreign-born share reflects the ethnic diversity in each canton. To account for the cultural-linguistic heterogeneity in Switzerland, a dummy variable is included to control for the majority language in a canton (1 = German-speaking, 0 = otherwise).

In addition to these contextual factors, we control for the following variables at the individual level. We gather socio-demographic factors such as age, gender and duration of stay in Switzerland (in years). The question of education has been recoded to obtain a grading from the primary to the tertiary level. Another aspect that is relevant to the feeling of attachment is the ability to speak the local language. Therefore, a six-point scale question assessing individual language skills is included in the analysis. The type of residence permit also matters for this study because it creates different living conditions for non-citizens. The remaining variables address daily life experiences in Switzerland, which likely affect respondents’ feelings of attachment to the country. An eleven-point scale question describes respondents’ general satisfaction with their decision to move to Switzerland. In addition, a dummy variable is used to measure whether the respondent felt discriminated against in the last 2

years due to his/her origin. Having a social network primarily in Switzerland or in the home country can have divergent effects on the feeling of attachment. Consequently, a five-point scale question is included in our analysis identifying the geographical location of a respondent's social network from "all good friends live in Switzerland" (1) to "all good friends live abroad" (5). More details on all of the variables, data sources, operationalization of the single variables and descriptive statistics can be found in Table 2 in the [Appendix](#).

Given the hierarchical structure of the data, we apply a multilevel analysis⁴ (random intercept models for the baseline model and random slopes and intercepts for the interaction model), implying that individual behaviour can vary between cantons. Cantons represent level-2 units, and individual observations nested within the 26 cantons are the level-1 units. Such multilevel models are moreover very useful if the number of respondents per canton is low because the level-1 estimators are not only rooted in the observations of a particular contextual unit but also 'borrow strength' from the other level-2 units (Steenbergen and Jones 2002). Additionally, these models allow for the modelling of macro-level characteristics (in the present case, the cantonal integration policy and the additional cantonal control variables).

4. Empirical Results

Table 1 shows the results of the baseline model. Model 1 confirms that the correlations at the individual level are in line with some of our expectations. Age is positively correlated with the dependent variable. Surprisingly, duration of stay is negatively correlated with the feelings of attachment to Switzerland without being statistically significant. Educational attainment is also not significantly correlated with the outcome. Concerning residence permit, compared with the reference category of Permit C (also called "settlement permit"), Permit B (a residence permit valid for one [non-EU/EFTA] or 5 years [EU/EFTA]) appears to increase feelings of attachment. Interestingly, even non-citizens with the L Permit, a shorter residence permit allowing a year of stay maximum, feel more strongly attached to Switzerland than do members of the reference category. Diplomats, civil servants and their family members (the latter holding a Ci permit) express no greater feelings of attachment to Switzerland than do those with the regular C permit. However, the residence permit estimates are not statistically significant. As expected, individuals who are satisfied with their life in Switzerland and who speak the language fluently tend to feel more strongly attached to the host country. Similarly, if a person has experienced discrimination in the last 2 years, her/his feeling of attachment is significantly reduced. Social networks also matter because immigrants who have all their good friends abroad exhibit significantly lower levels of national identification compared with those with important social ties in Switzerland.

Concerning the cantonal variables, interestingly, none of them significantly affects non-citizens' attachment to Switzerland. With respect to the cantonal reception environment, the direct democratic vote variable (i.e., the yes-share to the "mass immigration initiative", with higher shares representing

⁴ We consider the dependent variable – feelings of attachment to Switzerland – an integer variable because it is scaled on eight points, which we evaluate as sufficiently fine-grained to conduct such an analysis. We run alternative multilevel models using an ordinal response, which did not alter our results (models not reported but displayed in [Appendix](#)).

more-immigrant- hostile attitudes) and the conservative right share do not appear to have any direct effect on immigrants' feelings of attachment. Cantonal integration policy points in the expected positive direction; however, this result is not statistically significant. Thus, we find no support for our first hypothesis.

Table 1 Multilevel regression analyses on feelings of attachment to Switzerland

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Constant	3.24 *** (0.53)	3.25 *** (0.53)	3.36 *** (0.53)	2.85 *** (0.61)
Age	0.02 *** (0.00)	0.02 *** (0.00)	0.02 *** (0.00)	0.02 *** (0.00)
Male (ref.cat: female)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)
Education (ref.cat: Primary education)				
Secondary education	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
Tertiary education	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.07)
Residence permits (ref. cat: C Permit)				
B Permit	0.10 (0.06)	0.10 (0.06)	0.10 (0.06)	0.10 (0.06)
DFAE permit/Ci Permit	-0.28 (0.23)	-0.28 (0.23)	-0.27 (0.23)	-0.27 (0.23)
L Permit	0.17 (0.10)	0.16 (0.10)	0.18 (0.10)	0.17 (0.10)
Duration of stay	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.04 (0.03)	0.07 (0.04)
Satisfaction with decision to move to Switzerland	0.38 *** (0.01)	0.38 *** (0.01)	0.38 *** (0.01)	0.38 *** (0.01)
Friends (ref.cat: All in Switzerland)				
Most in Switzerland	-0.13 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.11)	-0.13 (0.11)
As many in Switzerland as abroad	-0.42 *** (0.10)	-0.41 *** (0.10)	-0.42 *** (0.10)	-0.42 *** (0.10)
Most abroad	-0.88 *** (0.11)	-0.88 *** (0.11)	-0.89 *** (0.11)	-0.88 *** (0.11)
All abroad	-1.15 *** (0.11)	-1.14 *** (0.11)	-1.15 *** (0.11)	-1.15 *** (0.11)
Language proficiency (ref.cat: Fluent)				
Somewhat fluent	-0.22 *** (0.06)	-0.21 *** (0.06)	-0.22 *** (0.06)	-0.21 *** (0.06)
Not very well	-0.40 *** (0.06)	-0.39 *** (0.06)	-0.41 *** (0.06)	-0.39 *** (0.06)
Some vocabulary	-0.66 *** (0.07)	-0.65 *** (0.07)	-0.66 *** (0.07)	-0.65 *** (0.07)

Table 1 (continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
None	-0.97 ***	-0.97 ***	-0.97 ***	-0.96 ***
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Experienced discrimination	-0.25 ***	-0.24 ***	-0.24 ***	-0.25 ***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Urbanity	0.06	0.06	0.09	0.07
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
GDP p.c.	-0.05	-0.05	-0.06	-0.06
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Foreigners' unemployment rate	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	-0.05
	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)
German-speaking canton	0.21	-0.21	-0.21	-0.24
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.17)
IPI	-0.44	-0.79 *	-0.45	-0.41
	(0.28)	(0.31)	(0.25)	(0.27)
Yes share of "mass immigration" vote	-0.01	-0.01	-0.01	-0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Conservative right	-0.00	-0.00	-0.01	0.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Duration of stay x IPI		0.07 *		
		(0.03)		
Duration of stay x Conservative right share			0.00	
			(0.00)	
Duration of stay x Mass immigration yes share				-0.00
				(0.00)
Observations	5855	5855	5855	5855
N_{canton}	24	24	24	24
R^2	0.318	0.319	0.317	0.318
$\frac{R^2}{20}$	0.316	0.317	0.316	0.317

Note: Unstandardized beta coefficients (standard error in parentheses); *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05;

***p < 0.01. Glarus and Appenzell Innerrhoden do not appear in the models because neither had any office runners from a conservative right party. Model 1 uses only random intercepts, whereas Models 2, 3 and 4 use random intercepts and slopes. Variables "GDP p.c.", "Foreigners' unemployment rate" and "Urbanity" were z-transformed prior to modelling. IPI = cantonal Integration Policy Index

Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016. Weighted results. The contextual variables "Urbanity", "GDP p.c.", "German-speaking canton", "Yes share of "mass immigration" vote", "Conservative right" have been made available by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) and "Foreigners' unemployment rate" by the SECO.

Given that there is no direct effect of cantonal reception contexts on immigrants' national identity, we turn to our second hypothesis and test whether cantonal reception contexts instead have a catalytic function. For instance, Model 1 in Table 1 does not account for effective reception context exposure. Thus, this model might not adequately capture the potential policy or public attitude effects. The Migration-Mobility Survey does not include any direct item capturing individuals' perceptions of the cantonal reception context as inclusive or exclusive. Instead, Model 2 in Table 1 does indirectly model context exposure for the cantonal integration policy factor by introducing a cross-level interaction term between immigrants' duration of stay and the cantonal Integration Policy Index. As expected, the interaction term is significantly positive. In other words, the positive effect of length of stay on immigrants' feelings of attachment is significantly stronger in cantons with more-inclusive integration policies, which corroborates our more nuanced second hypothesis. This finding suggests that effective exposure to cantonal policies is required for the expected positive effect of inclusive cantonal integration policy on attachment to unfold. Models 3 and 4 in Table 1 display the interaction terms

between duration of stay and our two additional measures of cantonal reception contexts capturing natives’ attitudes towards immigrants. The results are generally consistent with those shown in Models 1 and 2. Concerning the interaction terms with natives’ attitudes, only Model 4 displays a slightly negative and statistically significant result. In line with our second hypothesis, the positive effect of duration of stay on attachment to Switzerland is amplified in inclusive cantons, meaning those with lower yes shares of the “mass immigration” vote.

Figure 3 illustrates the policy interaction effect with a marginal effect plot that helps to better determine how the two independent variables jointly alter non-citizens’ feelings of attachment to Switzerland (Berry et al. 2012; Brambor et al. 2006). The marginal effect of time spent in Switzerland on immigrants’ feelings of attachment is insignificant when the IPI is at its lowest value. The increasing slope illustrates how the marginal effect on attachment to Switzerland turns significantly positive in more- inclusive cantonal integration policy contexts. In other words, Fig. 3 shows that the positive effect of length of stay on attachment to Switzerland observed in Table 1 increases even further in cantons with increasingly liberal integration policies. The same pattern appears in Figs. 4 and 5, which are based on Models 3 and 4 in Table 1. Despite the insignificance of the interaction term per se, Fig. 4 shows that up to a conservative right share of 37.1%, which represents a substantial share of 75% of all of the cantons, the interaction term is statistically significant and slightly negative. Concerning integration policies, more-welcoming native attitudes towards immigration (in terms of a lower vote share for the conservative right) appear to amplify the positive effect of length of stay on attachment to Switzerland. The catalyst role of the cantonal reception context is also observable in Fig. 5, which follows the same trend as Fig. 4. Overall, these results confirm our second hypothesis that more-inclusive/welcoming political contexts act as catalysts by amplifying the positive effect of time spent in Switzerland on immigrants’ national attachment.

We conducted several robustness checks that support the main results of our analyses. Because the strongest results emerge from the interaction between period of residence and IPI, these checks will focus on the reception context in terms of integration policy.

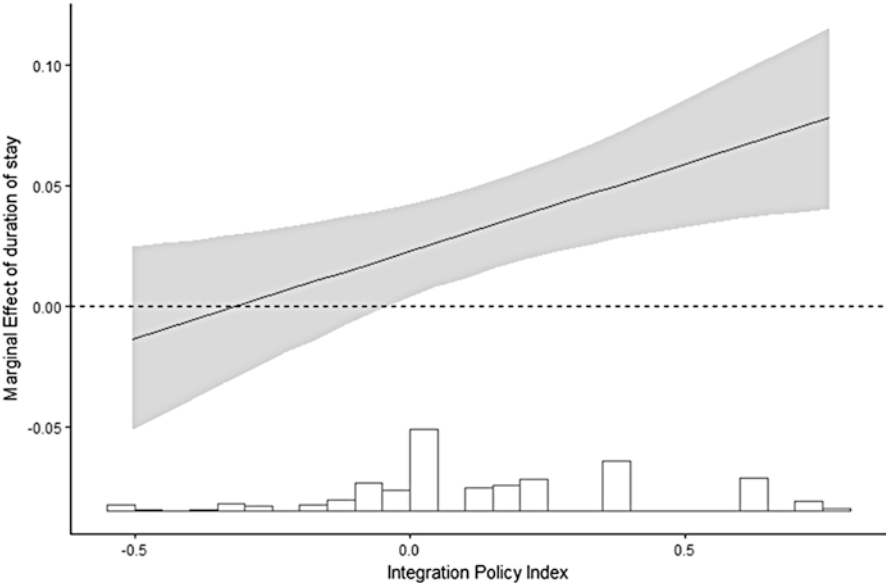


Fig. 3 Marginal effect of duration of stay on feeling of attachment by IPI Notes: Marginal effect plot based on Model 2 in Table 1. Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016. Weighted results.

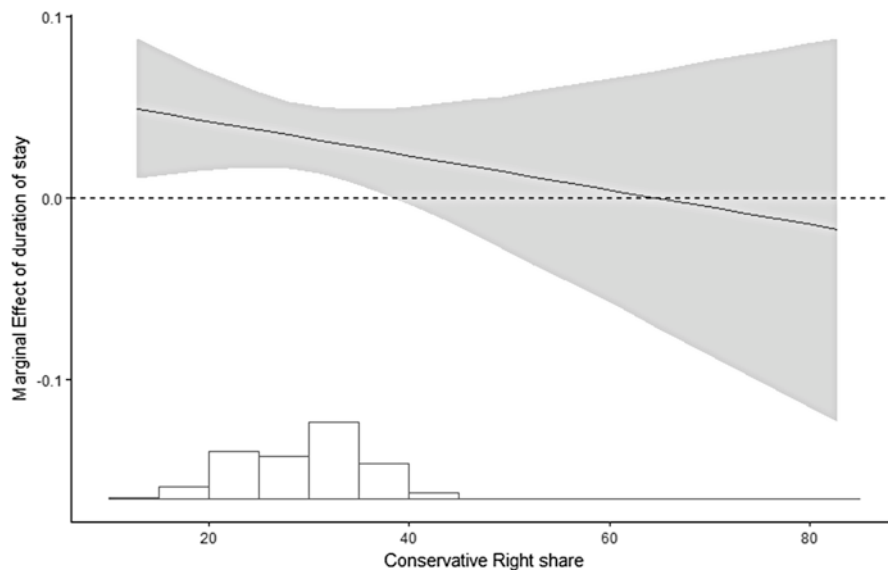


Fig. 4 Marginal effect of duration of stay on feeling of attachment by conservative right share Notes: Marginal effect plot based on Model 3 in Table 1. Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016. Weighted results.

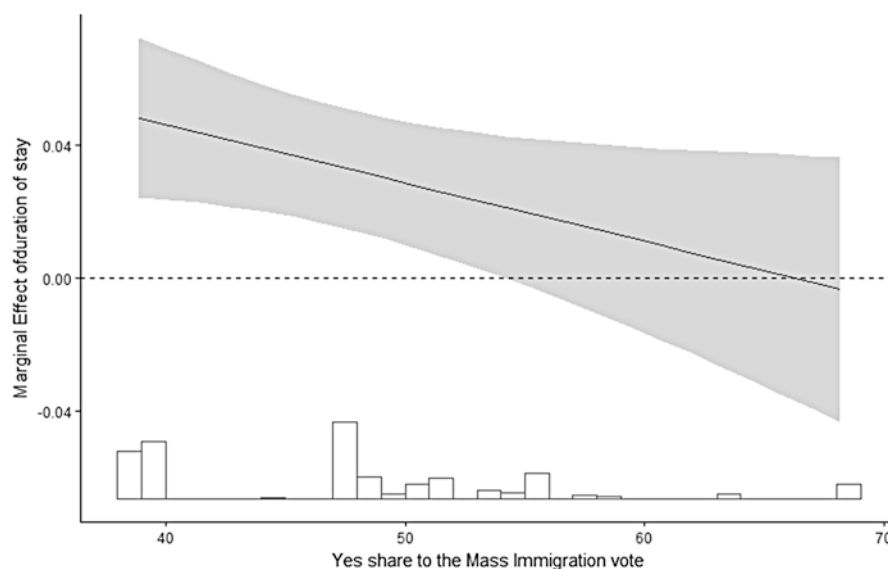


Fig. 5 Marginal effect of duration of stay on feeling of attachment by yes share to “mass immigration vote”. Notes: Marginal effect plot based on Model 4 in Table 1. Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016. Weighted results.

First, we tested the models with another dependent variable, feelings of attachment to the country of origin (Table 3 in the Appendix). In line with the theoretical expectations, respondents with all of their good friends abroad accordingly feel closer to their country of origin than do immigrants who have strong social ties in Switzerland. Non-citizens with no local language knowledge feel more strongly bound to their homeland than do individuals who have better language abilities. Lower satisfaction with the decision to move to Switzerland is further correlated with a stronger feeling of attachment to the country of origin. These last three variables follow a trend opposite to that observed in our main

models, indicating clear individual differences between host- and homeland attachments among non-citizens in Switzerland. In contrast to the dependent variable, feelings of attachment to Switzerland, one could expect that inclusive cantonal integration policies coincide with a lower feeling of attachment to the homeland. However, cantonal integration policy is never statistically significant even when interacted with duration of stay in Switzerland. Thus, more-inclusive integration policies do not appear to sway immigrants' feelings away from their country of origin.

The second robustness check used the Citizenship Index (CI) (Arrighi and Piccoli [2018](#)) instead of the Integration Policy Index to measure cantonal policy contexts (Table [4](#) in the [Appendix](#)). Before its inclusion in the models, the CI was z-transformed to make it as comparable as possible to the IPI. The two indices are weakly but significantly correlated at 0.40 (Pearson's correlation, $p < .05$). The CI ranks the Swiss cantons according to the ease or difficulty with which non-citizens can access ordinary naturalization. Model 1 in Table [4](#) shows a statistically significant negative correlation between CI and feelings of attachment. The interaction term in Model 2 in Table [4](#) does not reveal the same positive trend observed in Model 2 in Table [1](#). Indeed, the CI does not act as a positive catalyst by amplifying the positive effect of duration of stay on immigrants' feelings of attachment to Switzerland. Third, to test the catalyst-function of inclusive integration policy with other determinants of national identification, we checked additional interaction terms between the IPI and both educational attainment and satisfaction with the decision to move to Switzerland (Table [5](#) in the [Appendix](#)). Only individuals with a secondary education display a statistically significant and positive estimate when interacted with integration policies. Fourth, to account for individual integration into the labour market, a dummy variable (1 = employed, 0 = unemployed) was created (Table [6](#) in the [Appendix](#)). Model 1 in Table [5](#) contrasts with our main results because of the negative effect of integration policies on feelings of attachment to Switzerland. However and in line with our main results, the IPI is positively correlated with the outcome variable when interacted with duration of stay in Model 2 in Table [6](#). Interestingly, the R2 of this model is greater than the one drawn from our main analyses, although the inclusion of this new variable leads to approximately 2000 missing observations.

5. Conclusion

This chapter set out to answer the question of how the reception context in Swiss cantons affects immigrants' national identity in terms of feelings of attachment to their destination country. To understand the reception context in Swiss cantons, we considered different manifestations of societal norms of inclusion or exclusion in the Swiss cantons as reflected in cantonal integration policies, public attitudes towards immigrants, and conservative-right vote shares. As the research discussed in this chapter clearly shows, the identity question is complex. Identities are not fixed and unique but fluid and overlapping. This complexity is most likely best captured by the notion that identity equals the sum of all the different attributes and affiliations that make a person unique and that help *identify* this particular person and no one else out of all possible people (Maalouf [1998](#), p. 16).

Despite this complexity with respect to the identity question, the chapter shows that it can be very revealing to isolate and scrutinize a single aspect of identity among specific individuals, such as immigrants' national identification with their country of residence. This aspect can play an important role as an overarching identity by uniting groups that can have very different ethnic, religious, or cultural identities, as is often true in immigration societies. Despite its integrative force as a "social lubricant" (Miller [1995](#); Reeskens and Wright [2014](#)) that can bring different people together, diminish social distances, and contribute to social cohesion and mutual trust, we know surprisingly little about

whether the reception context can nurture national identification among immigrants. This chapter offers important contributions to the existing research by addressing the neglected question of how reception contexts at the level of Swiss cantons, which represent the immediate everyday life context individuals are exposed to and within which feelings of attachment to the country of residence evolve, affect immigrants' national identity.

From a merely descriptive perspective, non-citizens indicate an overall high attachment to Switzerland. Corroborating assimilation theory (Alba and Nee [2009](#)), the results of our multilevel analyses show that with time in terms of older age immigrants' national identification with Switzerland increases. Further in line with the theoretical expectations, immigrants' national identification increases with higher levels of satisfaction with their decision to move to Switzerland, language ability, and their close social networks being primarily located in Switzerland. Finally, immigrants who have experienced discrimination based on their country of origin over the past 2 years expressed significantly lower levels of national identification.

This last individual finding is particularly relevant for our study; it relates individual experiences to the larger reception context, which is the focus of our chapter, showing that an exclusive social reception context does indeed impair individual attitudes towards the destination country. However, at the contextual level of Swiss cantons, we observe no direct effect of the reception context on immigrants' national identity. Neither cantonal integration policy nor immigrant-sceptic attitudes as expressed in vote results or conservative-right vote shares are per se significantly related to non-citizens' attitudes towards Switzerland. As we argue in this chapter, the reception context might not yield a direct effect on individuals but rather might affect immigrants' national identification in an indirect (i.e., catalytic) way. As the results of our cross-level interaction models suggest, an inclusive reception context in terms of liberal cantonal integration policies and, although to a weaker extent, less xenophobic attitudes and a low share of conservative-right parties amplify the positive effect of time spent in a canton on national identification. In other words, non-citizens' national identification flourishes best over time in those cantons with a receptive integration policy context. Conversely, this process of becoming closer over time to the nation that the immigrants live in appears to completely halt in those cantons with the most exclusive reception contexts.

Relating our findings to the literature, we can say that "feeling welcome at arrival" (Van Hook et al. [2006](#)) is certainly important, but it appears insufficient for immigrants to develop a feeling of attachment to Switzerland. Our findings appear to imply that the "warm handshake" and "cold shoulder" (Reeskens and Wright [2014](#)) need time to be perceived by non-citizens. The same holds for integration policies, which matter only when they are actually perceived, which requires effective exposure to these policies over time. Future studies using more-direct measures for policy exposure and based on more-subtle research designs involving quasi-experiments or panel data are needed to substantiate or refute the causal claims developed in this chapter. Nevertheless, a recent study supports the argument that time and effective exposure to societal norms is needed for exclusive or inclusive reception contexts to be effective. This research shows that inclusive cantonal integration policies can prevent immigrants from emigrating again once they have been exposed to these policies, but they cannot attract them because immigrants are not more likely to migrate to inclusive cantons (Bennour, S. (2017). Do integration policies matter? An exploratory study on foreigners' mobility and cantonal attractiveness in Switzerland. *Presented at the IMISCOE Conference, Rotterdam, 27 June*). In other words, integration policies in particular, and reception contexts more broadly, appear to be neither very effective prior to nor on arrival, but they affect immigrants' attitudes after a certain period of exposure.

Apart from future studies based on more-subtle research designs to prove or refute our preliminary findings, it would also be important to validate these findings using, for instance, more-recent data on integration policy and considering even- more-nuanced subnational units, such as municipalities. As we argued in this chapter, and in line with the literature documenting the path dependency of national integration regimes (Brubaker [1992](#); Favell [2001](#)), cantonal integration and migration policies reflect path dependency, meaning fairly stable policy frameworks over time (Manatschal [2012](#); Sager and Thomann [2017](#)). Consequently, we do not expect these policies to be completely different in 2014 when compared with 2008, which was the reference year of the index used in this chapter. Our robustness check using the narrower but more recent cantonal citizenship law index by Arrighi and Piccoli ([2018](#)) appears to confirm this expectation. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to replicate the analysis with more-recent cantonal integration policy data as soon as they are available. The second concern about the level of analysis appears more pertinent. As shown in this contribution, reception contexts vary strongly across Swiss cantons. However, the immediate surroundings people are exposed to on a daily basis are ultimately the local contexts. Given that local reception contexts can vary considerably within the same canton (e.g., rural versus urban municipalities), future research should scrutinize questions about immigrants' national identification from a local perspective, considering the reception context of municipalities.

Concerning the identity question, it would be interesting to further disentangle the general trend emerging from this study. Does the reception context affect the identity of female and male, refugees and highly skilled immigrants, children and adult non- citizens similarly, or are certain groups, for instance, particularly vulnerable groups, more "receptive" to the regional reception context? In a future study, it would also be revealing to connect this research more strongly to the complexity of the identity question. Although the focus of this study was on national identification with the country of destination, the additional robustness checks concerning homeland orientation revealed an interesting pattern. We observed contrasting individual profiles of people who identify with Switzerland (with typically close networks in Switzerland and high levels of satisfaction with the decision to move to Switzerland) and with their country of origin (with rather close social networks abroad and low levels of satisfaction with the decision to move to Switzerland). The cantonal reception context, in turn, did not yield a contrasting effect on homeland identification because it did not significantly alter the homeland identification either directly or over time. Further research is needed to understand whether inclusive cantonal reception contexts and integration policies are conducive to the development of dual-identities ("integration" according to Verkuyten and Martinovic [2012](#)). Although the findings of our study are only a starting point, they clearly highlight the symbolic and catalytic nature and potential for inclusive reception contexts to foster national attachment and eventually social cohesion in contemporary immigration societies.

Appendix

Table 2 Codebook (variables, descriptive statistics, operationalization and sources)

Variable	Descriptive statistics	Operationalization/coding
Age	Mean: 39.06	Age in years
	Min: 24	
	Max: 64	
	SD: 8.97	
Male	Mean: 0.53	1 = Male = 53.5%
	Min: 0	0 = Female = 46.6%
	Max: 1	
	SD: 0.5	
Education	Mean: 2.5	1 = Primary education = 9.5%
	Min: 1	2 = Secondary education = 31.4%
	Max: 3	3 = Tertiary education 59.1%
	SD: 0.66	
Residence permit	Min: 1	1 = Settlement permit (C permit) = 29.2%
	Max: 4	2 = Residence permit (B permit) = 63.7%
		3 = Diplomats, civil servants (DFAE permit), and their family members (Ci permit) = 1.8%
		4 = Short-term residence permit (L permit) = 5.3%
Duration of stay	Mean: 4.30	Time spent in Switzerland in years
	Min: 0	
	Max: 10	
	SD: 2.79	
Satisfaction with decision to move to Switzerland	Mean: 8.28	0 = Not at all satisfied
	Min: 0	10 = Completely satisfied
	Max: 10	
	SD: 2.09	
Friends	Mean: 3.53	Geographic location of social network
	Min: 1	1 = All in Switzerland
	Max: 5	2 = Most in Switzerland
	SD: 0.99	3 = Even in Switzerland and abroad
		4 = Most abroad
5 = All abroad		
Language proficiency	Mean: 2.64	1 = Fluent
	Min: 1	2 = Somewhat fluent
	Max: 5	3 = Not very well
	SD: 1.27	4 = Some vocabulary
		5 = None
Perceived discrimination	Mean: 0.35	1 = Perceived discrimination in the last 2 years
	Min: 0	0 = No perceived discrimination in the last 2 years
	Max: 1	
	SD: 0.48	
Urbanity	Mean: 75.62	Share of cantonal population living in urban area (in %)
	Min: 0	Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO)
	Max: 100	
	SD: 24.06	
GDP p.c.	Mean: 76812	Cantonal gross domestic product per capita (in CHF)
	Min: 53347	Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO)
	Max: 168891	
	SD: 27957	
Foreign-born share	Mean: 22.54	Share of foreign-born in cantonal population (in %)

	Min: 11.079	Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO)
	Max: 40.22	
	SD: 7.14	
Foreigners' unemployment rate	Mean: 6.29	Cantonal share of foreign-born unemployed (in %)
	Min: 3.2	Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO)
	Max: 11.9	
	SD: 2.13	
Majority language in canton	1 = German, 17 cantons	Language spoken by most cantonal inhabitants
	0 = other, 9 cantons	Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO)
	Mean: 0.73	
	SD: 0.45	
Yes share of "mass immigration" initiative	Mean: 52.56	Cantonal yes share for the national "mass immigration" vote in 2014 (in %)
	Min: 38.89	Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO)
	Max: 68.17	
	SD: 7.99	
Conservative right share	Mean: 33.82	Cantonal share of conservative right votes in the National Council elections in 2015 (in %)
	Min: 12.85	Source: Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO)
	Max: 82.82	
	SD: 13.64	
Integration Policy Index (IPI)	Mean: 0	Measure of inclusiveness and exclusiveness of cantonal integration policies
	Min: -0.54	Source: Manatschal (2011)
	Max: 0.76	
	SD: 0.35	
Citizenship Index (CI)	Mean: 0.57	Measure capturing ease or difficulty of accessing ordinary naturalization in a canton
	Min: 0.2	Source: Arrighi and Piccoli (2018)
	Max: 0.8	
	SD: 0.17	

Table 3 Multilevel regression analyses, alternative outcome: feeling of attachment to country of origin

	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	7.23*** (0.45)	7.23*** (0.45)
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Male (ref.cat: Female)	-0.20*** (0.05)	-0.20*** (0.05)
Education (ref. cat: Primary education)		
Secondary education	-0.40*** (0.08)	-0.40*** (0.08)
Tertiary education	-0.34*** (0.08)	-0.35 (0.08)
Residence permit (ref.cat: C)		
B permit	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.10 (0.07)
Ci permit	0.14 (0.28)	0.14 (0.28)
L permit	-0.01 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.12)
Duration of stay	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)

Satisfaction with decision to move to Switzerland	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.07*** (0.01)
Friends (ref. cat: All in Switzerland)		
Most in Switzerland	0.86*** (0.14)	0.86*** (0.14)
As many in Switzerland as abroad	1.30*** (0.13)	1.30*** (0.13)
Most abroad	1.59*** (0.13)	1.30*** (0.13)
All abroad	1.71*** (0.14)	1.59*** (0.13)
Language proficiency (ref. cat: Fluent)		
Somewhat fluent	-0.09 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.07)
Not very well	0.01 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)
Some vocabulary	0.18* (0.08)	0.18 (0.08)
None	0.34** (0.11)	0.34** (0.11)
Experienced discrimination	0.08 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)
Urbanity	0.07 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)
GDP p.c.	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)
Foreigners' unemployment	0.02 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)
German-speaking canton	-0.06 (0.14)	-0.06 (0.14)
Yes share of "mass immigration" vote	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Conservative right	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
IPI	0.05 (0.25)	0.13 (0.30)
Duration of stay x IPI		-0.02 (0.03)
Observations	5852	5852
N canton	24	24
R ²	0.054	0.054
$\frac{\Sigma \epsilon^2}{n}$	0.050	0.051

Note: Unstandardized beta coefficients (standard error in parentheses); *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01. Glarus and Appenzell Innerrhoden do not appear in the models because neither had any office runners from a conservative right party. Model 1 uses only random intercepts, whereas Model 2 uses random intercepts and slopes. Variables "GDP p.c.", "Foreigners' unemployment rate" and "Urbanity" were z-transformed prior to modelling. IPI = cantonal Integration Policy Index

Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016. Weighted results. The contextual variables "Urbanity", "GDP p.c.", "German-speaking canton", "Yes share of "mass immigration" vote", "Conservative right" have been made available by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) and "Foreigners' unemployment rate" by the SECO

Table 4 Multilevel regression analyses, alternative index: citizenship index

	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	2.86***	2.86***
	(0.30)	(0.30)
Age	0.02***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Male (ref.cat: Female)	0.04	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Education (ref.cat: Primary education)		
Secondary education	0.05	0.05
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Tertiary education	-0.12	-0.12
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Residence permit (ref.cat: C)		
B Permit	0.10	0.10
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Ci Permit	-0.29	-0.29
	(0.23)	(0.23)
L Permit	0.18	0.17
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Duration of stay	-0.00	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Satisfaction with decision to move to Switzerland	0.38***	0.38***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Friends (ref.cat: All in Switzerland)		
Most in Switzerland	-0.14	-0.13
	(0.11)	(0.11)
As many in Switzerland as abroad	-0.42***	-0.41***
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Most abroad	-0.88***	-0.88***
	(0.11)	(0.11)
All abroad	-1.16***	-1.15***
	(0.11)	(0.11)
Language proficiency (ref.cat: Fluent)		
Somewhat fluent	-0.21***	-0.21***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Not very well	-0.39***	-0.39***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Some vocabulary	-0.64***	-0.63***
	(0.07)	(0.07)
None	-0.96***	-0.96***
	(0.09)	(0.09)
Experienced discrimination	-0.24***	-0.24***
	(0.04)	(0.04)
	Model 1	Model 2
Urbanity	0.02	0.02
	(0.08)	(0.08)
GDP p.c.	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Foreigners' unemployment	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.05)	(0.05)
German-speaking canton	-0.24**	-0.24**
	(0.09)	(0.09)
Yes share of "mass immigration" vote	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Conservative right	-0.00	-0.00

	(0.01)	(0.01)
Citizenship index	-0.13**	-0.17**
	(0.05)	(0.06)
Duration of stay x citizenship index		0.01
		(0.01)
Observations	5855	5855
N canton	24	24
R ²	0.318	0.317
Δ ₀	0.316	0.316

Note: Unstandardized beta coefficients (standard error in parentheses); *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01. Glarus and Appenzell Innerrhoden do not appear in the models because neither had any office runners from a conservative right party. Model 1 uses only random intercepts, whereas Model 2 uses random intercepts and slopes. Variables “GDP p.c.”, “Foreigners’ unemployment rate”, “Urbanity” and “Citizenship Index” were z-transformed prior to modelling
Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016 (weighted results). The contextual variables “Urbanity”, “GDP p.c.”, “German-speaking canton”, “Yes share of “mass immigration” vote”, “Conservative right” have been made available by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) and “Foreigners’ unemployment rate” by the SECO

Table 5 Multilevel regression analyses, alternative interaction terms

	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	3.31***	3.31***
	(0.53)	(0.53)
Age	0.02***	0.02***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Male (ref.cat: Female)	0.04	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Education (ref.cat: Primary education)		
Secondary education	-0.04	0.05
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Tertiary education	-0.19*	-0.12
	(0.08)	(0.07)
Residence permit (ref.cat: All in Switzerland)		
B Permit	0.09	0.10
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Ci Permit	-0.29	-0.27
	(0.23)	(0.23)
L Permit	0.17	0.17
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Duration of stay	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Satisfaction with decision to move to Switzerland	0.38***	0.37***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Friends (ref.cat: All in Switzerland)		
Most in Switzerland	-0.13	-0.13
	(0.11)	(0.11)
As many in Switzerland as abroad	-0.41***	-0.42***
	(0.10)	(0.10)
Most abroad	-0.88***	-0.89***
	(0.11)	(0.11)
All abroad	-1.15***	-1.15***
	(0.11)	(0.11)
Language proficiency (ref.cat: Fluent)		
Somewhat fluent	-0.22***	-0.22***
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Not very well	-0.40***	-0.40***
	(0.06)	(0.06)

Some vocabulary	-0.65*** (0.07)	-0.65*** (0.07)
None	-0.97*** (0.09)	-0.97*** (0.09)
Experienced discrimination	-0.25*** (0.04)	-0.25*** (0.04)
Urbanity	0.06 (0.09)	0.06 (0.09)
GDP p.c.	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)
Foreigners' unemployment	-0.03 (0.08)	-0.03 (0.08)
German-speaking canton	-0.22 (0.16)	-0.22 (0.16)
IPI	-0.91** (0.16)	-1.07 (0.43)
Yes share of "mass immigration" vote	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Conservative right	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Secondary education x IPI	0.65** (0.25)	
Tertiary education x IPI	0.46 (0.25)	
Satisfaction with decision to move to Switzerland x IPI		0.07 (0.04)
Observations	5855	5855
N canton	24	24
R ²	0.318	0.318
$\frac{R^2}{20}$	0.316	0.316

Note: Unstandardized beta coefficients (standard error in parentheses); *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05;

***p < 0.01. Glarus and Appenzell Innerrhoden do not appear in the models because neither had any office runners from a conservative right party. Model 1 uses only random intercepts, whereas Model 2 uses random intercepts and slopes. Variables "GDP p.c.", "Foreigners' unemployment rate" and "Urbanity" were z-transformed prior to modelling. IPI = cantonal Integration Policy Index.

Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016 (weighted results). The contextual variables "Urbanity", "GDP p.c.", "German-speaking canton", "Yes share of "mass immigration" vote", "Conservative right" have been made available by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) and "Foreigners' unemployment rate" by the SECO.

Table 6 Multilevel regression analyses, control for individual employment

	Model 1	Model 2
Constant	3.06*** (0.60)	3.08*** (0.59)
Age	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Male (ref.cat: Female)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Education (ref.cat: Primary education)		
Secondary education	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.08)
Tertiary education	-0.22** (0.08)	-0.21*** (0.08)
Residence permit (ref.cat: C)		
B Permit	0.13* (0.06)	0.14* (0.06)
Ci Permit	-0.13	-0.14

	(0.27)	(0.27)
L Permit	0.23	0.21
	(0.12)	(0.12)
Employed	-0.03	-0.02
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Duration of stay	0.00	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Satisfaction with decision to move to Switzerland	0.41***	0.41***
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Friends (ref.cat: All in Switzerland)		
Most in Switzerland	-0.14	-0.14
	(0.13)	(0.13)
As many in Switzerland as abroad	-0.34**	-0.34**
	(0.12)	(0.12)
Most abroad	-0.67***	-0.67***
	(0.12)	(0.12)
All abroad	-0.98***	-0.98***
	(0.13)	(0.13)
Language proficiency (ref.cat: Fluent)		
Somewhat fluent	-0.22***	-0.21***
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Not very well	-0.45***	-0.43***
	(0.07)	(0.07)
Some vocabulary	-0.64***	-0.63***
	(0.08)	(0.08)
None	-1.10***	-1.09***
	(0.11)	(0.11)
Experienced discrimination	-0.24***	-0.24***
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Urbanity	0.15	0.15*
	(0.08)	(0.08)
GDP p.c.	-0.08	-0.09
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Foreigners' unemployment	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.08)	(0.08)
German-speaking canton	-0.22	-0.22
	(0.18)	(0.17)
Yes share of "mass immigration" vote	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Conservative right	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)
IPI	-0.88**	-1.34***
	(0.28)	(0.33)
Duration of stay x IPI		0.08**
		(0.03)
Observations	3894	3894
N canton	24	24
R ²	0.348	0.349
$\frac{1}{20}$	0.346	0.347

Note: Unstandardized beta coefficients (standard error in parentheses); *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01. Glarus and Appenzell Innerrhoden do not appear in the models because neither had any office runners from a conservative right party. Model 1 uses only random intercepts, whereas Model 2 uses random intercepts and slopes. Variables "GDP p.c.", "Foreigners' unemployment rate" and "Urbanity" were z-transformed prior to modelling. IPI = cantonal Integration Policy Index

Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016 (weighted results). The contextual variables "Urbanity", "GDP p.c.", "German-speaking canton", "Yes share of "mass immigration" vote", "Conservative right" have been made available by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (SFSO) and "Foreigners' unemployment rate" by the SECO

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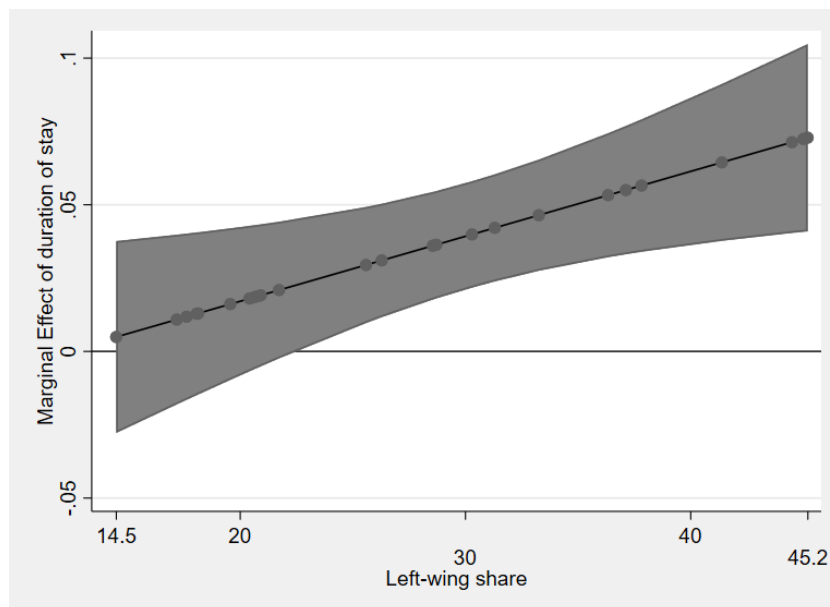
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7.1.1. Paper I – Additional analyses

Since inclusive natives' attitudes were not included in the models of paper I, these additional analyses are useful for fully understanding of the effects of all PRC components on immigrants' feelings of attachment to the host country. To build these supplementary models, I have replaced conservative-right share with left-wing share for the very same elections (2015 National Council Elections). Otherwise, these extra analyses are exactly the same as in Paper I in terms of data (MMS), variables and multilevel modelling.

The additional analyses show that inclusive natives' attitudes do not exert any direct influence on immigrants' feelings of attachment (Table 4, Model 1). Nevertheless, the over-time estimates of Paper I are confirmed by Model 2. The latter shows that inclusive natives' attitudes increase time's positive effects on immigrants' feelings of attachment to the host country. The estimates, although significant, are nevertheless rather small.

Figure 5: Marginal effect of duration of stay on feelings of attachment by left-wing share.



Notes: Marginal effect plot based on Model 2 in Table 4.
Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016

Table 4: Multilevel regression analyses on feelings of attachment to Switzerland

	Model 1	Model 2
	Baseline	Cross-level interaction terms
Age	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
Male (ref.cat: female)	-0.00 (0.04)	-0.00 (0.04)
Education (ref.cat: Primary education)		
Secondary education	0.10 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)
Tertiary education	-0.11 (0.07)	-0.11 (0.07)
Residence permits (ref. cat: C Permit)		
B Permit	0.20*** (0.05)	0.20*** (0.05)
DFAE permit/Ci Permit	-0.22 (0.15)	-0.21 (0.15)
L Permit	0.39*** (0.10)	0.38*** (0.10)
Duration of stay	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03 (0.03)
Satisfaction with decision to move to Switzerland	0.38*** (0.01)	0.38*** (0.01)
Friends (ref.cat: All in Switzerland)		
Most in Switzerland	-0.19 (0.12)	-0.18 (0.12)
As many in Switzerland as abroad	-0.50*** (0.11)	-0.50*** (0.11)
Most abroad	-0.95*** (0.11)	-0.94*** (0.11)
All abroad	-1.32*** (0.12)	-1.32*** (0.12)
Language proficiency (ref.cat: Fluent)		
Somewhat fluent	-0.04 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.05)
Not very well	0.14* (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
Some vocabulary	0.05 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)

None	-0.22 (0.14)	-0.22 (0.14)
Experienced discrimination	-0.19*** (0.04)	-0.20*** (0.04)
Urbanity	0.03 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)
GDP p.c.	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Foreigners' unemployment rate	0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
German-speaking canton	-0.28*** (0.07)	-0.27*** (0.07)
IPI	0.33 (0.18)	0.33 (0.18)
Left-wing share	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.02** (0.01)
Duration of stay x Left-wing share		0.00* (0.00)
Constant	3.36*** (0.25)	3.71*** (0.29)
Constant at level-2	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Variance at level-2	2.14*** (0.04)	2.14*** (0.04)
AIC	21105.53	21101.19
BIC	21279.06	21281.40
Log-likelihood	-10526.76	-10523.60
N	5851	5851

Note: Unstandardized beta coefficients (standard error in parentheses); *p < 0.1; **p < 0.05;

***p < 0.01. Glarus and Appenzell Innerrhoden do not appear in the models because neither had any office runners from a conservative-right party. Model 1 uses only random intercepts, whereas Models 2, 3 and 4 use random intercepts and slopes. Variables "GDP p.c.", "Foreigners' unemployment rate" and "Urbanity" were z-transformed prior to modelling. IPI = cantonal Integration Policy Index
Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016. Weighted results. The contextual variables "Urbanity", "GDP p.c.", "German-speaking canton", "Left-wing share" have been made available by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (FSO) and "Foreigners' unemployment rate" by the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO).

7.2. Paper II – Naturalization intentions

Bennour, S. (2020). Intention to become a citizen: Do subnational integration policies have an influence? Empirical evidence from Swiss cantons. *Regional Studies*, 54(11), 1535-1545

INTRODUCTION

Integration policies establish the ease or difficulty of accessing civic, political, socio-structural, and cultural/religious rights and obligations. However, little is known about how integration policies actually affect immigrants' integration. While integration 'models' or 'philosophies' at the national level have received much scholarly attention (Brubaker, 1992; Koopmans & Statham, 2000), studies have largely overlooked integration policies at the regional level – a rare exception is an analysis of immigrants' educational achievements across Swiss cantons (Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013). Moreover, given the growing importance of subnational policies in numerous countries, subnational political authorities are becoming increasingly important in immigrants' lives (Hepburn, 2011; Paquet, 2014). Since integration is shaped by the regional contexts in which it unfolds (Gundelach & Manatschal, 2017), the subnational policy level may be more pertinent than the national level for analysing integration policy outcomes. This paper avoids this 'rough simplification of subnational policy variety' (Manatschal, 2011, p. 337) by addressing integration policies at the subnational level.

Given its federalist structure and constitutional principle of subsidiarity, Switzerland provides a promising case with which to analyse subnational integration policies. While federal authorities set the general framework of integration policies and provide rules for language training or entry to the labour market, cantons implement these recommendations and can formulate specific integration laws in different areas of society. For instance, some cantons grant voting rights to non-citizens¹ at the local and cantonal levels or allow Islamic burials; others do not (Cattacin & Bülent, 2001). Therefore, cantons are the main political entities that manage immigrants' integration (Manatschal, 2011). This setting creates a strong heterogeneity of subnational integration policies (Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013).

Even if citizenship policies can be understood as a component of broader integration policies, this paper clearly distinguishes these two types of policy and isolates their effects on immigrants' naturalization intentions. Citizenship policies set naturalization requirements, such as the minimum time spent in the host country or application fees, and scholars show that liberal² citizenship policies positively affect naturalization (e.g., Peters, Vink, & Schmeets, 2016; Vink, Prokic-Breuer, & Dronkers, 2013). However, the literature on naturalization does not interrogate the effect of integration policies. Therefore, using a policy-centred approach, this paper focuses primarily on the effects of subnational integration policies on immigrants' naturalization intentions.

Looking at the effects of subnational integration policies on immigrants' naturalization intentions addresses two gaps in the integration policy literature. First, scholars have traditionally studied national frameworks of integration policies (e.g., Brubaker, 1992; Favell, 2001; Koopmans, Michalowski, & Waibel, 2012), failing to grasp policy discrepancies at the subnational level (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003). This methodological bias is particularly problematic in federal states such as Switzerland with important heterogeneity in subnational integration policies (Tränhardt, 2001) – studies that look at the national level cannot capture the different cantonal policies. The second gap relates to the attention devoted to understanding determinants of these policies such as the influence of far-right parties or immigration history (e.g., Favell, 2001; Koopmans et al., 2012). Less is known about the effects of integration policies in general. So far, the research on integration policies' effects is rather scarce and produces mixed results (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2011; Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011; Goodman & Wright, 2015). The findings regarding integration policies' influence on immigrants' integration are even more rare at the subnational level (but see Bennour & Manatschal, 2019; Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013).

This paper contributes to the literature by interrogating integration policies and their effects at the subnational level, and by taking a longer term perspective on the naturalization process, accounting for immigrants' willingness to obtain citizenship. At a more general level, this paper contributes directly to the topic of this special issue, which relates to how regional rights, entitlements and benefits can turn immigrants into (re-)active regional citizens (Manatschal, Wisthaler, & Zuber, [2019](#), in this issue). Last, by focusing on naturalization intentions, this paper also contributes more generally to the citizenship literature by shedding a light on the mechanisms at work before naturalization *behaviours*.

The research question of this paper, then, is whether and how subnational integration policies contribute to immigrants' naturalization intentions. The main hypothesis is that inclusive cantonal integration policies increase immigrants' naturalization intentions by providing the means to incorporate better into the host society.

The paper is structured as follows. After a review of the literature, more precise hypotheses are presented to answer the research question. The data and methodology are then discussed, before presenting the empirical results. The conclusion discusses the findings and identifies potential areas for further investigation.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Host-country factors

Naturalization is the access to citizenship and its associated rights and obligations, such as the state's protection or unrestricted access to national territory. Citizens also enjoy privileges such as voting rights, standing for elections and diplomatic protection (Vink et al., [2013](#)). Naturalization is a milestone in non-citizens' integration process; one considers it either the end-point of successful integration or an incentive to integrate (Ersanilli & Koopmans, [2011](#)).

From a policy-centred approach, attention has mostly been devoted to citizenship policies and their effects on immigrants' naturalization *behaviours* (Peters et al., [2016](#); Vink et al., [2013](#)). An important literature on the citizenship premium shows the beneficial effects of citizenship policies on immigrants' integration (e.g., Peters, Vink, & Schmeets, [2018](#)). Comparatively, the literature on integration policies' effects on immigrants is rather scarce (Ersanilli & Koopmans, [2011](#); Ersanilli & Saharso, [2011](#)) or inconclusive in terms of findings (Goodman & Wright, [2015](#)). In addition, the literature on naturalization has largely overlooked integration policies' role in naturalization processes. Therefore, this paper brings an innovative approach to explain how subnational integration policies can influence naturalization.

The author considers Switzerland to be a relevant country for the study of subnational integration policies because of its federalist structure and its principle of subsidiarity that makes cantons central to integration policies (Manatschal, [2011](#)). Cantonal authorities implement the federal framework at the subnational level and can formulate their own integration policies. This setting results in policy heterogeneity across the 26 cantons. For instance, non-citizens only have the right to vote in cantonal elections in two cantons, whereas it is not the case in the other 24. Anti-discrimination laws can be more or less present in a 'respective clause in cantonal laws or constitutions' (Manatschal, [2011](#), p. 342). Therefore, immigrants are placed under highly varied integration policies depending on the canton in which they settle. This creates inequality among immigrants regarding their chances of incorporating into Switzerland (Cattacin & Bülent, [2001](#)). Ultimately, this may influence immigrants' integration and, in turn, their naturalization intentions. It is hypothesized that the effects of subnational

integration policies can be uncovered through a longer term perspective on the naturalization process. To do so, the paper investigates naturalization intentions rather than the well-studied naturalization *behaviours*.

Immigrants face integration policies as soon as they settle in Switzerland, which may in turn influence their perceptions of possible naturalization in the future. It is expected that integration policies influence immigrants' naturalization intentions by both material and symbolic means (Bloemraad, 2013). First, integration policies are legal regulations that define material resources easing immigrants' incorporation into the host society. These material resources are also instrumental in helping immigrants access the labour market or meet citizenship requirements, for example, by learning the national language (Bloemraad, 2013, p. 204). More inclusive material resources create more means to incorporate immigrants into the host society. This makes immigrants more likely to meet naturalization requirements, which may increase naturalization intentions. Second, integration policies also create symbolic resources that are a 'message of concern' from authorities to non-citizens (p. 195) and send 'signals that immigrants have a legitimate membership ... with the national community' (p. 205). This has an impact on the extent to which immigrants feel at home in the host country and on their naturalization *behaviours* (Witte, 2014). However, as developed further below, this paper can only assess the relationship between integration policy and naturalization intention. However, deciphering the effects of these two theoretical expectations, that is, assessing whether it is mainly the material means or the symbolic resources entailed in inclusive policies that affect non-citizens' naturalization intentions, is not at the core of this paper because of data limitations regarding this specific issue.

At the Swiss subnational level, it seems that liberal integration policies can over time amplify feelings of attachment to Switzerland (Bennour & Manatschal, 2019). Also, the attachment to the host country has been shown to increase non-citizens' naturalization intentions (Witte, 2014). This paper builds on these two findings by analysing whether subnational integration policies also influence immigrants' naturalization intentions.

The paper develops the first two hypotheses relative to subnational integration policies. The first hypothesis stipulates that inclusive integration policies have a positive and direct influence on immigrants' willingness to naturalize:

Hypothesis H1a: More inclusive cantonal integration policies positively affect immigrants' naturalization intentions.

The second hypothesis brings a more subtle perspective. Based on Bennour and Manatschal (2019), it is assumed that inclusive subnational integration policies can catalyse the positive effect of time spent in Switzerland:

Hypothesis H2a: More inclusive integration policies amplify the positive effect of duration of stay on immigrants' naturalization intentions.

Based on an approach proposed by Stadlmair (2017), the paper further aims to gain more insight into how the different dimensions of integration policies affect immigrants' naturalization intentions. First,

the political participation rights dimension measures whether non-citizens can vote, run for office and/or be part of an immigrant commission. Since Jones-Correa (2001) shows that more inclusive voting rights lead to higher naturalization rates among immigrants in the United States, it is expected that immigrants benefiting from more political participation rights are more willing to naturalize in the Swiss case as well. Second, the dimension of socio-structural rights indicates cantons' degree of liberalness regarding immigrants' access to employment in 'the cantonal administration, the police service, the judiciary or teaching at public schools' (Manatschal, 2011, p. 342). A third dimension measures the degree of liberalness regarding family reunion requirements. It is assumed that the more inclusive they are, the more likely immigrants will feel at ease in the host country, increasing their naturalization intentions. Fourth, the religious rights dimension describes the canton's 'legal tendency towards recognition of minorities' religions' (Gundelach & Manatschal, 2017, p. 8). In practical terms, this dimension mostly relates to allowing for Muslim cemeteries in cantonal territories (Manatschal, 2011). However, since most immigrants captured in the data are from non-Muslim countries, the author does not expect this dimension to play a significant role. Last, cantonal anti-discrimination laws 'measure the mere presence or absence of a respective clause in cantonal laws or constitutions' (Manatschal, 2011, p. 342). As Witte (2014) points out, reducing discrimination could lead to higher naturalization intentions. Therefore, it is assumed that immigrants in cantons with concrete anti-discrimination laws will have a greater willingness to seek citizenship.

To complement the main focus on integration policies, this paper scrutinizes whether cantonal citizenship policies (CCPs) also influence naturalization intentions. Citizenship scholars show that more liberal citizenship policies increase the likelihood of naturalization *behaviours* (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Peters et al., 2016; Reichel & Perchinig, 2015; Vink et al., 2013). Cost-benefit models explain these findings in that non-citizens weigh the pros (e.g., access to the labour market or rights in the host country through naturalization) and cons (e.g., financial or administrative costs of naturalization). Conversely, there is a 'trade-off between the (potential) loss and gain of rights' (Reichel & Perchinig, 2015, p. 43) in deciding whether or not to naturalize. Therefore, although citizenship requirements have the effect of 'filtering out' possible candidates (Vink et al., 2013), this narrow focus on naturalization *behaviour* leaves the entire pre-naturalization process quite under-researched. This paper aims to address this gap.

The Swiss naturalization process is defined by a three-tier system involving the municipality, the canton and the federal level (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Helbling, 2008). Swiss naturalization laws currently require 10 years of residence (reduced from 12 years as of January 2018). This general framework is implemented across cantons, which can also define their own CCPs. For instance, some cantons require only two years of residence in their cantonal territory (of the 10 years of residence in Switzerland), while others set the requirement at six years (Arrighi & Piccoli, 2018). Other examples of cantonal variation include application fees or language skill assessments (Arrighi & Piccoli, 2018). The federal authorities set the general framework and minimum requirements for naturalization; these are then adopted and complemented by each canton's citizenship laws. Before reaching the cantonal and federal administrative levels, however, municipalities evaluate applicants' merits for becoming Swiss citizens. For instance, municipalities may set examinations on Switzerland's history, political system and society, as well as evaluating applicants' knowledge of the local language. Moreover, municipalities can decide how to assess the applications such as through citizens' assembly or via a vote by the elected city council. These decisional settings strongly influence naturalization rates (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013). Furthermore, municipalities have various understandings of citizenship; in other words, they have different ideas about what makes a Swiss citizen. This leads to varying degrees of liberalness regarding local citizenship processes (Helbling & Kriesi, 2004).

Therefore, municipalities' central role and polymorphic naturalization practices may render CCPs less relevant.

In spite of municipalities' important role in naturalization decisions, cantonal naturalization requirements vary still strongly. Therefore, it is expected that inclusive CCPs directly and positively influence naturalization intentions:

Hypothesis H1b: More inclusive CCPs increase immigrants' naturalization intentions.

The second hypothesis states that CCPs' effects on naturalization intentions only unfold over time:

Hypothesis H2b: More inclusive CCPs amplify the positive effect of duration of stay on immigrants' naturalization intentions.

The next two sections describe some additional factors that have been identified as influencing naturalization *behaviour*. They are expected to play a similar role in naturalization intentions and to shed a light on different patterns of influence that integration policies can exert.

Country-of-origin factors

The first factor relative to the country of origin is its level of economic development (Peters et al., 2016; Vink et al., 2013): coming from less-developed countries increases the likelihood of naturalization (Bevelander & Veenman, 2008; Peters et al., 2016; Vink et al., 2013). Second, because EU and European Free Trade Agreement (EFTA) nationals can settle and work in Switzerland more easily, they have fewer incentives to naturalize than third-country nationals (Peters et al., 2016). Last, if the country of origin allows for dual citizenship, immigrants will be more likely to naturalize in the host country (Bloemraad, 2004; Jones-Correa, 2001).

Individual factors

Prior studies on naturalization have shown the importance of individual drivers on naturalization *behaviours*. As stated previously, it is expected that these very same factors will play a similar role to explain naturalization intentions. The ability to speak the host country's language increases the likelihood of naturalization (Vink et al., 2013; Yang, 1994). Being married positively affects naturalization *behaviours* and, if the spouse is a host-country national, this statistical relationship is even stronger (Vink et al., 2013). A more subjective driver relates to the individual's feeling of attachment to the host country, which is positively related to naturalization intentions (Witte, 2014). Naturalization propensity is also positively associated with the individual's level of education (Yang, 1994) as is the time spent in the host country (Dronkers & Vink, 2012; Vink et al., 2013).

DATABASE, VARIABLES AND METHODOLOGY

This paper is mainly based on the Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS) (2016) carried out within the ‘nccr on the move’ project funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. The survey was conducted in 2016 with 5938 immigrants who are representative of the last wave of immigration; none was born in Switzerland. To adjust for non-response, the MMS is based on the weighting class adjustment methodology with random sampling. The online and computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATIs) had a response rate of 37.2%. At the time of the survey, most of the respondents could not yet legally seek naturalization because they had spent up to a maximum of 11 years in Switzerland (the legal requirement at the time being 12 years’ residence). This feature of the data helps to focus strictly on naturalization intentions. Another strong advantage is that the survey was conducted in six different languages (English, German, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese), which guarantees the inclusion of non-language-assimilated immigrants in the sample.

The dependent variable is extracted from the MMS’ recorded responses to the following question: ‘Do you intend to apply for Swiss nationality in the future?’ with five different response categories: 1 (‘no, certainly not’), 2 (‘no, probably not’), 3 (‘don’t know’), 4 (‘yes, probably’) and 5 (‘yes, certainly’). However, since it is impossible to know what reasons they may have had for providing response 3, the author has removed the ‘don’t know’ category from the outcome variable. Thus, a dummy variable has been created from the remaining four items (0 ‘no’, 1 ‘yes’). A four-point scale from 1 (‘no, certainly not’) to 4 (‘yes, certainly’) is used to conduct a robustness check. This process eliminated 1920 respondents who replied ‘don’t know’ and a further 56 observations were excluded because they had already applied for naturalization or did not answer. Therefore, the main models contain 3962 observations. [Figure 1](#) shows the relative and absolute distributions of the dependent variable before modification to a dummy variable. The largest group (33%) did not yet know whether they would apply for Swiss citizenship.

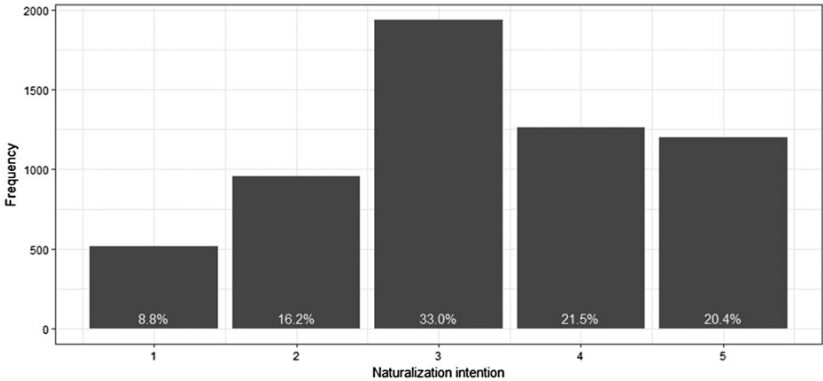


Figure 1. Absolute and relative distribution of the dependent variable (naturalization intentions). Note: Immigrants’ naturalization intentions on a five-point scale (1 ‘no, certainly not’, 2 ‘no, probably not’, 3 ‘don’t know’, 4 ‘yes, probably’ and 5 ‘yes, certainly’); mean 3.28, standard deviation (SD) 1.21, N 5782. Source: Migration - Mobility Survey 2016.

One-fifth of the individuals (20.4%) said they would certainly apply for citizenship in future, while only 8.8% of respondents said they would certainly not. Another one-fifth of the sample (21.5%) said they would probably apply for citizenship, while 16.2% of the respondents said they would probably

not. Overall, this figure indicates a relatively high rate of intentions to naturalize, even if a large share of respondents were rather undecided.

The main independent variable is the integration policy index (IPI) (Manatschal, 2011), which measures cantonal integration policies. These data were gathered between 2005 and 2008. However, the author does not expect these policies to have changed substantially between 2008 and 2016 because of their path dependency and stability over time (Manatschal, 2012; Sager & Thomann, 2017). The IPI ranks Swiss cantons' integration policies according to the ease or difficulty of accessing different rights and obligations across four integration-related domains: civic, political, socio-structural and cultural/religious. The IPI covers these four domains using 24 indicators (for a detailed discussion, see Manatschal, 2011). To avoid overlap with the citizenship index (CI) described further below, the components that relate to naturalization, namely 'Cultural requirement for naturalization' and 'Access to nationality', have been removed. After this modification, the continuous variable IPI runs from -0.68 (most restrictive policy pole) to 0.68 (most inclusive policy pole).

French-speaking cantons are rather influenced by France's more inclusive *jus soli* ('right of the soil') citizenship concept, while German-speaking cantons, as well as the Italian-speaking Ticino canton, reflect the more restrictive *jus sanguinis* ('right of blood') citizenship model of Germany and Italy (Manatschal, 2011).

The second main independent variable is the CI, drawn from the SWISSCIT index on citizenship law in Swiss cantons (Arrighi & Piccoli, 2018). The CI ranks cantons according to the restrictiveness or liberalness of their citizenship policies based on four dimensions: minimum residency period, language skills, good moral character and criminal records, and economic resources. This indicator varies from 0.2 (most restrictive citizenship policies) to 0.8 (most inclusive citizenship policies).

A comparison of Figures 2 and 3 shows a moderate correlation between IPI and CI of 0.65 ($p < 0.01$) using Pearson's method. According to the CI and IPI, inclusiveness is unevenly distributed across Swiss cantons, appearing mainly in the western French-speaking part and in the cantons with a higher degree of urbanization.

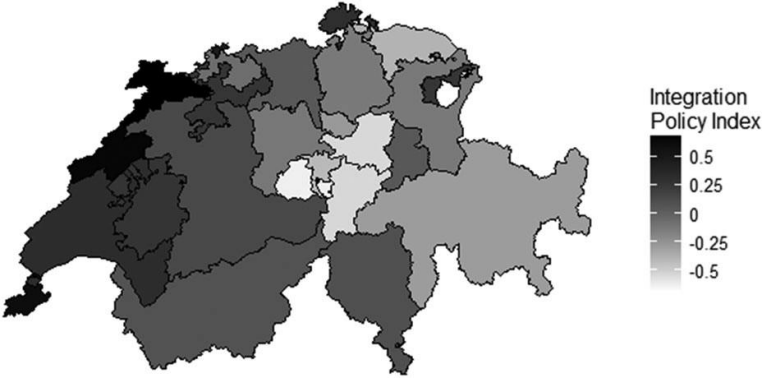


Figure 2. Cantonal integration policy.
Data source: Manatschal (2011); author's own illustration.

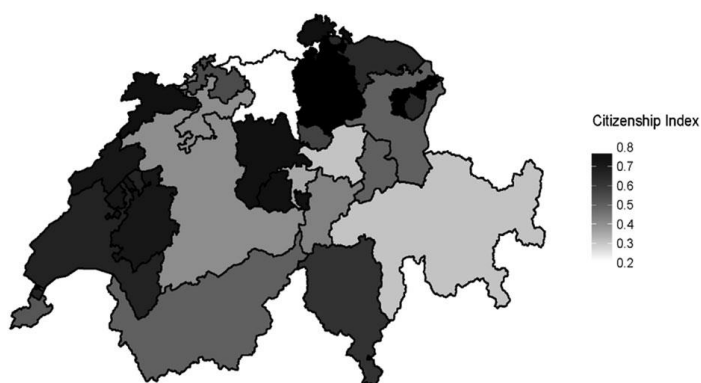


Figure 3. Cantonal citizenship policy (CCP).

Data source: Arrighi and Piccoli (2018); author's own illustration.

The data are nested at two different levels: level 1 refers to individual variables, while level 2 refers to cantonal aggregated variables. Different control variables at the individual level such as age, gender and time spent in Switzerland are included. Education has been recoded into three distinct levels (primary, secondary and tertiary). Another important dimension is the feeling of attachment to Switzerland (0 'no feeling of attachment' to 7 'strong feeling of attachment'). Being able to speak the local language is assessed on a five-point scale (from 1 'speak fluently' to 5 'nothing at all'). Finally, a dummy is included for the spouse's nationality (1 Swiss, 0 otherwise).

The models use a range of control variables at the cantonal level: First, they include cantonal immigrants' unemployment rates and the GDP per capita because of how labour market conditions influence naturalization (Myers, Calnan, Jacobsen, & Wheeler, 2011). Second, they control for levels of urbanization and the foreign-born share of the population. Last, they incorporate the share of leftist parties at the most recent national council elections in 2015 (Janoski, 2010). Other control variables relate to the characteristics of the country of origin. First, the MACI-MIDE index assesses whether countries allow dual citizenship (1 right to a second citizenship, 0 otherwise) (Vink, De Groot, & Luk, 2015). Second, a dummy variable captures whether or not the respondent comes from an EU/EFTA country (1 EU/EFTA nationals, 0 otherwise). Created by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2016), the last variable is the human development index (HDI) that measure countries' level of development (from 0 low development to 1 very high development). In the following subsample analyses, countries have been divided into two categories: a 'highly developed country' refers to a post-industrial country, akin to Switzerland, while a 'less-developed country' refers to a country less developed than Switzerland.

Given the data's hierarchical structure, a multilevel logistic regression with binary outcomes (random intercepts and fixed slope models for the baseline models) is applied. This modelling is useful if the number of observations per level-2 unit is low because it allows level-1 units to 'borrow strength' from level-2 unit variables (Steenbergen & Jones, 2002). To run these analyses, 'Stata' software and the 'melogit' command that applies a multilevel mixed-effects logistic regression with a binary outcome are used. For the robustness check, the 'meologit' command implements multilevel ordered logit models (McCullagh, 1980), which treats the dependent variable as categorical and ordered (Christensen, 2015).

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

[Table 1](#) comprises the baseline models using the entire sample of non-excluded responses (see [Table A1](#) for full models, [Table A2](#) for predicted probabilities and [Table A10](#) for the codebook of all variables in the supplemental data online). It shows that several statistically significant control variables for naturalization intentions (model 1) are in line with existing theories on naturalization *behaviours*. Having completed a secondary or tertiary education, living with a Swiss spouse and feeling attached to Switzerland are all positively associated with naturalization intentions. Predictably, decreasing language skill levels are negatively correlated with naturalization intentions. A respondent's age also matters, in that being older decreases the likelihood of planning to naturalize. Residence permits significantly affect naturalization intentions; compared with the reference category – C Permit (Settlement Permit) – all other types of residence permit display a negative correlation with intentions to naturalize. At the cantonal level, more urban cantons favour individual naturalization intentions. As expected, allowing dual citizenship yields a positive effect on naturalization intentions. Additionally, being a post-industrial country national strongly and significantly reduces naturalization intentions.

However, some variables need to be emphasized because their relationship with naturalization intentions run counter to their relationship to naturalization *behaviours*. For instance, being male seems to increase naturalization intentions, while it has previously been shown to decrease naturalization *behaviours* (Reichel & Perchinig, 2015; Vink et al., 2013). Another surprise is that the duration of stay seems to have no effect on naturalization intentions, while previous studies have demonstrated its positive influence on naturalization *behaviours* (Vink et al., 2013). Another surprising finding is that EU/EFTA origins do not significantly influence naturalization intentions (Peters et al., 2016). Further research is needed to understand why these factors affect naturalization intentions differently from naturalization *behaviours*. IPI and CI have been separated into distinct models to align with the theoretical reflections. A multicollinearity test conducted with both CI and IPI in the same model was inconclusive, with a variance inflation factor of 5.63 for the IPI and 1.61 for the CI; this clearly shows the absence of multicollinearity between these two variables. Model 1 ([Table 1](#)) shows that the IPI is positively correlated with the outcome without being statistically significant. This non-finding is confirmed by the robustness check conducted with the four-point scale ordinal outcome (see [Table A2](#), model 1, in [Appendix A](#) in the supplemental data online).

[Table 1](#). Multilevel regression analyses on naturalization intentions – entire sample.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Integration Policy Index	0.22 (0.41)	-0.27 (0.46)	-0.53 (1.13)			
Integration Policy Index × EU/EFTA		0.72* (0.31)				
Integration Policy Index × HDI			0.88 (1.24)			
Citizenship Index				0.036 (0.070)	-0.055 (0.094)	-0.33 (0.34)
Citizenship Index × EU/EFTA					0.13 (0.091)	
Citizenship Index × HDI						0.44 (0.39)
Control variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Constant	-2.03**	-1.92**	-1.92**	-2.11***	-2.07**	-2.01**
	(0.64)	(0.64)	(0.66)	(0.63)	(0.63)	(0.64)
Variance at level 2	0.029	0.029	0.029	0.031	0.031	0.030
	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.024)
Akaike information criterion (AIC)	3778.0	3774.5	3779.5	3778.0	3777.9	3778.8
Bayesian information criterion (BIC)	3935.1	3937.9	3942.9	3935.1	3941.3	3942.2
Log-likelihood	-1864.0	-1861.2	-1863.8	-1864.0	-1863.0	-1863.4
<i>N</i>	3962	3962	3962	3962	3962	3962

Note: Unstandardized beta-coefficients (standard errors are shown in parentheses); * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. All models use random intercepts.
Source: Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS) 2016.

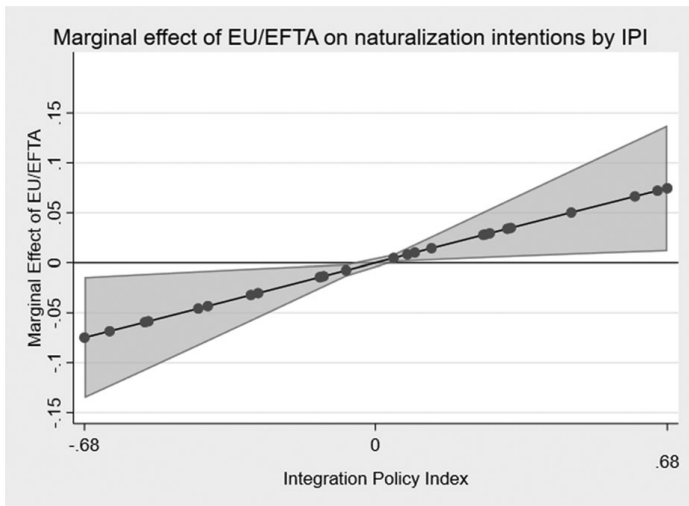


Figure 4. Marginal effect plot.

Note: The plot is based on model 2 in [Table 1](#). Source: Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS) 2016.

Before tackling the hypotheses, the paper checks for this same correlation on subsamples by including a cross-level interaction term between subnational integration policies and country-of-origin factors. This helps to grasp if the IPI can be directly associated with some specific immigrants' subgroups. The interaction between the country of origin's level of development and the IPI is statistically insignificant ([Table 1](#), model 3). On the other hand, the interaction term between the IPI and the EU/EFTA dummy variable leads to a positive and statistically significant estimate ([Table 1](#), model 2). Compared with the reference category of third-country nationals, being an EU/EFTA national is associated with greater sensitivity to inclusive integration policies. Berry, Golder, and Milton (2012) show the importance of visually analysing how both independent variables – EU/EFTA dummy and cantonal integration policies – interact to influence the outcome ([Figure 4](#)). Coming from an EU/EFTA country does not have any significant direct effect on naturalization intentions, as previously shown (see [Table A1](#), model 1, in Appendix A in the supplemental data online). According to the marginal effects plot ([Figure 4](#)), it appears that the marginal effect of being an EU/EFTA citizen becomes positive and significant in cantons with inclusive integration policies. On the other hand, cantons with more exclusive integration policies render the EU/EFTA factor negatively correlated with the outcome. However, it is important to note that this finding is not confirmed by the robustness check with the four-point scale outcome (see [Table A3](#), model 2, in Appendix A in the supplemental data online). Given these findings, it seems reasonable to claim that subnational integration policies are not associated with all immigrants' naturalization intentions, but rather some specific subsamples of

immigrants – EU/ EFTA nationals in this case. Simultaneously, the first hypothesis (H1a) that inclusive subnational integration policies are positively correlated with immigrants' naturalization intentions can only be partially confirmed. Further investigations are needed to understand properly why some country-of-origin factors are more likely than others to sensitize immigrants to subnational integration policies.

The effect of CCPs is clearer. The CI does not influence immigrants' naturalization intentions directly, nor when interacted with country-of-origin factors (Table 1, models 4–6). This is also confirmed by

Table 2. Multilevel regression analyses on naturalization intentions – entire sample and specific subgroups.

	Model 1 Entire sample	Model 2 EU/EFTA nationals	Model 3 Non-EU/EFTA nationals	Model 4 High development	Model 5 Low development
Duration of stay	0.026 (0.020)	-0.023 (0.027)	0.14*** (0.036)	0.0050 (0.024)	0.12** (0.044)
Integration Policy Index	-0.43 (0.49)	0.018 (0.70)	-0.69 (0.73)	-0.13 (0.56)	-1.52 (0.89)
Integration Policy Index × Duration of Stay	0.12* (0.052)	0.13 (0.068)	0.14 (0.089)	0.11 (0.059)	0.23* (0.12)
Control variables	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Constant	-1.96** (0.64)	-15.8*** (2.36)	-1.08 (1.03)	-10.1*** (2.11)	-1.97 (1.36)
Variance at level 2	0.029 (0.025)	0.10 (0.055)	2.9e-35 (1.1e-18)	0.035 (0.030)	5.5e-32 (9.9e-17)
Akaike information criterion (AIC)	3774.4	2462.6	1202.9	2956.4	795.8
Bayesian information criterion (BIC)	3937.8	2607.6	1330.7	3111.9	914.4
Log-likelihood	-1861.2	-1206.3	-577.4	-1452.2	-373.9
<i>N</i>	3962	2444	1518	2927	1035

Note: Unstandardized beta-coefficients (standard errors are shown in parentheses); * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$. All models use random intercepts. Source: Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS) 2016.

the robustness checks (see Table A3, models 4–6, in Appendix A in the supplemental data online). Therefore, the first hypothesis (H1b) can be rejected because it stipulates a direct and positive effect of CCP on immigrants' naturalization intentions.

The models in Table 2 (for the full models, see Table A4 in Appendix A in the supplemental data online) test whether cantonal integration policies affect naturalization intentions after a certain period of time. Exposure to the policy context is modelled by including a cross-level interaction term between cantonal policies and non-citizens' duration of stay. In addition to the entire sample (model 1), different subsamples are used to capture the cross-level interactions' effects on various country-of-origin characteristics (models 2–5). This interaction term is positively correlated in all models, but only the entire sample (model 1) and the subsample of nationals from less-developed countries (model 5) report statistically significant estimates. The significant correlation in model 1 may be driven by the subsample of less-developed countries' nationals. This finding is largely supported by the robustness check (see Table A6 in Appendix A in the supplemental data online).

[Figure 5](#) displays the marginal effect that duration of stay has on the overall effect of cantonal integration policies on naturalization intentions for the entire sample, based on model 1 in [Table 2](#). It appears that the marginal effect of duration of stay is insignificant for less inclusive cantonal integration policies. However, the integration policies of the 10 most inclusive cantons do act as a catalyst and render the effects of time on immigrants' naturalization willingness statistically significant. Of the respondents, 47.69% lived in these more liberal cantons, which indicates a certain tendency about subnational integration policies' influence over time. This confirms the second hypothesis (H2a), which stipulates that inclusive integration policies act as a catalyst on the effect of time to predict naturalization intentions.

When applied to CCPs, none of these multiplicative terms is statistically significant (see Table A5 in Appendix A in the supplemental data online), a finding confirmed by the robustness checks (see Table A7 online). Consequently, immigrants may not be influenced by CCPs even if they live in the Swiss territory for a longer period. This finding rejects the second hypothesis related to citizenship policies (H2b), which stipulates a catalytic effect of CCPs on time spent in Switzerland to predict naturalization intentions.

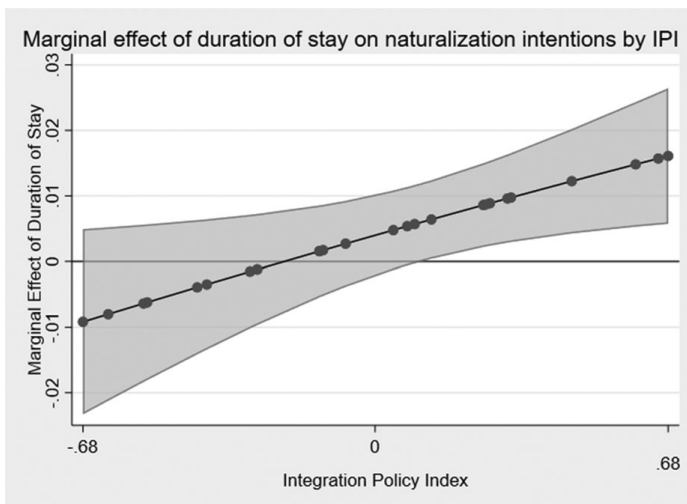


Figure 5. Marginal effect plot.

Note: The plot is based on model 1 in [Table 2](#). Source: Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS) 2016.

To summarize, subnational integration policies are directly and positively associated with naturalization intentions for EU/EFTA nationals, and for the entire sample and for nationals of less-developed countries after a certain period of exposure. This also confirms that integration policies influence immigrants differently depending on their country-of-origin characteristics. Simultaneously, CCPs do not seem to affect immigrants' naturalization intentions. Two different, and perhaps complementary, explanations present themselves for consideration. First, as previously stated, citizenship policies rely more on municipal than cantonal laws. Conversely, cantons are the main actors in deciding upon integration policies. This paper's focus on the cantonal level may explain this discrepancy between the effects of these two policies. Second, the timing of these two policies' effects may differ quite importantly. Non-citizens may not be fully aware of citizenship policies before embarking on the naturalization process, while integration policies are more directly known upon an immigrants' arrival in Switzerland. When subnational integration policies are inclusive, they may enhance immigrants' willingness and ability to acquire citizenship in the future.

To conclude this empirical section, the IPI has been disaggregated in Table A8 in Appendix A in the supplemental data online to capture the effects of single dimensions of integration policies on the entire sample. Political and civic rights, religious rights and family reunification are positively correlated with the outcome. However, none of these factors displays a statistically significant estimate (see Table A8, models 1, 3 and 4, online). Anti-discrimination laws and socio-structural rights show a negative correlation, but only the latter is statistically significant (see Table A8, models 2 and 5, online). This estimate is surprising given that opening administrative positions for immigrants would send a rather welcoming message to non-citizens. Therefore, this finding needs further investigation. Table A9 in Appendix A in the supplemental data online shows more specifically the inter- action terms between time spent in Switzerland and dimensions of integration policy for the entire sample. The findings are different from those displayed in [Table 2](#): two estimates are statistically significant, which indicates that their effects unfold after a certain period of time. Political and civic rights (model 1) and religious rights (model 3) seem to increase immigrants' naturalization intentions significantly over time; this may be explained by the fact that immigrants only become aware of their political and civic rights on an occasion such as an election. Given its relevance to the Muslim community, religious rights might be a proxy for a wider openness to immigrants in general. However, time's role in developing these effects also needs further investigation. These findings open a new path to understand better how these different dimensions of subnational integration policies can influence naturalization processes.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has led to three main findings. First, subnational integration policies matter in the naturalization process – this has so far been largely overlooked by scholars. Inclusive cantonal integration policies are positively associated with naturalization intentions for EU/EFTA nationals and, indirectly, these policies act as moderators and amplify time's positive effect on the outcome for less-developed countries' nationals.

Second, this paper confirms recent studies (Filindra & Manatschal, [2019](#)) by highlighting the different patterns of influence of integration policies on immigrants across immigrant subgroups. This may be explained by the fact that inclusive integration policies are more beneficial for some immigrant subgroups than others. For instance, inclusive integration policies influence a cost-benefit calculus differently depending on the country-of-origin characteristics. Also, supporting better incorporation into the host society renders naturalization requirements more accessible for some immigrant groups, such as nationals of less-developed countries. In addition, through symbolic resources, integration policies can influence the extent to which immigrants feel part of the host society. Further research is needed to decipher precisely the effects of material and symbolic resources on immigrants' naturalization intentions. The different dimensions of integration policies may also explain immigrant subgroups' reactions to the policy context. A first possible interpretation is that some dimensions of integration policies prevail at various moments after arrival in Swiss territory. For instance, it appears in the analyses that religious as well as political and civic rights need time for their effects to unfold. These two dimensions may matter more for individuals from less-developed countries. This hypothesis needs to be tested in future research. Dimensions may also influence immigrants differently according to their home-country characteristics, among other factors. This difference in timing of subnational integration policies' influence could also be due to cultural/linguistic distance to the country of destination. On the one hand, this distance may be quite important for less-developed countries' nationals. This could explain that this immigrant category may need more time to become familiar with the Swiss policy context before the later can influence this subgroup. On the other hand,

EU/EFTA citizens come from countries that are culturally and linguistically close to Switzerland. Therefore, these immigrants may be more sensitive to the policy context directly upon their arrival. This may well explain the direct effect of subnational integration policies on this specific subgroup. It seems important to note that three-quarters of all non-citizen respondents are affected by subnational integration policies, either directly or indirectly over time. This means that even if individual factors can partially predict naturalization intentions, it would be hazardous not to consider the influence of the policy context. Future research should further scrutinize the roots of such a delay among immigrant groups regarding their response to integration policies.

Third, as stated right above, specific dimensions of different subnational integration policies also matter. Some dimensions directly affect the outcome while others need time for their effect to unfold. The direct effect of socio-structural rights seems reasonable because contact with the administration is one of the very first encounters of non-citizens when they arrive in the host society. However, its negative effect is quite puzzling and needs further research to be explained, with a street-level bureaucrat approach for instance. Immigrants may only learn later about other dimensions – such as civic and political rights – for instance when an election takes place. Overall, the findings of this paper echo the assertion that inclusive policy climates are important for people to ‘feel welcome at arrival’ (Van Hook, Brown, & Bean, 2006). However, this statement seems too simplistic because some immigrant groups need some time after their arrival to respond to policy effects.

This study should be replicated to confirm and further investigate these findings. This could be achieved by using different data sources and looking at different federal contexts such as Belgium or the United States, and at decentralized unions such as Italy. Another possibility for further research is more precise analysis of these subgroups and, as stated above, their relationships to different dimensions of integration policy.

Several limitations of this paper should be addressed by further studies. First, the policy effects discussed here are based on correlations and theoretical expectations. Quasi-experimental research designs could test the causality behind the relationships uncovered here. Second, the data used in this paper only comprise the most recent wave of immigrants to Switzerland. It would be relevant to observe how integration policies influence immigrants over a longer period. Third, this paper could not account for the municipal level of citizenship policies, which may be material in explaining individual naturalization intentions. Last, forthcoming studies should disentangle the effects of material and symbolic resources on naturalization intentions.

The findings also demonstrate that citizenship policies are not the only ones that can explain immigrants’ naturalization *processes*. Indeed, when addressed at the appropriate policy level, integration policies play a significant role in the ‘naturalization story’. Second, the latter must take a broader view than simply focusing on citizenship acquisition. Naturalization must also be scrutinized from a more emotional perspective. Further research could lead to a better understanding of the micro-mechanisms at play along the naturalization process. From a policy-centred approach, a possible twofold mechanism leading to citizenship must be tested. First, liberal integration policies may be important in producing inclusive political and societal contexts. Second, non-citizens face naturalization requirements that can discourage them from applying. In addition, the acquisition of citizenship occurs after the policy requirements ‘filter out’ applicants, thereby selecting a reduced number of candidates to officially join the polity. Longitudinal studies could shed light on this interplay of influences on the naturalization process. This would also support a clear conceptual differentiation between naturalization intentions and citizenship acquisition.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

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NOTES

1. Throughout, the terms ‘immigrants’ and ‘non-citizens’ are used interchangeably because the survey data only contain individuals who have immigrated to Switzerland and do not hold Swiss citizenship.
2. Throughout, the terms ‘liberal’ and ‘inclusive’ are used interchangeably where integration and citizenship policies are concerned.

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7.2.1. Paper II – Additional analyses

These additional analyses focus first on the over-time effects of inclusive natives' attitudes (left-wing vote share of the 2015 National Council Elections) in Model 1 of Table 5, considering the entire sample. In Models 2 and 3, I also replace left-wing share with conservative-right share for the same 2015 National Council Elections to capture both direct and over-time effects.

Based on these models, it appears that exclusive natives' attitudes do not exert any influence on immigrants' naturalization intentions, either directly or as a potential amplifier of time's positive effects. On the contrary, inclusive natives' attitudes do increase time's positive influence on immigrants' naturalization intentions (Table 5, Model 3).

Table 5: Multilevel regression analyses on naturalization intentions

	Model 1 Conservative- Right	Model 2 Conservative- Right	Model 3 Left-wing share
	Baseline	Cross-level interaction terms	Cross-level interaction terms
Age	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
Gender (ref. cat.: Female)	0.24** (0.08)	0.24** (0.08)	0.23** (0.08)
Residence permits (ref. cat: C Permit)			
<i>B Permit</i>	-0.45*** (0.12)	-0.45*** (0.12)	-0.45*** (0.12)
<i>DFAE permit/Ci Permit</i>	-2.13*** (0.34)	-2.13*** (0.34)	-2.14*** (0.34)
<i>L Permit</i>	-1.02*** (0.22)	-1.02*** (0.22)	-1.04*** (0.22)
Education (ref.cat: Primary education)			
<i>Secondary education</i>	0.41** (0.16)	0.41** (0.16)	0.42** (0.16)
<i>Tertiary education</i>	0.36* (0.16)	0.37* (0.16)	0.37* (0.16)
Duration of stay	0.04 (0.02)	0.12 (0.07)	-0.12* (0.06)
Language proficiency (ref.cat: Fluent)			
<i>Somewhat fluent</i>	-0.20 (0.13)	-0.19 (0.13)	-0.19 (0.13)
<i>Not very well</i>	-0.37** (0.13)	-0.37** (0.13)	-0.36** (0.13)

<i>Some vocabulary</i>	-0.53*** (0.14)	-0.53*** (0.14)	-0.49*** (0.14)
<i>None</i>	-0.76*** (0.18)	-0.76*** (0.18)	-0.72*** (0.18)
Feeling of attachment to Switzerland	0.63*** (0.03)	0.63*** (0.03)	0.63*** (0.03)
Swiss spouse	1.14*** (0.12)	1.15*** (0.12)	1.13*** (0.12)
<u>Home-country variables</u>			
Allowance of dual citizenship	0.63*** (0.10)	0.63*** (0.10)	0.63*** (0.09)
EU/EFTA national	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.16 (0.12)	-0.17 (0.12)
Human Development Index	-3.41*** (0.52)	-3.40*** (0.52)	-3.42*** (0.52)
<u>Cantonal variables</u>			
Urbanity	0.22 (0.17)	0.23 (0.17)	0.35* (0.14)
GDP p.c.	0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)	0.06 (0.07)
Foreigners' unemployment rate	0.02 (0.11)	0.02 (0.11)	0.01 (0.09)
Integration Policy Index	-0.00 (0.34)	-0.01 (0.34)	0.61 (0.39)
Foreign born share	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.01)
Conservative-right share	0.00 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)	
Duration of stay x Conservative-right share		-0.00 (0.00)	
Left-wing share			-0.06*** (0.02)
Duration of stay x Left-wing share			0.01** (0.00)
Constant	-2.14** (0.79)	-2.54** (0.86)	-0.32 (0.77)
Variance at level 2	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)
AIC	3770.38	3770.92	3770.52
BIC	3927.44	3934.26	3933.92
Log-Likelihood	-1860.19	-1859.46	-1859.26
N	3954	3954	3962

Note: Unstandardized beta coefficients (standard error in parentheses); *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. All models use only random intercepts.

Variables "Citizenship Index", "GDP p.c.", "Foreigners' unemployment rate", "Conservative-right share", "Left share" and "Urbanity" were z-transformed prior to modelling.

Source: Migration-Mobility Survey 2016. The contextual variables “Urbanity”, “GDP p.c.”, “Conservative-right share”, and “Left share” have been made available by the Swiss Federal Statistical Office (FSO) and “Foreigners’ unemployment rate” by the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO).

For the sake of completeness, I have also run additional analyses on the subsamples that are present in Paper II. To do so, I replace integration policies with natives’ attitudes, both inclusive and exclusive, in interaction with origin countries’ characteristics (EU/EFTA and the level of development). For both attitudinal poles, no interactions significantly influence the outcome (findings not reported).

7.3. Paper III – Naturalization intentions from the acculturation strategy perspective

Politi, E., Bennour, S., Lüders, A., Manatschal, A., & Green, E. G. (2021). Where and Why Immigrants Intend to Naturalize: The Interplay Between Acculturation Strategies and Integration Policies. *Political Psychology*.

As a rite of passage from immigrant outsiders to national insiders, citizenship acquisition represents an integration milestone for immigrants and grants them access to the rights and duties limited to national citizens (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2011; OECD, 2011). As compared to immigrants without host-national citizenship, naturalized citizens tend to enjoy higher socioeconomic status in society, engage more in politics, and build stronger ties with host nationals (Bevelander, 2011; Bratsberg, Ragan, & Nasir, 2002; Hainmueller, Hangartner, & Pietrantuono, 2017; but see Donnalaja, 2020). More than any other acculturative component, citizenship acquisition is a pivotal accelerator of immigrants' long-term sociostructural incorporation (Hainmueller et al., 2017), political agency and claim making (Bloemraad, 2018), and transnational mobility and family reunification (de Hoon, Vink, & Schmeets, 2020). Citizenship acquisition holds therefore a large array of benefits for immigrants. Yet, a considerable share of immigrants voluntarily renounce naturalization, making policy interventions particularly crucial for reducing barriers and boosting naturalization intentions among immigrant populations (for a similar point, see Hainmueller et al., 2018). Indeed, citizenship acquisition is closely linked to the reception context and integration policies, as naturalization intentions vary as a function of specific setting conditions and openness of receiving societies (Fox & Bloemraad, 2015; see also Bornstein, 2017 for a broader discussion on the specificity principle in acculturation science).

The present research is the first attempt to articulate individual and contextual determinants to explain naturalization intentions. By adopting a multilevel approach that simultaneously considers predictors at individual and contextual levels, our goal is twofold: First, we investigate how acculturation strategies relate to naturalization intentions and underlying motives. Second, we investigate how integration policies moderate the effects of acculturation strategies on naturalization intentions. In order to do that, we employ a large survey among first-generation immigrants in Switzerland, a country that is widely known for its federal system, and therefore well suited to assess subnational integration policies (Helbling, 2010; Manatschal, 2011). At a crossroads between political sciences and social psychology, our study contributes to bridge-acculturation literature and the growing political psychological literature on citizenship acquisition (Bloemraad, 2018; Condor, 2011; Hainmueller et al., 2017; Verkuyten, 2018) and highlights the importance of inclusive integration policies to reduce barriers to naturalization.

IMMIGRANTS' ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES

In continuous first-hand contact with a new social context, immigrants gradually change the way they appraise and make sense of their experiences. This process of sociocultural adaptation to the receiving country encompasses a large array of domains, such as cultural practices, lifestyles, ideological beliefs, family values, social identifications, social networks, and civic engagement (e.g., Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). John Berry's influential typological approach to acculturation distinguishes two orthogonal dimensions of sociocultural adaptation (Berry, 1997): (1) immigrants' willingness to maintain connections with their community and culture of origin, referred to as *heritage culture maintenance* in a broad sense; and (2) immigrants' willingness to enter in contact with the host-national community and culture, namely *host-culture adoption*. The combination of these dimensions results in four different acculturation strategies: *integration*, when willingness for both heritage-culture maintenance and host-culture adoption are high; *assimilation*, when host-culture adoption is high, but heritage-culture maintenance is low; *separation*, when host-culture adoption is low, but heritage-culture maintenance is high; and *marginalization* when both host-culture adoption and heritage-culture maintenance are low. Whereas integration, assimilation, and separation strategies are to a certain extent the result of immigrants' own choices and orientations, immigrants seldom choose to marginalize themselves but

they are rather marginalized by others (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2018; Wesselmann & Williams, 2017).⁵

Acculturation Strategies Predict Naturalization Intentions

Acculturation has mostly been framed as a matter of cognitions and affects related to sociocultural adaptation (Brown & Zagefka, 2011; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013), rather than as a matter of behavioral participation in structures and institutions of the receiving society (De Vroome & Verkuyten, 2014; Geurts, Lubbers, & Spierings, 2020). Relatedly, acculturation strategies have never been studied in direct connection with citizenship acquisition, namely the formal procedure granting immigrants full structural incorporation in the receiving society (Bloemraad, 2006; Hochschild & Mollenkopf, 2009). The small amount of existing studies examined the relation between acculturation strategies and naturalization intentions only indirectly and referred to citizenship acquisition as an assimilationist practice of self-selection into the national identity (Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; but see Politi, Chipeaux, Lorenzi-Cioldi, & Staerklé, 2020 for a more nuanced account of citizenship acquisition). Indeed, many naturalized citizens tend to distance themselves from their previous markers of cultural identity and from other immigrants in order to demonstrate their loyalty towards the host-national community (Diercks, Politi, Valckle, Van Assche, & Van Hiel, 2020; Just & Anderson, 2015; Sarrasin, Green, Bolzman, Visintin, & Politi, 2018; Strijbis & Polavieja, 2018). This motivational explanation echoes findings from a variety of intergroup contexts showing that individuals undergoing a process of upward mobility (e.g., citizenship acquisition), increase their identification with the high-status acquired group, and derogate the inherited low-status group (Derks, Ellemers, Van Laar, & De Groot, 2011; Kulich, Lorenzi-Cioldi, & Iacoviello, 2015; van Veelen, Veldman, Van Laar, & Derks, 2020).

As a rule of thumb, it seems plausible to assume that integrated and assimilated immigrants—those who are most strongly oriented towards the receiving society—signal their national allegiance by intending to naturalize (Maehler, Weinmann, & Hanke, 2019; Pogonyi, 2019; but see also Hochman, 2011). Naturalization intentions should be even stronger in the event of assimilated immigrants, those who have already distanced themselves from their ethnic and national community (Chipeaux, Kulich, Iacoviello, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 2017; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016). We therefore expect that:

H1a: Immigrants embracing assimilation strategies should intend to naturalize more than immigrants embracing integration strategies.

H1b: Immigrants embracing integration strategies should intend to naturalize more than immigrants embracing separation strategies.

Acculturation Strategies Predict Naturalization Motives

Citizenship acquisition is not merely the sign of abiding bonds with the host culture, but rather the result of a complex set of personal goals and contextual considerations (Fox & Bloemraad, 2015; Robertson, 2008). Most likely, these specificities explain why separated immigrants might be motivated to acquire host-country citizenship even if weakly attached to the receiving society. On the one hand,

⁵ As compared to the other acculturation strategies, marginalization results from qualitatively different psychological processes and is largely due to external factors (Bourhis et al., 1997; Verkuyten, 2004). For these reasons, in the current study, we excluded marginalization from our hypotheses.

naturalization fulfills symbolic needs as a marker of social identity, thus fulfilling motivations to belong to the host-national community, as well as immigrants' willingness to perform their national identity through social and political participation (Carrillo, 2015; Hainmueller et al., 2017; Van Hook, Brown, & Bean, 2006). On the other hand, naturalization fulfills instrumental needs (Bauböck, 2018; Harpaz, 2015; Joppke, 2019), such as the motivation to reduce vulnerability and discrimination and to increase international mobility and labor-market opportunities, in particular among separated immigrants who may have otherwise weak symbolic bonds with the receiving society.

In light of these premises, different acculturation strategies should be related to different motives underlying naturalization intentions.

H2a: Because immigrants embracing integration and assimilation strategies are strongly oriented towards the receiving society, we expect them to endorse belongingness and political participation motives (symbolic motives) more than immigrants embracing separation strategies.

H2b: Because immigrants embracing separation strategies are weakly oriented towards the receiving society, conversely, we expect them to endorse instrumental motives more than immigrants embracing integration and assimilation strategies.

RECEIVING SOCIETY-INTEGRATION POLICIES

Integration policies consist of regulations and measures taken by state agencies that formalize rights and obligations of immigrants towards the receiving society (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Favell, 2003). By paving the way for immigrants' social, economic, and political incorporation in the receiving society, integration policies are closely tied up with the definition of citizenship itself (Brubaker, 1992; Kymlicka, 2001; Marshall, 1950). Integration policies promote equality of opportunities and regulate immigrants' access to individual rights and material resources (e.g., labor market, family reunion, nationality, social benefits). In addition, integration policies focus on social recognition, as is the case with policies regulating immigrants' access to group rights and symbolic resources (e.g., religious freedom, cultural diversity, communitarianism, political representation). Overall, there is converging evidence that inclusive integration policies improve immigrants' adjustment: Lower wage gaps, reduced discrimination, more belongingness, higher levels of trust, and greater life satisfactions were indeed observed among immigrants under inclusive integration policies (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012).

The Interaction Between Acculturation Strategies and Integration Policies Predicts Naturalization Intentions

Previous research has demonstrated that receiving society-integration policies and immigrants' naturalization intentions are related. Accordingly, Bennour (2020) found that inclusive regional integration policies foster immigrants' naturalization intentions, either directly, among EU/EFTA citizens, or over time, in the case of individuals from less-developed countries (see also Wright & Bloemraad, 2012). Inspired by the insight that integration policies moderate the effect of exposure to the context of residence (e.g., via length of residence) on naturalization intention, we expect that integration policies should also moderate the effect of acculturation strategies (see also Bornstein, 2017, on the interactive role of acculturation settings). In other words,

H3: We expect a cross-level interaction between immigrants' acculturation strategies (individual level) and integration policies (contextual-level) to predict naturalization intentions.

More specifically, we predict integrated immigrants to be particularly sensitive to the level of inclusiveness of the receiving society. Indeed, immigrants who embrace integration strategies signal their willingness to be incorporated into the social and political body of the receiving society. Yet, they may lose interest and renounce from naturalization if the receiving society is hostile towards their concurrent desire to maintain connections with their heritage culture. Conversely, inclusive integration policies fulfil symbolic needs of social recognition and send signals that immigrants can maintain their cultural distinctiveness, while being included as legitimate member of the host-national community (Bloemraad, 2013; Guimond, de la Sablonnière, & Nugier, 2014). It follows that inclusive integration policies should amplify naturalization intentions particularly among integrated immigrants who wish to adopt the host culture while maintaining their heritage culture. We therefore expect that inclusive integration policies should increase naturalization intentions among integrated immigrants, thereby making the gap between integrated and assimilated (separated) immigrants less (more) pronounced.

Subnational Integration Policies in Switzerland

We test our predictions in Switzerland. The Swiss context is particularly appropriate for using multilevel techniques to study the articulation between acculturation strategies and subnational integration policies in relation to naturalization intentions. First, Switzerland is a federal state, meaning that integration policies and naturalization procedures vary greatly across the 26 cantons (Manatschal, 2011). Second, Switzerland is a direct democracy, so that subnational integration policies mirror political opinions endorsed by host nationals about how to manage intergroup inequality and cultural diversity (Hainmueller & Hangartner, 2013; Helbling, 2010). Third, the naturalization regime in Switzerland is generally restrictive and quite reticent to accommodate cultural diversity (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005; Manatschal, 2011). Although Swiss dual-citizenship provision does not force immigrants to choose between host and home countries, the legal requirements to apply for naturalization are particularly restrictive. Indeed, at the time of the survey, citizenship criteria required 12 years of residence, a test of language proficiency and general knowledge of Swiss society and institutions, an individual interview with political representatives, as well as proof of economic independence and no dependency from social aid (State Secretariat for Migration, 2020).

To model subnational integration policies as a contextual factor, we used the Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS, <https://nccr-onthemove.ch/research/migration-mobility-survey/>), a large national survey examining integration of foreign nationals in Switzerland. Online and computer-assisted telephone interviews (CATIs) were conducted in fall 2016 across the 26 cantons, among people born abroad and with foreign citizenship who arrived in Switzerland during the last 10 years. The survey was conducted in six languages and included adult immigrants from 70 different countries of origin who were at different stages of the naturalization process.

METHOD

Participants

The total sample comprised 5921 first-generation immigrants without Swiss nationality who moved to Switzerland during their adulthood. At the time of the survey, most of the participants were not yet legally entitled to start the standard naturalization procedure. Because we were focusing on naturalization intentions, we excluded participants who did not know whether to apply for Swiss

citizenship or not (32.4%, $n = 1920$),⁶ or who were subjected to special regulations, so that they were already enrolled in the naturalization process (1.7%, $n = 104$). Two respondents did not answer to this question. Our final sample thus consisted of 3928 respondents. Forty-six percent of participants were women ($n = 1797$). Age ranged between 24 and 64 years ($M = 39.09$, $SD = 9.08$). Length of staying in Switzerland ranged from less than 1 to 10 years ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 2.77$). Thirty percent ($n = 1177$) of participants were in possession of a settlement permit (C permit), 63% percent ($n = 2455$) were in possession of a temporary permit (B permit). A minority of participants (7%, $n = 280$) was in possession of a variety of other permits, such as diplomat, international status, or short-term residence permits.

Outcome Variables

Naturalization Intentions

A single item measured participants' naturalization intentions: "Do you intend to apply for the Swiss nationality in the future?" The scale ranged from 1 ("No, certainly not") to 4 ("Yes, certainly") and was treated as continuous when testing the main hypotheses. Overall, participants were positively inclined to acquire Swiss citizenship ($M = 2.80$, $SD = 1.02$), the mean score differing positively for the theoretical midpoint of the scale, $t(3917) = 18.26$, $p < .001$.

Naturalization Motives

Participants who probably or certainly intended to apply for Swiss nationality were then asked to account for their naturalization intentions (62.5% of the total sample, $n = 2448$). Six naturalization motives were provided using a multiple-choice Yes/No dichotomous question: "I feel I belong to Switzerland" (61.2% of affirmative answers, $n = 1498$); "I wish to vote in national elections, to get involved in my local community" (58.7%, $n = 1438$); "It will give me better professional opportunities" (35.4%, $n = 866$); "It simplifies administrative procedures" (26.9%, $n = 659$); "It will protect me from being expelled from Switzerland" (17.4%, $n = 427$); "It makes it easier to visit my country of origin" (11.2%, $n = 275$).

To evaluate the dimensionality of naturalization motives, we adopted a multistep procedure using SPSS Version 26.0 (Lorenzo-Seva & Ferrando, 2012). A tetrachoric correlation matrix was first computed on the raw data. Second, the obtained matrix was submitted to exploratory factor analyses (EFA) using Unweighted Least Squares. Third, raw data were transformed into z -scores and multiplied with the factor loadings retrieved from the EFA. Finally, normally distributed standardized factor scores were computed for each participant. Given that naturalization motives were measured using a multichoice Yes/No dichotomous question, this technique is best suited to alleviate skewed (and thus biased) factors due to the binary nature of the data (Greer, Dunlap, & Beatty, 2003; Parry & McArdle, 1991).

Results revealed two underlying factors that explained 59% of the total variance. Yet one indicator ("It will protect me from being expelled from Switzerland") loaded evenly and weakly on both

⁶ Additional analyses including these undecided individuals corroborated the main findings. For more information, see TableS1 in the online supporting information.

factors, $\lambda_{F1} = .17$ and $\lambda_{F2} = .18$, and was therefore discarded from analyses.⁷The procedure was repeated, again yielding two factors that explained 63.4% of the total variance. Table 1 reports tetrachoric correlations and factors loadings for the five retained naturalization motives. Factor 1 denoted *instrumental motives*, such as simplified administrative procedures, better professional opportunities, and freedom of movement. Factor 2 denoted *symbolic motives*, including both wish for political participation and feelings of national belongingness.⁸

Table 1. Tetrachoric Correlations and Factor Loadings of Naturalization Motives

Indicators	Tetrachoric Correlations				Factor Loadings	
	2	3	4	5	Instrumental	Symbolic
1 Simplified procedures	.43	.46	.26	-.01	.44	
2 Professional opportunities		.39	.04	-.08	.33	-.16
3 Easier to visit home country			.15	.05	.29	
4 Wish to vote and get involved				.24		.64
5 Belongingness to Switzerland						.19

Note Loadings on the focal factor are indicated in bold and not showed if $<.05$.

Individual-Level Predictor

Acculturation Strategies

Four items measured participants' acculturation strategies, in terms of attachment and civic involvement.⁹ All scales ranged from 0 (*Not at all*) to 7 (*Totally agree*). Two items assessed participants' levels of *host-culture adoption*, $r(3863) = .38, p < .001$: "To what extent are you interested in news and current events in Switzerland?" ($M = 5.05, SD = 1.80$); "To what extent do you have a feeling of attachment to Switzerland?" ($M = 4.83, SD = 1.99$). Two items assessed participants' levels of *heritage-culture maintenance*, $r(3863) = .40, p < .001$: "To what extent are you interested in news and current events in [country of origin]?" ($M = 5.05, SD = 1.89$); "To what extent do you have a feeling of attachment to [country of origin]?" ($M = 5.07, SD = 2.07$). All mean scores differed positively from the theoretical midpoint of the scale, all $t(3865) > 72.91$, all $p < .001$.

K-means Cluster Analysis using SPSS Version 26.0 was used to attribute participants to a limited number of acculturation strategies. Clusters were derived using the default Hartigan-Wong algo-

⁷ The results were identical when including the offending indicator in the main regression models.

⁸ Unlike previous findings (Politi et al., 2020), political participation and belongingness motives loaded under the same latent factor. Yet, we suggest precautions in discarding a tripartite motivational structure. In the MMS survey, indeed, naturalization motives were assessed with a multichoice Yes/No dichotomous question, and political participation and belongingness motives were measured with a single item, thereby impeding the estimation of two latent factors. Because belongingness loaded only weakly on Factor 2 (symbolic motives), it is plausible that better measurement of naturalization motives would have revealed a more complex motivational structure.

⁹ We considered here two facets of acculturation together: attachment and civic involvement. No items in the questionnaire measured instead adoption and maintenance of cultural practices. Although the lack of questions on cultural practices is not ideal, previous research has shown that different acculturation facets measure similar underlying orientations towards receiving and home societies (Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010) and that these acculturative orientation are best understood in terms of affect rather than sociocultural practices (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

rithm, algorithm that minimizes the Euclidean distances of all points with their nearest cluster centers, by flattening within-cluster sum of squared errors. This algorithm maximized both the similarity of observations within clusters and the dissimilarity of observations between clusters (Everitt, Landau, Leese, & Stahl, 2011). As previously argued, clustering methods are best suited to map out acculturation strategies (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Esses, Medianu, Hamilton, & Lapshina, 2015). A four-cluster and a three-cluster solution were compared.¹⁰As expected, the three-cluster solution provided better fit to the data and differentiated between three acculturation strategies (i.e., assimilation, integration, and separation). Means and standard deviations for each cluster can be found in Table 2.

Table 2. Host Culture Adoption and Heritage Culture Maintenance as a Function of Acculturation Strategies

	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3
	Assimilation 30.5%, <i>n</i> = 1197	Integration 43.6%, <i>n</i> = 1712	Separation 25.9%, <i>n</i> = 1019
<i>Host-Culture Adoption</i>			
Interested in Switzerland	5.02 (1.64)	6.08 (1.00)	3.46 (1.64)
Attached to Switzerland	5.55 (1.40)	5.78 (1.04)	2.85 (1.57)
<i>Heritage-Culture Maintenance</i>			
Interested in home country	2.99 (1.64)	6.01 (1.09)	5.47 (1.44)
Attached to home country	2.97 (1.70)	5.88 (1.21)	5.88 (1.30)

Note Means (and standard deviations) are reported for each of the three acculturation strategies separately. Frequencies and percentage of participants are indicated below each cluster label.

Cluster 1 denoted an *assimilation strategy* (30.5%, *n* = 1197); participants attributed to this cluster reported relatively low scores for the two items measuring heritage-culture maintenance and relatively high scores for the two items measuring host-culture adoption. Cluster 2 denoted an *integration strategy* (43.6%, *n* = 1712); participants attributed to this cluster reported relatively high scores for the two items measuring heritage-culture maintenance and relatively high scores for the two items measuring host-culture adoption. Cluster 3 denoted a *separation strategy* (25.9%, *n* = 1019); participants attributed to this cluster reported relatively high scores for the two items measuring heritage-culture maintenance and relatively low scores for the two items measuring host-culture adoption. Because acculturation strategies comprised three categories (i.e., assimilation, integration, and separation), we selected integration as the reference category.

Individual-Level Control Variables

Other than basic sociodemographic characteristics of the sample, such as age and gender, a number of variables were also included as individual controls.

¹⁰ As compared to the three-cluster solution, the four-cluster solution provided worse fit to the data. Moreover, the interpretation of final cluster center values revealed no presence of marginalization strategies in the sample. Indeed, none of the four clusters revealed low means for both acculturation dimensions of host-culture adoption and heritage-culture maintenance. The three-cluster solution was therefore preferred. Additional information about the four-cluster solution can be found in Table S2 in the online supporting information.

Country of Origin

Seventy countries were represented in the sample.¹¹ We created a first variable, called *EU citizenship*, to distinguish between EU (61.7%, $n = 2419$) and non-EU citizens. We further classified the countries of origin as a function of their *Human Development Index (HDI)*, a composite index measuring average achievement on three basic dimensions of human development: life expectancy, quality of education, and standard of living (UNDP, 2019). HDI ranged from .35 to .94 ($M = .83, SD = 0.13$). We created a dummy variable measuring *allowance of dual citizenship*. Based on the MACIMIDE (Maastricht Center for Citizenship, Migration and Development) dataset (Vink, de Groot, & Chun Luk, 2015), we differentiated countries of origin—such as Brazil or France—which allow their citizens to obtain a new citizenship (60.8%, $n = 2370$) and countries of origin—such as India or Austria—which do not allow dual citizenship.

Socioeconomic Status

We measured socioeconomic status using two indicators, *level of education* and *financial vulnerability*. Levels of education ranged from 1 (“*No formal education or qualification*”) to 9 (“*PhD or equivalent*”). Yet, relatively low levels of education ranged from 1 to 6 and included a wide spectrum of degrees up to advanced technical and professional training (41.0%, $n = 1606$). Medium levels of education ranged from 7 to 8 and included education levels equivalent to Bachelor and Master degrees (49.7%, $n = 1945$). High levels of education comprised people with PhD degree or equivalent (9.3%, $n = 365$). Financial vulnerability ranged from 1 (“*Able to put money aside*”) to 4 (“*Go into debt*”) ($M = 1.49, SD = 0.71$).

Contextual-Level Predictor

Integration Policy Index

To assess the inclusiveness of subnational integration policies, we used the cantonal *Integration Policy Index (IPI)*, which measures cantonal variations ($N = 26$) in integration policies. Integration policies were ranked on a scale from -0.55 (most exclusive) to 0.77 (most inclusive) according to the ease or difficulty of accessing different rights and obligations across three integration-related domains: political, sociostructural, and cultural/religious. The IPI covers these three domains using 21 indicators (Manatschal, 2011).¹² Although data were gathered between 2005 and 2008, the index reflects path-dependent cantonal traditions of integration policy, indicating a high degree of stability over time (Manatschal, 2012). Figure 1 shows the IPI for each of the 26 Swiss cantons separately.

¹¹ Main origin groups comprised Germany, Austria, France, Italy, United Kingdom, Spain, Portugal, North America (Canada and the United States), India, West Africa (e.g., Ghana and Senegal), and South America (e.g., Argentina and Brazil). See the MMS website for full information about the sampling method.

¹² Because of the strong overlap with the dependent variable, we reran analyses excluding access to nationality from the list of indicators. Results were robust, and no meaningful differences were observed. The full index was therefore used to test hypotheses.

Contextual-Level Control Variables

Instrumental motives underlying naturalization intentions may not only be related to immigrants' acculturation strategies and subnational integration policies, but also to the broader economic context (Myers, Calnan, Jacobsen, & Wheeler, 2011). Two economic contextual controls were therefore included, to reduce cantonal discrepancies in terms of wealth and unemployment and maintain the attractiveness of citizenship acquisition constant.

Gross Domestic Product per Capita

To assess cantonal variation in wealth, we used the *Gross Domestic Product per capita* (GDP), which seized the economic output of a canton relative to its population ($M = 85775.53$ CHF, $SD = 26,986.69$) (FSO, 2019).

Foreigners' Unemployment Rate

In addition to controlling for the general economic situation in each canton, we included an indicator of immigrants' financial vulnerability. *Foreigners' unemployment rates* were used to control for the cantonal share of noncitizens who were unemployed and registered at the State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO) ($M = 6.7\%$, $SD = 1.43$) (FSO, 2020).

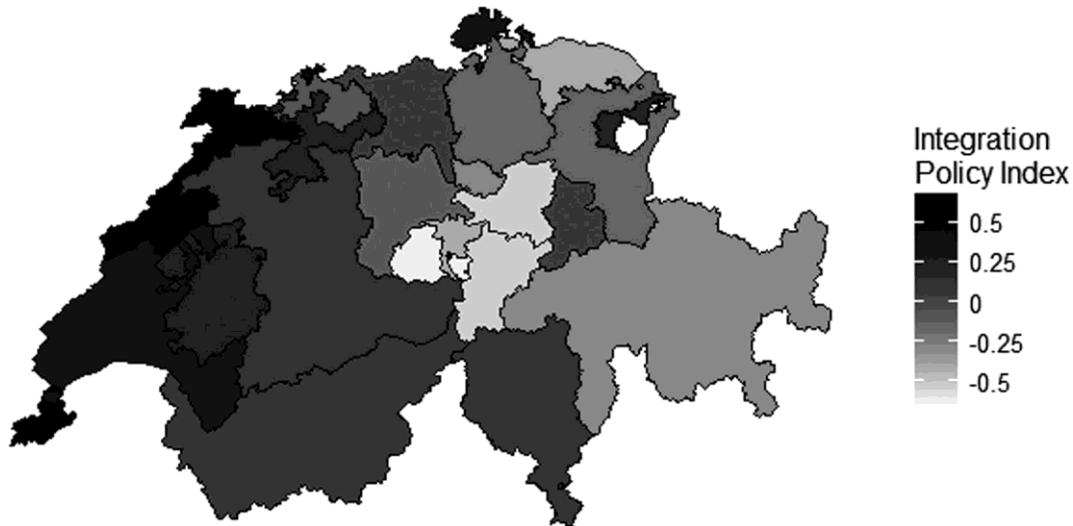


Figure 1. Cantonal Integration Policy Index (IPI). The index is reported for each of the 26 Swiss cantons separately. Darker shades indicate more inclusive integration policies.

RESULTS

Baseline Models

Hypothesis testing was carried out with STATA. In a first step, we estimated a baseline model where naturalization intentions were regressed on individual- and contextual-level predictors (Model

1) and then focused on the subsample of participants inclined to naturalize to predict symbolic (Model 2) and instrumental motives (Model 3).¹³ At this first stage of analysis, we accounted for the nested nature of the data, without estimating cross-level interactions. The multilevel set-up was justified by the significant variance at the cantonal level observed in the data. Estimates were derived from a series of multilevel mixed-effect generalized linear models with random intercepts and fixed slopes (Steenbergen & Jones, 2002). Full information on the estimates is reported in Table 3.

Individual and Contextual Predictors of Naturalization Intentions

In Model 1, we tested main effects on naturalization intentions both at the individual and the contextual level. With respect to individual-level control variables, higher intentions to naturalize were observed among younger participants, those who had lived in Switzerland for longer and had a long-term C-permit, who were highly educated, and those originating from either less developed, non-EU countries, or from countries where dual citizenship was allowed. With respect to contextual-level control variables, neither GDP per capita nor foreigners' unemployment rates explained naturalization intentions. Also, no main effect of integration policies on naturalization intentions was observed. This is in line with previous research stating that integration policies do not directly affect the entire immigrant population but only some subcategories (Bennour, 2020).

Most importantly, in line with Hypothesis 1a, immigrants embracing assimilation strategies were more willing to naturalize than immigrants embracing integration strategies. Immigrants embracing integration strategies were furthermore willing to naturalize than immigrants embracing separation strategies, supporting Hypothesis 1b.

¹³ It should be noted that over one third of participants (i.e., those reporting no or weak intentions to naturalize) was not asked to report naturalization motives. It was therefore not possible to merge Models 1, 2, and 3 in a single mediation model (Hayes, 2018).

Table 3. Individual- and Contextual-Level Predictors of Naturalization Intention and Underlying Motives

	Naturalization		
	Naturalization Intentions	Symbolic Motives	Instrumental Motives
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>b</i> (SE)
<i>Individual-Level Predictor</i>			
Integration strategy			
Assimilation strategy	0.23 (.04)***	0.03 (.03)	-0.08 (.03)*
Separation strategy	-0.81 (.03)***	-0.29 (.04)***	0.19 (.05)***
<i>Individual-Level Controls</i>			
Age	-0.010 (.002)***	0.002 (.002)	-0.008 (.002)***
Gender	-0.04 (.03)	-0.06 (.03)	-0.001 (.03)
Length of stay	0.02 (.007)**	0.02 (.006)***	0.003 (.007)
C Permit			
B Permit	-0.11 (.04)**	-0.09 (.04)*	0.06 (.04)
Other permit	-0.50 (.07)***	-0.37 (.07)***	0.15 (.08)
Primary education			
Secondary education	0.18 (.05)***	0.23 (.05)***	0.03 (.06)
Tertiary education	0.10 (.05)	0.42 (.05)***	0.11 (.06)
Financial vulnerability	0.02 (.02)	-0.03 (.02)	0.04 (.02)
HDI	-0.97 (.16)***	0.38 (.15)*	-0.46 (.16)**
EU citizenship	-0.14 (.04)**	0.02 (.04)	-0.16 (.04)***
Dual citizenship allowance	0.21 (.03)***	-0.04 (.03)	0.05 (.03)
<i>Contextual-Level Predictor</i>			
Integration Policy Index	0.18 (.11)	0.13 (.06)*	-0.10 (.07)
<i>Contextual-Level Controls</i>			
GDP	0.001 (.001)	0.001 (.001)	0.001 (.001)
Foreigners' unemployment	-0.003 (.02)	-0.01 (.01)	0.001 (.01)
ICC	0.06	0.001	0.002
AIC	9822.5	4957.0	5289.2
BIC	9941.2	5066.7	5399.0
Log-Likelihood	-4892.3	-2459.5	-2625.6
<i>N</i>	3822	2379	2379

Note Estimates derived from a series of baseline multilevel mixed-effects generalized linear models with random intercepts and fixed slopes. Unstandardized coefficients and standard errors are reported.

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

*** $p \leq .001$.

Individual and Contextual Predictors of Naturalization Motives

In the second and third model, we tested main effects on symbolic and instrumental motives both at the individual and the contextual level. With respect to individual-level control variables, greater symbolic motives underlying naturalization intentions were observed among participants who have lived in Switzerland for longer, those in possession of a long-term C permit, highly educated, and originating from highly developed countries. Greater instrumental motives underlying naturalization intentions were instead observed among younger participants and those originating from either less developed or non-EU countries. With respect to contextual-level control variables, neither GDP per capita nor foreigners' unemployment rates explained naturalization motives. Although not predicted, a positive effect of integration policies was observed on symbolic motives, meaning that the more integration policies at the cantonal level were inclusive, the more often symbolic motives were reported by participants who intended to naturalize. Conversely, no contextual-level effects of integration policies were observed on instrumental motives.

Based on regression estimates of Model 2, and in line with our rationale, immigrants embracing integration and assimilation strategies reported similar levels of symbolic motives. In line with Hypothesis 2a, immigrants embracing integration strategies reported instead higher symbolic motives than immigrants embracing separation strategies. Based on regression estimates of Model 3, immigrants embracing integration strategies reported greater instrumental motives than immigrants embracing assimilation strategies. Although not predicted, this result suggests that integrated immigrants who maintained connections with their home country value the material advantages of citizenship acquisition (such as international mobility, increased labor market opportunities, and reduced bureaucracy) to a greater extent than assimilated immigrants. In line with Hypothesis 2b, immigrants embracing integration strategies reported lesser instrumental motives than immigrants embracing separation strategies.

Cross-Level Interactions

In a second step, we included cross-level interactions between acculturation strategies and integration policies in the model to predict naturalization intentions.¹⁴ In line with Hypothesis 3, the Wald-test of joint significance revealed a cross-level interaction between acculturation strategies and integration policies $\chi^2(2) = 9.62, p = .008$, meaning that the effect of immigrants' acculturation strategies on naturalization intentions differed as a function of the level of inclusiveness of integration policies. By decomposing the omnibus interaction term, we observed that the more inclusive the integration policies the more pronounced was the gap between integrated and separated immigrants, $b = -0.31 (.13), p = .02$. Although less pronounced, the gap between integrated and assimilated immigrants was marginally reduced under inclusive integration policies, $b = -0.24 (.13), p = .07$.¹⁵ A test of simple effects further corroborated these findings, revealing that intentions to naturalize among immigrants embracing integration strategies increased the more inclusive were cantonal integration policies, $b = 0.31 (.11), p = .003$. No increase in naturalization intentions was observed among immigrants embracing assimilation, $0.07 (.13), p = .54$, and separation strategies, $0.005 (.12), p = .97$ (Figure 2).

DISCUSSION

The present research articulates immigrants' acculturation strategies and cantonal integration policies in explaining where and why immigrants intend to acquire host national citizenship. Examining a large sample of first-generation immigrants in Switzerland, our results showed that immigrants' acculturation strategies and naturalization intentions are bonded together. As a turning point in the acculturation process, citizenship acquisition was sought to a varying degree, for distinct

¹⁴ Additional analyses showed that policies did not moderate impact of acculturation strategies on naturalization motives. Full information about cross-level interactions on both naturalization intentions and underlying motives can be found in Table S3 in the online supporting information.

¹⁵ The intercorrelation between integration policies and acculturation strategies (VIF 1.58) was well below the accepted tolerance threshold (VIF 10). Most likely, the interaction term was therefore not biased by multicollinearity problems. When the multilevel structural-equation modeling approach with latent group-mean centering was used (see Table S4 in the online supporting information), the robustness of the interaction term was further confirmed (Lüdtke et al., 2008).

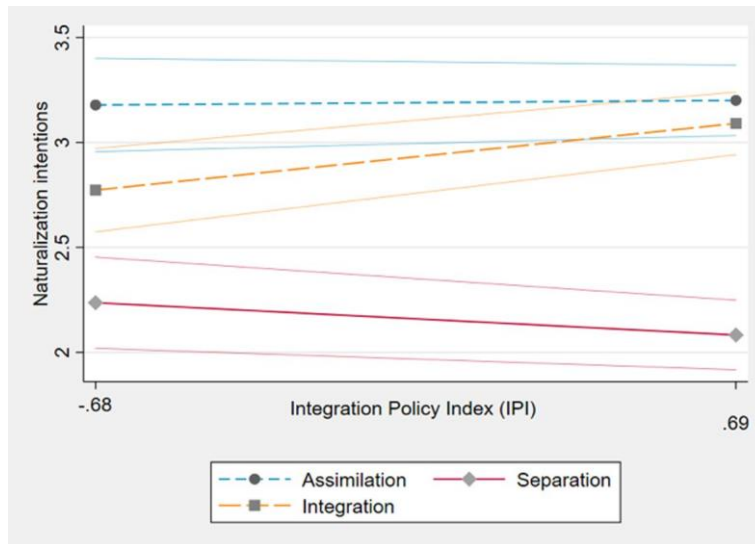


Figure 2. Graphical representation of the omnibus cross-level interaction between immigrants’ acculturation strategies and cantonal integration policies. Confidence intervals are at 95%. The higher the IPI the more inclusive are cantonal integration policies. The scale measuring naturalization intentions ranged from 1 (*No, certainly not*) to 4 (*Yes, certainly*).

reasons and in distinct acculturative contexts, by immigrants embracing different acculturation strategies. Because immigrants embracing separation strategies were weakly oriented towards the receiving society, they reported low intentions to acquire host national citizenship. Among those separated immigrants inclined to naturalize, instrumental motives (i.e., increased international mobility, reduced bureaucracy, and more labor-market opportunities) were particularly accentuated. Although immigrants embracing integration and assimilation strategies were both strongly oriented towards the receiving society, integrated immigrants reported lower intentions to acquire the host-national citizenship than assimilated immigrants. Among those integrated and assimilated immigrants inclined to naturalize, symbolic motives (i.e., feeling of belongingness to the host-national community and a wish to participate in the political affairs of the receiving society) were equally endorsed. Conversely, instrumental motives were more accentuated among integrated than assimilated immigrants.

Overall, we confirmed the prevalence of assimilationist strategies among immigrants who intend to naturalize. This result has profound societal consequences: Full-fledged access to political rights following citizenship acquisition implies, in principle, that naturalized citizens gain the potential to become legitimate spokespersons of the interests of immigrant communities (Scuzzarello, 2015; Simon & Grabow, 2010). Yet because assimilated immigrants were more likely to naturalize than integrated immigrants, processes of political absorption among assimilated immigrants may contribute to maintaining asymmetric power dynamics between national majority and immigrant minority groups (Politi et al., 2020; see also Just & Anderson, 2015; Kolbe & Crepaz, 2016; Strijbis & Polavieja, 2018).

Moving beyond the typological approach to acculturation, we demonstrated that the drop out of integrated immigrants from citizenship acquisition is not solely the result of individual acculturation strategies, but it interacts with the political-reception context (Bornstein, 2017; Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010). Corroborating findings of Bennour (2020), who observed

subgroup-specific effects of integration policies, we showed that the relation between immigrants' acculturation strategies and naturalization intentions varies as a function of the level of inclusiveness of cantonal integration policies. In particular, the gap in naturalization intentions between integrated and separated migrants became more pronounced under inclusive integration policies. Accordingly, inclusive integration policies amplified naturalization intentions only among integrated immigrants, namely those who wish to reconcile host and heritage cultures.

This last finding is particularly noteworthy and demonstrates that inclusive integration policies allow overcoming symbolic barriers that prevent a large number of immigrants from naturalizing (see Hainmueller et al., 2018, for a discussion on structural barriers). Indeed, numerous empirical studies conducted among a large array of minority groups have consistently shown that integration is the most preferred and adaptive acculturation strategy (Berry et al., 2006; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). What is more, previous empirical research demonstrated that integration and biculturalism among immigrant groups enrich receiving societies with new ideas and critical thinking (Jetten & Hornsey, 2014; but see Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013). Inclusive integration policies seem therefore beneficial both for the recognition of immigrant communities and the social fabric of receiving societies. Corroborating this beneficial effect of inclusive integration policies for social cohesion, immigrants in our sample reported a greater sense of belongingness and willingness to participate in the political affairs of their community, when integration policies were more inclusive.

According to our findings, however, assimilated and separated immigrants were not reached by inclusive integration policies. The null finding for assimilated immigrants may imply that individuals from this group are not responsive to, or simply in no need of, the inclusive force of integration policy, as they already have the highest propensity to naturalize. Similarly, separated immigrants' intentions to naturalize remained rather low regardless of the cantonal policy put in place. This observation is challenging and calls for alternative measures to better include these immigrant categories into the social fabric of receiving societies (Uslaner & Conley, 2003).

Limitations and Future Directions

By considering the articulation of immigrants' acculturation strategies and contextual integration policies in explaining naturalization intentions, the present research makes a novel contribution to the growing political psychological literature on acculturation and citizenship acquisition (Condor, 2011; Verkuyten, 2018). Nevertheless, a number of limitations must be acknowledged. First, the two indicators of acculturation strategies (i.e., interest in news and events, feelings of attachment) have left out other important acculturative facets, such as seeking interactions (Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010). Similarly, measurement of naturalization motives with multichoice dichotomous questions was not ideal and possibly concealed more complex dynamics. For instance, political participation and belonging may fulfill distinct psychological needs, yet the nature of the scale used in the present study prevented us from a fine-grained assessment of the motivational structure underlying naturalization intentions. Moreover, naturalization motives were only assessed among the subsample of immigrants inclined to acquire host-national citizenship. It was therefore impossible to test whether naturalization motives mediate the relation between acculturation strategies and naturalization intentions. Future research should include psychometrically validated instruments for motive assessment and test the motivational processes underlying naturalization intentions.

Second, because our analysis focused primarily on the articulation between acculturation strategies and integration policies, other important specificities and sources of variations in

acculturation strategies were only briefly mentioned (for an overview, see Bornstein, 2017).¹⁶ In line with recent theorizing about the so-called “instrumental turn” in citizenship acquisition (Finotelli, La Barbera, & Echeverría, 2018; Joppke, 2019), for instance, our results showed that non-EU citizens and immigrants originating from countries low in HDI are more willing to naturalize and endorse instrumental motives to a greater extent than the others. When their countries of origin allowed for dual citizenship, immigrants were more willing to naturalize, but those who intended to naturalize endorsed similar levels of instrumental and symbolic motives. Because Switzerland grants dual citizenship, however, we were not able to test whether host-country dual-citizenship provision affects naturalization intentions and underlying motives (Bloemraad, 2004; Diehl & Blohm, 2003; Harpaz & Mateos, 2018; Jones-Correa, 2001; Knott, 2019). When both home and host countries force immigrants to choose between incompatible national allegiances, cost-benefit calculations and exclusive notions of national belongingness may be more salient. Relatedly, the contextual variation in integration policies was modeled only within Switzerland, a country that stands out for its political and economic stability, but also for the reluctance of federal policies and public opinion to accommodate cultural diversity and minority rights (Banting & Kymlicka, 2013; Koopmans et al., 2005). To best tackle effects of dual-citizenship provision and cultural diversity climates on naturalization intentions and underlying motives, future research should consider international comparisons between countries that differ substantially in their integration policies and naturalization regimes.

Third, the cross-sectional nature of the data prevents us from making firm causal claims. Although naturalization intentions were asked prospectively, longitudinal designs would be best suited to tackle the effects of acculturation strategies and integration policies at early stages of the migration trajectory on the actual decision to naturalize among eligible immigrants. Future research should also go beyond personal motivations to drop out from naturalization and consider other constraints (e.g., lack of knowledge, cost of the naturalization procedure, procedural discrimination, failure of the procedure) that can equally hinder immigrants’ intricate journey towards citizenship acquisition.

CONCLUSION

The present research highlights the complex relation between acculturative dynamics and citizenship acquisition. For the first time, psychological processes related to acculturation strategies and personal motivations were articulated with a political context that can either enhance or hinder immigrants’ intentions to naturalize. Our findings not only enrich the social-psychological literature on acculturation and citizenship acquisition with new insights but also provide valuable arguments about the catalyst role of inclusive integration policies to promote belongingness and participation among immigrant communities.

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¹⁶ As a starting point for future research, readers can find additional analyses in the online supporting information where individual and contextual predictors were used to explain acculturation strategies (Table S5).

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher's web site:

Table S1. Hypothesis Testing Using the Full Response Scale to Assess Naturalization Intentions

Table S2. Host Culture Adoption and Heritage Culture Maintenance as a Function of Acculturation Strategies

Table S3. Multilevel Model Including Cross-Level Interactions Predicting Naturalization Intention and Underlying Motives

Table S4. Cross-Level Interaction Calculated using Multilevel Structural Equation Modeling

Table S5. Individual- and Contextual-Level Predictors of Acculturation Strategies

Supplementary Online Material

Cross-level interactions estimated on the full response scale assessing naturalization intentions. In the main regression models we excluded participants who did not know whether to apply for Swiss citizenship or not (32.4%, $n = 1920$). Indeed, the conceptualization of the "Do not know" category as in between ('No, probably not') and ('Yes, probably yes') may be problematic, since we simply do not know the underlying attitude to naturalisation among immigrants who chose the "do not know" category. To assure that results were robust and the deletion of almost a third of the sample still result in correct statistical inferences, we repeated analyses including the full scale where "I do not know" was used as in between category (Table S1).

Alternative cluster solutions to map out acculturation strategies. In the main manuscript was argued that a three-cluster solution was best suited to map out acculturation strategies in our data. Based on Berry's seminal work (1997b; Sam & Berry, 2010), however, a fourth acculturation strategy (i.e., marginalization) would be theoretically justified. In order to settle the matter, we provide additional justification of a third-cluster solution, and present alternative configurations based on a four-cluster solution. K-mean cluster analysis was repeated on the full sample ($N = 5921$), and the two cluster solutions compared (Table S2). Clusters were derived using the default Hartigan-Wong algorithm, which aims to minimize the Euclidean distances of all points with their nearest cluster centers, by minimizing within-cluster sum of squared errors. These supplementary analyses corroborated our choice. Whereas the three-cluster solution converged after 14 iterations and clearly differentiate between well-grounded acculturation strategies, the four-cluster solution converged after 26 iterations, and did not differentiate clearly between acculturation strategies. The new cluster was most likely an artefact due to the variables used in the estimation. Indeed, the new cluster (i.e., Attachment) was neither reflecting a marginalization strategy, nor a neutral acculturation strategy, but rather differentiated between the two dimensions of attachment and civic participation.

Cross-level interactions between acculturation strategies and integration policies to predict both naturalization intentions and underlying motives. To simplify the reading and reduce the number of tables, in the main document we only report necessary evidence to test our hypotheses, and rather refer to this Supplementary Online Material to get full-information about cross-level interactions between acculturation strategies and integration policies to predict both naturalization intentions and underlying motives. Three supplementary multilevel models including cross-level interactions are reported in Table S3: Model 1 refers to naturalization intentions and shows a

significant interaction between the separation and integration policies, meaning that the gap between integrated and separated immigrants increased the more integration policies were inclusive. The interaction between assimilation and integration policies was instead not significant. Model 2 refers to symbolic motives, and shows no significant cross-level interactions between acculturation strategies and integration policies. Model 3 refers to instrumental motives, and shows no significant cross-level interactions between acculturation strategies and integration policies.

Multilevel structural equation modelling with latent group-mean centring to estimate cross-level interaction terms. Appropriately centering individual-level predictors is vital to the interpretation of intercept and slope parameters when confronted with nested data. Two main methods have been identified in the literature (Enders & Tofighi, 2007; Lüdtke et al., 2008). Cluster-mean centering (more often referred to as group-mean centering), removes variance at the between level, so that individual-level predictors can be interpreted as effects at the Level 1 only. Although widely used, group-mean centering is sensitive to sampling biases. Latent group-mean centering approach, instead, disentangles the *within* and the *between* component of a given individual-level predictor, thereby producing unbiased estimates both at the individual and the contextual levels.

Although less common, latent group-mean sampling is more appropriate when only few observations within clusters are available. As robustness check, we thus estimated cross-level interactions using a latent group-mean centering multilevel structural equation approach. Results were identical in essence to those reported in the main manuscript (Table S4).

As for individual-level predictors, we confirmed that integrated immigrants intended to naturalize to a lesser (greater) extent than assimilated (separated) immigrants. A cross-level interaction between integration policies and acculturation strategies qualified these findings, so that the gap between integrated and separated migrants increased the more integration policies were inclusive. Notably, when latent group-mean centering was used, a second cross-level interaction term became marginally significant, meaning that the gap between integrated and assimilated immigrants decreased the more integration policies were inclusive. Because the significance level of this second cross-level interaction fluctuated depending on the centering method used, we will not interpret this additional result further. As for contextual-level predictors, the only meaningful results concerned aggregated scores of acculturation strategies at the cantonal level: The larger the proportion of separated immigrants as compared to integrated immigrants was in a given canton, the lower was the average intention to naturalize.

Individual- and contextual-level predictors of acculturation strategies. In the main manuscript we modelled acculturation strategies as exogenous factors predicting naturalization intentions and underlying motives. Nevertheless, acculturations orientations are not purely individual disposition but also the result of socio-demographic and contextual factors (e.g., Brown & Zagefka,

2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Phalet & Baysu, 2020; Schwartz et al., 2007). Therefore, we performed additional analyses where acculturation strategies were predicted by the same individual and contextual variables included in the main models (Table S5).

Table S1: Hypothesis testing using the full response scale to assess naturalization intentions

	Naturalization intentions	
	Baseline model	Cross-level interactions
	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>b</i> (SE)
Integration strategy		
Assimilation strategy	0.22(.04) ^{***}	0.24(.04) ^{***}
Separation strategy	-0.82(.03) ^{***}	-0.77(.04) ^{***}
Age	-0.01(.002) ^{***}	-0.01(.002) ^{***}
Gender	-0.06(.03) [*]	-0.06(.03) [*]
Length of staying	0.02(.007) ^{***}	0.02(.007) ^{***}
C Permit		
B Permit	0.16(.04) ^{***}	0.16(.04) ^{***}
Other permit	-0.59(.07) ^{***}	-0.59(.07) ^{***}
Primary education		
Secondary education	0.23(.05) ^{***}	0.23(.05) ^{***}
Tertiary education	0.15(.05) ^{**}	0.15(.05) ^{**}
Financial vulnerability	0.02(.02)	0.02(.02)
HDI	-1.04(.17) ^{***}	-1.03(.17) ^{***}
EU citizenship	-0.17(.04) ^{***}	-0.17(.04) ^{***}
Dual citizenship allowance	0.22(.03) ^{***}	0.22(.03) ^{***}
GDP	0.001(.001)	0.001(.001)

Foreigners' unemployment	-0.001(.001)	0.001(.001)
Integration policy index (IPI)	0.15(0.11)	0.28(0.12)*
IPI x Assimilation		0.13(.14)
IPI x Separation		- 0.31(.13)*
<hr/>		
AIC	17124.4	17123.22
BIC	17250.8	17262.8
Log-Likelihood	- 8543.2	- 8540.6
<i>N</i>	5705	26

Note: Estimates derived from two multilevel mixed-effects generalized linear models with random intercepts and fixed slopes. The baseline model is reported on the left-hand side, cross-level interactions are added on the right-hand side. Unstandardized coefficients and standard errors are reported. * $p \leq .05$, ** $\leq .01$, *** $\leq .001$.

Table S2: Host culture adoption and heritage culture maintenance as a function of acculturation strategies.

THREE-CLUSTER SOLUTION				
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	
	<i>Assimilation</i>	<i>Integration</i>	<i>Separation</i>	
	24.7%	43.8%	30.5%	
	<i>n</i> = 1442	<i>n</i> = 2596	<i>n</i> = 2804	
<i>Host culture adoption</i>				
Interested in Switzerland	4.85(1.68)	6.08(0.98)	3.74(1.55)	
Attached to Switzerland	5.41(1.45)	5.74(1.04)	3.08(1.54)	
<i>Heritage culture maintenance</i>				
Interested in home country	2.95(1.50)	6.04(1.07)	5.46(1.38)	
Attached to home country	3.14(1.77)	5.90(1.22)	5.78(1.35)	
FOUR-CLUSTER SOLUTION				
	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Cluster 3	Cluster 4
	<i>Attachment</i>	<i>Integration</i>	<i>Separation</i>	<i>Assimilation</i>
	17.9%	43.5%	22.0%	16.7%
	<i>n</i> = 1044	<i>n</i> = 2539	<i>n</i> = 1284	<i>n</i> = 975
<i>Host culture adoption</i>				
Interested in Switzerland	3.24(1.34)	6.11(0.93)	3.46(1.64)	5.52(1.37)
Attached to Switzerland	4.94(1.30)	5.69(1.04)	2.85(1.57)	5.53(1.53)
<i>Heritage culture maintenance</i>				
Interested in home country	3.50(1.43)	6.12(0.97)	5.47(1.44)	3.04(1.61)
Attached to home country	5.60(1.23)	5.87(1.21)	5.88(1.30)	2.33(1.40)

Note: The three-cluster solution is indicated on the top, whereas the four-cluster solution is indicated at the bottom of the table. Means (and standard deviations) are reported for each of the clusters separately. Frequencies and percentage of participants are indicated below each cluster label.

Table S3: Multilevel model including cross-level interactions predicting naturalization intention and underlying motives.

	Naturalization intentions	Symbolic motives	Instrumental motives
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>b</i> (SE)
Integration strategy			
Assimilation strategy	0.26(.04) ^{***}	-0.10(.04) ^{**}	-0.10(.04) ^{**}
Separation strategy	-0.77(.04) ^{***}	0.20(.05) ^{***}	0.20(.05) ^{***}
Age	-0.010(.002) ^{***}	-0.008(.002) ^{***}	-0.008(.002) ^{***}
Gender	-0.04(.03)	0.003(.03)	-0.003(.03)
Length of staying	0.02(.007) ^{**}	0.02(.006) ^{***}	0.002(.007)
C Permit			
B Permit	-0.11(.04) ^{**}	-0.09(.04) [*]	0.06(.04)
Other permit	-0.49(.07) ^{***}	-0.37(.07) ^{***}	0.15(.08)
Primary education			
Secondary education	0.18(.05) ^{***}	0.23(.05) ^{***}	0.03(.06)
Tertiary education	0.09(.05)	0.42(.05) ^{***}	0.11(.06) [*]
Financial vulnerability	0.02(.02)	-0.03(.02)	0.04(.02)
HDI	-0.96(.16) ^{***}	0.38(.15) [*]	-0.46(.16) ^{**}
EU citizenship	-0.14(.04) ^{**}	0.02(.04)	-0.15(.04) ^{***}
Dual citizenship allowance	0.21(.03) ^{***}	-0.04(.03)	0.05(.03)
GDP	0.001(.001)	-0.001(.001)	0.001(.001)
Foreigners' unemployment	-0.003(.02) ^N	-0.01(.01)	0.002(.01)
Integration Policy Index	0.33(.11) ^{**}	0.17(.07) [*]	-0.10(.07)
IPI x Assimilation	-0.24(.13) [†]	-0.07(.12)	0.15(.15)

IPI x Separation	-0.31(.13)*	-0.23(.16)	-0.09(.17)
<hr/>			
AIC	9819.5	4958.8	5290.9
BIC	9950.8	5080.1	5412.2
Log-Likelihood	-4888.8	-2458.4	-2624.5
<i>N</i>	3822	2379	2379

Note: Estimates derived from a series of baseline multilevel mixed-effects generalized linear models with random intercepts and fixed sloped models. Unstandardized coefficients and standard errors are reported. † $p \leq .10$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $\leq .01$, *** $\leq .001$.

Table S4: Cross-level interaction calculated using multilevel structural equation modeling

	Within level component	Between level component
	Individual level	Contextual level
	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>b</i> (SE)
Integration strategy		
D 1: Assimilation strategy	0.26(0.04) ^{***}	-1.19(1.32)
D 2: Separation strategy	-0.77(0.04) ^{***}	- 2.83(0.85) ^{***}
Integration policy index (IPI)		0.06(0.17)
IPI x Dummy 1	-0.25(0.13) [†]	
IPI x Dummy 2	-0.32(0.13) [*]	
Individual level controls	YES	
Contextual level controls		YES

Note: Estimates derived from a multilevel structural equation modeling with latent group-mean centering. Analyses were conducted with the R package “Lavaan”. Within and between level effects of acculturation strategies on naturalization intentions are teased apart. Unstandardized coefficients and standard errors of the within and between level components are reported separately. [†] $p \leq .10$, ^{*} $\leq .05$, ^{***} $\leq .001$.

Table S5: Individual- and contextual-level predictors of acculturation strategies

Integration	Assimilation	Separation
	<i>b</i> (SE)	<i>b</i> (SE)
<i>Individual-level predictors</i>		
Age	0.003(.005)	- 0.02(.005)***
Gender	- 0.01(.08)	0.32(.08)***
Length of stay	0.02(.02)	- 0.06(.02)**
HDI	1.01(.45)*	3.22(.49)***
EU citizenship	0.12(.12)	0.24(.12)*
Dual citizenship	0.07(.09)	- 0.09(.09)
C Permit		
B Permit	- 0.18(.11)	0.18(.12)
Other permit	- 0.33(.20)	0.44(.19)*
Primary education		
Secondary education	0.28(.15)	- 0.49(.15)**
Tertiary education	- 0.11(.15)	- 0.32(.15)*
Financial vulnerability	0.22(.06)***	0.15(.06)*
<i>Contextual-level predictors</i>		
Integration policy index	- 0.01(.18)	0.008(.28)
GDP	- 0.001(.001)	0.001(.001)
Foreigners' unemployment	0.02(.03)	- 0.009(.05)
AIC	7901.5	
BIC	8101.4	
Log-Likelihood	- 3918.7	
<i>N</i>	3822	

Note: Estimates derived from a series of multinomial multilevel mixed-effects generalized linear models with random intercepts and fixed slope models. Integration strategy is used as reference category. Unstandardized coefficients and standard errors are reported. * $p \leq .05$, ** $\leq .01$, *** $\leq .001$.

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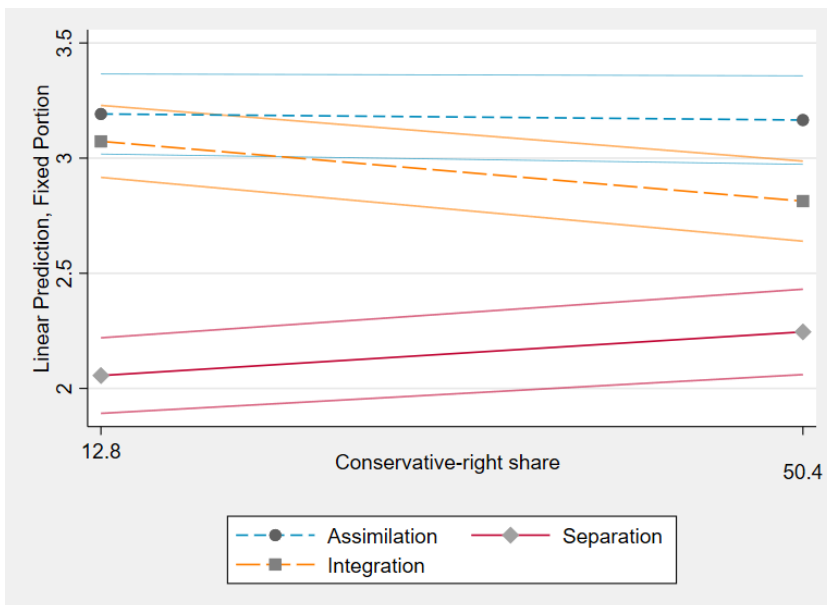
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7.3.1. Paper III – Additional analyses

In Paper III, only subnational integration policies have been interacted with immigrants' acculturation strategies to predict naturalization intentions. Therefore, these additional analyses substitute integration policies with populist-right and left-wing shares, as well as subnational citizenship policies. Inclusive natives' attitudes and citizenship policies do not differentially influence the naturalization intentions of immigrant subgroups (findings not reported).

In contrast, a significant conservative-right share does influence naturalization intentions among immigrants, depending on their acculturation strategies. As shown in Figure 6, the more exclusive natives' attitudes are, the smaller the gap between integrated and separated immigrants in terms of their naturalization intentions. In other words, the discrepancies in naturalization intentions between integrated and separated is more important when natives' attitudes are less exclusive. Even though the naturalization intentions of integrated noncitizens decrease in the presence of exclusive natives' attitudes, the likelihood of seeking naturalization is still relatively high. These findings are in line with the findings in Paper III, as integrated and assimilated immigrants display similar naturalization intentions under inclusive PRCs.

Figure 6: Graphical representation of the omnibus cross-level interaction between immigrants' acculturation strategies and cantonal conservative-right shares.



Notes: Confidence intervals are at 95%. The higher the conservative-right share the more exclusive natives' attitudes are towards immigration. The scale measuring naturalization intentions ranged from 1 (No, certainly not) to 4 (Yes, certainly).

7.4. Paper IV – Immobility behaviours

Bennour, S., & Manatschal, A. (forthcoming). Voting with Their Feet by Staying? The Political Drivers of Noncitizens' (Im-)mobility

Voting with Their Feet by Staying?

The Political Drivers of Noncitizens' (Im-)mobility

Abstract

While research documents that some migrants leave their country of origin for political reasons, we do not know how the political factors in the host-country matter to explain immigrants' (im-)mobility behaviours after an initial migration. Addressing this gap, this study explores noncitizens' (im-)mobility responses to regional integration policies. Building on the evidence that inclusive policies foster immigrants' ties to the host-country over time, the paper argues that effective exposure to inclusive policies decreases inter-cantonal and international mobility, i.e. increases noncitizens' immobility. To test this, we run multilevel analyses using STATPOP register data on the entire immigrant resident population of Switzerland, and cantonal integration policy data. Findings reveal that inclusive policies do indeed amplify the sedentary effect of time spent in Switzerland, and, thus, increase noncitizens' immobility. This pattern holds true for international and inter-cantonal mobility, and is most pronounced among vulnerable immigrants, i.e. non-EU citizens holding a less-stable legal permit.

Zusammenfassung

Die Forschung belegt, dass einige Migrant*innen ihr Herkunftsland aus politischen Gründen verlassen. Wie politische Faktoren im Aufnahmeland das weitere (Im-)Mobilitätsverhalten von Migrant*innen beeinflussen ist jedoch bislang unbekannt. Um diese Lücke zu schließen, untersucht die vorliegende Studie die (Im-)Mobilitätsreaktionen zugewanderter Personen auf regionale Integrationsmaßnahmen. Ausgehend von der Erkenntnis, dass inklusive Integrationspolitiken die Bindung zugewanderter Personen an das Aufnahmeland im Laufe der Zeit stärken, erwarten wir, dass Nicht-Staatsangehörige, die einer inklusiven Integrationspolitik ausgesetzt sind, weniger interkantonale und internationale Mobilität zeigen. Die Ergebnisse unserer Mehrebenenanalysen basierend auf STATPOP-Registerdaten und Daten kantonaler Integrationspolitik zeigen, dass integrationspolitische Maßnahmen tatsächlich die Immobilität von Nicht-Staatsangehörigen in der Schweiz erhöhen. Dieses Muster gilt sowohl für internationale als auch für interkantonale Mobilität und ist bei vulnerablen zugewanderten

Personen, d.h. Nicht-EU-Bürgerinnen und Nicht-EU-Bürgern mit einer weniger stabilen Aufenthaltsgenehmigung, besonders ausgeprägt.

Résumé

Alors que la recherche documente que certain.e.s migrant.e.s quittent leur pays d'origine pour des raisons politiques, nous ne savons pas comment les facteurs politiques dans le pays d'accueil important pour expliquer les comportements d'(im-)mobilité des immigré.e.s après une première migration. Pour combler cette lacune, cette étude explore les réponses d'(im-)mobilité des non-ressortissant.e.s aux politiques d'intégration régionale. En nous appuyant sur la littérature qui montre que des politiques d'intégration inclusives favorisent les liens des immigrant.e.s avec le pays d'accueil, l'article soutient qu'une exposition effective à des politiques d'intégration inclusives diminue la mobilité des non-ressortissant.e.s. Pour vérifier cette hypothèse, nous effectuons des analyses multi-niveaux en utilisant les données STATPOP sur l'ensemble de la population résidente immigrée de Suisse, et un indice des politiques d'intégration cantonales. Les résultats révèlent que les politiques d'intégration inclusives amplifient l'effet sédentaire du temps passé en Suisse et augmentent donc l'immobilité des immigré.e.s. Cette tendance est plus prononcée chez les immigré.e.s avec un statut vulnérable, c'est-à-dire originaires de pays-tiers et titulaires d'un permis de résidence moins stable.

Keywords: Integration Policies, Migration, Mobility, Big administrative Data, Swiss Cantons

Introduction

In public and political debates, there is still a very widespread perception of migration as a static phenomenon. The most common assumption is that immigrants come, settle, and stay in the host country. This conception also dominates political discourses; consider for instance the various and recurring initiatives against free movement of persons within Switzerland or the Brexit debate in the United Kingdom. However, this perception is rather a misconception than an accurate description. The reality is more dynamic; individuals come, possibly stay, leave again for a third country, or return to their country of departure. For instance, in the Swiss case, one out of four immigrants leave the country again after a single year of residency and almost 50% leave after 18 years (nccr – on the move, 2019). This average onward mobility rate hides some important disparities across groups with, for instance, 84% of US citizens but only 8% of Sri Lankans leaving after 17 years in Switzerland.

The question of why immigrants decide to stay in the host-country or engage in onward mobility is not only neglected in the public debate but also in scientific research. Research on this immobility-mobility nexus is still rather scarce, with existing studies focusing on individual drivers of onward mobility, such as the lack of social or economic roots in the destination country (e.g. Steiner, 2019). So far, we do not know whether immigrants' decision to stay or leave is influenced by contextual factors such as the political reception or integration policy context. Given the important demographic, political, and economic consequences of noncitizens' (im-)mobility, this neglect is surprising. By deciding to stay and eventually naturalize, or to move again instead, noncitizens reshape not only the economy, but also the face of a society and the political demos of a country or region. The paper sets out to address this question and examines the policy drivers of noncitizens' immobility¹⁷ as opposed to their mobility within and out of Switzerland.

The lack of studies on this topic is also due to data limitations. Until quite recently, data collection on noncitizens has been restricted to national contexts, and large-scale transnational data on movement were not available (Dustmann et al., 2016). In Switzerland, the Federal Statistical Office (FSO) has been providing access to administrative register data since 2010, which is available on a yearly basis and at the individual level. This access to administrative big data allows us to investigate noncitizens' immobility thoroughly, rather than relying on a

¹⁷ Throughout this paper, the term "immobility" refers to voluntary (i.e., not forced) settlement in the host country when policy decisions allow a stay by, for instance, granting a residence permit.

random sample, tracking all noncitizens' mobility trajectories in and out of Switzerland on a daily basis.

The paper addresses the topic of noncitizens' immobility combining macro- and micro-level data, looking at the effects of subnational integration policies on noncitizens' movement. By addressing this question, our paper contributes to existing research in three regards. First, migration/mobility studies focus extensively on 'push' or 'pull' factors, meaning the drivers of mobility regarding either the first international movement (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014) or onward mobility after arrival in the host-country (Della Puppa & King, 2019). In contrast, research neglects 'keep' factors motivating noncitizens' immobility at their new place of residence. Our study complements this research by examining the importance of policy drivers to explain why noncitizens decide to stay in their location rather than moving again internationally or regionally. Therefore, we consider that immigrants do also 'vote with their feet' (Tiebout, 1956), not only by moving again but also by deciding actively to stay at their new place of residence. By adding a macro-level policy perspective to explain individual (im-)mobility behaviour, we also add a political science perspective to this field, which has been, so far, mainly analysed through economic lenses.

Second, migration studies have been criticized for their 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003). By restricting the focus of analysis to the national level, existing research hides important regional disparities that can exist, especially in strongly federal states like Switzerland, where cantons have very far-reaching competences regarding integration policies (Manatschal, 2011). Our paper goes beyond the 'national container' perspective (Dahinden, 2016) in the following two ways. First, by focusing on cantonal (subnational) integration policies, and second, by accounting for onward mobility as a counter-part of immobility not only at the national level (international mobility), but also at the subnational level (inter-cantonal mobility).

Lastly, our study complements the recently emerging literature on how integration policies affect immigrants' integration regarding their economic, political, and social integration. For instance, when integration policies are inclusive, these rights and obligations can foster and increase immigrants' ties to the host-country, e.g. in terms of feeling of attachment to the host-country, national identification, naturalization intentions as well as political attitudes (Bennour & Manatschal, 2019; Bennour, 2020; Filindra & Manatschal, 2020; Van Hook et al., 2006; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). However, little is known about integration policies' effects on immigrants' immobility. Therefore, it seems important to analyze if this increase in ties to the

host-country materializes in a higher immobility among noncitizens when they live in, and are exposed to, an inclusive policy context. We also expect that policies require effective policy exposure and that effects thus unfold only over time (Lerch, 2012; Bennour & Manatschal, 2019; Bennour, 2020). Accordingly, we hypothesize that more inclusive cantonal integration policies amplify the positive effect of time on immigrants' immobility, thereby decreasing their onward mobility. In addition, we assume that these policies influence more strongly immigrants having less rights in terms of both entry into the territory (non-EU citizens) and stay such as a conditional residence permit (B permit holders), as opposed to more stable settlement (C permit).

Our paper focuses on Switzerland because its pronounced federal political structure and constitutional principle of subsidiarity result in a heterogeneous puzzle of subnational integration policies. Swiss federalism implies not only that cantons can implement federal law in the field of integration, but they can even formulate their own integration policies, e.g. in the political, social or cultural-religious realms. For instance, some cantons allow immigrants to vote while others do not, whereas some provide easier access to citizenship or religious minority rights than others. This subnational policy heterogeneity allows us to analyse policy effects on immigrants (im-)mobility in a nuanced way, contrasting immobility with both inter-cantonal and international mobility. The heterogeneity across Swiss cantons does not only reflect in integration policies but also in demographics. In 2011, the period under scrutiny in this paper, the foreign-born share reached 22.8% at the national level, whereas regional shares range from 9.8 % in Uri to 39.6% in Geneva (Federal Statistical Office).

In line with our theoretical expectations, the results of our multilevel regression models using cantonal integration policy data (Manatschal, 2011) and exhaustive registry data on individual (im-)mobility behaviour show that inclusive cantonal integration policies further amplify the sedentary effect of time spent in Switzerland, increasing thereby noncitizens' immobility. In addition, our analyses reveal heterogeneous policy effects across immigrant subgroups. As expected, the immobilizing policy effect over time is strongest for vulnerable immigrants, e.g. non-EU citizens with a conditional residence status (B permit). These main findings are robust to a series of additional empirical checks, including models using citizens for a placebo test as well as alternative policy indices at a later point in time (only cantonal citizenship policy), and underscore the relevance of the policy reception context in shaping noncitizens' (im-)mobility patterns.

Theoretical Section

Migration and Mobility Literature

This paper draws on two theoretical research strands: the migration and mobility literature, and research on integration policies and their effects on noncitizens. With respect to the first strand, Lee (1966) proposed a first theory to explain migration with his foundational ‘push/pull’ model. There is a substantial literature on ‘push’ factors, which explains why individuals decide to leave their birthplace; such as relative economic deprivation, the lack of career prospects (Triandafyllidou & Gropas, 2014), natural disasters as well as civil wars (Gheasi & Nijkamp, 2017). For a long time, migration studies have overlooked the dynamic character of mobility (Meeus, 2010) and have, thus, left aside immigrants’ mobility behaviours after their first international migration. To respond to this gap, an increasing number of studies analyse secondary movements of international movers in terms of onward mobility (see e.g. Della Puppa & King, 2019).

As regards internal (intra-country) mobility, Tiebout’s (1956) classical ‘voting with their feet’ theory states that when people disagree with policies, they can move to another polity where their preferences are better fulfilled. ‘Voting by feet’ may be even more predominant in a federal state like Switzerland, with its important variations between regional policies (Somin, 2014). Economic factors play an important role in noncitizens’ mobility across Swiss cantons. A higher level of unemployment, weak economic specialization (Lerch, 2014) and differences in municipal taxes (Schmidheiny & Slotwinski, 2018) can explain why noncitizens move from one canton to another – in other words, people ‘vote with their feet’.

More recently, research has broadened the understanding of macro-level factors influencing mobility by accounting for sociological and political drivers. For instance, studies show that immigrants’ mobility towards a municipality or a country decreases if natives have negative attitudes towards immigration (Bracco et al., 2018; de Coulon et al., 2016; Slotwinski & Stutzer, 2019). These studies rely on specific events such as a far-right party victory in municipal elections or the 2009 Swiss referendum resulting in a national ban on the construction of new minarets. Summing up, the focus of this research is clearly on push or pull factors that make immigrants move, whereas it neglects the question of which factors make immigrants stay at their new place of residence.

From our perspective, two gaps appear thus in the above-mentioned studies. First, investigations on the effects of natives’ attitudes neglect the broader integration policy context

addressed in this paper. While natives' attitudes may play a role to explain immigrants' mobility, we do not know to which extent other aspects of the political reception context, and in particular the broader integration policy context, affect immigrants' (im-)mobility behaviours. Given the increasing body of research documenting integration policy effects on noncitizens' integration and ties to countries of residence discussed below, it seems very likely that these policies may also affect the decision to stay, as opposed to leave again. Second, research focuses almost exclusively on mobility. However, a decision to stay is also an active choice made by immigrants, if policies allow such a decision (e.g. renewal of residence permit). We argue here that 'voting by feet' is not limited to mobility but should also encompass immobility behaviours. Given the lack of research on immigrants' immobility, it seems important to understand this phenomenon better, since immobility and mobility are the two faces of the same coin. To address these two gaps, we examine how political norms of inclusion, as expressed in integration policies, can act as 'keep' factors and thereby motivate immigrants to stay in their new place of residence.

Integration policies

With respect to the second research strand on integration policies, we adopt an internationally established multidimensional understanding of these policies. We thereby define integration policies as those policies that intend to guide the integration processes of immigrants in the socioeconomic, cultural–religious, civic, and political realms of society (Joppke & Seidle, 2012; Koopmans et al., 2012; Manatschal et al., 2020). In all these domains, policies can have inclusive or exclusive orientations. Inclusive examples include policies facilitating access to state employment (e.g. the police force), Swiss citizenship or noncitizen voting rights; the absence or limitation of these rights, such as restrictive naturalization regulations, represent exclusive policies. In the cultural domain, inclusive policies typically accommodate diversity (e.g. allowing Islamic burials) while exclusive policies focus on assimilation (e.g. high language proficiency requirements) (e.g. Koopmans et al., 2012; Manatschal, 2011). Since these integration policies target predominantly foreign-born noncitizens, and given our focus on “secondary immobility”, i.e. immobility after a move to Switzerland, our study focuses on policy effects on foreign-born noncitizens, excluding Swiss-born noncitizens, as well as dual and naturalized citizens.

Traditionally, studies on integration policies mainly concern the national level (e.g., Brubaker, 1992; Favell, 2001; Koopmans et al., 2012). This national focus largely overlooks the important policy heterogeneity that can exist within one ‘national container’ at the subnational level (Dahinden, 2016; Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2003). Furthermore, regions are increasingly important for immigrants’ integration in the host-country (Hepburn, 2011; Manatschal et al., 2020; Paquet, 2014). There is also a strong emphasis on understanding the determinants of integration policies (e.g., Favell, 2001; Koopmans et al., 2012; Lutz, 2019). Only more recently did research start to address questions of integration policies’ effects on economic, cultural, or political integration (Bloemraad, 2006; Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2011; Koopmans, 2010). Qualifying the notion of naturalization as the endpoint of the integration process, or even its milestone (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2011), further studies show that inclusive policies e.g. in terms of citizenship attribution can have beneficial effects on immigrants’ social integration even beyond citizenship attainment (Hainmueller et al., 2017).

Our study aligns with this increasing body of research on (integration) policy effects on immigrant noncitizens. No matter whether these studies adopt a neo-institutional perspective (Pierson, 2006; Schlicht-Schmälzle & Möller, 2012), adhere to the “political opportunity structure” approach (Cinalli & Giugni, 2011), or theories of policy feedback (Filindra & Manatschal, 2020; Pierson, 1993), the common denominator of these studies is that integration policies affect immigrants’ attitudes and behavior. Integration policies can thereby shape immigrants’ behaviors via two main channels; namely material and symbolic effects (Bloemraad, 2013). First, material resources provide immigrants with, for instance, an access to the labor market, language classes, or voting rights. These material resources directly facilitate immigrants’ active participation and inclusion into the host society. Second, these policies also convey symbolic resources or what Koopmans et al. (2005) describe as discursive opportunity structure. By granting different levels of rights to immigrants, this discursive structure is more or less inclusive, offering noncitizens either a ‘warm handshake’ or a ‘cold shoulder’ (Reeskens & Wright, 2014). The ‘symbolic boundary’ that these policies define between natives and immigrant groups can thus be more or less thick (Lamont & Molnar, 2012), affecting thereby how immigrants can feel at home in the receiving country or materialize in terms of, for instance, naturalization behaviors (Witte, 2014). From this perspective, we expect that inclusive integration policies constitute an incentive structure than can motivate immigrants’ immobility by strengthening ties to the host country.

In line with this perspective, research documents a positive impact of inclusive integration policies on immigrants' national identification, language skills, school and labour market integration or psychological wellbeing (Manatschal & Stadelmann-Steffen, 2013; Pecoraro et al., 2022; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Some studies also depict the opposite pattern. The threat emanating from exclusive integration policies can for instance increase immigrants' political engagement and mobilization against these restrictive policies (Filindra & Manatschal, 2020). Koopmans (2010) further suggests that, compared to multiculturalism, assimilationist integration regimes can improve immigrants' inclusion in the labour market. In other cases, research is inconclusive as regards integration policies' effects on immigrants (Dinesen & Hooghe, 2012; Wright & Bloemraad, 2012).

This mixed evidence may relate to the fact that the above-mentioned studies ignore that an effective exposure of immigrants (e.g. in terms of time spent in the country) to integration policies may be needed to observe policy effects, in particular symbolic effects strengthening the ties to the place of residence. Research shows that inclusive integration policies can indeed amplify the positive effect of time spent in Switzerland on noncitizens' attachment to the country or naturalization intentions (Bennour, 2020; Bennour & Manatschal, 2019), which may express a sedentary intention of noncitizens. Building on this literature, and following the logic of strengthening ties and increasing immobility over time (see e.g. Lerch, 2012), we formulate the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): More inclusive cantonal integration policies amplify the positive effect of time on immobility.

The preceding hypothesis concerns the entire noncitizen population of Switzerland, but the literature has shown that differentiated policy effects exist for subgroups and their naturalization behaviours and intentions (Bennour, 2020; Filindra & Manatschal, 2020; Vink et al., 2013). We refine thereby this general approach by looking more closely at how different immigrant categories may react to cantonal integration policies.

To construct these subgroups, we use the vulnerability of immigrants living in Switzerland. To do so, we use an approach based on Swiss laws regulating rights to enter and stay in Switzerland. As regards entry rights, the most important dichotomy exists between EU and non-EU citizens. The former can 'enter and find employment on par with Swiss citizens' (Hercog & Sandoz, 2018) as EU nationals benefit from an unrestricted access to the Swiss territory thanks to the bilateral agreement. As for family reunification, EU citizens can settle with their family in all cantons, independently of their residence permits. Non-EU nationals, in contrast,

encounter stricter entry conditions as they need to find an employment before arriving in Switzerland (State Secretariat for Migration, SEM). Furthermore, the employer must prove that the job position could not be given to a Swiss citizen. Therefore, practically and legally, non-EU nationals have to be highly qualified in order to seek a job in Switzerland (Hercog & Sandoz, 2018). Family reunification is also more complex for non-EU citizens, depending more on the type of residence permits, and, in some cases, of the canton of residence. These limitations of access rights of non-EU citizens as compared to EU citizens render their status in Switzerland more vulnerable.

As regards rights to stay, residence permits create a second important divide in terms of vulnerability among immigrants. The latter can apply for a C permit (settled foreign nationals), after ten, or, under certain circumstances, five years of residence in Switzerland. Obtaining a C permit is however not automatic. Immigrants need to apply for it and fulfill some conditions such as respect for Swiss security and public order, language proficiency as well as participation in the labor market.

This permit for settled foreign nationals does not have any time restrictions or conditions, and gives also access to the naturalization process (State Secretariat for Migration, 2021a). In contrast, the second most common permit in Switzerland, the B Permit (resident foreign nationals) depends on having either a job position in Switzerland or having sufficient financial means to live in the country (State Secretariat for Migration, 2021b). When obtaining it for the first time, a B permit is valid and renewed for a single year for non-EU nationals. EU citizens can directly obtain a B permit for five years before being renewed for the same amount of time, or a single year if the immigrant is unemployed.

To summarize, it appears that EU citizens holding a C permit are certainly the least vulnerable immigrant subgroup in Switzerland. Following this logic, non-EU citizens with a C permit could have faced quite harsh conditions upon arrival but still benefit of stable rights to stay. By opposition, holding a B permit definitely makes the rights to stay less secure. With such a permit, EU citizens can still enjoy more rights than non-EU nationals.

As more vulnerability means less rights, security, and stability, we expect that more vulnerable noncitizens are most receptive for an inclusive integration policy context which facilitates their access to a variety of rights, increasing thereby the security and stability of their status in Switzerland. Based on these considerations, we can now develop a finer-grained hypothesis for immigrant subgroups:

Hypothesis 2 (H2): The amplifying impact of inclusive integration policies on the sedentary effect of time is strongest among the most vulnerable, i.e. most right deprived immigrants.

Database, Variables and Methodology

Integration Policy Index

The focus of our paper is on the effects of integration policies and, thus, the main independent variable is the ‘Integration Policy Index’ (IPI) (Manatschal, 2011). The IPI ranks the 26 Swiss cantons’ integration policies according to the ease or difficulty of accessing various rights and obligations across four integration-related domains: civic, political, socio-structural, and cultural-religious. The IPI covers these four domains using 24 indicators, measuring integration policy in a comprehensive manner that captures, for instance, noncitizens’ access to citizenship and state employment in the public administration, noncitizen voting rights, or the right to a burial in line with Islamic traditions (for a detailed discussion, see Manatschal, 2011). The IPI allows us to test the expectation that a canton’s overall reception context matters for noncitizens’ immobility decisions. The index gathered policy data from 2005 to 2008. Since these policies are characterized by a strong path dependency and are thus relatively stable over time (Manatschal, 2012), and given that the effect of these policies is expected to unfold over time, this data should allow us to assess policy impacts on immigrants’ (im-)mobility behaviour in 2012. The IPI ranks from -0.54 (most exclusive policy pole) to 0.76 (most inclusive policy pole) (Mean: 0.12; Median: 0.12; SD: 0.26).

Individual level database - STATPOP

This paper mainly uses individual register data from the FSO, which we link with cantonal integration policy data. The register dataset, named STATPOP, provides individual-level demographic data on the entire permanent resident population of Switzerland. This exhaustivity is of important analytic value as it provides us with the complete picture of immigrants’ mobility in and out of Switzerland. However, because STATPOP was not created for research but for administrative purposes, it offers a large number of observations but a limited number of variables (Connelly et al., 2016). Importantly, STATPOP data also contains both stocks and flows of the population, indicating the precise date and direction of any individual movement occurring during the period of study. We run our analyses on the movements happening in 2012.

As elaborated below, this decision was taken to be able to include the most adequate cantonal control measures (e.g. natives' attitudes in terms of party vote shares in federal elections from 2011). The difference of three years between our IPI's data collection and our individual (im-)mobility outcomes should not be problematic, given that these policies are highly path dependent and stable over time (e.g. Manatschal, 2012).

The data of 2012 include 1,272,856 observations. In this year, 2.03% of noncitizens made an inter-cantonal move, while 3.35% moved out of Switzerland. These shares show that, overall, onward mobility is rather low. A look at some sample demographics substantiates further how the share of immigrants declines over time. For instance, 88'209 immigrants have spent 3 years on Swiss territory (86'429 with a B permit and 1'780 with a C permit) and this share decreases to 30'128 individuals after 20 years (2'248 with a B permit and 27'880 with a C permit).

As developed in the theoretical section, we only keep in our data immigrants holding a B or C Permit as these permits allow noncitizens to move freely within Switzerland.¹⁸

As discussed in the theoretical section, we also create a categorical variable to seize immigrants' vulnerability in terms of residence permit and whether noncitizens are from an EU country or not. This second main independent variable of our study was constructed as follows: 1. EU citizens holding a C Permit; 2. Non-EU citizens holding a C Permit; 3. EU citizens holding a B permit; 4. Non-EU citizens holding a B Permit. This categorical variable ranges from the least to the most vulnerable status. EU citizens represent a share of 68.38% of the sample. The ones holding a C permit are 39.52% compared to 28.86% with a B permit. Non-EU citizens represent 31.62% of our data. Among them, C permit holders represent a share of 17.36% and B permit holders are the smallest subgroup with 14.27% of the entire population under scrutiny. In our analysis, we exclude individuals holding other permits such as Ci permits for diplomats or L Permit for short-term residence. We discard the former because of the very specific profile of diplomats, who are highly mobile and do not seek to stay in Switzerland. We do not account for L Permit holders because they officially aim at staying less than a year in Switzerland.

¹⁸It is important to note that free movement for B and C permits holders is restricted in case of unemployment and dependence on social benefits. We do not have access to unemployment and social benefits data at the individual level. However, our analytic models control for foreign-born unemployment rates at the cantonal level.

Dependent variables

The two dependent variables are dummies extracted from the STATPOP database. The first measures inter-cantonal mobility, reporting if an individual has moved from one canton to another in a given year (1 = inter-cantonal mobility, 0 = immobility). The second dependent variable relates to mobility out of Switzerland (1 = move out of Switzerland, 0 = immobility). The two DVs are mutually exclusive. For instance, an international mover is not included in the analysis of inter-cantonal mobility, and vice versa.

Control variables

We use a dummy to indicate each individual's gender (1 = female, 0 = male; Mean: 0.47; SD: 0.5). Age (Mean: 40.8 years; Median: 39 years; SD: 16.80) and time spent in Switzerland (Mean: 13.6 years; Median: 8 years; SD: 13.9) are also included in the analyses and coded as continuous variables (in years).

To ensure the possible cantonal drivers precede the individual effects, the models include various control variables with a one-year time lag with respect to our individual outcome variables, with exception of the three-year gap for the policy index as discussed above. In other words, all cantonal control variables are measured in 2011, with noncitizen movement measured in 2012. The first two controls relate to economic factors. Since we know that economic factors are important drivers of mobility decisions, we control for the cantonal foreign-born unemployment rate (State Secretariat for Economic Affairs) and tax rates (Federal Tax Administration). We have constructed the latter variable using an average of the tax level for married couples with two children and that of single individuals, in both cases living in the cantonal capital and earning between 60'000 and 80'000 CHF a year. Sociodemographic factors such as the foreign-born share are also considered. A dummy variable captures the official cantonal language (0 = French/Italian-speaking canton, 1 = German-speaking canton). Two final variables relate to the political context of the canton. As a proxy for an immigrant-friendly cantonal context (Manatschal, 2015; Ruedin, 2013), the first variable captures the left-wing share in National Council elections (combining votes for the Swiss Socialist Party, Swiss Party of Labour, Green Party of Switzerland and Solidarity). The second variable measures the conservative right-wing share during the very same elections as a proxy for an immigrant-

sceptic cantonal context, tallying votes for the Swiss People's Party (SVP), the Ticino League, the Geneva Citizens' Movement, the Swiss Democrats and the Federal Democratic Union (Strijbis, 2014). Before running the models, we have conducted a variant inflation factor (VIF) test that indicates an absence of multicollinearity with all variables ranking well below the limit of 10.

Methodology

This paper's data are nested at two levels: level-1 data represent the individual or micro-level while level-2 data relate to cantonal factors. Given this nested structure and the dichotomous nature of our outcomes, we apply multilevel logistic regressions, running random intercept and random slope regressions for the baseline models. This multilevel modelling strategy allows level-1 units to 'borrow strength' from level-2 units when the number of observations at the macro-level is relatively low (Steenbergen & Jones, 2002). To test the amplifying policy effect over time (H1), we include simple interaction terms between time spent in Switzerland and inclusive policies. Heterogeneous group effects (H2) are analysed via triple-interaction terms to test policy effects on the sedentary effects of time on different immigrant subgroups.

As our models consider contextual and individual level variables, one may raise the question of immigrants' selection into specific cantons before their subsequent movement or immobility, which we analyse here. Table A1 (in the Appendix) shows that, based on the information available via registry data, cantonal noncitizen samples are very balanced, and cantonal differences are marginal as indicated by the small standard deviations across cantonal means of the various individual variables. At the same time, turnover, i.e. influx and remigration, is not equally distributed across cantons – we return to this point when discussing our empirical results.

Empirical Findings

The empirical test of integration policies' correlation with noncitizen immobility proceeds in two steps. Table 1 shows the cross-level interaction terms between time spent in Switzerland and the IPI to predict international (Model 1) and inter-cantonal onward mobility (Model 2) (see full baseline and interaction term models including all variables and constituent terms in the Appendix, Table A2). Then, we turn towards the subsamples' analyses to see if some

subgroups' characteristics make it more likely that noncitizens' immobility behaviours are shaped by the interaction between the IPI and time spent in Switzerland.

Analyses on the entire sample

First hypothesis – Over time effects of the IPI on immigrants' immobility

Model 1 in Table 1 displays the cross-level interaction term between time spent in Switzerland and the IPI with international onward mobility as outcome. The model tests our first hypothesis, which stipulates that inclusive integration policies amplify the sedentary effects of time on immobility. The estimates give a first validation that, after a certain period of time in Switzerland, noncitizens are more likely to stay in Switzerland, since less likely to move, as expressed by the negative interaction term, if they live in a canton with relatively inclusive integration policies compared to living in an exclusive policy context.

This pattern can also be confirmed for inter-cantonal (im-)mobility, as shown in Model 2 (Table 1). The cross-level interaction term between integration policies and time spent in Switzerland is negatively correlated with inter-cantonal onward mobility, indicating an increase in immobility. These models confirm our first hypothesis which stipulates that inclusive integration policies amplify the positive effect of time spent in Switzerland on noncitizens' immobility. It also appears that this correlation is stronger for international onward mobility than for inter-cantonal mobility. Note also that the baseline models in the appendix show no direct effect of integration policy on neither international nor inter-cantonal mobility (Models 1 and 3 in Table A2), supporting our argument that policy effects unfold only over time.

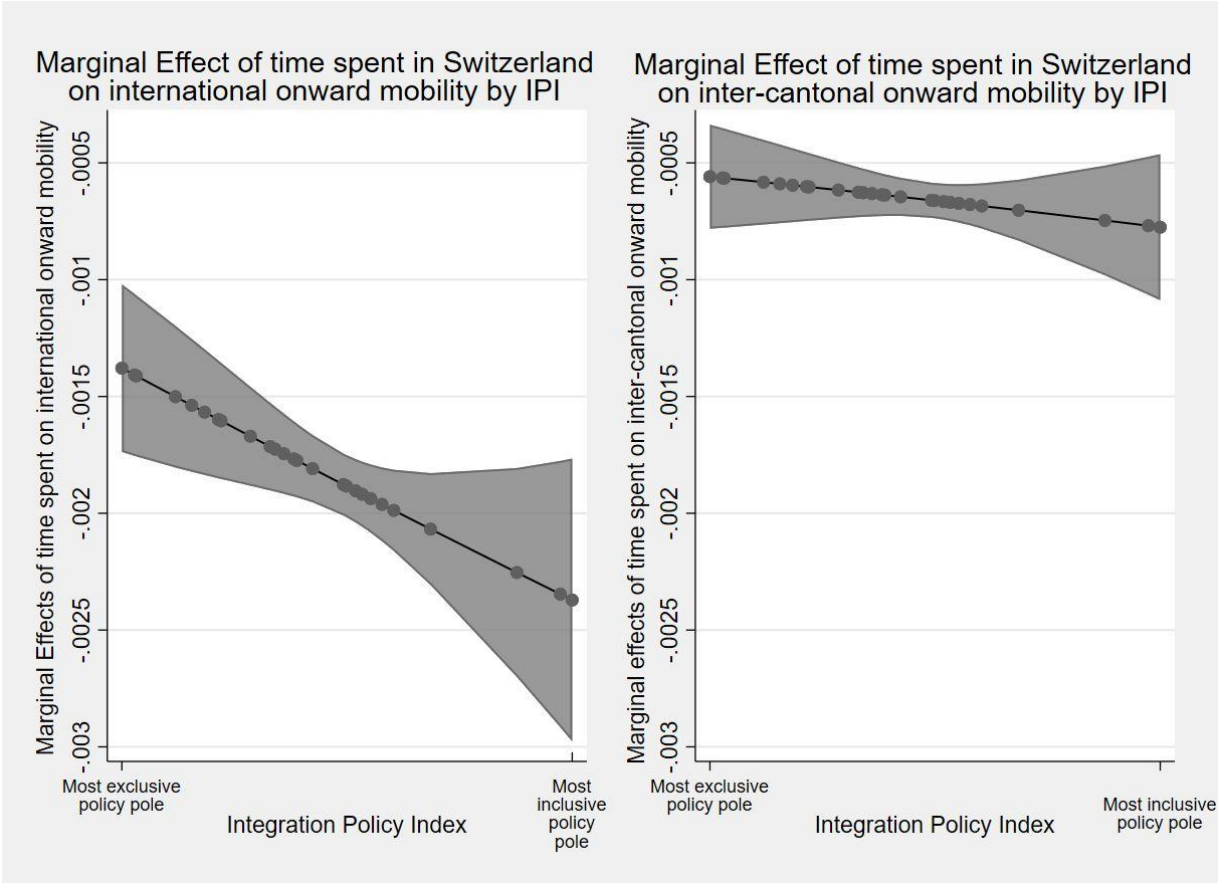
Table 1 – Multilevel logistic regression – Baseline and Interaction-term (Time X IPI)

	International onward mobility – Full sample	Inter-cantonal mobility – Full sample
	Model 1	Model 2
Time spent in Switzerland	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)
Integration policy index (IPI)	0.31 (0.21)	0.21 (0.31)
Time spent X IPI	-0.02*** (0.00)	-0.01* (0.00)
Control variables	YES	YES
Cut 1	3.74*** -0.34	2.25*** -0.51
Cantonal variation	0.02** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.02)
AIC	332065.81	227032.72
BIC	332258.36	227225.05
Log-Likelihood	-166016.9	-113500.36
N	1'244'526	1'227'621

Notes: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. All models use random intercepts and fixed slopes.
Source: STATPOP (Federal Statistical Office)

Following Berry, Golder and Milton (2012), we produced marginal effect plots to visually capture how time spent in Switzerland and integration policies interact to explain (im-)mobility patterns. Figure 1 displays the marginal effects of immigrants' time spent in Switzerland on international (left plot) and inter-cantonal (right plot) onward mobility as a function of all cantonal integration policies (x-axis) for the entire sample. The plots visualize the findings of Table 1, showing how for both types of mobility, inclusive integration policies further amplify the negative, i.e. sedentary, effect of time on moving among immigrants. Also, Figure 1 clearly demonstrates that international onward mobility is more influenced by this effect than inter-cantonal moves.

Figure 1: Marginal effect of time spent by IPI on international and inter-cantonal onward mobility of the entire sample



Notes: Marginal effect plots based on results in Table 1. Grey bands indicate 95% confidence intervals.

Control variables

We also use Model 1 in Table A2 (in the Online Appendix) to briefly discuss how individual factors relate to onward mobility out of Switzerland. Compared to the baseline (EU citizens with C permit), non-EU citizens with the same permit are more likely to stay in Switzerland. Both EU and non-EU citizens holding a B permit tend to be more mobile than EU citizens with a C permit. Being a female and time spent in Switzerland decrease the likelihood of onward mobility out of Switzerland. Also being older significantly increases the likelihood of staying in Switzerland. With respect to cantonal controls, a higher foreign-born share increases the likelihood that noncitizens will move out of Switzerland. Of the other cantonal control variables, none play a statistically significant role in explaining onward mobility out of Switzerland.

As regards the baseline model for mobility across cantons (Model 3, Table A1), the influence of individual and cantonal factors are rather similar as for mobility out of Switzerland. Relative to immigrants' vulnerability, only one difference appears, as EU citizens with a B permit move more across cantons than EU citizens holding a C permit. As for cantonal control variables, the foreign-born share is insignificant and living in a German-speaking canton increases inter-cantonal mobility.

Analyses on subsamples

Second hypothesis – Over time effects of the IPI on immobility are the largest among most vulnerable immigrants

Turning to the subsamples, we run a model with triple interaction terms between time spent in Switzerland, the IPI and the vulnerability group variable. As shown in the restricted models in Table 2 (see full models including all variables and constituent terms of the triple interaction in the Online Appendix, Table A3), the influence of the interaction between time spent and integration policies varies across subgroups. As regards international onward mobility (Model 1), on the one hand, it appears that the legally most stable immigrants (EU citizens with C permit, baseline in the models) are the least influenced subcategory. On the other hand, inclusive integration policies amplify the sedentary effect of time most among the most vulnerable immigrants (Non-EU nationals with B permit). Both intermediate immigrant categories in terms of legal vulnerability (Non-EU citizens with C permit and EU nationals with B permit) also display an amplification of the sedentary effect of time by inclusive integration policies compared to the baseline category.

As regards inter-cantonal onward mobility (Model 2 in Table 2), only the most vulnerable immigrants (Non-EU citizens with B permit) are significantly influenced differently than the baseline (EU nationals with C permit).

Table 2: Multilevel logistic regression – Triple interaction terms – Vulnerability X Time Spent X IPI

	Model 1	Model 2
	International onward mobility	Inter-cantonal onward mobility
<i>Triple Interaction terms</i>		
Vulnerability (ref. cat.: EU with C Permit)		
X Time spent X IPI		
-Non-EU/C Permit X Time spent X IPI	-0.071*** (0.012)	-0.018 (0.014)
-EU/B Permit X Time spent X IPI	-0.043** (0.015)	-0.021 (0.019)
-Non-EU/B Permit X Time spent X IPI	-0.11*** (0.016)	-0.11*** (0.020)
Control variables	YES	YES
Cut 1	4.07*** (0.35)	2.30*** (0.51)
Cantonal variation	0.023** (0.0071)	0.052*** (0.016)
AIC	328100.1	226669.5
BIC	328400.9	226970.0
Log-Likelihood	-164025.0	-113309.8
N	1'244'526	1'227'621
Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. All models use random intercepts and fixed slopes. Source: STATPOP (Federal Statistical Office).		

For visual and substantive interpretation of these results, we also drew predicted probability plots (see full predicted probability tables in the Online Appendix, Table A4 – Models 1 to 5). To produce these plots, the IPI's minimal and maximal values were interacted with the number of years spent in Switzerland; 3 years (first quartile), 8 years (median), 13.6 years (mean) and 20 years (third quartile). All other control variables are maintained at their mean values. Figure 2 displays the results from these triple interaction terms for international (im-)mobility and each immigrant subgroup as predicted probability plots. Note that these plots base on the two most extreme cantons in terms of IPI only, and not the full range of the policy index, as in Figure 1. The differential decrease of the policy slopes shows that not only time affects mobility behaviour (in which case we would observe parallel decreasing policy slopes), but that inclusive policies indeed amplify the sedentary effect of time. This pattern emerges most clearly for the more vulnerable immigrant categories in Figure 2, in line with our expectations.

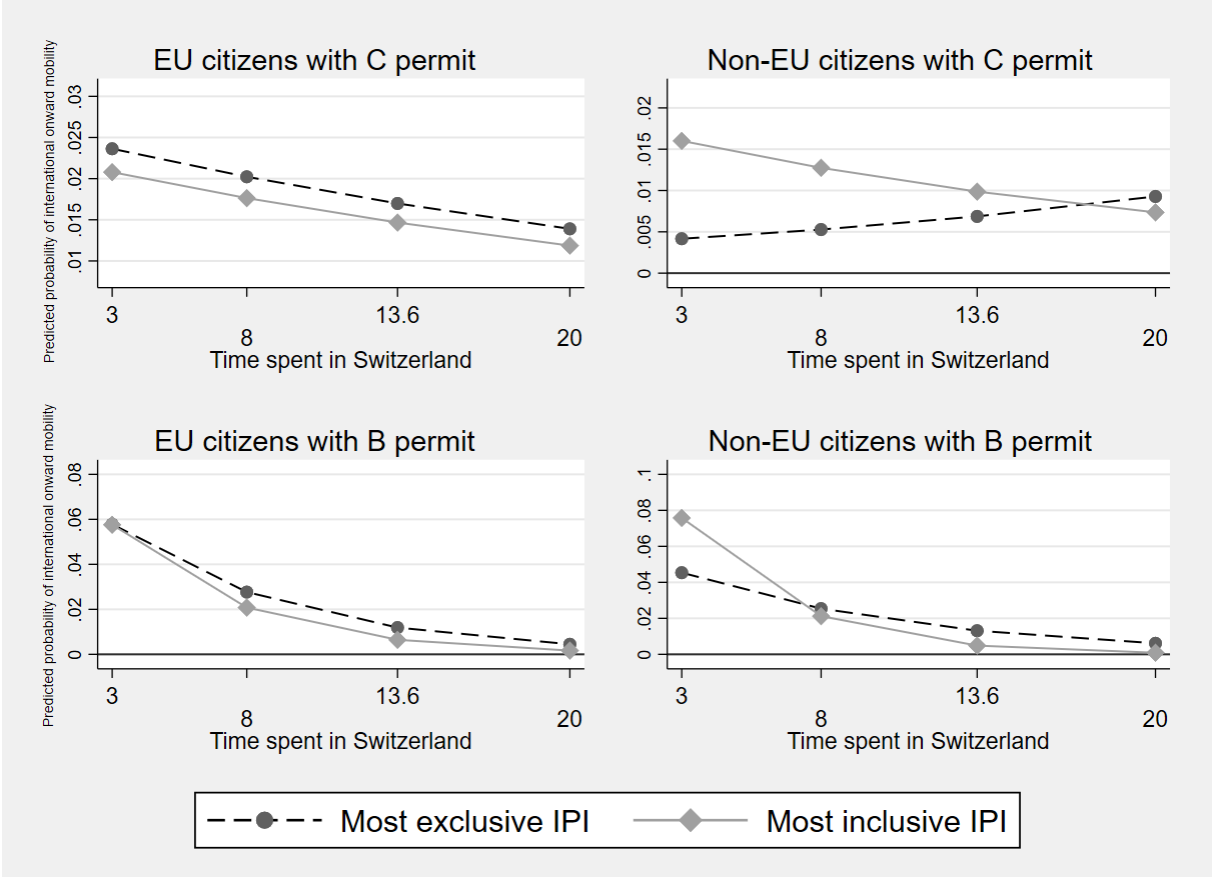
Remember that in 2012, on average, only 3.35% of immigrants moved out of Switzerland and 2.03% to another canton. More specifically, for EU citizens with a C permit, the decrease in

mobility ranges from 2.1% to 1.2% in the inclusive policy context and from 2.4% to 1.4% in the most exclusive one. Non-EU nationals with a C permit see their decrease ranging from 1.6% to 0.74% in the most inclusive canton while the likelihood to be onward mobile increases even slightly over time in the most exclusive canton from 0.42% to 0.93%. Among EU citizens with a B permit the mobility probability after three years is about 5.8% in both inclusive and exclusive policy contexts, and decreases to 0.17% (most inclusive context) and to 0.45% (most exclusive context). As expected, non-EU nationals holding a B permit face the strongest decrease in mobility over time. In inclusive cantons, the decrease in mobility ranges from 7.6% to 0.09%, while in the most exclusive context, the decrease goes only from 4.5% to 0.61%.

To summarize, in an inclusive policy context, the decrease of the probability to move, i.e. the increase in immobility, is between 1.8 (for EU citizens with a C permit) and 85.4 times (for non-EU citizens with a B permit) higher after 20 years compared to 3 years of residence. For the most exclusive policy pole, the decrease in mobility probability over time is significantly smaller, ranging from 1.7 (for EU citizens with a C permit) to 12.9 times higher immobility levels (for non-EU citizens with a B permit) after 20 years than after 3 years.

Therefore, regarding international (im-)mobility, it appears clearly that living in an inclusive canton amplifies the sedentary effect of time on noncitizens. These findings tend to confirm again our first hypothesis on such effects as these effects appear in all samples. In addition, these estimates also show that non-EU nationals with a B permit which we classified as the most vulnerable immigrant group are indeed most affected by an inclusive policy context, which is in line with our second hypothesis. Also, it may appear from these subgroup analyses that the effects on the entire sample may be driven by non-EU citizens with B and C permit. However, even if the strength of the impacts is large for these subsamples, these categories only account for 31.62% of the entire sample. Therefore, further research would be needed to decipher these effects more precisely.

Figure 2: Predicted probability plot – International onward mobility – All subcategories



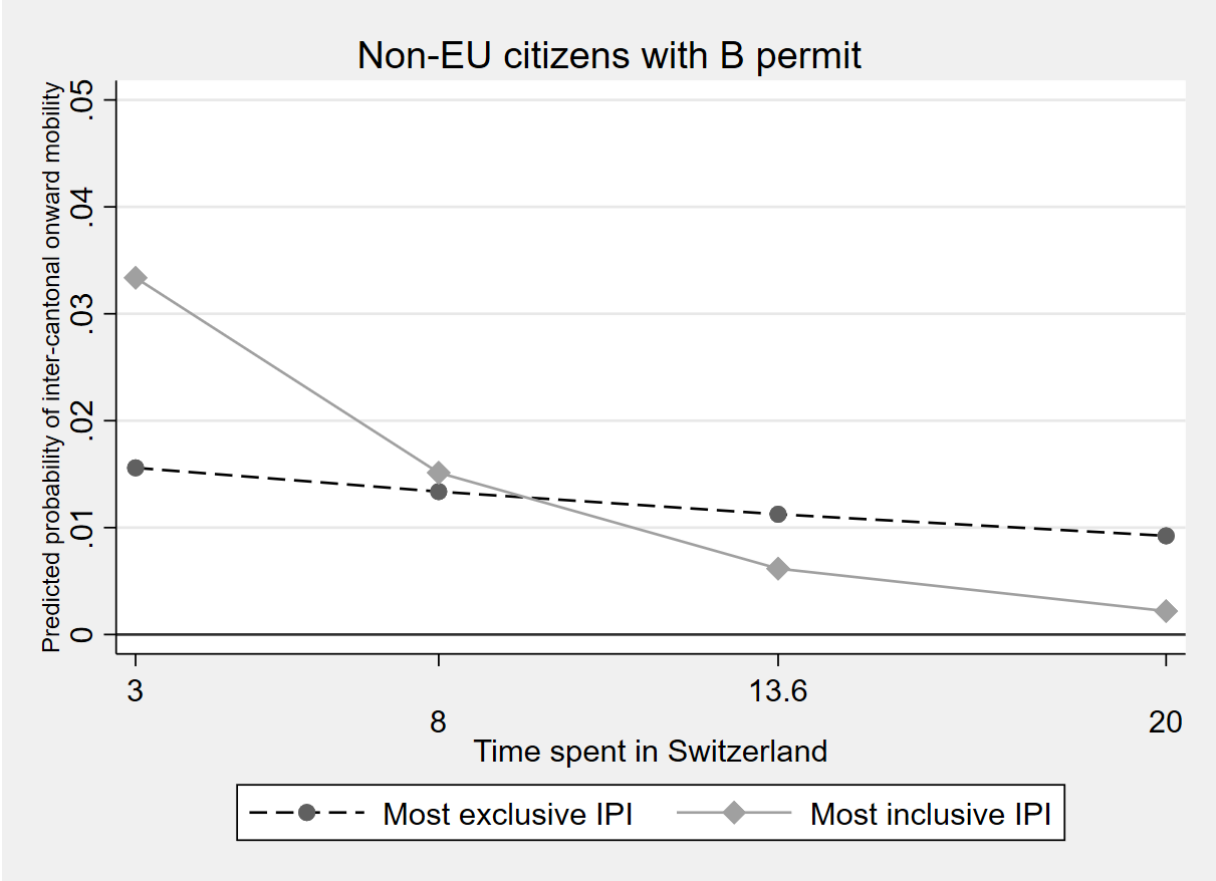
Notes: Probability plots based on results in Table A4. Lines represent predicted probabilities for most inclusive (diamonds) and exclusive (circles) values of integration policy over time.

One may wonder why immigrants, in the first years after arrival (i.e. after 3 years), tend to leave more cantons with inclusive IPI compared to more exclusive ones (see Fig.2, vignettes for non-EU citizens with B and C permit). Official statistics clearly show that not all cantons attract an even share of international immigrants (nccr – on the move, 2022). For instance, cantons such as Geneva, Vaud, or Basel-City attract most international immigrants. If, in addition, we take into account that immigrants’ onward mobility mostly happens in the first years after arrival (nccr – on the move, 2019), we can consider that immigrants’ turnover is not evenly distributed across Swiss cantons. In spite of these unequal movement patterns after 3 years of residence, which can be explained by this differential turnover across cantons, Figure 2 clearly shows how inclusive policies amplify the sedentary effect of time in the following years of noncitizens’ residence in a canton.

Figure 3 shows the same triple-interaction term to predict the (im-)mobility probability for inter-cantonal moves (full predicted probability tables in the Online Appendix, Table A4 – Models 6 to 10). The plot contains only the sample with a statistically significant estimate in

the multilevel logistic regression model (Table 2). As expected, non-EU nationals holding a B permit experience the strongest decrease in inter-cantonal mobility over time in an inclusive policy context, from 3.3% to 0.02%. In an exclusive canton, the same decrease is again clearly smaller, going from 1.6% to 0.09%.

Figure 3: Predicted probability plot – Inter-cantonal onward mobility – Non-EU citizens with B permit



Notes: Probability plots based on results in Table A4. Lines represent predicted probabilities for most inclusive (diamonds) and exclusive (circles) values of integration policy over time.

Overall, the subsample analyses reveal first that non-EU nationals with a B permit are indeed most affected by an inclusive policy context. This finding confirms our second hypothesis stating that the amplification of the positive effect of time on immobility by an inclusive policy context is largest among most vulnerable immigrants. Second, international onward mobility is clearly more influenced by the moderation between IPI and time spent in Switzerland than inter-cantonal movements. Last, especially for non-EU citizens, the likelihood of onward moving (internationally or between cantons) is surprisingly higher during the first years in an inclusive

context than in an exclusive one. A possible explanation could be the important immigrant turnover in cantons with inclusive IPI, as discussed above. However, further analyses would be needed to fully understand this particular outcome.

Robustness checks

We have run two different robustness checks. First, we use the SWISSCIT – Index on Citizenship laws (CI) as a second policy measure, which covers only one dimension – albeit a central one – of integration policy, access to citizenship. The analyses are run in 2016 to be in line with the CI data collection and the national elections of 2015 to seize natives’ political attitudes via parties’ electoral vote shares. For international onward mobility of the entire population (Model 2 in Table A5 in the Online Appendix), cross-level interaction terms between time spent and the CI display a similar picture as in Table A2. Thus, it also appears that inclusive cantonal citizenship policies amplify the sedentary effects of time on immigrants’ immobility, compared to international onward mobility, in line with our integration policy findings. As for the subgroup analyses, non-EU citizens with a B permit are the most affected subgroup, closely followed by non-EU nationals with a C permit (Model 2 in Table A5 in the Online Appendix). The only difference with the main findings is that EU citizens with a B permit are not influenced by the interaction term between time spent and the IPI. This may be explained by the particular nature of citizenship policies, and the fact that non-EU nationals tend to benefit more from Swiss citizenship than EU citizens, for instance regarding employment and salary (Peters et al., 2019).

As for immobility compared to inter-cantonal migration, there is no effect of the interaction term for the entire sample (Model 4 in Table A5). Again, non-EU citizens holding a B permit see the sedentary effects of time being amplified in inclusive citizenship policy contexts. In contrast to our main findings for integration policies, the sedentary effect of time on inter-cantonal mobility even amplifies in cantons with exclusive citizenship policies for EU nationals with a B permit. We hypothesize that this may again be related to the particular nature of citizenship policies, as the required duration of stay before starting the naturalization process may play a key role and varies greatly across cantons. According to this perspective, years spent in a canton are more precious in exclusive cantons with long residency requirements for citizenship application. Therefore, it is possible that living in a canton with exclusive citizenship practices creates “sunk costs”, which may, in turn, increase costs of onward mobility.

Because integration policies focus on noncitizens, we have also run a placebo test of the effects of integration policies on Swiss citizens (Table A6). As reported in Model 2, integration policies do not influence Swiss citizens' immobility, when compared to international mobility. For inter-cantonal mobility, Swiss citizens tend to leave cantons with inclusive integration policies slightly more (Model 4). The estimate of the interaction term being very close to zero and in the opposite direction as for noncitizens indicates that integration policies do not seem to matter for citizens. Both checks confirm thus the robustness of our main findings.

Discussion and Conclusion

By deciding to stay, immigrants reshape the face of the host-country sociologically, demographically and politically. A wealth of economic evidence points to the marked positive effects of immigrant location decisions on local economies (see e.g. Bracco et al., 2018). It is therefore hardly surprising that the sparse research on noncitizens who 'vote with their feet' in post-industrialized destination countries still focuses on economic 'push' or 'pull' factors (e.g. the influence of taxes or unemployment rates).

Our paper shows that widening the study of macro-level factors is necessary to understand immigrants' (im-)mobility behaviours better. As our findings show, integration policies do not directly affect the (im-)mobility patterns studied in this paper. Instead, the effects of integration policies need time to unfold, which is in line with previous findings on noncitizens' naturalization intentions (Bennour, 2020). It appears that integration policies can moderate the sedentary effect of time spent in Switzerland. In other words, inclusive integration policies amplify the sedentary effect of time by increasing noncitizens' immobility in a canton. The other key finding of this paper is that immigrants' vulnerability, in terms of rights to enter and stay in the country, is an additional important moderator of the effects of integration policies. It appears that most vulnerable immigrants are the most influenced by the political reception context as regards their (im-)mobility behaviours. This finding resonates with recent scholarly discourses on the interplay between integration and immigration policies (see e.g. Helbling et al., 2020). It appears that immigrants facing most obstacles to enter the country are also the ones benefiting most from inclusive integration policies.

We demonstrate here that integration policies targeted at noncitizens are important for their mobility decisions. Indeed, integration policies can act as a 'keep' factor, motivating noncitizens to stay at their place of residence. To date, studies have mainly shown that

integration policies influence immigrant integration. Pushing this perspective further, this paper demonstrates that these policies also affect noncitizens' immobility behaviour, which can be interpreted as the ultimate physical integration into a place of residence. Overall, our findings suggest that research should pay more attention to the political drivers of noncitizens' (im-)mobility behaviour to better understand when and why noncitizens decide to stay or leave their place of residence.

The fact that integration policies affect predominantly international rather than inter-cantonal onward mobility merits further reflection. Future research is needed to better understand the interplay between pull, push, and 'keep' factors. For instance, qualitative research on onward movers could give substantive pieces of information on the personal reasons behind (im-)mobility decisions, and how they relate to political macro factors. Finally, future research could analyze whether international return or onward mobility to a third country are more affected by the policy context, as both types of mobility depend on different reasoning.

With respect to the generalizability of our findings, it would be interesting to replicate this study on the effects of subnational integration policies on (im-)mobility in other federal political contexts. The effects may be even stronger in countries with a single official language because learning the local language implies unlimited mobility across the entire country without facing language hurdles, which is not the case in multilingual Switzerland. In a linguistically unified country, inter-regional mobility may thus be even more influenced by subnational integration policies.

We also need to emphasize some limitations of this paper. First, while using administrative register data gives us access to the full sample of noncitizens' individual mobility trajectories, individual information beyond mobility is very limited. For instance, we lack relevant variables that might explain mobility, such as education, income, or the employment sector. Including these individual factors could help develop more precise and complete explanations of the ways integration policies influence immigrant mobility. Previous research further shows that subjective factors such as attachment to the host country or the localization of social networks likely moderate or mediate the effects of integration policies.

A second limitation concerns the main independent variable. In our study, we use the legal framework of integration policies and study the link between policy outputs and policy outcomes. This approach has its merits, but it may overlook the implementation of laws. The question of policy implementation also englobes the room for manoeuvre at the municipality

level. For instance, understanding how policies are implemented by street-level bureaucrats could help to explain the mechanisms through which policies influence mobility.

Last, as an inherent limitation of quantitative research, our findings represent group averages and hence simplify individual life trajectories. The top-down perspective, and the analysis of different variables and subsamples, help understand the complex and multifaceted features of migration and mobility across the entire noncitizen population of Switzerland. However, this perspective hides important disparities within a single category of people.

Based on its findings and limitations, this paper opens promising perspectives for future research. One approach would be to adopt a bottom-up perspective on policy effects. Qualitative data or vignette experiments could be useful in understanding how noncitizens perceive the political reception context in which they live. This can be an important complement to our top-down perspective, offering a finer-grained perspective on noncitizens' motivations concerning their (im-)mobility behaviour. A second perspective, at the subnational level, would be to explore the interplay between regional push and pull factors in shaping immigrants' (im-)mobility decisions. A third path to future studies would be to analyze the effects of integration policies from a causal perspective. In the Swiss case, integration policies are quite path-dependent and thus relatively stable over time. However, popular votes such as the federal initiative 'against mass immigration' in 2014 can introduce major changes to migration policies in Switzerland. Scrutinizing the effects of such a policy change via a quasi-experimental research design could further improve our knowledge on the effects of exclusive policy contexts on immigrants' (im-)mobility. Nevertheless, from a radical empiricist perspective, which postulates that Big Data inherently produce meaningful and insightful knowledge about complex phenomena, this paper's correlational analyses based on exhaustive administrative data already allows us to draw sound conclusions (Kitchin, 2014). Using the full, rather than a random, sample of all noncitizen movements, our analyses examine 'the complete set of data for patterns that reveal effects, producing scientific conclusions without further experimentation' (Prensky, 2009).

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Appendix

Table A1: Descriptive statistics of individual variables across cantons

Canton	Mean of age (in years)	Share of women (in percent)	Mean of time spent in Switzerland (in years)	Share of EU citizens (in percent)	Share of C permit holders (in percent)
Zurich	39.77	47.02%	12.53	69.14%	51.43%
Berne	40.68	47.72%	13.52	62.16%	60.63%
Luzern	39.54	47.53%	12.91	60.25%	55.40%
Uri	40.95	43.64%	12.09	72.77%	46.23%
Schwyz	41.50	46.43%	13.11	63.07%	61.81%
Obwalden	39.65	45.55%	9.72	71.86%	41.92%
Nidwalden	41.30	46.05%	11.02	70.46%	50.18%
Glarus	41.09	45.20%	14.91	63.76%	59.05%
Zug	39.51	46.33%	10.60	69.81%	48.46%
Fribourg	37.20	47.21%	11.09	71.56%	54.72%
Solothurn	42.18	47.96%	16.75	54.04%	69.55%
Basel-City	40.80	48.25%	12.43	65.88%	53.45%
Basel Land	42.35	48.58%	15.90	61.36%	64.29%
Schaffhausen	41.66	47.83%	14.38	66.52%	60.54%
Appenzell Ausserrhoden	42.48	46.27%	13.85	70.12%	61.77%
Appenzell Innerrhoden	42.33	45.80%	12.88	65.14%	64.82%
Sankt Gallen	40.55	46.34%	14.38	60.37%	62.94%
Graubünden	41.33	46.00%	11.39	82.54%	42.51%
Aargau	41.15	46.87%	15.12	61.16%	64.13%
Thurgau	41.68	46.28%	14.39	72.66%	60.24%
Ticino	45.78	46.95%	16.93	81.98%	60.60%
Vaud	39.61	48.14%	12.82	71.94%	51.98%
Valais	40.54	47.43%	12.67	79.06%	51.82%
Neuchâtel	41.41	47.03%	15.52	75.31%	64.54%
Genève	42.03	49.18%	14.06	68.46%	60.07%
Jura	43.09	47.40%	16.98	73.21%	65.43%
Average	41.16	46.88%	13.54	68.64%	57.25%
Standard Deviation	2.35	0.00	3.15	0.03	0.10

Table A2 – Multilevel logistic regression – Baseline and Interaction-term (Time X IPI)

	International onward mobility – Full sample	Inter-cantonal mobility – Full sample
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	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Baseline	Interaction Term (Time spent X IPI)	Baseline	Interaction Term (Time spent X IPI)
<i>Individual variables</i>				
Gender (ref.cat. = Male)	-0.12*** (0.01)	-0.11*** (0.01)	-0.12*** (0.01)	-0.12*** (0.01)
Time spent in Switzerland	-0.06*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)
Age	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit)				
-Non-EU/C Permit	-0.59*** (0.03)	-0.61*** (0.03)	-0.39*** (0.02)	-0.39*** (0.02)
-EU/B Permit	0.80*** (0.02)	0.79*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.02)	0.29*** (0.02)
-Non-EU/B Permit	0.76*** (0.02)	0.75*** (0.02)	-0.19*** (0.02)	-0.19*** (0.02)
<i>Cantonal variables</i>				
Foreign-born share	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)
German-speaking canton	0.28 (0.15)	0.29 (0.15)	0.50* (0.23)	0.50* (0.23)
Foreigners' unemployment share	0.03 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.09 (0.05)	-0.09 (0.05)
Integration policy index (IPI)	0.17 (0.20)	0.31 (0.21)	0.15 (0.31)	0.21 (0.31)
Left-wing share	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Conservative right share	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Tax levels	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Time spent X IPI		-0.02*** (0.00)		-0.01* (0.00)
Cut 1	3.73*** (0.34)	3.74*** (0.34)	2.25*** (0.51)	2.25*** (0.51)
Cantonal variation	0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)
AIC	332137.18	332065.81	227036.60	227032.72
BIC	332317.69	332258.36	227216.90	227225.05
Log-Likelihood	-166053.59	-166016.90	-113503.30	-113500.36
N	1'244'526	1'244'526	1'227'621	1'227'621
Notes: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. All models use random intercepts and fixed slopes. Source: STATPOP (Federal Statistical Office)				

Table A3: Multilevel logistic regression – Triple interaction terms

	International onward mobility	Inter-cantonal mobility
	Model 1	Model 2
	Triple Interaction Term (Time Spent X IPI X Vulnerability)	Triple Interaction Term (Time Spent X IPI X Vulnerability)
Gender (ref.cat. = Male)	-0.12*** (0.010)	-0.11*** (0.013)
Time spent in Switzerland	-0.033*** (0.0012)	-0.047*** (0.0014)
Age	-0.0014*** (0.00039)	-0.0075*** (0.00051)
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit		
-Non-EU/C Permit	-1.26*** (0.064)	-0.59*** (0.053)
-EU/B Permit	1.42*** (0.027)	0.47*** (0.027)
-Non-EU/B Permit	1.40*** (0.030)	-0.074* (0.034)
<i><u>Cantonal variables</u></i>		
Foreign-born share	0.019** (0.0069)	-0.019 (0.010)
German-speaking canton	0.28 (0.16)	0.50* (0.23)
Foreigners' unemployment share	0.035 (0.032)	-0.090 (0.047)
Integration policy index (IPI)	-0.097 (0.22)	-0.16 (0.32)
Left-wing share	-0.0045 (0.0055)	-0.012 (0.0078)

Conservative right share	-0.0035 (0.0040)	-0.0096 (0.0056)
Tax levels	-0.0089 (0.015)	0.031 (0.022)
<i>Double Interaction Terms</i>		
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit) X Time spent		
-Non-EU/C Permit X Time spent	0.041*** (0.0032)	0.013*** (0.0031)
-EU/B Permit X Time spent	-0.15*** (0.0040)	-0.058*** (0.0047)
-Non-EU/B Permit X Time spent	-0.15*** (0.0046)	-0.039*** (0.0049)
Time spent X IPI	-0.0013 (0.0040)	0.0081 (0.0048)
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit) X IPI		
-Non-EU/C Permit X IPI	1.35*** (0.22)	0.53* (0.22)
-EU/B Permit X IPI	0.23* (0.092)	0.26* (0.10)
-Non-EU/B Permit X IPI	0.85*** (0.098)	1.06*** (0.12)
<i>Triple Interaction terms</i>		
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit) X Time spent X IPI		
-Non-EU/C Permit X Time spent X IPI	-0.071*** (0.012)	-0.018 (0.014)
-EU/B Permit X Time spent X IPI	-0.043** (0.015)	-0.021 (0.019)
-Non-EU/B Permit X Time spent X IPI	-0.11*** (0.016)	-0.11*** (0.020)
Cut 1	4.07*** (0.35)	2.30*** (0.51)
Cantonal variation	0.023** (0.0071)	0.052*** (0.016)
AIC	328100.1	226669.5

BIC	328400.9	226970.0
Log-Likelihood	-164025.0	-113309.8
N	1'244'526	1'227'621
Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. All models use random intercepts and fixed slopes. Source: STATPOP (Federal Statistical Office)		

Table A4: International and inter-cantonal onward mobility – Predicted probabilities

	International onward mobility					Inter-cantonal onward mobility				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
	Full Sample	EU – C Permit	Non-EU – C Permit	EU – B Permit	Non-EU – B Permit	Full Sample	EU – C Permit	Non-EU – C Permit	EU – B Permit	Non-EU – B Permit
3 years spent in Switzerland X Most exclusive IPI	0.032*** (0.0043)	0.024*** (0.0034)	0.0042*** (0.00078)	0.058*** (0.0077)	0.045*** (0.0062)	0.024*** (0.0048)	0.028*** (0.0056)	0.013*** (0.0028)	0.033*** (0.0066)	0.016*** (0.0032)
3 years spent in Switzerland X Most inclusive IPI	0.043*** (0.0057)	0.021*** (0.0031)	0.016*** (0.0029)	0.058*** (0.0078)	0.076*** (0.010)	0.030*** (0.0061)	0.023*** (0.0049)	0.019*** (0.0045)	0.036*** (0.0072)	0.033*** (0.0069)
8 years spent in Switzerland X Most exclusive IPI	0.026*** (0.0035)	0.020*** (0.0029)	0.0053*** (0.00089)	0.028*** (0.0041)	0.025*** (0.0039)	0.019*** (0.0038)	0.022*** (0.0044)	0.011*** (0.0024)	0.021*** (0.0043)	0.013*** (0.0029)
8 years spent in Switzerland X Most inclusive IPI	0.030*** (0.0041)	0.018*** (0.0026)	0.013*** (0.0021)	0.021*** (0.0032)	0.021*** (0.0033)	0.023*** (0.0047)	0.019*** (0.0040)	0.016*** (0.0035)	0.020*** (0.0045)	0.015*** (0.0034)
13.6 years spent in Switzerland X Most exclusive IPI	0.021*** (0.0028)	0.017*** (0.0024)	0.0069*** (0.0011)	0.012*** (0.0021)	0.013*** (0.0025)	0.015*** (0.0030)	0.016*** (0.0033)	0.0094*** (0.0020)	0.012*** (0.0029)	0.011*** (0.0027)
13.6 years spent in Switzerland X Most inclusive IPI	0.020*** (0.0028)	0.015*** (0.0021)	0.0099*** (0.0015)	0.0064*** (0.0012)	0.0049*** (0.00090)	0.017*** (0.0035)	0.015*** (0.0032)	0.013*** (0.0027)	0.011*** (0.0029)	0.0062*** (0.0016)
20 years spent in Switzerland X Most exclusive IPI	0.016*** (0.0022)	0.014*** (0.0020)	0.0093*** (0.0014)	0.0045*** (0.0010)	0.0061*** (0.0015)	0.011*** (0.0023)	0.012*** (0.0024)	0.0079*** (0.0017)	0.0065*** (0.0019)	0.0092*** (0.0027)

20 years spent in Switzerland X Most inclusive IPI	0.013*** (0.0018)	0.012*** (0.0017)	0.0074*** (0.0012)	0.0017*** (0.00040)	0.00089*** (0.00021)	0.012*** (0.0025)	0.012*** (0.0025)	0.0096*** (0.0022)	0.0053** (0.0017)	0.0022** (0.00071)
N	1'244'526	1'244'526	1'244'526	1'244'526	1'244'526	1'227'621	1'227'621	1'227'621	1'227'621	1'227'621

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. All models use random intercepts and fixed slopes.

Source: STATPOP (Federal Statistical Office)

Table A5: Robustness check - Multilevel logistic regressions – SWISSCIT Index

	International onward mobility – Full sample		Inter-cantonal mobility – Full sample	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Baseline	Interaction Term (Time spent X CI)	Baseline	Interaction Term (Time spent X CI)
<i>Individual variables</i>				
Gender (ref.cat. = Male)	-0.092*** (0.0092)	-0.097*** (0.0093)	-0.12*** (0.012)	-0.12*** (0.012)
Time spent in Switzerland	-0.052*** (0.00088)	-0.028*** (0.0031)	-0.051*** (0.0010)	-0.054*** (0.0037)
Age	0.00072* (0.00034)	0.0010** (0.00035)	-0.0070*** (0.00045)	-0.0069*** (0.00045)
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit)				
-Non-EU/C Permit	-0.68*** (0.024)	-1.50*** (0.15)	-0.42*** (0.023)	-0.57*** (0.12)
-EU/B Permit	0.72*** (0.015)	0.76*** (0.060)	0.30*** (0.017)	0.18** (0.059)
-Non-EU/B Permit	0.66*** (0.016)	0.16* (0.068)	-0.17*** (0.021)	-0.35*** (0.070)
<i>Cantonal variables</i>				
Foreign-born share	0.012* (0.0051)	0.011* (0.0052)	-0.032*** (0.0081)	-0.033*** (0.0080)
German-speaking canton	-0.021 (0.11)	-0.040 (0.11)	0.33 (0.18)	0.32 (0.18)
Foreigners' unemployment share	-0.035 (0.038)	-0.037 (0.039)	-0.16* (0.062)	-0.16* (0.062)
Citizenship Index (CI)	0.35 (0.18)	0.16 (0.20)	-0.24 (0.30)	-0.35 (0.30)
Left-wing share	-0.0070 (0.0050)	-0.0069 (0.0051)	0.015 (0.0080)	0.015 (0.0080)
Conservative right share	-0.0039 (0.0030)	-0.0037 (0.0031)	-0.0049 (0.0046)	-0.0049 (0.0046)
Tax levels	0.0027 (0.011)	0.0016 (0.011)	0.010 (0.018)	0.0098 (0.018)
<i>Double Interaction Terms</i>				
Time spent X CI		-0.014** (0.0051)		0.011 (0.0061)
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit) X Time spent				

-Non-EU/C Permit X Time spent		0.058*** (0.0082)		0.017* (0.0080)
-EU/B Permit X Time spent		-0.10*** (0.012)		-0.095*** (0.013)
-Non-EU/B Permit X Time spent		-0.10*** (0.015)		0.0037 (0.013)
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit) X CI				
-Non-EU/C Permit X CI		0.56* (0.24)		0.00093 (0.20)
-EU/B Permit X CI		-0.023 (0.096)		0.12 (0.098)
-Non-EU/B Permit X CI		0.86*** (0.11)		0.35** (0.12)
<i>Triple Interaction terms</i>				
Vulnerability (ref.cat.:EU with C Permit) X Time spent X CI				
-Non-EU/C Permit X Time spent X CI		-0.038** (0.014)		-0.0082 (0.014)
-EU/B Permit X Time spent X CI		0.019 (0.019)		0.077*** (0.022)
-Non-EU/B Permit X Time spent X CI		-0.078*** (0.023)		-0.059** (0.022)
Cut 1	3.45*** (0.39)	3.44*** (0.40)	1.99** (0.63)	1.91** (0.63)
Cantonal variation	0.015** (0.0047)	0.016** (0.0051)	0.041*** (0.012)	0.040*** (0.012)
AIC	406216.6	402674.5	275371.6	275095.8
BIC	406399.3	402979.1	275554.2	275400.1
Log-Likelihood	-203093.3	-201312.2	-137670.8	-137522.9
N	1'447'377	1'447'377	1'426'809	1'426'809
Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. All models use random intercepts and fixed slopes.				
Source: STATPOP (Federal Statistical Office)				

Table A6: Robustness check - Multilevel logistic regressions - Swiss citizens

	All Swiss citizens			
	International onward mobility		Inter-cantonal onward mobility	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
	Baseline	Interaction Term (Time spent X IPI)	Baseline	Interaction Term (Time spent X IPI)
	<i>Individual variables</i>			
Gender (ref.cat. = Male)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.15*** (0.01)	-0.15*** (0.01)
Time spent in Switzerland	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)	-0.05*** (0.00)
Age	-0.01*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
<i>Cantonal variables</i>				
Foreign-born share	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
German-speaking canton	0.70** (0.27)	0.70** (0.27)	0.04 (0.14)	0.04 (0.14)
Unemployment share	-0.21 (0.14)	-0.21 (0.14)	-0.15* (0.07)	-0.15* (0.07)
Integration policy index (IPI)	0.56 (0.44)	0.49 (0.44)	0.51* (0.25)	0.31 (0.25)
Left-wing share	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Conservative right share	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00

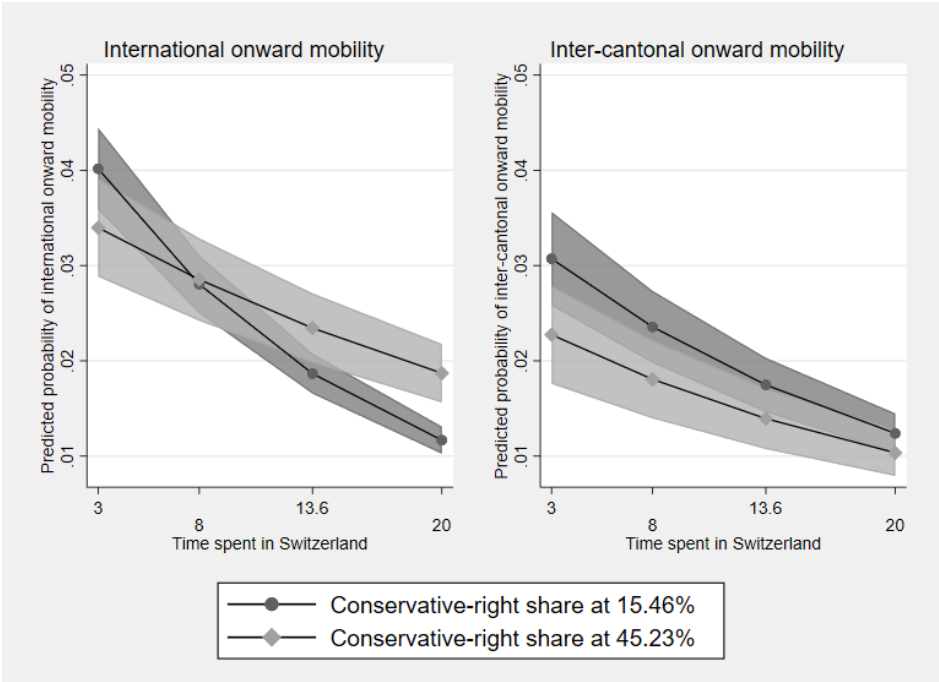
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Tax levels	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Time spent X IPI		0.00**		0.01***
		(0.00)		(0.00)
Cut 1	3.82***	3.82***	6.09***	6.06***
	(0.63)	(0.63)	(0.35)	(0.35)
Cantonal variation	0.10***	0.10***	0.03**	0.03**
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.01)	(0.01)
AIC	837571.28	837562.61	284770.42	284730.40
BIC	837734.29	837739.20	284933.32	284906.87
Log-Likelihood	-418773.64	-418768.30	-142373.21	-142352.20
N	5'864'743	5'864'743	5'864'743	5'864'743
Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01. All models use random intercepts and fixed slopes.				
Source: STATPOP (Federal Statistical Office)				

7.4.1. Paper IV – Additional analyses

Paper IV tackles the effects of both subnational integration policies and citizenship policies on immigrants' (im-)mobility behaviours. By using the same methodology, these additional analyses demonstrate the over-time effects of both inclusive and exclusive natives' attitudes on the same outcome. The direct effects estimates are not significant, corroborating similar findings for integration policies reported in Paper IV.

Models show that exclusive natives' attitudes significantly reduce time's sedentary effects on immigrants, compared to both types of mobility (0.00*** for international onward mobility; 0.00* for inter-cantonal onward mobility). However, these estimates are extremely small. To better understand the mechanism at hand, Figure 7 shows the predicted probability plots for this interaction between conservative-right and immigrants' time spent in Switzerland. Figure 7 demonstrates that immigrants' probability of leaving Switzerland decreases from 3.4% to 1.9% over the course of 17 years if they live in a context with exclusive natives' attitudes. In this same hostile context, moving inter-cantonally is about 2.3% after 3 years of residence and 1% after 20 years. During the same time frame, the likelihood that immigrants living in the most inclusive canton will move internationally declines from 4% to 1.2%. The situation is similar at the inter-cantonal level, with the probability of moving declining from 3.1% to 1.2%.

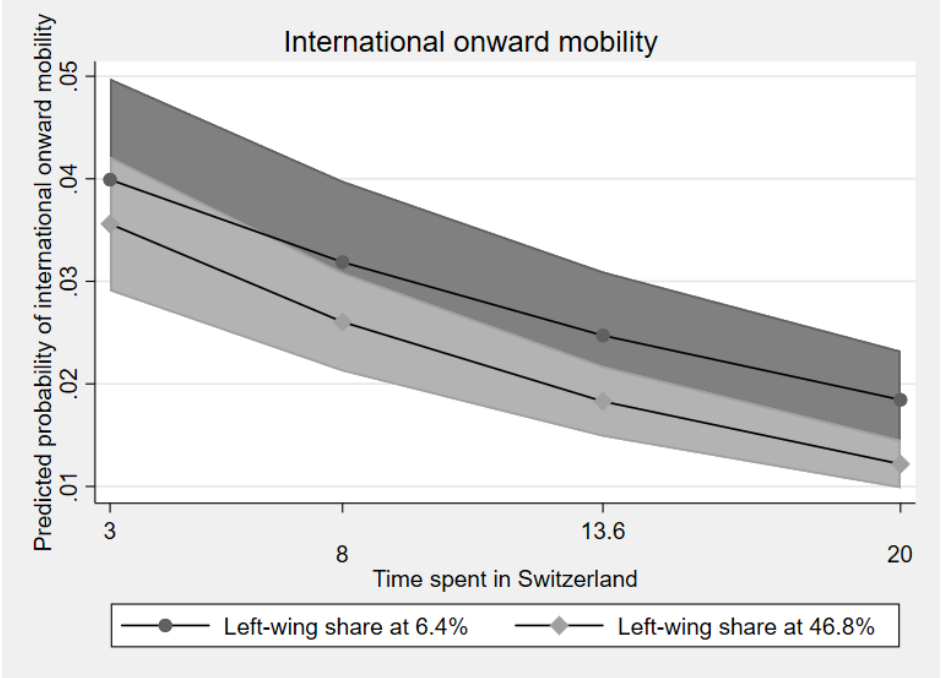
Figure 7: Predicted probability plots – International and inter-cantonal onward mobility of the entire sample



Notes: Probability plots. Lines represent predicted probabilities for most inclusive (circles) and exclusive (diamonds) values of natives’ attitudes towards immigration over time; grey bands indicate 95% confidence intervals.

Regarding inclusive natives’ attitudes, the left-wing share only decreases immigrants’ international onward mobility (-0.00***). This finding confirms the results of Paper IV as more inclusive natives’ attitudes amplify time’s sedentary effects on immigrants. As for the conservative-right share, these estimates are very small. A predicted probability plot (Figure 8) reinforces this conclusion. Living in a canton with the most welcoming natives’ attitudes, for between 3 and 20 years, only decreases the probability of moving internationally from 3.6% to 1.2%. The probability decreases from 4% to 1.8% for those living in a canton with less welcoming native attitudes.

Figure 8: Predicted probability plots – International onward mobility of the entire sample



Notes: Probability plot. Lines represent predicted probabilities for most exclusive (circles) and inclusive (diamonds) values of welcoming natives’ attitudes towards immigration over time; grey bands indicate 95% confidence intervals.

Subsample analyses show a similar pattern as the findings in Paper IV. Inclusive natives’ attitudes amplify time’s sedentary effects for non-EU nationals with B and C Permits, making them less likely to make an international onward move (-0.00*; -0.00***). This finding also holds true for immobility in comparison with inter-cantonal onward mobility for non-EU citizens with a B Permit (-0.00***).

Exclusive natives’ attitudes weaken time’s sedentary effects for: non-EU nationals with a B Permit (0.00*** compared to both types of mobility), non-EU nationals with a C Permit (0.00*** compared to international onward mobility) and EU citizens with a B Permit (0.00** compared to inter-cantonal mobility).

These findings on the entire samples and subsamples confirm what has been revealed in Paper IV, namely that an inclusive PRC amplifies time's sedentary effects on immigrants. However, this confirmation of the previous findings is rather weak as native attitude estimates are again extremely small.

7.5. Paper V – Residential location choice

Bennour, S., Manatschal, A., & Ruedin, D. (under review).
Who cares? How political reception contexts shape location
decisions of immigrants

Introduction

In a world divided into nation states, human mobility can either be internal (within a nation state) or international (across national borders). Worldwide, many people are on the move: estimated at around 740 million internal migrants in 2009 and 272 million international migrants in 2019 (McAuliffe et al., 2019). Even if these numbers come with great uncertainty, they underline the misconception that migrants primarily come from another country. This is certainly true for destination countries in Western Europe, like Switzerland, where internal mobility explains more of the spatial distribution than international movements (Wanner, 2014). Here, we analyse internal mobility under the specific angle of pull factors (Lee, 1966). In particular, we focus on municipality attributes and how they can attract or deter internal migrants, rather than on the factors that push individuals to leave a place, or how migrants choose a destination country.

The more specific focus of this paper is on understanding whether individuals – in this case recent immigrants – “vote with their feet” (Tiebout, 1956) for political reasons. Existing explanations of internal mobility with a focus on municipality or city characteristics have largely overlooked political factors. Studies using macro perspectives focus mostly on economic and financial determinants (Alonso, 1964; Borjas, 1999; Damm, 2009; Tiebout, 1956; Sasser, 2010). We are aware of only a few studies that emphasise the role of political variables to explain immigrants’ mobility choices (Braco et al., 2018; Slotwinski and Stutzer, 2019). Their focus is however restricted to anti-immigrant attitudes of the majority population as a deterring factor on the location choice of immigrants. Here we suggest a broader view that not only incorporates attitudes, but also the broader political “context of reception” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006), which includes integration policies and citizenship policies that may influence immigrant location choice.

To analyse whether internal mobility is influenced by political factors, the case of immigrants in Switzerland represents a good test scenario because of the federal structure of the Swiss political system. Swiss cantons (i.e. regions) and municipalities play a central role in shaping their own integration and citizenship policies (Probst et al., 2019), leading to substantial subnational heterogeneity in the political “context of reception” for foreign citizens (Manatschal, 2011). Factors such as whether access to citizenship is easy or difficult, whether

foreign citizens enjoy voting rights, or whether the local population is rather open or hostile towards migrants can vary greatly from one Swiss municipality to another. More specifically, this paper concentrates on recently arrived immigrants who are already somewhat familiar with the local context and subnational heterogeneity, but at the same time less attached to a particular place than individuals who have lived in a place for longer. We stipulate that these circumstances make them more likely to “vote with their feet” for political reasons, which makes it more likely for us to observe more generic mechanisms of location choice.

Our contribution to the literature is twofold. First, we contribute a broader understanding of factors influencing residential location choice. While existing work has emphasised economic determinants, such as wages, employment rates or buying power as determinants of internal mobility (Dowding and John, 2002; Scott and Brindley 2012), we highlight that other macro factors can also play a role for location choice, notably the political reception context. Knowing that the political reception context affects residential location choice is essential because spatial (re-)distribution matters for the planning of municipal infrastructure, public transport or educational facilities. Second, we demonstrate that subnational integration policies shape immigrants’ mobility intentions. Integration policies provide immigrants with material resources that facilitate incorporation into the host society, such as language classes or rights to access the labour market, or symbolic resources that signal to immigrants that they are legitimate members of the host society (Bloemraad, 2013). By analysing location choice, we extend the literature on integration policies, which focused on political behaviour and integration outcomes (see e.g. Bennour and Manatschal, 2019; Bloemraad, 2006; Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2011; Ersanilli and Saharso, 2011; Goodman and Wright, 2015; Koopmans, 2010).

Theory: Location choice of immigrants

Mobility decisions depend on push factors, which make people leave a place, and pull factors – elements in the new place of residence that attract individuals to move there (Lee 1966). Here we focus on pull factors for moves within a country – so-called internal migration. Such residential location choice is studied in many fields from geography to demography to economics (Montgomery and Curtis, 2006). Existing research covers explanations at both the micro– and macro level. The macro perspective shows how structural features can make locations more attractive (Permentier et al. 2011). The micro level, by contrast, is for instance analysed extensively by demographers or anthropologists who study individual drivers of location choice. This micro perspective demonstrates that contextual factors do not affect

everyone the same way, highlighting individual preferences among other considerations (see e.g. Lympelopoulou, 2013).

Among the central micro factors driving individual location choices, the literature identifies lifecycle and lifestyle as major dimensions (Smith and Olaru, 2013). The lifecycle relates to the evolutionary demographic of a household, like the arrival of a child (Ström, 2010; Mulder and Lauster, 2010), getting married (Aassve et al. 2007), leaving a job or reaching retirement age (Ermisch and Jenkins, 1999). All of these influence residential location choice. Lifestyle components emphasise the values of individuals (Smith and Olaru, 2013), which also influence location choice. Subjective values and preferences can lead individuals to choose greener and healthier neighbourhoods, for instance, or the “vibe” of a city (Cao et al., 2009). Evidently, lifestyle and lifecycle also influence each other. Income, age, and change in employment sector can lead to a change in lifestyle, and trigger movement to a new location (Dieleman, 2001; Walker and Li, 2007).

Meso-level factors also play a role in determining individual location choice, like the types and costs of property on offer (Krizek and Waddell, 2002). More generally, however, neighbourhood characteristics are a strong determinant of location choice, as they encompass factors such as the predominant kind of lifestyle (Krizek and Waddell, 2002), the transport system (Montgomery and Curtis, 2006), access to nature (Kaplan and Austin, 2004) or recreational activities (Colwell et al., 2001). To explain individual mobility choice, studies concerned with meso-level factors look at relatively small contextual units such as a street or a neighbourhood (Van Heerden and Ruedin, 2019). A different literature at the meso level focuses on immigrants in particular, looking at ethnic enclaves or how the share of immigrants in a neighbourhood affects the mobility choices of immigrants (Damm, 2009; Guo and Bhat, 2006; Toussaint-Comeau and Rhine, 2004). These studies highlight that social networks can play an important role, as people tend to move close to existing social contacts (Guidon et al., 2019). Research highlighting the importance of social networks reveals that, beyond material considerations, mobility decisions are also motivated by social and affective factors, or a desire to feel “at home” at the new place of residence.

At the macro level, studies show how economic determinants influence location choice. In economics, in particular, we identify two distinct utility maximisation approaches: one with a focus on monetary aspects and one that includes non-monetary aspects. Utility maximisation theory stipulates that individuals tend to find an ideal trade-off between housing and commuting

costs, expressed in monetary terms (Alonso, 1964). Housing costs include rent, but also tax levels (Schmidheiny and Slotwinski, 2018). The traditional application of utility maximisation theory tends to overlook more symbolic or non-monetary elements that may explain location choice (Sirgy et al., 2005), but there is nothing inherent in utility maximisation that would exclude such considerations. For instance, a more comprehensive perspective on costs and benefits is taken by Tiebout (1956) in a classic study that emphasises a balance between living costs and quality of social services. Individuals can “vote with their feet”, deciding where to live by balancing taxes and access to local services such as public libraries, health services or education (Dowding and John, 2002).

Political science and migration studies emphasise various factors at the macro level when describing places but, to our knowledge, these have not been directly related to individual location choice at the local (rather than national) level (e.g. McAuliffe and Jayasuriya 2016; Batista and McKenzie 2021). For instance, the literature recognises different “philosophies” of national integration models (Brubaker, 1992; Koopmans & Statham, 2000; Pflirter et al. 2021). Most of this literature focuses on the effects of integration and citizenship policies, and research has expanded to consider variation at the subnational regional level, including cities and municipalities (Caponio and Borkert, 2010; Hepburn, 2011; Manatschal et al. 2020; Paquet, 2014). These studies show that subnational integration policies represent structural incentive structures which shape the behaviour and attitudes of immigrants, such as their political engagement (Cinalli and Giugni, 2011; Filindra and Manatschal 2020) or naturalisation intentions (Bennour, 2020; Politi et al., 2021).

Here we build on the literature on local policy variation and combine it with established considerations of location choice. We identified only two studies with a similar concern for the influence of the political context on immigrants’ location choice. Both show that elections or referendums won by far-right parties may greatly reduce mobility of foreign citizens to municipalities in Italy (Braco et al., 2018) and Switzerland (Slotwinski and Stutzer, 2019). In both contexts, hostile majority attitudes to immigrants act as a deterring factor for migrants, who thus choose different locations at a higher rate. While both studies demonstrate that political factors play a role in location choice, they employ a narrow approach to capturing the broader political reception context, and do not address the question of whether these political factors still matter when other well established factors are accounted for. To do so, we adopt an encompassing view on the political reception context and examine how it influences location choice among recently arrived immigrants in Switzerland. More specifically, we refer to the

“context of reception” (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006) to distinguish between attitudes of the native population in a specific place (societal discrimination) and government policy (i.e. integration and citizenship policies).

While there is a broad literature on attitudes to immigrants (see Pettigrew, 2016; Rétióvá et al., 2021 for reviews), we are concerned with the effects of these attitudes on immigrants and their sense of belonging (Simonsen, 2016, 2018). Thinking about contexts of reception, the attitudes of residents can be more or less welcoming of immigrants and can signal legitimacy to foreign citizens who perceive themselves as members of the host society (Maxwell, 2010). While attitudes may be expressed in many ways, drawing on recent studies (Bracco et al., 2018; Slotwinski and Stutzer, 2019), we argue that votes for the radical right are a visible and public indicator of such attitudes. We expect that immigrants prefer municipalities with less electoral support for the radical right.

Regarding integration policies that regulate the political rights of immigrants and naturalisation policies, these policies can enhance the material and symbolic resources of foreign citizens (Bloemraad, 2013). These resources can also make a municipality more attractive for immigrants, making them feel welcome on arrival (Van Hook, Brown, & Bean, 2006). In the present paper, we study the Swiss case whose policies exhibit local variance (Helbling & Kriesi, 2004, Probst et al. 2019): some cantons and municipalities allow foreign citizens to vote while others do not (Cattacin & Bülent, 2001). When they are exposed to inclusive subnational integration policies, immigrants develop a stronger attachment to the host country, a stronger sense of belonging, and a greater intention to naturalise (Simonsen, 2016; Bennour and Manatschal, 2019; Bennour 2020). Accordingly, we expect that immigrants prefer places with inclusive integration policies that facilitate access to political participation via voting rights for foreign citizens.

Based on the theoretical reflections in this section, we clearly expect that an inclusive political reception context should increase the attractiveness of municipalities to recent immigrants. However, we consider it unlikely that all individuals are similarly responsive to the effects of political reception contexts on location choice (Lymperopoulou, 2013). We explore whether certain characteristics, such as the social integration of immigrants or their socioeconomic status, are systematically associated with differences across the models. Given the exploratory character of these investigations, we refrain from formulating specific hypotheses. Instead, we discuss these associations with the hope of sparking future work in this direction.

Data and methods

Our research concerns the location choice of recent immigrants. We focus on immigrants because they have less attachment to their place of residence relative to the general population who have lived in a place for longer. This allows for a better understanding of whether political factors can lead to “voting with their feet”. Since time spent in a place reduces the desire to be mobile (Lewicka, 2011), we restrict our analyses to immigrants who arrived in Switzerland within the preceding 15 years. They have had limited time to create strong roots in the local community, which, in turn, reduces immobility. At the same time, members in this group have already been in direct contact with the Swiss and subnational political reception context. We focus on Switzerland because of its federalist structure, which provides us with important subnational heterogeneity regarding integration and citizenship policies.

We use a conjoint experiment where participants repeatedly choose between two municipalities. Each municipality is assigned eight attributes (Table 1), which are all based on factors outlined in the literature: public transportation, access to nature, living costs, attitudes towards immigration, naturalisation requirements, presence of a co-ethnic community, voting rights for foreign citizens, and cultural and leisure infrastructures. Each attribute can have two randomly assigned levels – attractive or deterring – as a feature of the municipality. In total, there are 256 unique municipality profiles. In the analysis, we show the coefficients for the attractive features. For instance, for public transport, a “connection every half hour until midnight” is considered more appealing than “a connection every hour until 20:00”. Similarly, we consider the following attributes as more attractive: being within walking distance to nature, a municipality being 15% less expensive than the current one, a lower share of anti-immigrant party voting than in the surroundings, needing less time before applying for citizenship (2 versus 8 years), the ability to vote after a year of residence, and a rich offer of cultural and leisure activities.

Attributes	Values
Transport to main commodities (shopping, centre, schools, doctors)	<i>Connection every half hour until 24:00</i>
	<i>Connection every hour until 20:00</i>
Access to nature (forest, lake, river...)	<i>Walking distance</i>
	<i>Not in walking distance</i>
Living costs (rent, taxes, health insurance...)	<i>15% more expensive than your current municipality</i>
	<i>15% less expensive than your current municipality</i>
Share of SVP/UDC (anti-immigrant party)	<i>Lower than in surrounding municipalities</i>
	<i>Higher than in surrounding municipalities</i>
Swiss citizenship requirements	<i>8 years of residence in the municipality</i>
	<i>2 years of residence in the municipality</i>
People from the same country as you	<i>No proper network</i>
	<i>Strong social network</i>
Noncitizen voting rights in the municipality for legal permanent residents (C Permit)	<i>Possible after one year of residence in the canton</i>
	<i>No noncitizen voting rights</i>
Local infrastructure for cultural and leisure activities (for example: swimming pool, theatre, sport centre, museum...)	<i>Rich offer</i>
	<i>Limited offer</i>

Table 1: List of municipality attributes in the conjoint experiment, and the two possible values for each attribute.

In total, 1,596 recent immigrants participated in our conjoint experiment.¹⁹ A conjoint experiment is ideal for testing how different meso– and macro factors influence the location choice of recent immigrants as it allowing researchers to “estimate causal effects of multiple treatment components and assess several causal hypotheses simultaneously” (Hainmueller et al., 2014, p.1). We have taken care to present realistic choices to participants to simulate real-world possibilities, while the conjoint method helps to reduce different biases found in regular surveys, such as social desirability (Horiuchi et al., 2020; Wallander, 2009).

¹⁹ The study was pre-registered at <https://aspredicted.org/blind.php?x=jx56us>

We asked participants to imagine that they receive an attractive job offer, and to choose between two municipalities, equidistant from work, in which they would prefer to settle. We repeated this question five times, with each containing a forced choice (Figure 1, Panel A) even if the chosen option does not have a perfect profile. This results in the outcome variable of interest (0 = not chosen municipality, 1 = chosen municipality, i.e. the response to “I pick municipality A/B” in Figure 1). Participants are also asked to rank their likelihood of choosing one of the two municipalities, from 0 (very unlikely) to 10 (very likely) (Figure 1, Panel B). This scale question provides a robustness check to our main models.

A.

Imagine you have an attractive long-term job offer. You plan to accept the job and settle nearby, and can choose to live in one of two municipalities, which are at equal distance from your new employment. On the following pages, you'll have to choose between two municipalities. In which municipality would you prefer to live?

	Municipality A	Municipality B
Reaching main commodities (shopping centres, schools, doctors, ...)	Connection every hour until 20:00	Connection every hour until 20:00
Access to nature (forest, lake, river, ...)	Not in walking distance	Walking distance
Living costs (rent, taxes, health insurance, ...)	15% more expensive than your current municipality	15% more expensive than your current municipality
Share of SVP/UDC (anti-immigrant party)	Lower than in surrounding municipalities	Higher than in surrounding municipalities
Swiss citizenship requires	8 years of residence in the municipality	8 years of residence in the municipality
People from the same country as you	Strong social network	Strong social network
Non-citizen voting rights in the municipality for legal permanent residents (C Permit)	No noncitizen voting right	No noncitizen voting right
Local infrastructure for cultural and leisure activities (for example: swimming pool, theatre, sport center, museum,...)	Rich offer	Rich offer

- I pick municipality A
- I pick municipality B

B.

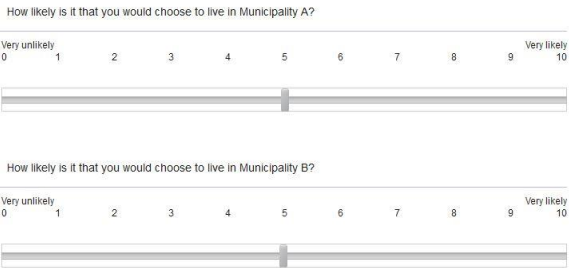


Figure 1: Example of conjoint experiment with forced choice shown to participants (bottom of Panel A) and the scale shown to participants (Panel B).

For the exploratory analyses, we had the opportunity to link the participants of our conjoint experiment to the Migration-Mobility Survey (MMS) 2020. The MMS is based on a representative sample of individuals who have moved to Switzerland in the preceding 15 years. It includes questions on demographics, socioeconomic variables, migratory history, citizenship, education and labour market integration. With this broad set of variables, we can explore individual characteristics of the immigrants that may shape the extent to which they are influenced by the political reception context. The MMS was conducted in six different languages (English, German, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese), which also allows us to

include non-language-assimilated immigrants in our study. The data collection took place between October 2020 and February 2021.

All recent immigrants in the sample were born abroad; 49.4% are men and 50.6% women, and 50.6% of the respondents are EU nationals. As is to be expected with a sample of recently arrived immigrants in Switzerland (Wanner, 2014), the sample is highly educated: 71.4% of the sample has a tertiary education. This means that the sample is not representative of the entire foreign-born population in Switzerland, which we never aimed for. To run our models, we use version 4.1.1 of *R* with the *cjoint* (Hainmueller et al., 2014) and *cregg* (Leeper, 2020) packages. This allows us to identify average marginal component effects (AMCE) which express the causal effect of each attribute on individual location choice. AMCE maintains all components equal and shows how a change in an attribute's level affects individual preferences.

Findings: Political factors influence location choice

The model in Figure 2 demonstrates how the political reception context influences the location choice of recent immigrants. This is the case for all variables that capture the reception context. For instance, lower naturalisation requirements increase the attractiveness of a municipality compared to a place with stricter conditions: a reduction of six years before applying for naturalisation raises the probability of choosing a locality by 10.4%. The attitudes of the native population also explain the location choice of immigrants: relative to a locality with a higher anti-immigrant vote share than in the surroundings, a municipality with a lower far-right party share is 9.6% more attractive for recent immigrants. The right to vote in the canton after one year increases the chance of choosing a municipality by 7.2%, compared to a place without voting rights.

Non-political variables are also associated with the location choice of recent immigrants: a locality within walking distance to nature is 17.4% more likely to be chosen than a location without walkable access to nature. Because the data were collected during the COVID-19 pandemic, it is possible that this value is higher than it would otherwise have been, though a qualitative study carried out before the pandemic suggests that access to nature was highly valued by Swiss residents at that time as well (Efionayi-Mäder et al. 2020). A municipality with more regular public transport connections is favoured by 12.6% compared to less frequent connections. Respondents are 11.5% more likely to choose a location with 15% more buying power in comparison with a place that reduces their buying power by 15%. Also, a rich offer in

cultural and leisure activities, as well as a strong social network of co-ethnics, make a municipality more attractive.

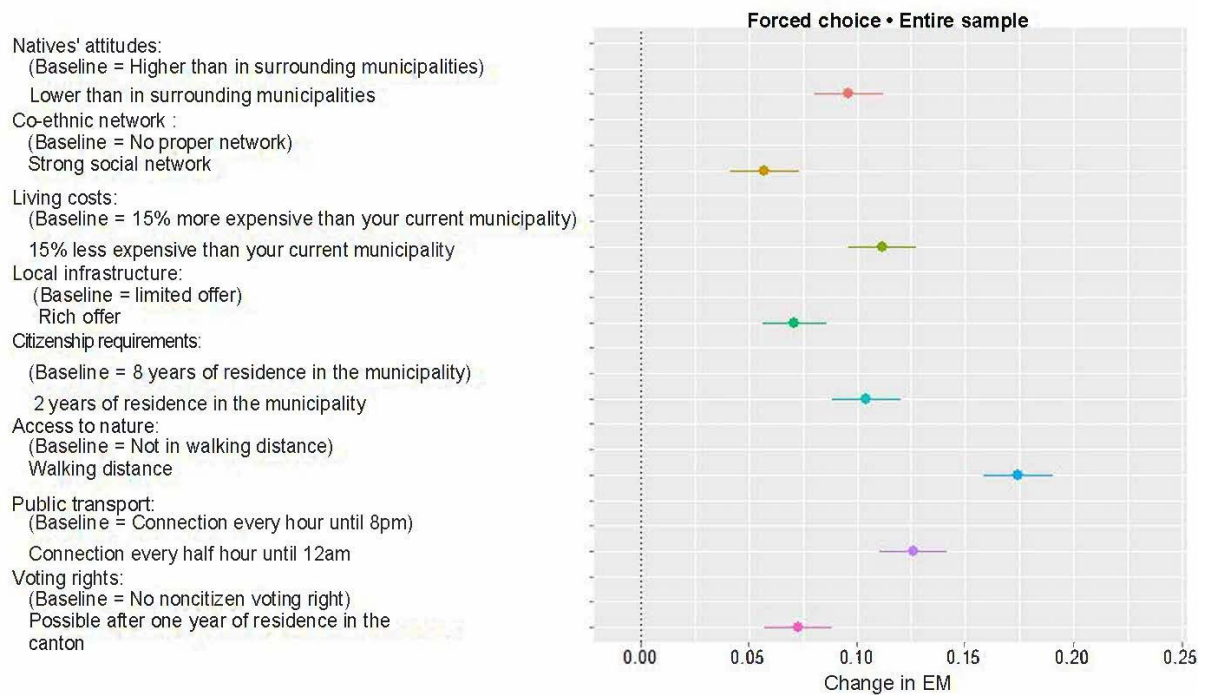


Figure 2: AMCE for the entire sample

Notes: Lines correspond to 95% confidence interval. Outcome variable is picking a municipality with these attributes, conjoint experiment with forced choice, Switzerland 2020–21. N=1,596 recent immigrants, 7,980 choices. Choices are clustered by participants.

As a robustness check, we run the same model with scales as outcomes (Figure A1 in the Appendix). Contrary to the forced choice, the scale allows for equal preferences, as well as distinguishing between strong and weak preferences. These analyses confirm the relevance of the political reception context in explaining immigrants' location choice, as immigrants tend to favour municipalities with an inclusive political reception context.

Exploratory analyses: The role of socioeconomic variables, legal status and social integration

In the following section, we explore whether the importance of the political reception context for location choice varies by immigrant characteristics. We examine socioeconomic variables, legal status and social integration. Individuals with high educational credentials or a high

monthly household income may value the political reception context differently from individuals with low education levels or incomes. What is more, non-EU immigrants have a less stable political status, which may mean that they value access to more political rights differently from EU citizens. Regarding the degree of social integration (e.g. interest in Swiss news and events, feeling of belonging to Swiss society, intention to remain in Switzerland), we expect that these may also lead to differentiated evaluations of the political context for the location choice of immigrants. Related to this point, social networks may also moderate the influence of political factors on residential location choice.²⁰ We include these analyses to spark future investigation; we did not develop a strong theoretical case and refrain from doing so post-hoc.

Political factors shape the location choice of immigrants for most subcategories considered. Figure A2 in the Appendix shows that voting rights influence location choice across all subgroups of educational attainment. By contrast, the attitudes of natives only affect the location choice of individuals with tertiary and vocational diplomas. Immigrants with tertiary and secondary educational achievements are also the only group influenced by naturalisation requirements for their residential choice. Regarding income and country of origin, Figures A3 and A4 in the Appendix show that all subcategories are significantly influenced by every component of the political reception context. Figures A5 to A7 in the Appendix further demonstrate that naturalisation requirements and native attitudes matter for all immigrants, irrespective of their interest in Swiss news, plans to stay in Switzerland or feeling of belonging to the host country. By contrast, voting rights do not seem to influence the location choice of those uninterested in Swiss news, who plan to leave the country or who do not feel they belong to Switzerland. Finally, Figures A8 and A9 in the Appendix show that social integration

²⁰ The variables we use for this exploration are shaped by their availability in the MMS. Education is categorical (Tertiary education: 71.4%; Secondary: 11.6%; Primary: 5%; Vocational: 12%). Immigrants from a non-EU country represent 49.4% of the sample (50.6% are EU nationals). Monthly income is measured at the household level: less than CHF 3,000 to 6,000: 25.7%; CHF 6,000 to 9,000: 22.9%, CHF 9,000 and more: 51.4%. Subjective attachment to Switzerland is measured using three variables: The first is derived from asking “On a scale from 0 (‘not at all’) to 7 (‘to a very high extent’), to what extent are you interested in news and current events in Switzerland?”. We combine response values 0 to 3 into a single category (“rather uninterested”, 11.6% of the sample), with the remainder classified as “interested”. The second variable asks about plans to settle in Switzerland, differentiating between “plan to leave” (15.3%), “plan to stay” (45.8%), and “uncertain” (38.9%). The third variable asks: “To what extent do you agree with the following statements: ‘Globally, I feel myself belonging to Swiss society’?”. We combine the two disagreement options into “no belonging” (23.8% of the sample) and the remainder into “belonging”. To capture social networks, we ask: “How often do you have you positive contacts with Swiss people?”, with “never” and “from time to time” combined into “rarely” (21.4% of the sample), and the remainder into “often/very often” (78.6%). Together, subjective attachment to Switzerland and immigrants’ social networks provide a measure social integration. A binary variable captures feelings of loneliness (59.2% do not feel lonely).

influences all subcategories in terms of positive contacts with the local population and feelings of loneliness. In sum, we find that the influence of the political reception context is not necessarily homogeneous across subcategories.

To ensure differences between subgroups are not biased by the reference category of each attribute, we follow the analytic strategy by Leeper et al. (2020): we calculate the difference in marginal means between the subgroups with a 95% confidence interval, also known as a “nested model comparison”. These models tell us if statistically significant differences exist among subgroups regarding the influence of the political reception context. In addition, these estimates allow us to compare the differences of marginal means within a single attribute – e.g., exclusive naturalisation policy – across subgroups. Figures 3 and 4 show that significant differences exist between subgroups with respect to the impact of the political context on location choice.

Panel a) in Figure 3 shows that individuals with tertiary education are more likely than those with a secondary education to favour municipalities where natives have inclusive attitudes. Conversely, a higher share of right-populist votes appears to deter immigrants with the highest levels of education, but has less of an impact on those who left education after secondary school. However, we find no substantial difference between individuals with a tertiary or primary/vocational diploma with regard to the influence of natives’ attitudes. Panel b) in Figure 3 complements these considerations with a focus on naturalisation requirements. Individuals with tertiary education favour municipalities with inclusive citizenship practices more than individuals with secondary education. Similar differences exist between individuals with tertiary education and immigrants with a primary and vocational education (Figure A10 in the Appendix).

A different pattern appears in Panel c) of Figure 3 relating to monthly household income. The poorest have a significantly stronger preference than the richest for a more inclusive setting. Panel d) in Figure 4 shows that recent immigrants coming from a non-EU country are much more influenced by citizenship policies than EU citizens. Non-EU citizens prefer more inclusive citizenship policies (i.e. 2 years of requirement) and are also more deterred by exclusive policies (i.e. 8 years of requirement) than EU citizens.

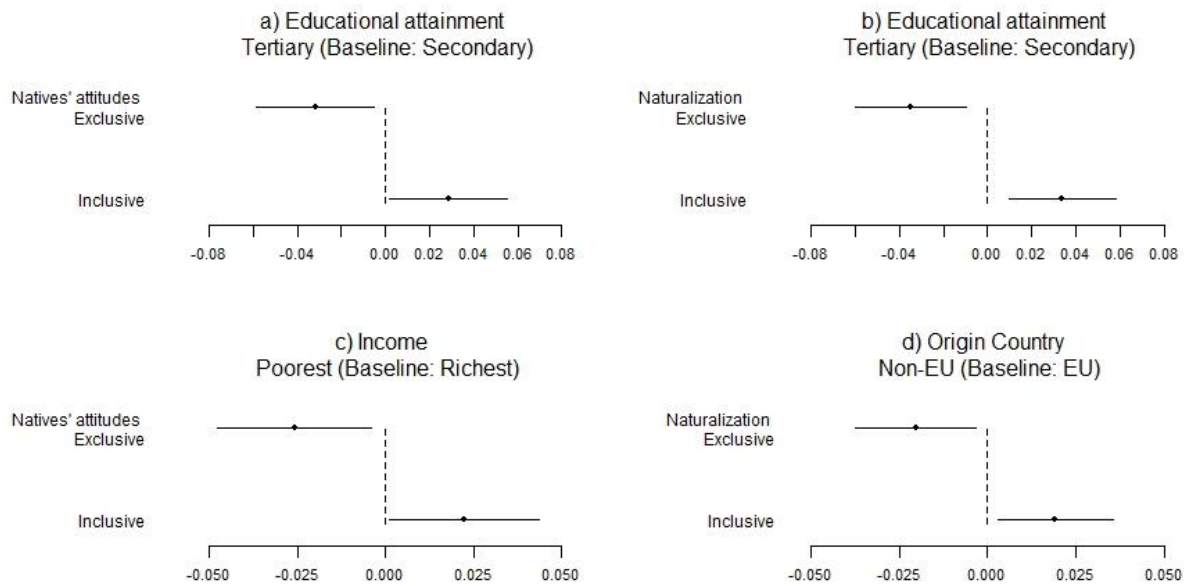


Figure 3: Difference in marginal means for subgroups depending on educational attainment, country of origin and income

Notes: Lines correspond to 95% confidence interval. Outcome variable is picking a municipality with these attributes, conjoint experiment with forced choice, Switzerland 2020–21. N=1,596 recent immigrants, 7,980 choices. Choices are clustered by participants.

Panels a) and b) in Figure 4 show that interest in news/events in Switzerland moderates the influence of political factors on immigrants' location choice. Compared to uninterested immigrants, individuals interested in Swiss news tend to prefer inclusive political contexts. This holds true with regard to attitudes of natives and voting rights. Conversely, immigrants interested in Swiss news are more deterred by exclusive political contexts than their counterparts. Panels c) and d) in Figure 4 show that people with long-term projects in Switzerland favour a more inclusive political context than their counterparts who plan to leave Switzerland, irrespective of the measure used (naturalisation requirements, voting rights). Panels e) and f) show that a sense of belonging is associated with greater preference for the most inclusive policy pole for a future location, regarding both naturalisation requirements and voting rights.

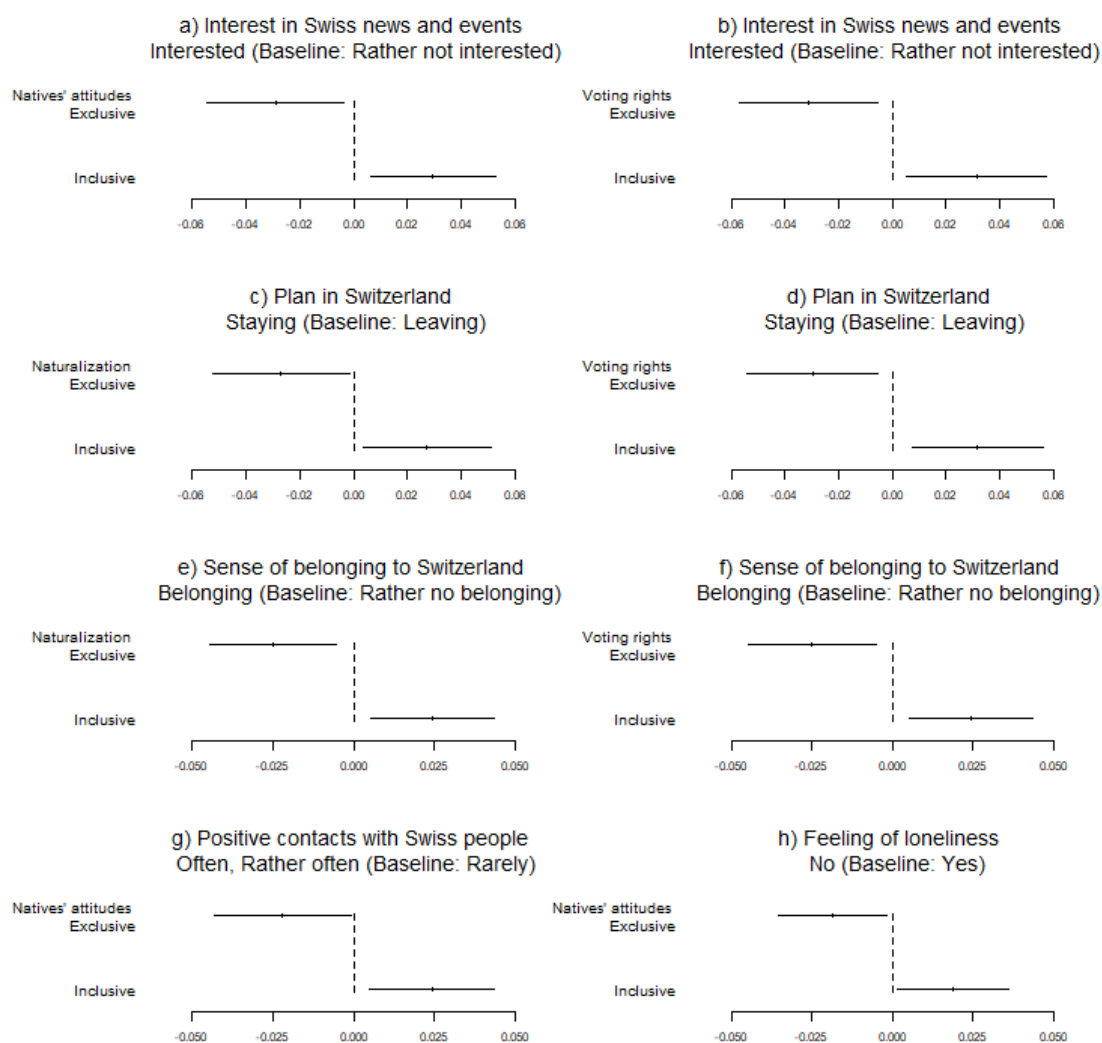


Figure 4: Difference in marginal means for subgroups depending on immigrants' links to Switzerland and social networks.

Notes: Lines correspond to 95% confidence interval. Outcome variable is picking a municipality with these attributes, conjoint experiment with forced choice, Switzerland 2020–21. N=1,596 recent immigrants, 7,980 choices. Choices are clustered by participants.

Considering the social networks of immigrants, we find that individuals with positive contact with Swiss people are more prone to favouring places where the public support for far-right parties is lower, relative to people who do not have regular positive contact (Panel g) in Figure 4). In Panel h), we show that feeling lonely moderates the influence of attitudes on the location choice of recent immigrants. Individuals who do not feel lonely seem to prioritise locations

with a lower far-right share, while exclusive attitudes deter socialised immigrants more than lonely immigrants. At the same time, the exploration of subgroups also yielded “non-findings”, which we report for transparency: gender, being a parent and relationship status (single or in a relationship) do not influence how immigrants react to the political context of reception. Similarly, age and time spent in Switzerland only marginally influence recent immigrants. Contrary to our expectations, neither residence permits nor the experience of discrimination influence how political factors affect location choice. We expected that residence permits would reflect vulnerability and discrimination would result in immigrants feeling unsafe, and thus having an increased willingness to live in an inclusive place.²¹

Discussion and conclusion

Using a conjoint experiment with recent immigrants in Switzerland, we show that the political reception context shapes location choice, even when well established macro factors, like economic differences, are taken into consideration. With this, we complement existing studies on location choice that focus on specific factors and neglect the relevance of the political context. While some studies suggest that political factors are important for the choice of destination country (Braco et al., 2018), and political factors certainly play a role for asylum seekers in search of political stability (Collier, 2013), here we demonstrate that the political context also matters for the internal mobility decisions of recent migrants. This shows that individuals do indeed “vote with their feet” for political reasons, and not only for economic reasons or other “quality of life” or lifestyle factors related to the infrastructure, cultural offer or closeness to nature of a given place (Florida, 2004).

The exploratory analyses across subgroups show that recent immigrants react differently to the political reception context depending on various characteristics. We included this exploration both to understand patterns of immigrant integration and to spark future research on location choice. For instance, we provide experimental substantiation for Florida’s assertion in his work on the “creative class” (2004), showing that highly educated individuals favour inclusive political reception contexts, but we also show that income does not seem to play a role in defining this creative class or its location choice. We also note that coming from an EU country moderates the influence of naturalisation policies on location choice. This finding is in line with Peters et al. (2016), for instance, who show that non-EU nationals are more inclined to

²¹ Note that asylum seekers and temporarily admitted persons are not part of the sample.

naturalise than EU nationals and, by implication, are more influenced by the inclusiveness of local citizenship regimes.

In the exploratory analysis, we reveal a high level of social integration: an emotional attachment to the host country is associated with a preference for an inclusive political reception context (Simonsen, 2016). This may reflect the fact that immigrants with stronger links to Switzerland may also prefer to stay in Switzerland for a longer period of time (Haas and Fokkema, 2011), but could also indicate homophily in the sense that immigrants who emotionally invest in the country of destination seek an environment where this is appreciated. Social networks also moderate the political reception context, notably in terms of attitudes towards immigration. Individuals who have friends and positive contact with Swiss people prefer places where the native population have more inclusive attitudes to immigration.

While we paint a rich picture on how the effects of the political reception context vary by subgroup, overall we find that immigrants with the most capital – human or social – are those most influenced by the political reception context. Therefore, a possible interpretation is that the most privileged among immigrants can “afford” to care more about the inclusiveness of the political reception context. This finding resonates with the work of Putnam (1993) suggesting that social and human capital are relevant to explaining civic engagement and political participation. Thus, municipalities displaying an inclusive political reception context may be more noticeably attractive for immigrants with important human and social capital. The only exception we can find here relates to non-EU citizens who are less privileged than EU nationals, in terms of stability of stay and entry rights. This difference in legal rights helps to emphasise the point that location choice also plays a functional role, as suggested by studies on economic determinants, but one that includes the political sphere.

In terms of our aim of sparking new research, we think, for example, of the need to consider different aspects of the political reception context. For instance, we can imagine that our findings would be different had we included language courses rather than voting rights, especially since language courses are relevant to only part of the immigrant population. We suggest that this study could possibly be replicated in other contexts that exhibit variation in integration policies and citizenship regulation, whether due to regional differences within federal countries or for other reasons. We strongly suggest that the sample be broadened to the entire immigrant population of the host country, beyond newly arrived immigrants. While we argue that the focus on recently arrived immigrants has distinct advantages, location choice by established immigrants with strong local networks may follow different logics.

In conclusion, we urge future research on immigrant mobility to consider the role that political factors may have. In this way, we believe that research on human mobility will be better placed to inform the allocation of local resources to successfully plan for infrastructure and amenities, including public transport. In the meanwhile, the finding that inclusive places attract immigrants with a deeper attachment to the host country highlights how negative attitudes to immigration, and support for radical right-wing parties, are a barrier to the social integration of immigrants, perversely undermining the very outcome that some members of society so vehemently demand of their immigrant communities.

Data availability statement:

Data from the conjoint experiment will be made available on Zenodo on publication; data from the survey are available on request.

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Appendix

Figure A1: Robustness check with scale as outcome – AMCE – Entire sample – (95% confidence interval)

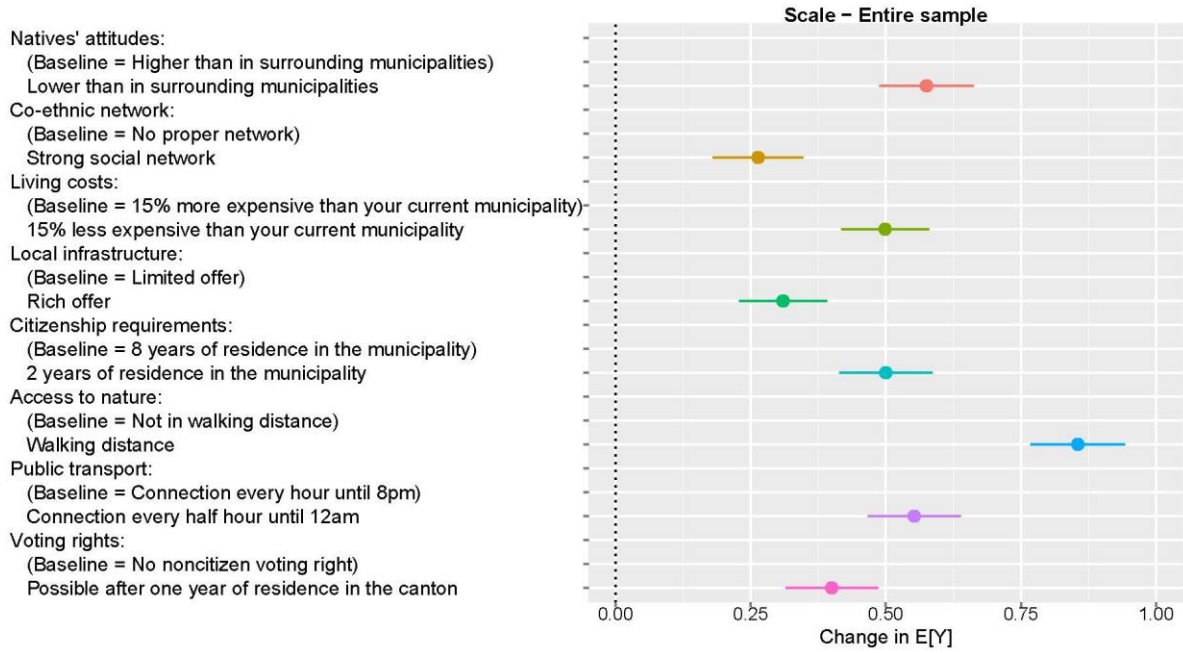


Figure A2: Marginal means depending on highest educational achievement – (95% confidence interval)

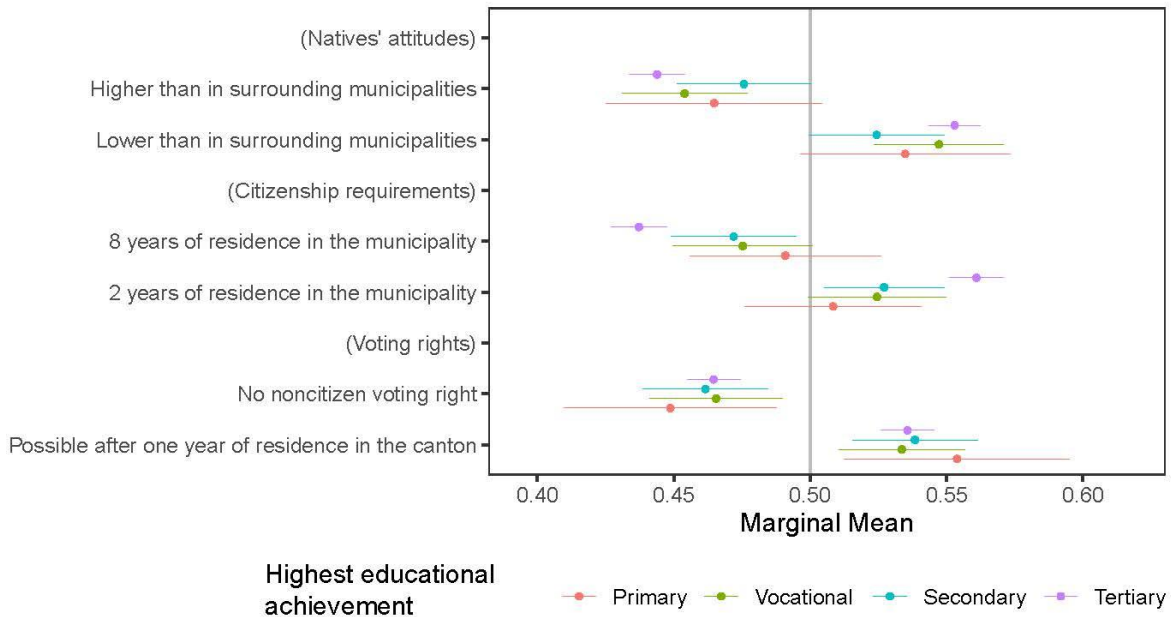


Figure A3: Marginal means depending on monthly household income – (95% confidence interval)

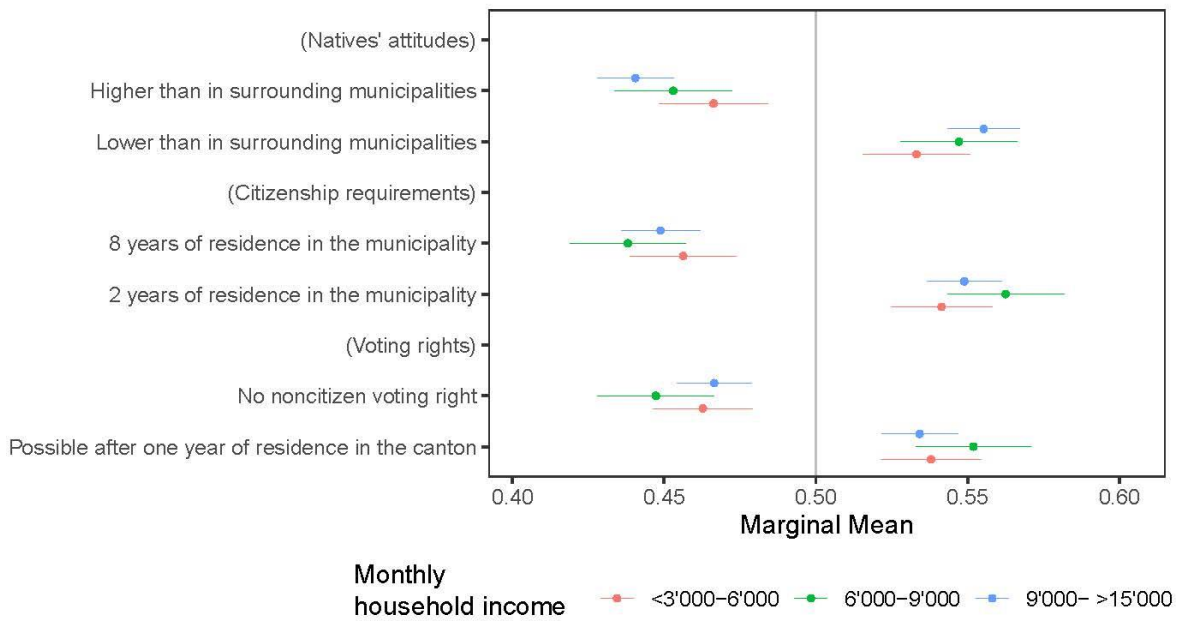


Figure A4: Marginal means depending on country of origin – (95% confidence interval)

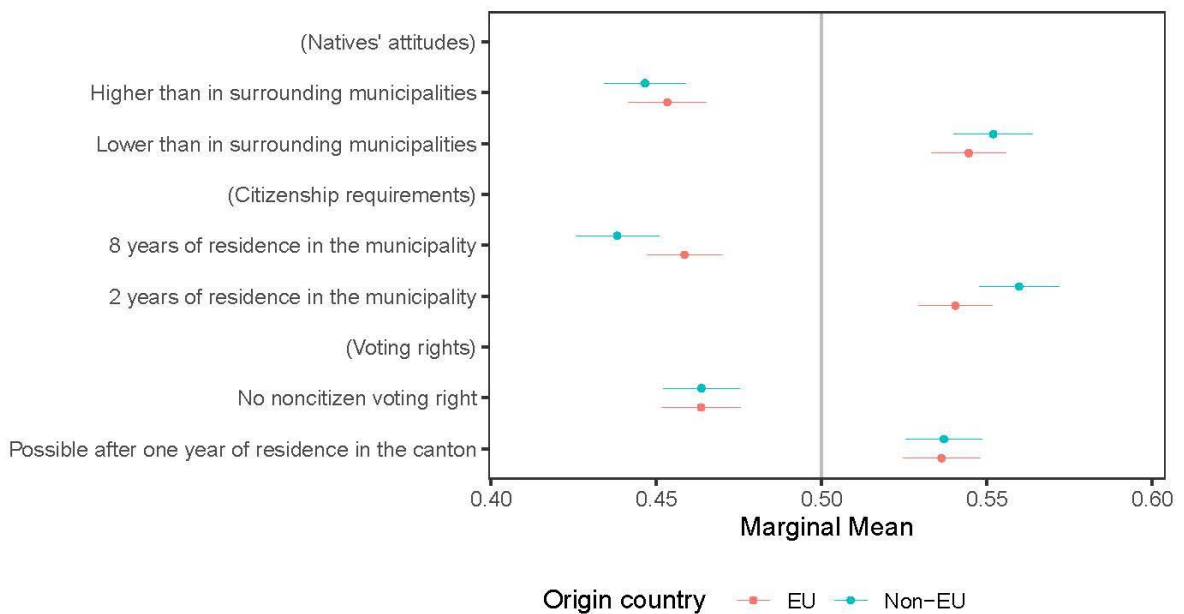


Figure A5: Marginal means depending on interest in Swiss news and events – (95% confidence interval)

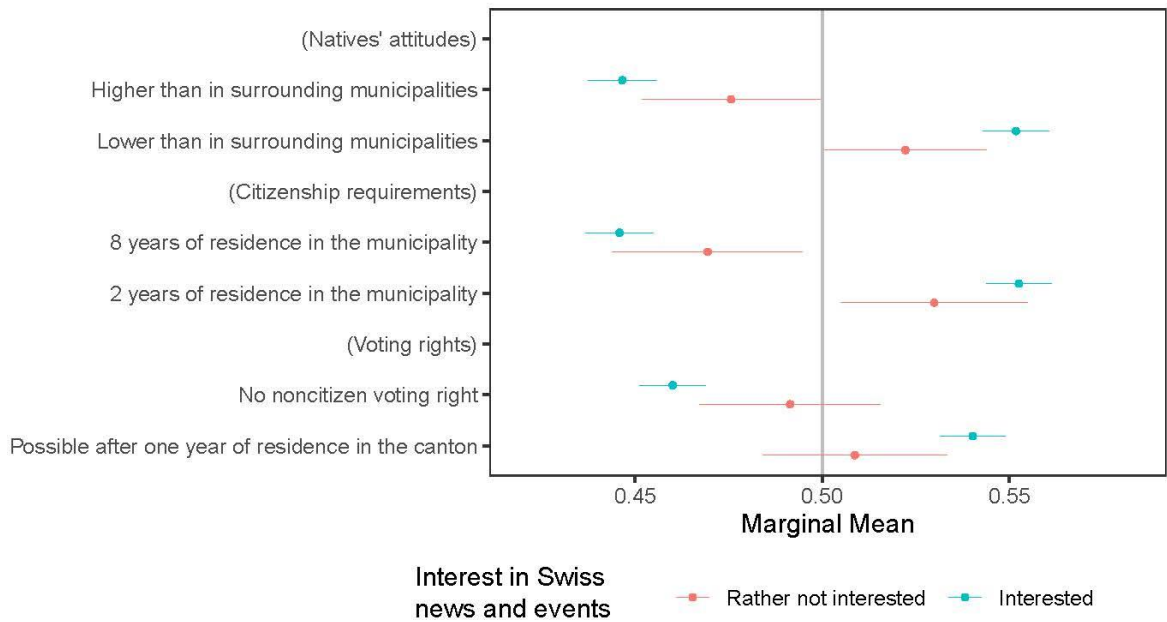


Figure A6: Marginal means depending on the plan to stay in Switzerland – (95% confidence interval)

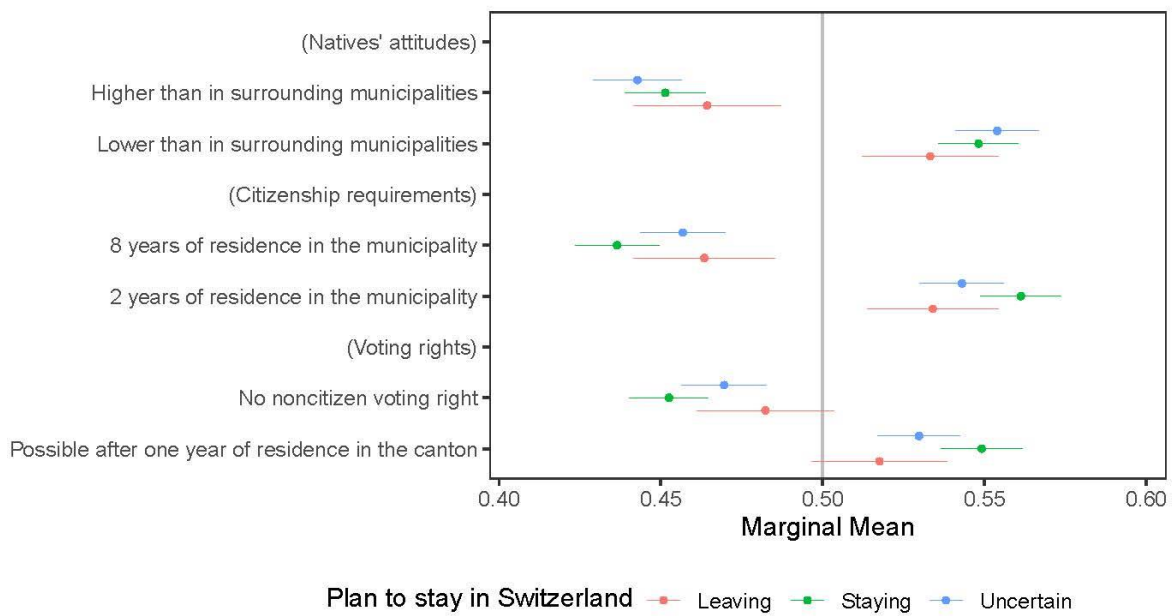


Figure A7: Marginal means depending on the feeling of belonging to Switzerland – (95% confidence interval)

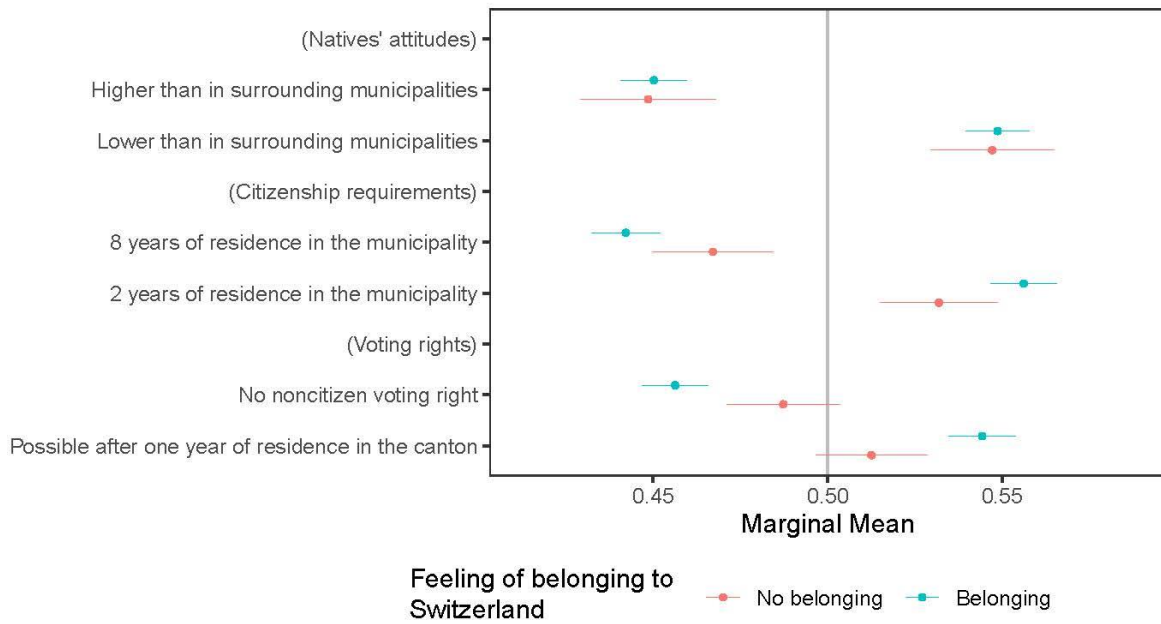


Figure A8: Marginal means depending on positive contacts with Swiss people – (95% confidence interval)

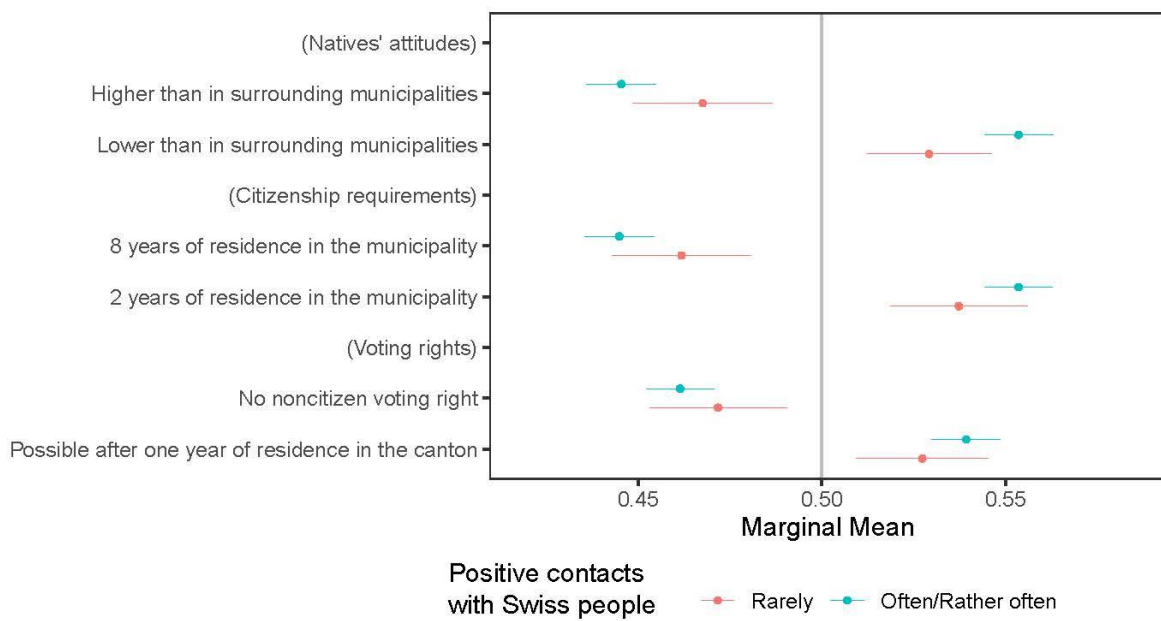


Figure A9: Marginal means depending on feelings of loneliness – (95% confidence interval)

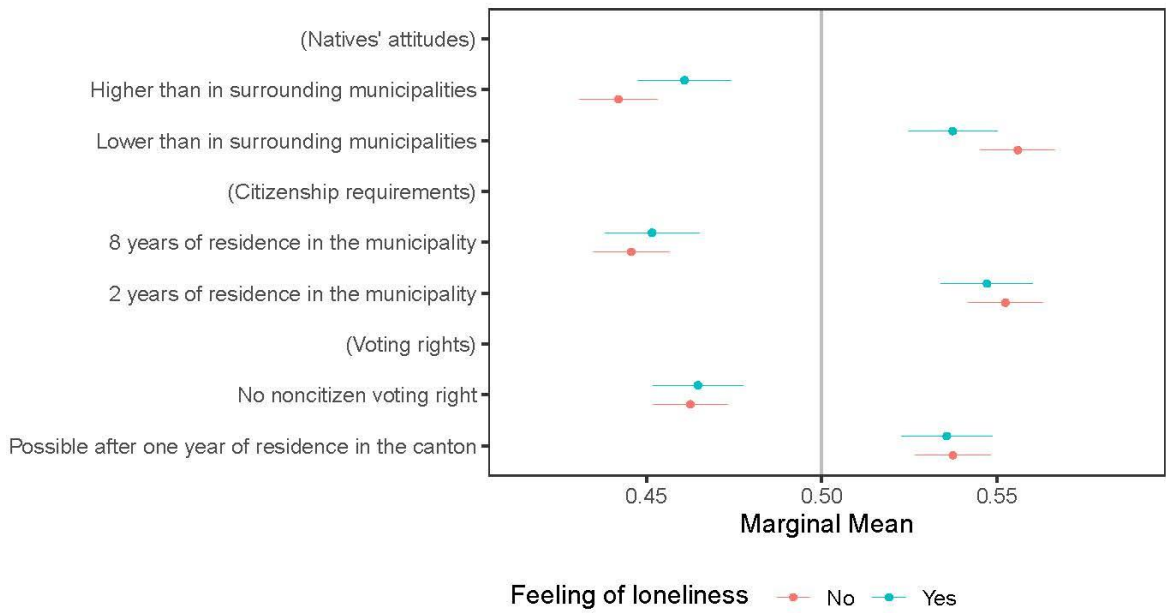


Figure A10: Marginal means depending on highest educational attainment – (95% confidence interval)

